

**MAKING CONNECTIONS:
Transforming People and Places in Europe**

**Case Study of
ROUBAIX, LILLE (France)**

Project funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation



**Claire Colomb
for
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About the project

This case-study is part of a research project carried out by URBED (Urban and Economic Development Group: www.urbed.co.uk) for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (www.jrf.org.uk). The project, entitled *'Making Connections: Transforming People and Places in Europe'* (2005-2007), investigated how urban regeneration schemes have been used to transform three former industrial cities in northern Europe, and what conclusions can be drawn for UK policy. The research is based primarily on case studies of projects in Gothenburg, Rotterdam and Roubaix which, like many industrial towns and cities in Britain, have had to deal with the collapse, or wholesale relocation, of their principal industries. The Joseph Rowntree Foundation has supported this project as part of its programme of research and innovative development projects, which it hopes will be of value to policy makers, practitioners and service users.

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About the author of the case-study

Claire Colomb is a researcher and lecturer in Urban Sociology and European Spatial Planning at University College London, The Bartlett School of Planning. She previously worked in Lille, France as Project Developer for the EU programme INTERREG IIIB North-West Europe (supporting transnational cooperation projects in spatial planning and territorial development). She is a sociologist and urban planner educated in Paris, London and Berlin. Her research interests include the governance of planning and urban & regional development in a European comparative perspective; the contested politics of culture, identity and urban regeneration in European cities; urban policies, planning and social mix in European cities; European spatial planning and the impact of the EU on spatial planning practices; and transnational cooperation between cities and regions in the EU. E-mail : c.colomb@ucl.ac.uk

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BACKGROUND

This is one of 3 case studies written for **MAKING CONNECTIONS: Transforming People and Places in Europe**, a research project carried out by URBED for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. The aim of the research is to investigate how people issues have been integrated into major urban regeneration schemes in various European cities and the lessons that might be learned for the UK. This case study looks at the regeneration of Roubaix, within the context of the Lille Metropolitan Region in North East France. Bringing a town like Roubaix back to life and prosperity required doing many things on many different sites [and doing them within the context of the regeneration of a much wider area].

The case study examines what led to the success of the scheme, whether the people who lost out from the previous deindustrialisation of the city benefited from its regeneration, and what lessons might be particularly relevant for UK urban policy. It focuses particularly on the rebuilding of Roubaix's economy – led by the creation of a 'cluster' of specialised textile businesses. It includes the re-use of redundant industrial buildings in the town, and measures taken to make it a place that businesses want to invest in and people with choice want to live in. It also investigates how far the interests of vulnerable people (especially those who worked in, or depended upon, the old textile industry) have been taken into account in the regeneration of the town.

There are strong similarities between Lille/Roubaix and the situation facing British industrial cities like Leeds/Bradford in terms of their evolution primarily as working places, the decline of their traditional industries, the collapse of their inner areas as people move out, and the resulting environmental decay and dereliction. Furthermore these two areas share the characteristics of textile towns – many small industrial sites on networks of canals and railway lines surrounded by terraced residential areas, with little greenery at their hearts. Such areas have traditionally been regarded by the rest of the country as ugly and undesirable places to live.

The regeneration of Lille itself is well documented, but a case study of Roubaix should throw light on a range of issues that are of interest to UK urban regeneration policy, such as:

- how a smaller town, which was potentially overshadowed by a larger centre, regenerated itself, and how the 'poorest town in France' radically changed its image;
- how the town both benefited from, and contributed to, a strategy for reviving a larger city-region;
- how both competition and collaboration between different parts of the city-region were promoted and controlled, and what mechanisms proved effective for doing this;
- how sustainable the regeneration of Roubaix is felt to be and why;
- how the interests of the most vulnerable groups – including immigrant communities – have been integrated into plans for the future of the town.

1. CONTEXT

1.1 Overview: urban regeneration challenges in Roubaix, France

1.1.1 Historical background: a city built upon textile manufacturing

The Nord-Pas de Calais region was, alongside the Lorraine region, **the cradle of the industrial revolution in France**. While coal mining and steel industries developed around Valenciennes, Douai and Maubeuge (the ‘coal mining basin’), Lille, Roubaix and Tourcoing built their industrial prosperity upon textile manufacturing.

Before the Industrial Revolution, Roubaix was a small town (8,000 inhabitants in 1806) which, alongside Tourcoing, had benefited from the development of ‘rural’ textile and weaving activities since the Middle-Ages (Paris and Stevens, 2000: 15). In the first three decades of the 19th century the bulk of the local production was cotton. Whilst Lille kept a focus on cotton production, Roubaix shifted to **wool** from 1830 onwards, when the first wool carding mill opened there (Paris and Stevens, 2000: 53-55). In 1843, Louis Motte-Bossut launched the self-acting mules brought back from England in his Roubaix factory.

In the second part of the 19th century, the Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing area became **the second largest textile region in the world** after Manchester and south Lancashire (Fraser and Baert, 2003). Between 1845 and 1913, production increased by 8% a year (Paris and Stevens, 2000: 57). The wool trade became a primary activity from 1860 onwards: wool was imported from all over the world (South America, Australia, New-Zealand and South Africa) and local firms created their own international trading companies. In 1883 a forward market stock exchange for wool was created in Roubaix, which highlights the **leading role of the city in the global wool trade** at the time. Major local companies, such as La *Lainière de Roubaix*, Motte, Lepoutre and Hannart had branches all over the world. In 1911 Roubaix hosted the International Textile Exhibition, visited by 800,000 people.

Roubaix was nicknamed ‘The city of a thousand chimneys’, as 267 factory chimneys dominated the skyline of Roubaix-Tourcoing. As the textile industry boomed, the **population** of the city exploded. At the turn of the century Roubaix had 125,000 inhabitants. The need for an increased workforce was met by massive **migrations** from the Flemish countryside in the second part of the century. From 1870 until 1890, Belgian workers accounted for more than 50% of the Roubaix population.

Figure 2. Population of Roubaix, 1806-1999 [Source: various, compiled by the author]

1806	8,000	1900	125,000
1850	35,000	1975	109,000
1882	83,661	1990	97,746
1896	124,600	1999	96,959

The **pace of urbanisation** was very rapid, leading to a strong relationship and dependency between factories and housing blended in the urban fabric. The typical form of residential accommodation developed to accommodate the increasing workforce was the **‘courée’** (or

courtyard), a long and narrow alleyway with two rows of narrow 2-room houses, built in the backyards located behind the terraced houses lining the main streets. Access to the *courées* was through a small entrance hardly visible from the main street. The *courées* had no individual water supply, bathroom or sewerage systems, just one common toilet and water well. The density reached up to 400 houses per hectare. The home comprised a shared downstairs room, with a tiny bedroom upstairs where the whole family would sleep. The *courées* were typically built by small landlords from the petty bourgeoisie (shopkeepers, farmers, renters...) who speculated on the back of the high demand for housing. There were 33 *courées* in Roubaix in 1851, 500 in 1871 and 1,324 in 1912 accommodating 50,000 people. Today 250 *courées* remain in Roubaix.



Besides the *courées*, the **residential urban fabric inherited from the 19th century** also included on-street small terraced houses and a large stock of medium-sized **terraced** houses for middle class employees (Paris and Stevens, 2000: 62). Initially the industrialists and their families lived in the inner city, close to their factories and to workers' housing. From the 1930s onwards, part of the industrial bourgeoisie left the city for surrounding towns and villas along the *Parc Barbieux*, the *Grand Boulevard*, Marcq and Croix.

The French socialist party was born in Roubaix and in 1892, Roubaix became the first socialist municipality in France. As a city, Roubaix became emblematic of a local policy of '**municipal socialism**' promoting various programmes and services for the welfare of the working class in cooperation with associations and trade-unions. The city was also influenced by the paternalistic '**social Catholicism**' of the industrial bourgeoisie. Both traditions are still felt in the city. Many **social policy experiments** in the fields of housing, hygiene and public health, sport education etc., which were later applied at national level, were born in the city in the first half of the 20th century. From its working class politics, the city has retained a very **dense network of co-operatives, associations and community organisations**, with more than 2,000 charities registered at the City Hall, one for every 50 inhabitants (Garbaye, 2000; Hainzelin and Cotte, 2003). Recent research thus stresses the high level of 'social capital' in the city (Neveu, 2003; Garbaye, 2000).

Garbaye (2000: 12) highlights the features of this '**distinctively Roubaisian**' political culture:

A 'distinctively Roubaisian structure is the heritage of the historic alliance between the Catholic industrialists of the city (*le patronat local*) and the Socialists, which in spite of their original antagonism joined forces during and after the second world war, first through co-operation in resistance operations against the Nazi occupation, then as a defensive alliance against the impressive popularity of the Communists in the city during the post-war years. This shifted the determinant cleavage in the city from a left/right cleavage to a Communists/Socialist and Centre Right coalition. The *Patronat* helped the Socialist council for various projects, most notably the creation in 1947 of the CIL (*Comité Interprofessionnel du Logement*), a semi-private institution designed to deal with the huge slum clearance problems faced by the city at that time (Giblin-Delvallet, 1990). From 1912 to 1983, the city was governed by the Socialists, but most of the time with the direct support of centre-right councillors. There was a brief interlude from 1977 to 1983 when a young Socialist mayor, Pierre Prouvost, replaced Provo and endeavoured to associate the Communists to power (as

part of the national *Union de la Gauche* programme). In 1983, however, he was soundly defeated by a charismatic centre-right senator, Pierre Diligent, who re-established the traditional, personalised, paternalistic and cross-cleavage style of government. (He had even co-operated with Provo's socialist majority as a Councillor in the 1970s.) He reached very high levels of popularity and he was easily re-elected in 1989; since 1995, he has been succeeded by his former heir, René Vandierendonck, who switched parties in 1997 from his centre-right UDF to Socialist, for complex reasons'.

Immigration has played a key role in the history of the city, with waves of migrant workers from Flanders, Portugal, Spain, Italy, and from the 1950s onwards, the Maghreb. The last wave of immigration, from Algeria, arrived as the textile industry started to collapse. In 1968, Roubaix's population was 13.7% foreign - in 1990, 16.8%. These successive migration waves have joined in the participative culture of the city and all have strong community organisations - the Polish community, for example, has its own radio station (Garbaye, 2000).

The Roubaix textile industry was at its apogee just before 1929. The 1929 crisis, and the disastrous impact of WWI on the North of France, hit it hard, but the sector partly recovered. In 1970, just before the major crisis of the textile industry started, the *Lainière de Roubaix* employed 15,800 workers and *Pierre & Jean Tiberghien* 3,350 workers – ranking among the top 25 textile companies in Europe.

The **crisis of the textile industry** started in the **early 1970s**, alongside the recession of the French economy. After three decades of sustained economic growth ('*Les Trente Glorieuses*'), France faced a sharp recession following the oil crisis of 1973-74. Economic growth slowed down; inflation rose sharply and unemployment started to increase to reach 6% nationally in the late 1970s. The French economy has never reached its post-war growth rate ever since. Between 1974 and 1998, unemployment increased constantly, except between 1987-90 and 1994-95 (Thelot and Marchand, 1997). The unemployment rate decreased between 1996 and 2001, and has since started to increase.

The whole Nord Pas de Calais region was massively hit by **deindustrialisation**. The Lille urban region lost 130,000 jobs in textile manufacturing between 1945 and 1996. In Roubaix, the extent of the collapse of the textile industry is illustrated in the table below. In total, since the 1970s 50,000 jobs have disappeared in the textile industry in Roubaix and Tourcoing.

Figure 3. Production (tons) and employment in the textile industry in Roubaix-Tourcoing [Source: Bonte, 2002: 320]

	1973	2000
Combing (tons)	110,000	34,000
Combed wool (tons)	110,000	16,000
Woven fabric (tons)	47,000	14,000
Jobs	54,000	8,000

The deindustrialisation process has not stopped, under the influence of high labour costs, unmatched competition from producers from Asia and Eastern Europe, lack of investment to develop more modern and sophisticated products and the high rate of the Euro (Dedieu, *L'Expansion*, 2004). In the early 2000s the textile and clothing sectors were still losing jobs (ADULM, 2004a: 3). *La Lainière* had 6,800 employees in the mid 1950s, producing 90 million tons of wool per year. It had 5,000 employees in 1982, 2,100 in 1989, 450 in 1996, and closed in January 2000, after 89 years of trading. In 2004 the wool combing factory *La Tossée* also closed after one hundred and fifty years. Between January 2003 and February 2004 the local manufacturing sector lost 3,600 jobs (Dedieu, *L'Expansion*, 2004). The distribution of jobs

between different sectors shows that the share of industrial employment keeps declining. But in spite of this trend, Roubaix **remains a key location for textile production** in France. The textile industry still employs 25,000 people in the region in 1,000 SMEs, including 7,000 people in Roubaix and Tourcoing (7% of national employment in textile manufacturing).

A number of local textile firms have **successfully managed to overcome the deindustrialisation wave** – turning to the **mail order business** (Roubaix invented mail order selling in 1928 with *La Redoute*) or **large scale retail**. Mail order employs 10,000 people in Roubaix and Tourcoing. It is worth noting that *Damart* and *La Redoute*, whose headquarters are in Roubaix, have major plants in Bradford.

Liefooghe (2005) demonstrates how Roubaix and Tourcoing are now home to a highly specialised **service cluster** based on the presence of France's major mail order companies and head offices of hypermarket chains (*Auchan*). This is underpinned by a large variety of knowledge intensive (and highly industry specific) business services working for the mail order firms: logistics, advertising, graphics, photo studios, packaging, printing, direct marketing, call centres, software and so on. The mail order firms and these producer services can be regarded as a localised 'cluster'. There is some evidence that this local cluster is also embedded in social, familial and professional networks. Liefooghe notes that location remains an important factor in this process: independent specialised service producers are able to work very closely with internal departments of the mail order firms in delivering these innovative services. The spatial concentration of the cluster is reinforced by the local presence of large retailer company headquarters which emerged out of the restructuring and closure of the regional textiles industry. The headquarters of firms such as *Auchan* have created a demand for specific producer services, such as advertising, printing, and call centres. Thus, firms in the local area are able to specialise in working for mail order firms and for retailers, which in turn creates an important set of incentives for innovation (Liefooghe, 2005).

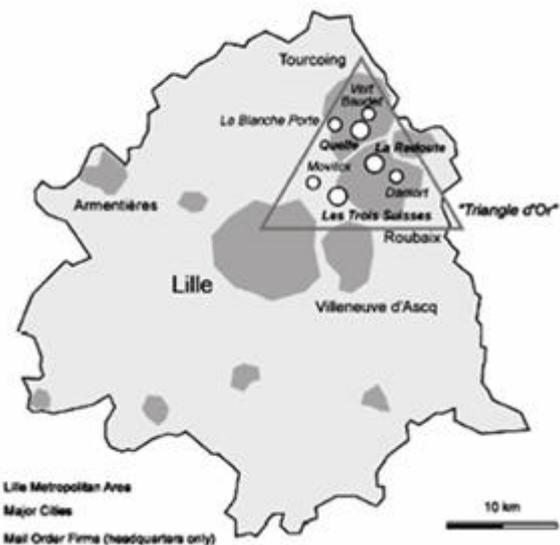


Figure 4. The 'Golden Triangle' of the distance selling industry [Source : Schulz et al., 2004]

However the 'casualties' of deindustrialisation, in particular migrant workers, did not benefit from the new expansion of the retail and service sector. Some workers have attempted to mobilise themselves to save their factory through a continuation of production in a co-operative form: in the *Terken* brewery, dissolved in 2004, 30 workers put their redundancy payments into a co-operative (Dedieu, *L'Expansion*, 2004). But for most factory workers closure has meant long-term unemployment, with few opportunities to find other manufacturing jobs.

Further, deindustrialisation and factory closures created many **small pockets of decay** (some with fine, but redundant, buildings) spread **throughout the city centre**, as many factories were located at the heart of the city, intertwined with residential neighbourhoods in a very dense urban fabric.

1.1.2 Challenges for urban, economic and social regeneration in Roubaix at the end of the 20th century

Collapse of the textile industry has caused an **economic crisis** (unemployment), an **urban crisis** (urban decay) and a **social crisis** (poverty, social exclusion and racism) – all of which have to be addressed simultaneously.

Unemployment rose and population fell as those with skills looked for jobs elsewhere. From 1982 the city kept losing population. Housing conditions deteriorated in the inner city. The **housing crisis** has been a major element in the decline of Roubaix, as the city inherited a poor, very dense housing stock from the rapid industrialisation of the 19th century. Roubaix's current 'housing problem' is therefore not so much related to post-war peripheral housing estates like other French cities (only the Alma neighbourhood has small tower blocks). The housing crisis concerns the privately rented housing stock, which is overall in a very bad condition. It is mostly occupied by households on low incomes - tenants or homeowners - who cannot invest into maintenance, repairs or improvements.



Retail also deserted the city centre, as small shops closed down one after the other. In the 1990s, in the inner city 30,000 m² of commercial floor space were lost (Paris and Stevens, 2000: 79). In the mid 1990s, the city centre was a **dead, unattractive and relatively unsafe area**, with very few retail and service opportunities left. The last cinema closed in 1998. The **inner city residential and commercial property markets collapsed**, similar to the areas of housing decline in the North of England. In 10 years (1990-2000) house prices in Roubaix fell by 50% in



relative terms in comparison with those in the centre of Lille. The collapse of retail as a consequence of the loss of traditional employment was much more dramatic than in Bradford. The **decline in the inner city retail and residential functions** also has to be related to the wider spatial dynamics taking place in the Lille urban region since the 1960s: residential '*péri-urbanisation*' (counterurbanisation), development of out-of-town shopping centres, location of new business parks in rural areas (Paris and Stevens, 2000: 215).

Old industrial workers and immigrants (especially from North Africa) who had been encouraged to come and work in the factories found themselves in poor housing conditions, long-term unemployment and with low prospects for mobility – a long-term spiral of deprivation which in many cases turned into **inter-generational poverty** due to poor educational achievements and discrimination.

The economic crisis and related mass unemployment fuelled the increased popularity of the National Front right wing **racist** party in Roubaix which views foreigners or their children, in particular Arabs, as scapegoats for a frustrating social situation. In 1983-84 the Front National (FN) gained 28% of the votes in the city. In 1989, the electorate of the FN pressured the two main parties into restricting the number of ethnic minorities on their candidates' lists (Garbaye, 2000). In the 1990s tensions were exacerbated by the rise in political Islamism among young, second-generation teenagers. A bomb plot against the G7 summit in Lille in 1996 (BBC News Website, 27.11.2001) was dismantled and its origin traced to Roubaix youngsters (the '*gang de Roubaix*'). This added to the negative image of the city. A book published in 1996, entitled 'The Roubaix Paradox (*Le Paradoxe de Roubaix*)' (Aziz, 1996) argued that Roubaix became the first city in France with a Muslim majority, and highlighted the paradox of a city in which an integrated second-generation immigrant elite lived side by side with a large group of excluded, poor Muslims living in ghetto neighbourhoods where radical Islam was increasing. The local press and local politicians reacted strongly against the inaccuracies, lack of rigour and clichés present in the book (Roussel, 1997), as it fuelled negative images of the city (Duprez and Hedli, 1992). At the 1995 local elections, increased pressure from ethnic minority leaders on the two main political parties secured an unprecedented level of ethnic minority representation in the City Council (Garbaye, 2000)¹.

The **municipality** had always been proactive in providing a **high level of local services** (social support, education, health) due to the influence of trade unions and workers' movements, but it could not prevent the spiral of deprivation in the city, caused by long-term unemployment, skills mismatch, social, cultural and material deprivation. The depressed housing market, together with relatively good local services, attracted poor people from surrounding towns and cities to settle in Roubaix, while people with jobs and the middle class, who could afford to, left the city. At present 2/3 households in the city are below the threshold for income tax liability; 33% benefit from free healthcare; and 1,000 families are monitored by the 'Children Protection Services' for cases of child abuse or lack of care. Paradoxically Roubaix and the surrounding towns also have the highest concentration of households subject to the specific French income tax applied to the richest households in the country (ISF – *Impôt sur la Fortune*), because of the presence of the old industrial families who have maintained their wealth in the mail order or retail sector (Baert, 2006, personal communication). A former Roubaix mayor ironically once pointed out that 'Roubaix is both the Bronx and the Fifth Avenue'.

In the 1980s, the mayor André Diligent, a Christian-democrat lawyer who won over the Socialists in 1983, tried to improve the image of the city, but the physical decline of the inner city continued as well as factory closures. The image of the city, both regionally and nationally, was extremely poor – it was considered one of the worst cities in France. At times nobody thought it would ever recover from its massive decline. However, in the 1980s, a small number of flagship projects emerged in the city, supported by central government funding: the *Archives du Monde du Travail* (Archives of the labour and trade union movement - see below) the *Eurotéléport* and the relocation of higher education institutions. Mayor André Diligent began to work more closely with the mayors of Tourcoing and Lille in the late 1980s and paved the way for a metropolitan development strategy at the scale of the city-region which took shape fully in the early 1990s.

¹ For a detailed comparison of French and British trajectories in terms of integration of ethnic minorities into local politics, see Garbaye, 2005.

To sum up, in the early 1990s, the urban regeneration challenges for the city of Roubaix were therefore:

- **recreating an economic base for the city following massive deindustrialisation;**
- **tackling the severe urban decay of the city centre and bringing retail back to the inner city;**
- **tackling the acute housing situation for the benefit of the local population and to attract new residents;**
- **linking economic development and investment in the city with employment and training opportunities for the local unemployed.**

Roubaix was exhibiting the same sorts of problems that were being felt in many old industrial towns in England, in particular Bradford. However it should be pointed out that Roubaix is one of only a comparatively few 'industrial cities' in France, as opposed to the UK in which the number of cities affected by massive deindustrialisation is much bigger.

In 1994, René Vandierendonck became the mayor of Roubaix, and gave a strong impetus to the regeneration of the city centre, in partnership with the Lille Metropolitan Authority (LMCU). Today, in 2006, the coordinated efforts of the past decade are starting to pay off and bring about visible results. The various components of the regeneration of the inner city of Roubaix and achievements to date are the focus of the next sections².

1.1.3 The current economic and employment situation in Roubaix

The paradox of Roubaix – more jobs than working age population...

The current '**paradox of Roubaix**' is that the city has the second largest number of jobs in the metropolitan area, offering **more jobs** than there are people of working age in the city (1.1 job for 1 working-age resident in 1999), but at the same time it has **the highest unemployment rate** of the metropolitan area (ADULM, 2004: 3). To summarise: there are plenty of jobs in the city, but there are plenty of unemployed people locally. The key problem is one of **inadequate match between supply and demand** and **skills mismatch**. In 2005 (figures given by the Head of Economic Development at the Roubaix City Council, interview, 27.03.2006), there were:

roughly 45,000 jobs in the city,

.... in part filled by 20,000 commuters living outside Roubaix,

... as well as 10,000 unemployed people in Roubaix + 10,000 people on the RMI (*Revenu Minimum d'Insertion* - minimum state benefit).

The number of employees in the private sector grew significantly in 1998-2000 (+ 1,000 jobs per year), then decreased slightly in 2000-2001. The business services, construction, transport, telecommunications and real estate sectors have been the most important source of job creation. The distribution of jobs between different sectors within private sector employment in 2001 was as follows:

- retail: 21%

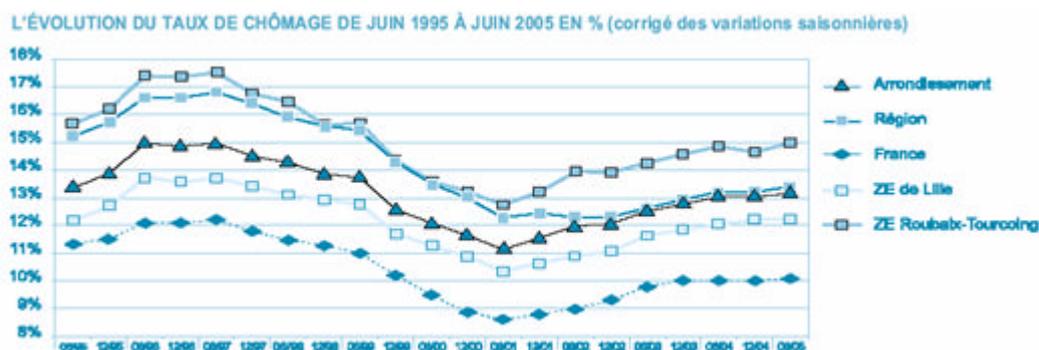
² A good overview of 50 years of social and urban policies in Roubaix is provided by the edited volume of David et al., 2006.

- business services: 18%
- construction: 9.3%, more than in the Lille metropolitan area
- consumption goods industry: 9%
- financial services: 8.6% (4.5% in the Lille metropolitan area)
- manufacturing: 17% (below the metropolitan average of 18.5%), against 22% in 1998).

... **but a high unemployment rate.**

In France the unemployment rate decreased between 1996 and 2001, and has started to increase again since. It has decreased a little since 2005, but in Roubaix the number of unemployed has kept falling (ADULM, 2004a: 4) over 2000-2003. At the end of 2005 the unemployment rate was 9.8% nationally and 13.3% in the Nord Pas de Calais Region. The tables below illustrate the overall changes in the unemployment rate in Roubaix compared with that of the Lille area, of the region and of France as a whole for the past 20 years. In 2002, Roubaix still had the highest unemployment rate in the urban region: 22.5% in Roubaix, 24% in the 'quartiers prioritaires' (ADULM, 2004b).

Figure 5. Unemployment rate between June 1995 and June 2005, in % [Source: ADULM, 2006a]



In 2004 a study on the employment situation in the Lille metropolitan area was produced by the Lille Métropole Urban Planning Agency, with a specific focus on monitoring progress in the most deprived neighbourhoods targeted by national priority programmes (ADULM, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c). This study gives a very detailed picture of the employment situation in Roubaix, as employment trends are monitored at the level of neighbourhoods of 5,000 inhabitants (ADULM, 2004b). This study will be updated in 2006 to document progress.

Unemployment rates in Roubaix reflect two processes:

- job loss because of the closure or downsizing of businesses for economic reasons;
- a high proportion of precarious, short-term contracts, which are accompanied by recurring periods of unemployment between contracts.

Unemployment patterns in Roubaix are characterised by the following features (ADULM, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c):

Young people under 25 are badly affected by unemployment.

- In 2000, in the Lille arrondissement, the rate of unemployment of young people below 25 reached 24.3%. In the *Quartiers Contrat de Ville* ('Priority Neighbourhoods') of Roubaix, this rate reached 30.1%.
- The reality of unemployment among young people is distorted by the fact that a small number of young unemployed are not registered with the ANPE (*Agence Nationale pour l'Emploi*, National employment office), according to the *Mission Locale*. Unemployment statistics in France are based upon formal registrations at the ANPE.

There are strong patterns of long-term unemployment.

- In 2000, more than 40% of unemployed people in the Priority Neighbourhoods had been looking for a job for more than one year, 21% for more than 2 years, and 14% for more than 3 years.

The local geography of unemployment in the city is uneven.

- Four neighbourhoods in particular are affected by extremely high unemployment rates (28%-32%): *l'Alma – Fosse aux Chênes, les Trois Ponts – Sartel – Carihem, le Pile, l'Hommelet*. Up to 40% of young people under 25 in *Le Pile* are unemployed.

There are high rates of unemployment among foreigners.

- In 2002, the proportion of foreign workers among the unemployed was high in Roubaix: 24.5% versus 13.4% in the Lille arrondissement..
- The unemployment rate among foreign workers was 26% in Roubaix.
- Unlike the general trend, the number of unemployed foreign workers decreased in 2000-2003.

There is a high proportion of low educational/qualification levels among the unemployed population.

- One third of the unemployed in the Lille arrondissement do not have any qualifications³, but up to 40-50% in some parts of Roubaix. However their number kept decreasing between 1998 and 2003.
- In 2002, the share of unskilled workers without qualifications among the unemployed was high: 41.5% in Roubaix against 33.3% in the Lille arrondissement.
- In the *Pile* neighbourhood, 48% of unemployed have no degree or school qualification whatsoever.
- In 2002, there were 3.3 candidates for every job offer for skilled manual workers.

Women are particularly affected by non activity or unemployment.

- The activity rate among women is low: 27.3% in the *Pile* neighbourhood, for example.

Besides unemployment, there is an increase in 'precarious' or insecure work contracts

- In the early 2000s, the number of temporary contracts increased (+32% per year, versus +5.7% in Lille). These are often associated with precarious working practices: unusual shifts, part-time etc. and are frequently within the security, retail, cleaning sectors.

³ Not even a high school certificate.

1.2 Roubaix in its wider context: urban change and regeneration in the Lille metropolitan area since 1989

Roubaix is part of a **polycentric urban region** and its present and future development cannot be understood in isolation from the political and economic dynamics of the wider urban region. We will therefore set the **context** for the economic and urban regeneration of the Lille metropolitan area as a whole before focusing on the trajectory of Roubaix as such. In this report, we use the term 'metropolitan area' to describe the territory of the Lille city-region covered by the strategic authority called *Lille Métropole Communauté Urbaine* (LMCU, previously called CUDL, *Communauté Urbaine de Lille*), which is described below.

Historically the structuring of the metropolitan area into a coherent urban region started with the construction of a 14 km long '*Grand Boulevard*' linking Lille with Roubaix and Tourcoing, which included a tram line, the *Mongy*, opened in 1911. The urban fabric of Roubaix and Tourcoing physically 'merged' at the end of the 19th century, whilst a continuous urbanization between Roubaix-Tourcoing and Lille was achieved in the early 1960s (Paris and Stevens, 2000: 51).

The term '**conurbation**' coined by Patrick Geddes in 1915 (*Cities in Evolution*) was therefore applied to the Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing area from the 1960s onwards (Paris and Stevens, 2000: 16), to describe the result of a process of organic growth of individual urban centres eventually merging into a complex polycentric urban system. For a number of geographers, this new urban form was similar to the urbanization pattern of the north of England. In 1968 the national statistics institute (INSEE - *Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques*) decided to merge the towns of Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing into one agglomeration for statistical purposes.

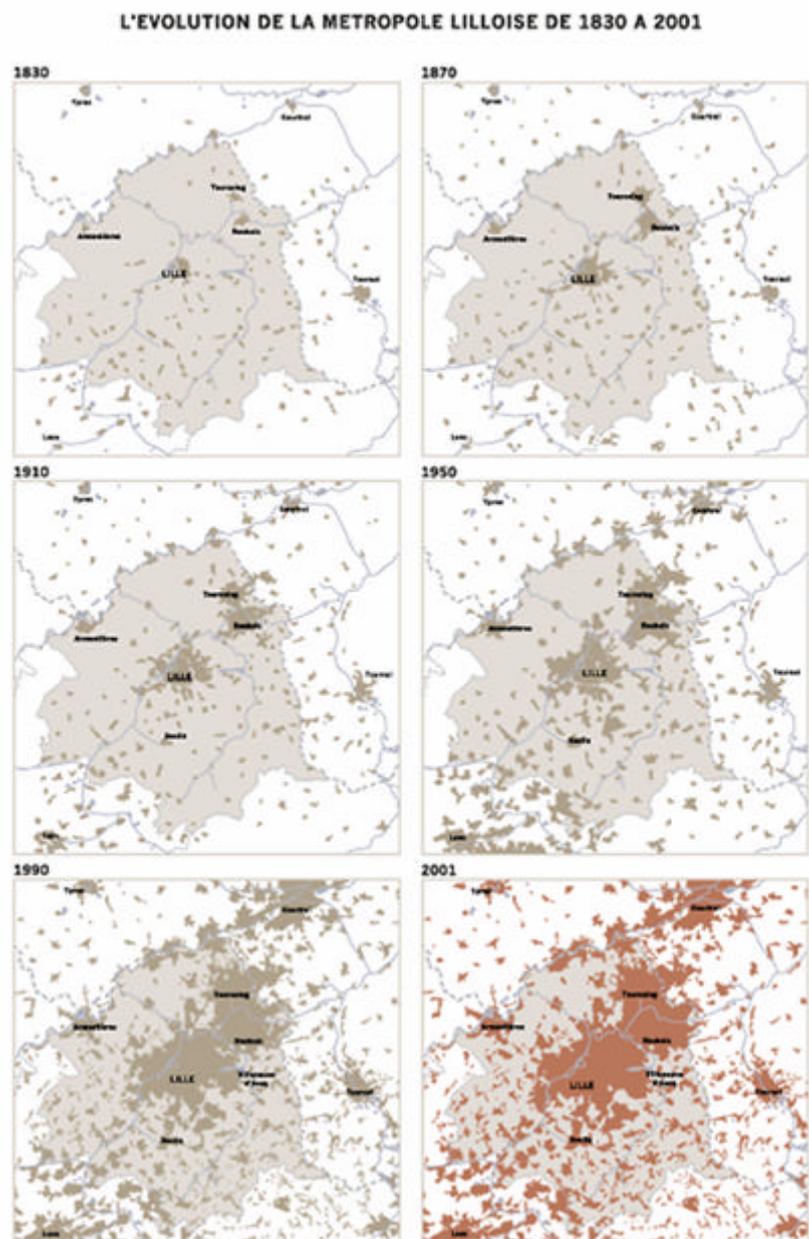


Figure 6. Evolution of the urban fabric of the Lille metropolitan area, 1830-2201 [Source: Schéma Directeur, 2002, online at <http://www.lille-metropole-2015.org/schemdir/pages/cartes.htm>]

1.2.1 The Lille metropolitan area in France and in Europe

The Lille conurbation is located in the Nord-Pas-de-Calais region which has 4 million inhabitants. In demographic terms, it is a young (36.77 % of the population is less than 25 years old, as opposed to the nation-wide average of 32.4 %), densely populated (321.41 inhabitants/km² – 2nd rank among French regions) and very urbanised region (86 % of the population is urban) through a dense network of medium-sized cities.

The conurbation is defined as an urban region in which there is more or less continuous urbanisation around several centres. There are various definitions of the Lille conurbation⁴:

- The core of the Lille conurbation comprises 4 major cities: the city of **Lille** itself (182,000 inhabitants), the historical capital of Flanders; the cities of **Roubaix** and **Tourcoing** (which became major industrial cities in the 19th century), and **Villeneuve d'Ascq** (a New Town created between the end of the 1960s and the early 1980s).
- The **Communauté Urbaine de Lille (LMCU – formerly CUDL)**, a new tier of local government created in 1966, includes the four major cities of Lille, Roubaix, Tourcoing and Villeneuve d'Ascq as well as 81 smaller municipalities (**85 municipalities**, total 1,091,438 inhabitants in 1999). The **Communauté Urbaine** is the fourth largest agglomeration in France after Paris, Lyon and Marseille. It is roughly the same size as Leeds and Bradford combined. In this report this tier of government is referred to as LMCU (*Lille Métropole Communauté Urbaine*).
- The 'Arrondissement' of Lille comprises 125 municipalities (1,153,000 people).
- In functional terms it also makes sense to include the five Belgian cities located just across the border in the definition of the Lille conurbation (Comines, Ieper/Ypres, Kortrijk/Courtrai, Mouscron, and Tournai, altogether 700,000 inhabitants), since there is **continuous** urbanization on both side of the border, a number of bi-national towns and very strong patterns of economic and social relationships across the border, including formal co-operation agreements. If these Belgian towns are included, the Lille conurbation has 1.9 million inhabitants. It is the first bi-national conurbation in Europe.

The Lille metropolitan area displays a number of **features which are quite specific in the French context** (ADULM, 2006b):

- a cross-border dimension;
- a polycentric, heterogeneous urban structure;
- an urbanization pattern strongly influenced by the Industrial Revolution;
- a fragmentation of power in many small local authorities and a relative weakness of the core city (which only represents 1/5 of the total population).

The Lille metropolitan area is therefore **similar**, in many ways, to polycentric **industrial urban regions such as the Midlands** in the UK or the Ruhr area in Germany.

⁴ See Paris, 2002 (reproduced in Paris, 2007: 26) for a good discussion and overview of the various scales and definitions of the Lille metropolitan area.

Like other French urban regions, it was confronted with suburbanisation and counterurbanisation processes from the 1960s onwards. Old residential neighbourhoods in the inner cities started to get poorer, a trend reinforced by the impact of deindustrialisation, leading to concentrations of deprivation. Another feature of the urban geography of the Lille urban region is that, unlike most other big French cities, it does not have so many *'banlieues'* (peripheral post-war housing estates): deprived, problematic areas are mostly located in the inner cities, similar to the situation facing many English cities.

In geographic terms, the Lille metropolitan region is located at the heart of North-West Europe, at the exact core of the **Paris – London – Ranstad triangle** (250 km from each). It is 100 km away from Brussels. There are 100 million Europeans (Germans, Belgians, British, French, Luxembourgers and Dutch) within a radius of 350km around Lille. The city-region is at the heart of a dense hub of transport networks:

Motorways:

A1 (E17) Lille – Paris; A27 (E42) Lille – Brussels; A23 Lille - Valenciennes - Mons – Aachen; A25 (E42) Lille – Dunkirk; A22 (E14) Lille - Gent - Antwerp – Amsterdam; A26 (E15) Lyon – Lille – Calais – London.

Airports:

Airport of Lille-Lesquin (mostly national destinations and a few regular international destinations); airport of Paris Roissy - Charles de Gaulle (1st French airport), 55 minutes away from Lille by TGV (High-Speed Train); airport of Brussels – Zaventem, 1 hour away by the A27 motorway.

Rail:

Lille is a major node on the European and French high speed train network: Eurostar to London – Ashford - Lille – Brussels (1h40 to London, 1h20 from 2007; 37 minutes to Brussels); Thalys Paris – Lille – Brussels – Amsterdam; TGV Lille-Paris (1h) every half hour; TGV Lille-Lyon (3h).

Inland waterways:

The river port of Lille is the 3rd largest inland port in France - an effective rear base for major North West European ports. The containers terminal is directly linked with Dunkirk, Le Havre, Zeebrugge, Antwerp and Rotterdam via multimodal transport networks, including a large clearance waterway (1,350 t) towards Dunkirk and the Scheldt river + the future Canal Seine-Nord.

Freight and logistics:

The city-region boasts an international transport centre (Roncq, East of Tourcoing) and a multimodal platform in Douges.

1.2.2 The economic context

During the Industrial Revolution, the *Nord-Pas-de-Calais* region became the leading industrial manufacturing region in France, alongside *Lorraine*. The *'Bassin Minier'* (in the southern part of the region) was the heart of French coalmining and steel production, whilst the Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing conurbation was the leading French centre for the **textile industry** (cotton / wool). Within the Lille conurbation itself, the north-eastern area (Roubaix-Tourcoing) traditionally had the highest concentration of manufacturing industries.

From the 1970s onwards, like its British counterparts, the Nord-Pas-de-Calais region has been extremely affected by a process of **deindustrialisation** triggered by the oil crises and increasing international competition. There have been massive job losses in the manufacturing sector in the 1980s and 1990s - the coalmining industry is now totally defunct and the textile industry considerably downsized. The increase in the service sector, particularly in the Lille conurbation, has not offset the job losses in the manufacturing sector, and unemployment rates are still very high in some parts of the region (Loréal et al., 1996). At the regional level, the tertiary sector now represents 68% of jobs and industry 23%, mirroring the national structure of the economy in France.

The Lille conurbation now has **a highly diversified economy** and a working population of 500,000 people. The key economic sectors in Lille Métropole are listed in the table below.

Key economic sectors in Lille Métropole

An industrial sector which is still significant at the national scale, particularly in five key sectors:

- France's leading textile region (textiles aimed at various areas: protection, sports, leisure, medical, building, transport, defence, agriculture) – the sector still has 9,000 jobs in 130 companies exporting approximately 1/3 of their production (*Achille Bayart, Cousin Trestec, Dewavrin, Dickson Constant, DMC, Doublet, Frémaux, Hacot-Colombier, Nydel, Pronal, Tarkett Sommer...*).
- 2nd national rank for printing/publishing: the paper industry represents 13.5 % of national production.
- 3rd national rank for mechanical and electrical industries (*Autinor, Dassault Aviation...*).
- 3rd national rank for chemical & pharmaceutical industry (*Anios, Agfa Gevaert, Boiron, Diagast, DSM Gist France, Pennel et Flipo, Rhodia, Sarbec Cosmetics, Schering...*).
- 3rd national rank for the food processing industry (*Altadis, Bonduelle, Bouquet d'Or, Caby, Cerestar, Heineken, Holder, Interbrew, Kraft Food, Lamy Lutti, Lesaffre, Pelforth, La Pie Qui Chante...*).

A dynamic retail sector of national significance:

- 1st European centre for mail order sales: Roubaix - Tourcoing account for 65% of the national employment in this sector (*La Redoute - Redcats, 3 Suisses, Afibel, Bernard S.A., La Blanche Porte, Cyrillus, Damart, Daxon, Quelle, Vert Baudet, Willemse France...*).
- Headquarters of some major French retail companies (supermarkets *Auchan*; restaurants *Flunch, Pizza Paï, Amarine*; DIY chain *Castorama*; sports equipment *Décathlon*; clothing brands *Camaïeu, Kiabi, Phildar, Pimkie, Promod...*).
- Over 6,000 retail stores distributed over Lille Metropole - 4th rank in France, with over 50,000 m² of factory outlet stores specialising in bargain sales (*L'Usine, Mac Arthur Glen...*), mostly in Roubaix.
- France's first tele-marketing region.
- France's second-ranking M.I.N. (*Marché d'intérêt National* - wholesale food and agricultural market for supplying the catering industry) after Rungis (Paris).

A dynamic service sector – in particular in the finance, insurance and IT sectors:

- Greater Lille has 689 company Head Offices employing more than 50 employees each.
- Outside Paris, Lille is the 2nd regional city in France for banking and insurance functions 60 banks, 450 bank branches, 80 credit establishments, 13 foreign banks, 6 insurance companies' headquarters including *La Mondiale, Swiss Life France-Lloyd Continental...* and insurance brokers (*Gras Savoye, AGF-La lilloise, Verspieren...*). It is one of the the top European centres for consumer credit financing (*Banque Accord, Cofidis, Finaref...*) and mortgages (*Abbey National*).
- It is a centre for E-business with a complete chain of subcontractors and service companies (*Belgacom, Goto Informatique, Nordnet, Sun Microsystems, 3 Com US Robotics*) as well as express delivery companies *DHL, Dubois, TNT, UPS*). The Eurotéléport of Roubaix is an international telecommunication centre targeted at firms and research centres.

- The ICT sector employs nearly 25,000 people in the region.

Logistics:

- Second region in France for its logistics activity: presence of the major transport companies, European logistics centres and major regional distribution groups. Numerous express carriers.
- 1,000 ha dedicated to logistics activities.

A lively higher education sector:

- 3rd university city in France: 4 universities, 20 higher education institutions, about 100,000 students and researchers (concentration of university and high-tech research functions in Villeneuve d'Ascq).
 - 5 business and management schools and 13 engineering schools training over 3,000 graduates each year, representing 10% of the national total: agri-food, chemistry, building, electronics, civil and mechanical engineering and industrial IT, health, telecom, textiles...
 - Specialized HE institutions: *École supérieure de journalisme* (Lille School of Journalism) - the first to be founded in France, *École d'architecture* (School of Architecture), *Institut d'Études Politiques* (Institute of Political Sciences), *Institut d'administration des entreprises* (Institute of Business Administration)
- Unique in France: *Studio National des arts contemporains* (National Studio for Contemporary Arts), in Le Fresnoy, both a centre for creation and a public arts and audio-visual educational institution.

An increasingly significant tourism sector:

- In 2002: 2.12 million people have stayed in Lille Métropole.
- Impact of Lille 2004 European Capital of Culture: 7 million visitors in 2004!
- The 'Grande Braderie', an annual city-wide flea market, attracts 2 million visitors over 2 days.
- Many other cultural events and a highly diverse set of cultural institutions (opera, museums, theatres etc...)

[Source: various, compiled by the author]

1.2.3 Institutional context

Tiers of government and forms of cooperation

The city of Roubaix is part of a **multi-level institutional setting** in which different tiers of government have different spheres of responsibility (*compétences*). The table below provides an overview of the French institutional structure with a particular focus on the Lille Métropole city region, from the city itself (*commune*) to the EU (a major provider of funding in the region). A particularly important actor in the urban regeneration and economic development strategy of the city-region, besides the individual communes themselves, is the **Communauté Urbaine (LMCU)**, an intercommunal co-operative body with investment-related responsibilities transferred from its 87 individual member municipalities. Its role is highlighted below in Section 1.2.4.

Table 1. Tiers of government in France, with reference to the Lille/Roubaix metropolitan area [Source : compiled by author]

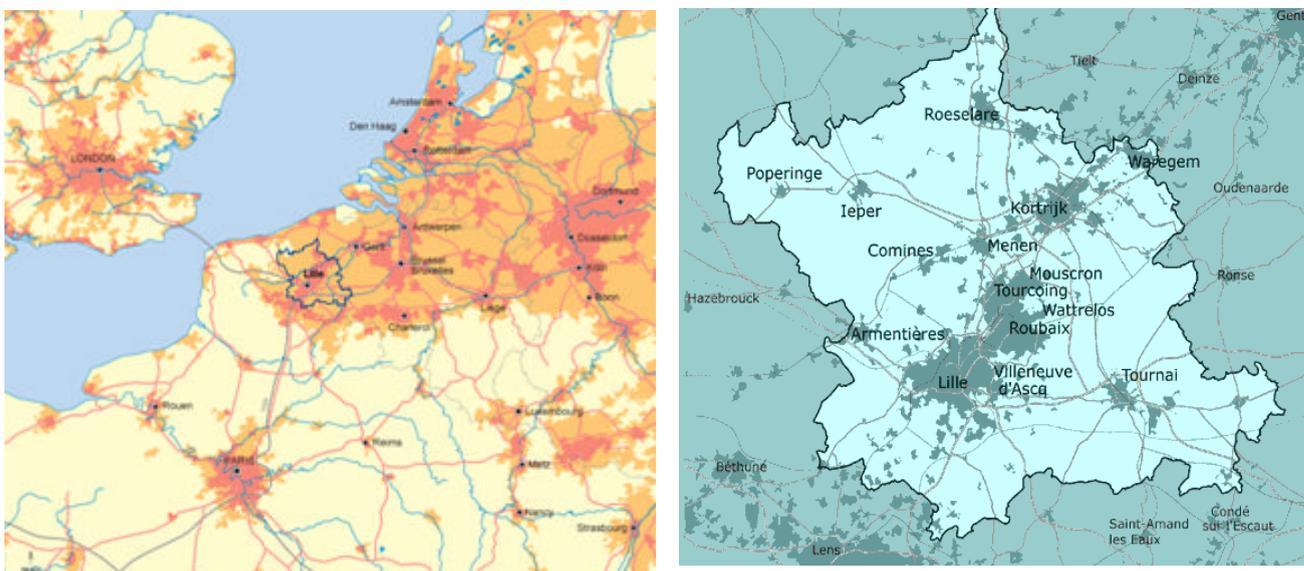
Tiers of government in France	Political authority	Responsibilities (<i>Compétences</i>)
<p>COMMUNE (36,559 communes or municipalities in France)</p> <p>Ville de Roubaix Current mayor: René Vandierendonck (Centre), since 1994</p> <p>(Ville de Lille, Ville de Tourcoing, etc...)</p>	<p>Municipal Council and Mayor elected every 6 years.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of local infrastructure facilities and services (including housing) • Primary school facilities • Urban regeneration • Economic development (partly) • Control of land-use and development
<p>COMMUNAUTÉ DE COMMUNES</p> <p>Lille Métropole Communauté Urbaine (LMCU), formerly known as Communauté Urbaine de Lille (CUDL) President: Pierre Mauroy</p> <p>To tackle the fragmentation of local power into 36,000 municipalities across France, national legislation has encouraged the creation of intercommunal cooperation entities and metropolitan authorities of various kinds for the provision of services and infrastructure. This has led to a complex system of intercommunal cooperation schemes across the country. In 2002, ¾ of all French communes were part of an intercommunal cooperation body. In the Lille metropolitan region, in 1966 87 communes, among which the cities of Lille, Roubaix and Tourcoing, were required by central government to establish a new type of ‘metropolitan authority’ (<i>Communauté Urbaine</i>). There are 14 of these in France. The reason behind this was the desire to stimulate the economic development of major metropolises in various parts of France, as part of a broad national planning policy agenda aimed at counterbalancing the weight of Paris on the French territory.</p>	<p>A public body led by an assembly of 170 local councillors selected by the individual councils of the 85 member municipalities.</p> <p>The 85 communes of LMCU have 1.1m inhabitants. It includes very small, rural towns (the smallest has 179 inhabitants). The biggest local authority in the LMCU is the city of Lille.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The initial objective of LMCU was the planning, co-ordination and management of key public services at the metropolitan scale, rather than in 87 individual local authorities. • A number of (investment-related) competences previously in the hands of 87 individual municipalities were thus transferred to LMCU. • LMCU has a much bigger investment capacity than individual municipalities, with its resources levied from local taxes and central government grants: in 2005, it had a budget of 1.4 billion euros, 73% of which went to investments. It has 2,314 staff [LMCU website]. <p><u>Responsibilities:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public transport, waste management, water supply, street and traffic management. • Since 1989: strategic spatial planning, urban regeneration. • Since 2002: economic development (shared with individual cities), cultural and sports equipments, major cultural events, environment. • Since 2005: strategic housing renewal and provision. <p>Many of these responsibilities are shared with the individual local authorities (<i>Communes</i>).</p>

<p>DÉPARTEMENT (96 départements in mainland France)</p> <p><i>Conseil Général du Nord</i></p>	<p><i>Conseil Général</i>, comprising an elected assembly and a President, elected every 6 years.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial cohesion between communes • Allocation of social benefits • Protection of the environment • Secondary education facilities (<i>collèges</i>)
<p>RÉGION (22 régions, turned into elected tiers of government in 1982)</p> <p><i>Conseil Régional Nord Pas- de-Calais</i></p>	<p><i>Conseil Régional</i>, made of an elected regional assembly and a President, elected every 5 years.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic development and regional spatial planning • Secondary education facilities (<i>lycées</i>) • Vocational training <p>Since 1982, cooperation between the central State and the regional tier of government has taken the shape of a legal system of ‘<i>contractualisation</i>’, whereby the State negotiates a multi-annual framework convention with a region (<i>Contrats de Plans Etat-Région</i>) which channel public investments on various strategic priorities. These agreements have significantly enhanced the spatial and economic planning role of regions.</p>
<p>ÉTAT (Central Government and central administration)</p> <p>‘Deconcentrated’ services in charge of implementing and coordinating State policies in the regions and departments: the Préfecture de Région and the Préfecture de Département (Government Offices for the <i>Région/Département</i>). The highest ranking official in these is the <i>Préfet</i>, the highest representative of the State in the regions.</p>	<p>National Parliament: <i>Assemblée Nationale</i>, elected directly every 5 years; <i>Sénat</i>, elected (indirect election 6 years).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mainly responsible for economic, social and employment policy. • Until 1982, the State had a nearly exclusive responsibility for ‘<i>aménagement du territoire</i>’ (strategic spatial planning). Since 1982, this area is a shared competence between central government and regions. • The State still plays the leading role in defining the guiding principles and major infrastructure for the future spatial development of the French territory: transport, telecommunications, research and higher education. • It ensures solidarity between regions through national financing schemes and the provision of public infrastructure.
<p>EUROPEAN UNION</p> <p>EU Structural Funds in the regions.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roubaix is located in an Objective 2 area (2000-2006 programming period) as well as in two INTERREG IIIA eligible areas, one INTERREG IIIB and one INTERREG IIIC area. It was also part of URBAN II. As such it received funding from the EU Structural Funds.

Besides the formal tiers of government listed above, there are other **informal co-operative structures** which also influence the governance of the wider city-region of which Roubaix is a part:

- Since 1991, 5 intercommunal organisations from France, Wallonia and Flanders have engaged in cross-border co-operation through a body called the COPIT-GPCI, or Cross-border Standing Conference of Inter-municipal Organisations⁵, although most operational decisions remain within a national or regional framework. Cross-border cooperation was recently reinforced with the official creation, in March 2007, of a 'Eurodistrict' with reinforced powers⁶.

Figure 7. The territory covered by the Cross-border Standing Conference of Inter-municipal Organisations (COPIT) [Source: <http://www.grootstad.org/>]



- The recently set up 'Aire de coopération métropolitaine' (zone of metropolitan cooperation) was set up as a response to a 2005 call for proposals of the *Délégation à l'aménagement du territoire et à l'action régionale* (DATAR) the French national spatial planning agency⁷, to encourage metropolitan cooperation between local authorities at a wide scale (wider than the existing territory of the LMCU). The Lille co-operation project includes Belgian cities as well as the former coalmining area south of Lille: the area totals 3.5 million inhabitants. A number of cooperation projects in the field of transport; green spaces; water management; knowledge and the creative city; and sustainable urban planning, are being developed cooperatively by various partners in the 'Aire Métropolitaine'.⁸

⁵ See <http://www.grootstad.org/> for a description of the scope and projects of the COPIT.

⁶ See http://www.lillemetropole.fr/index.php?p=624&art_id=

⁷ See <http://www.diact.gouv.fr>

⁸ See http://www.lillemetropole.fr/index.php?p=549&art_id= and Paris, 2007.

Figure 8. 'Aire de Coopération Métropolitaine' of Lille (2005 stand) [Source : http://www.lillemetropole.fr/index.php?p=549&art_id]



Multiple political office holding is a French peculiarity. MPs are often mayors or members of Regional or Departmental Councils. In the Lille metropolitan region, Pierre Mauroy, former mayor of Lille, since 1989 President of the LMCU, was a former Prime Minister in the early 1980s. There is therefore no traditional 'division' in France between the national and local political systems, but a very strong mutual influence instead, which can serve the interests of a particular area, as it undoubtedly has in Lille. There are close relationships between the executive in local authorities and the state representatives in the region (*Préfets* and other deconcentrated government offices). In local authorities, there are no strong divisions between political and administrative duties.

Sources of funding for local authorities in France⁹

The share of Local Authority spending as a proportion of the GDP is similar in France and in the UK: 9.9% in France and 9.5% in the UK in 2000. This amounted to 2,251 € per inhabitant, 61% spent by municipalities, 29% by *départements* and 10% by regions. The total amount of

⁹ In this section, the term 'local authorities' comprises *regions*, *départements* and *communes* unless otherwise stated.

(compulsory) local taxes levied by French Local Authorities in 2000 represented 5.2% of the GDP and 11.5% of all taxes levied in France.

In 2004, all local authorities (*régions, départements, communes*) had a total income of 152.6 billion €, of which:

- 69 billion € from taxes (local taxes 47.2 billion € / indirect taxes 26.3 billion €)
- 4.3 billion € from redistributive arrangements from tax income
- 39.7 billion € of transfers (35.4 billion € from central government).

Communes had a total income of 81.7 billion € of which:

- 36.5 billion € from taxes (local taxes 24 billion € / indirect taxes 12.6 billion €)
- 2.8 billion € from redistributive arrangements from tax income
- 18 billion € of transfers from central government.

[All figures from Observatoire des Finances Locales, 2005]

This means that for towns and cities, a bit less than **50%** of funding comes from **local taxes** and **25 %** from **central government**. The following table provides a detailed overview of the sources of funding of local authorities in France.

Table 2. Sources of funding for local authorities in France [compiled by author, using information from Observatoire des Finances Locales, 2005]

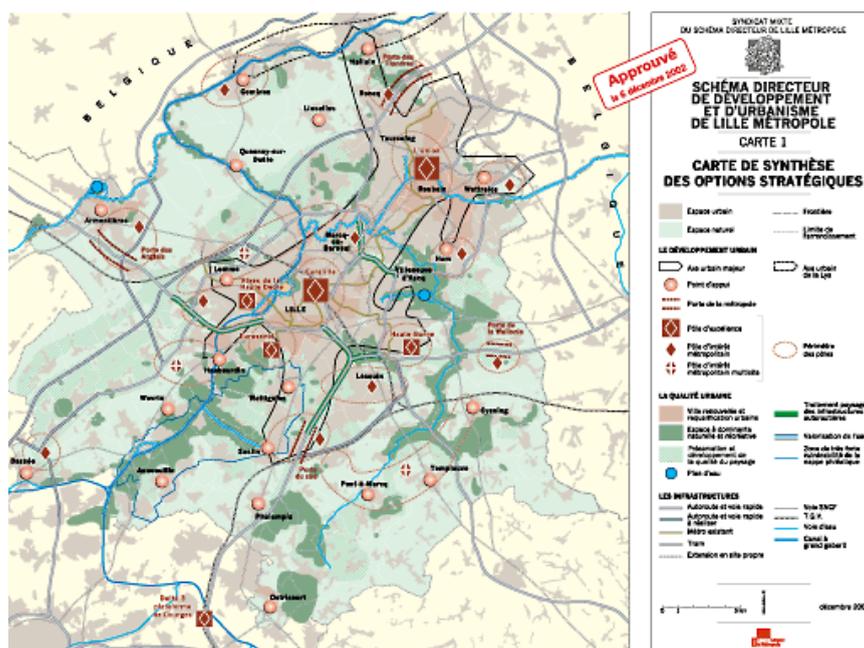
Local Taxes	<p>A total of 40 local taxes... some direct, some indirect... some compulsory, some not.</p> <p><u>Direct taxes:</u> The communes can raise four local taxes, some of which can be granted to inter-communal cooperation organisations such as the <i>Communauté Urbaine</i>, in the case of Lille/Roubaix:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Taxe foncière sur les propriétés bâties</i> (tax on built-up land): 28 % of total income generated by direct taxes - <i>Taxe foncière sur les propriétés non bâties</i> (tax on non-built land) : 1,7 % of total income generated by direct taxes - <i>Taxe d'habitation</i> (Housing Tax, similar to the UK Council Tax) : 25% of total income generated by direct taxes - <i>Taxe professionnelle</i> (Payroll Tax paid by businesses) : 47 % of total income generated by direct taxes <p>Traditionally each commune used to set its own level of <i>taxe professionnelle</i>, which led to competition between communes to attract investors. Recent legislation (<i>Loi Chevènement</i> 1999) has reduced the significant differences in levels of <i>taxe professionnelle</i> and removed the competitive advantages from individual communes by introducing single tax rates for conurbations and other groupings of local authorities (Green, 2001). This has been the case in the Lille metropolitan area where there is now a uniform rate of <i>taxe professionnelle</i> across the 85 communes of LMCU.</p> <p>Other direct local taxes: tax on waste disposal or street cleaning...</p> <p>A system of '<i>péréquation</i>' (redistribution of incomes generated by <i>taxe professionnelle</i> to compensate for major inequalities between communes i.e. equalisation) exists. That system is organized and managed at different tiers - department or entire country. There is also a system of redistribution between regions to cater for inter-regional disparities.</p> <p><u>Indirect taxes:</u> 28 taxes, most of which generate a very small income. 5 are key, representing 85% of indirect tax income in 1999: <i>taxe départementale de publicité foncière et le droit d'enregistrement, la vignette automobile</i> (suppressed in 2000), <i>taxe sur l'électricité, taxe additionnelle aux droits de mutation, taxe sur les cartes grises.</i></p>
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Subsidies and grants from central government	Total grants from Central Government to local authorities in 2001 amounted to 52b€. These are: - 'dotations générales de fonctionnement' (general allowance for running costs). For <i>communes</i> , this allowance is proportional to the number of inhabitants complemented by a redistributive mechanism depending on a number of factors such as proportion of social housing, school children ... - 'dotations globales d'équipement' (investment allowance) for <i>communes</i> of less than 20,000 inhabitants and for <i>départements</i> .
Loans	According to the legislation governing the organization of local government in France (<i>Code général des collectivités territoriales</i>), local authorities at all tiers can freely borrow money in order to finance investments only, from any financial institution established within the EU. The main lenders in France are the Crédit local de France – Dexia, the Caisses d'épargne and Crédit agricole. Local authorities cannot open a bank account and their savings are not subject to interest payment.

The local planning system: strategic spatial development plans and local plans

The strategic spatial planning level is that of the city-region defined as the 'Arrondissement' (126 communes, 1.2m inhabitants over 885 km²). A metropolitan plan, expressed as the **Schéma Directeur**, is drawn up jointly by the *communes* on the basis of a common economic development and spatial planning interest. The *Schéma Directeur* is a forward-looking planning document defining development guidelines, broad land uses and location of major infrastructure (Syndicat Mixte, 2002). It is not legally binding on developers, but has to be complied with by other planning documents at the lower level (the PLU, **Plans Locaux d'Urbanisme** or local plans, which have replaced the *Plans d'Occupation des Sols* – old POS - since 2000). The *Schémas Directeurs* will be gradually replaced by the new SCOT (*Schémas de Cohérence Territoriale*, law of 2000), which will act as framework documents for all policies relating to the territory of a metropolitan area. The current **Schéma Directeur** for the Lille City-Region was approved in 2002 (available at <http://www.lille-metropole-2015.org/schemdir/index.htm>). It defines a series of polycentric economic growth nodes in the metropolitan areas, as illustrated in Figure 9.

Figure 9. Overall strategic plan, Schéma Schéma Directeur de Développement et d'Urbanisme de Lille Métropole, showing economic 'growth nodes' throughout the city-region [Source: Schéma Directeur, 2002, online at <http://www.lille-metropole-2015.org/schemdir/pages/cartes.htm>]



The local plans (PLU), which define detailed land use and building restrictions and key urban regeneration options, are legally binding on property interests, and form the basis for development control. Communes have at their disposal traditional tools for intervention on land use for the public interest e.g. compulsory purchase after a declaration of public interest, and pre-emption rights.

Communes and intercommunal entities are responsible for urban policy initiatives of various kinds, in partnership with the central State. Traditional instruments for urban development schemes led by the public sector are:

- ZAC (*Zone d'Aménagement Concertée*): standard designation to plan a development scheme led by the public sector.
- SEM (*Société d'Economie Mixte*, semi-public company) for management of urban redevelopment / regeneration schemes.
- *Etablissement Public Foncier* (public agency with a commercial character focusing on land assembly and development - an instrument for urban development projects).

1.2.4 A successful metropolitan regeneration at the city-region level?

As highlighted in Section 1.2.3 above, the strategic authority for the Lille conurbation is the *Communauté Urbaine* (LMCU) which brings together the 85 cities and smaller towns which make up the Lille urban region. Between its creation in 1966 and until 1989, LMCU largely played a **technical role**, focusing on street and infrastructure management and heavily influenced by the politics of small towns. It was only in 1989, under the leadership of Pierre Mauroy and following the emergence of a consensus between the mayors of the 4 big cities, that LMCU started to play a **strategic role** in developing a vision for **economic development and urban regeneration across the metropolitan region** (for an overview of the historical evolution of LMCU see LMCU, 1998).

Since 1989, the *Communauté Urbaine* has led a proactive strategy of development and regeneration to tackle major economic and urban problems and put 'Lille Métropole' on the European stage. This strategy has incorporated several elements which are described below. The success of the regeneration of 'Lille Métropole' **as a city-region** provides the **context** in which the regeneration of the city of Roubaix was made possible. It is therefore crucial to understand the key factors explaining the recent trajectory of 'Lille Métropole' before focusing on developments in Roubaix.

The development of an innovative and comprehensive network of urban transport

The public transport network is the responsibility of the LMCU, while streets and roads are within the remit of individual municipalities. The LMCU pioneered, in the late 1970s, the design and construction of the first automated, driverless metro system in the world: the V.A.L. (Light Automatic Vehicle). The first line opened in 1983 and attracted 100 million passengers by 1987. The construction of the second line linking Lille with Roubaix and Tourcoing was launched in the early 1990s and completed in 1999: the 32 km line is the longest metro line in the world. The metro, linking the four major cities of Lille, Roubaix, Tourcoing and Villeneuve d'Ascq, became the symbol of the polycentric conurbation. The Métro system carries 74 million trips per year

(2004 figure). The VAL metro system has since then been adopted in Taipei, Chicago, and other French cities such as Toulouse.

In addition, the old tramway system has also been modernised into a 22 km tram line linking Lille, Roubaix and Tourcoing. *Lille Métropole* also has 89 urban and suburban bus lines including 8 cross border routes. Roubaix now has 6 tube stations and 6 tram stops. It takes 20 minutes to go from the centre of Roubaix to the centre of Lille.

The metro, trams and buses serve the international and local railway stations. The huge investment required was funded mainly through a payroll tax on employers.

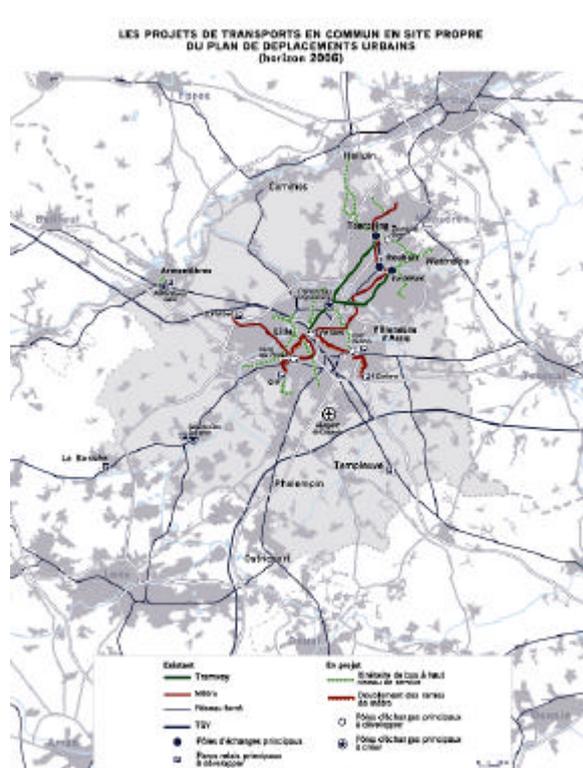


Figure 10. Public transport network in the Lille metropolitan area by 2006 [Source: Schéma Directeur, 2002, online at <http://www.lille-metropole-2015.org/schemdir/pages/cartes.htm>]

The opportunities triggered by the Channel Tunnel rail link

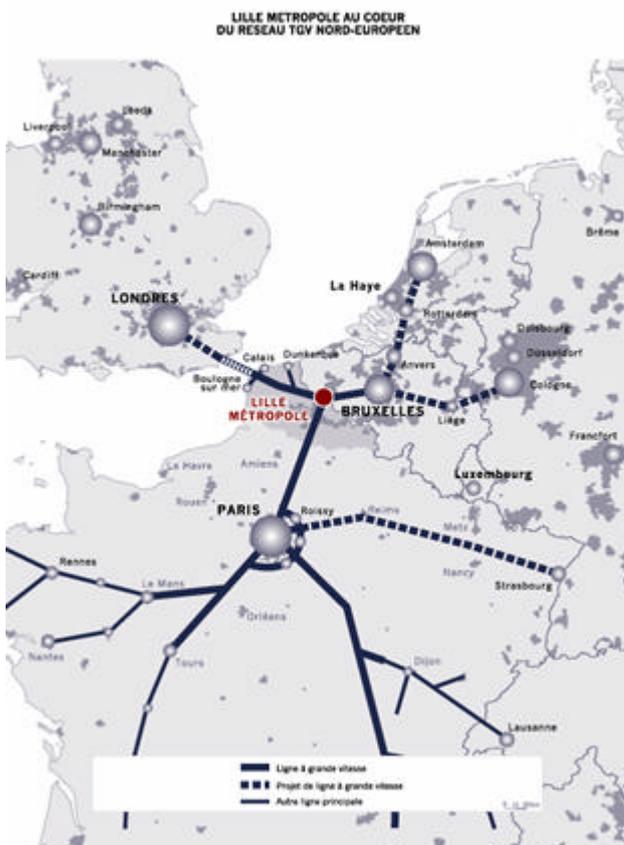


Figure 11. Lille at the heart of the European High-Speed Train network [Source: Schéma Directeur, 2002, online at <http://www.lille-metropole-2015.org/schemdir/pages/cartes.htm>]

On 20 January 1986, President Mitterrand and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher signed the Franco-British co-operation agreement on the construction of the Channel Tunnel. The then Mayor of Lille, Pierre Mauroy, immediately started to lobby French central government in order to secure Lille as the location of the future interchange station for North-West European high speed train lines (Paris-London, Brussels-London and Paris-Brussels-Amsterdam). Pierre Mauroy, a former Prime Minister (1981-1983), was backed by a strong regional lobby of public and private leaders, and achieved the location of the future HST station in Lille in 1987. This landmark decision gave a crucial impetus to the economic development of Lille Métropole.

For decades, the Lille area 'was considered peripheral to the country, as remote from its cultural heart as the mountains of the *Pyrénées*' (Fraser and Baert, 2003). Paris, the capital city, historically turned its back on the North of

France. The high speed train connection turned the city **from a dead-end at the Northern border of France into a strategic interface between the capital cities of north-west Europe.**

The City of Lille owned 70 ha of former military land just a few hundred meters away from the old railway station. The site quickly appeared to be an ideal location for the new high-speed train station. The new TGV station Lille-Europe, which opened in 1994, lies on the doorstep of Lille city centre, 5 minutes walk to the old station Lille-Flandres and 15 minutes walk to the *Grand Place* (main square of Lille). The new station is connected to the metro and the tram.



In 1990, plans for a major office and retail development, known as Euralille, to be built around the new high speed train station were launched, in order to boost Lille's position on the European stage. Euralille was built between 1990 and 1995. The responsibility for the design and strategic management of the whole project was by a public-private partnership set up in 1990 on the model of the French '*Sociétés d'Economie Mixte*' (SEM), a common French institutional tool for major urban development schemes. Newman and Thornley (1995, 1996) summarise the Euralille development as a mixture of smaller projects funded by private investors within a masterplan defined by the public sector and coordinated by a nominally mixed, though public sector controlled, management agency.

The Euralille development includes offices, a large shopping centre, an hotel, a student hall of residence, a business school, a music venue, a Convention centre and a large urban park. Separate new housing developments were built in the vicinity of the project. The cost of the entire project was estimated at around 5 billion francs (£500 million), of which 1.5 came from public funds and 3.5 from private investors. EU Structural Funds contributed to the financing of the convention centre. The contemporary architecture of the project, by leading architects such as Rem Koolhaas, Christian de Porzamparc and Jean Nouvel, was criticised by some, but was generally accepted amongst the local population as a new futuristic landmark showing the vitality of the city.

The shopping centre became an extremely popular venue, both for local and foreign shoppers, and attracts up to 30,000 visitors a day (50,000 on Saturdays), generating a turnover of approximately 1.5 billion francs (£150 million) in 2000. It comprises 120 retail units, and created 1,200 jobs. The Euralille project did well during the mid-1990s commercial property recession. 70% of the 50,000 m² office space built was sold by 1998; 95% by 2001. Over 50 firms have settled in Euralille - some major companies such as Axa, Crédit Lyonnais, Compaq, Stanhome... Ten years after its launch, Euralille has met its primary objective to provide the Lille metropolitan area with a business centre of the same scale as those found in other major European cities.

To increase the economic impact of Euralille on the area, a second phase of development, Euralille 2, has been launched (190,000 m² between Lille Grand Palais and St Sauveur station). Euralille 2 will be a mixed-use scheme accommodating public buildings (the HQ of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais Regional Council); the extension of the *Lille Grand Palais*; offices; hotels; sports and

leisure facilities and a new residential neighbourhood with 800 housing units in a green environment called the 'Bois Habité'. Euralille 2 will create a fresh urban façade on the ring road, thus forming a new gateway to the city. In 2010, it is forecasted that investments from the private and public sector in Euralille and Euralille 2 will have amounted to 1.8 billion Euros (£1.2 billion).

The development of major flagship projects to attract investors, boost the local economy and increase the international profile of the conurbation

In the context of increasing competition between European cities and the 1982 decentralisation reforms giving more powers to French local authorities, many French cities have developed proactive strategies of urban economic development around flagship projects. In addition to Euralille, the LMCU decided in 1990 to launch the development of several economic development nodes spread across the conurbation to ensure more spatial balance in the distribution of economic growth. The creation of these centres demonstrated the will to re-orientate the economy of the urban region towards the growing economic sectors of a post-industrial economy, including business services; Information and Communication Technologies; biotechnologies; research and development. LMCU has favoured a strategy of functional specialisation at various poles within the city-region: communication technologies and textile in Roubaix; executive and international business functions in Lille; logistics and transport in Tourcoing... These 'Poles of Metropolitan Excellence' are enshrined in the strategic spatial planning document for the city-region, the Schéma Directeur, as illustrated by the map in Figure 12.

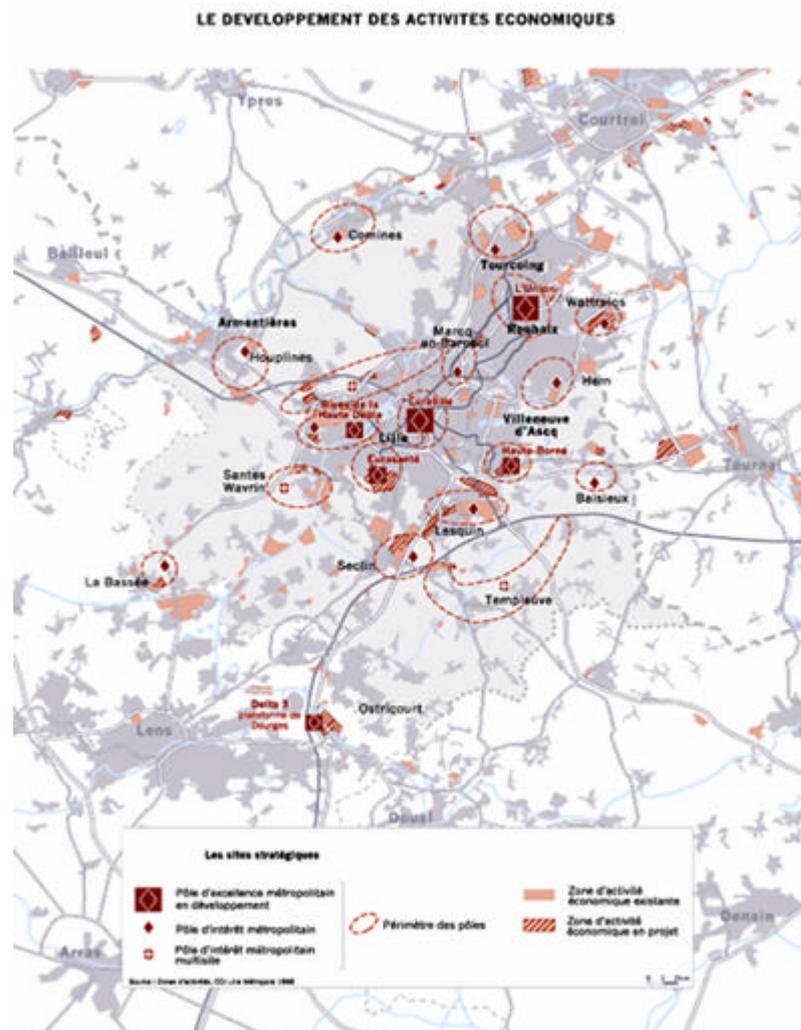


Figure 12 Location of strategic sites for economic development nodes [Source: Schéma Directeur, 2002, online at <http://www.lille-metropole-2015.org/schemdir/pages/cartes.htm>]

These poles are targeting different areas of specialization as follows:

- **Euralille** (Lille - centre): a major business and retail centre around the new TGV station Lille-Europe.
- **Eurasanté** (Lille – South): a 300 ha business park and service centre on the university hospital site, designed to become an internationally recognised centre of excellence specialising in health-related and biomedical research and industries.
- **Haute Borne**: a science park dedicated to enterprises specialising in research, services and high technology. It contains nearly 60 research laboratories, 5 Engineering Schools, a large number of corporate headquarters and regional headquarters, and offers a full range of accommodation and services, among which a newly created Centre for Innovation and Exchanges, interfaces between the universities and the business world.
- **Eurotéléport** (Roubaix): a technological park project dedicated to the development of companies producing or using IT and communication tools.
- **L'Union** (Roubaix/Tourcoing), a future centre for innovative textile.
- **Logistical platform** in Tourcoing (International transport centre).
- **Euratechnologies**: a technological park under construction in the West of the conurbation, to support the development of E-commerce. It will provide approximately 80,000 m² of office space.

A proactive cultural policy

Lille Métropole has developed and promoted its rich cultural and historical heritage: a major museum of Beaux-Arts; a Modern Art Museum in Villeneuve d'Ascq; the new Archives of Labour History and the Museum of Arts and Industry in Roubaix; a recently refurbished Opera House; a resident Symphonic Orchestra; an active, young music scene, the annual Carnival; the annual Fair (*Grande Braderie*) which attracts 2 million visitors; a stunning architectural heritage such as the Vieux Lille neighbourhood, dating back from the Flemish Golden Age (16-18th century) (Baert et al. / ADULM, 2004).



In 1994 Lille submitted a bid to be the French candidate for the 2004 Olympic Games. At national level the city was selected over Lyon to represent the country. The bid then fell through, but was still a success as it had a major impact on the image of the city in France; it had boosted the self-confidence of local residents and united local networks of actors around a project of metropolitan importance. It also shifted the debate from Lille as a key regional metropolis in the French context to Lille as a metropolis in the European context (Paris and Stevens, 2000: 171). The momentum created by the Olympic bid was turned into another bid - to become European Capital of Culture.

Both bids were initiated and supported by the *Comité Grand Lille*, an informal body created in 1993 on the initiative of Bruno Bonduelle, a leading local industrialist. The *Comité* brings together business and industrial leaders, academics, NGO representatives and some elected politicians. It discusses and recommends possible actions to improve the area's image and position as a major European centre – in such fields as culture, tourism, education and international partnerships. The

Committee creates a link between business leaders (traditionally Christian Democrats) and local politicians (mostly Socialists) on strategic ideas for the promotion of the city-region, focusing on common goals and not on political differences or the rivalries between individual municipalities. It also helps to secure business support for various flagship events, such as Lille's successful bid to become European Capital of Culture in 2004.

Lille was nominated European Capital of Culture for the year 2004 and put together a rich programme of events (see <http://www.lille2004.com>). There was a clear strategy to spread the benefits of the year-long event across the whole city region, including Roubaix. The image of the city-region at national and European level changed significantly as a result, and Lille began to be perceived as a dynamic, creative, young city with lots of potential and many qualities. Media coverage at national and international level was significant. The year-long festival also established Lille as an important tourist destination in North-West Europe.



Cross-border co-operation and networking

The Nord-Pas-de-Calais region has been actively co-operating with Kent and the neighbouring Belgian regions since the early 1990s. Cross-border co-operation projects have been partially financed by the European INTERREG programmes.

In the Lille conurbation, there has been an active process of cross-border co-operation with neighbouring Belgian cities since the early 1990s. There are many cross-border exchanges of workers, shoppers and tourists. In 1991, the LMCU and the Belgian local authorities of Tournai, Mouscron, Courtrai/Kortrijk and Bruges, set up a permanent 'conference for cross-border co-operation' (Conférence Permanente Intercommunale Transfrontalière (COPIT - see above page x). Towns and cities across the border have since then worked jointly on a number of spatial development issues such as transport and waste management, and have undertaken a number of cross-border projects partly supported by the EU through the INTERREG IIA and IIIA programmes. Other activity since 1992 has included: the opening of several cross-border bus lines; the current development of a cross-border strategic spatial development Plan (*Groostad*) and a planned 2,000 ha cross-border business park on the Lille-Gent motorway.

Supporting a balanced spatial development in all parts of the city-region - the 'metropolitan consensus'

As underlined by the Lille Métropole Urban Planning Agency, the recent success secured by the Euralille development is not enough to change the overall economic dynamics of the city-region: 'A showcase for trade, a clutch of major corporate headquarters, and a handful of world patents, though they may all be assets which position Lille strongly in the competitive ranks of Eurocities, are not enough to give a clear identity. It is a no-holds-barred competition. All conurbations with population between 200 and 400,000 nurture their own European ambitions based on geographical advantages drawn from necessarily central locations' (ADULM, 1992: 58-59).

Since the 19th century, the Lille conurbation had been characterised by **great socio-economic disparities** between different areas, disparities which have been strongly reinforced by the demise of the manufacturing sector and the spatially uneven growth of the service sector. The '*Versant Nord-Est*' (North-eastern side of the conurbation), around the cities of Roubaix and Tourcoing, has had higher concentrations of deprivation and dereliction in comparison with

the relatively more prosperous Lille and Villeneuve d'Ascq area. In the early 1990s it became clear, and was accepted, that the key to the long-term prosperity of the conurbation required supporting a *balanced* spatial and economic development strategy in *all parts* of the city-region, including the areas which had suffered most from deindustrialisation. This had not always been the case. The support to urban renewal in Roubaix and Tourcoing as a key strategic priority of metropolitan importance had not always been high on the LMCU agenda. Between its creation in 1966 and until 1989, LMCU largely played **a technical role**, focusing on street and infrastructure management. Le Galès and Mawson (1995: 383) noted that prior to the negotiations of the *Contrat de Ville* in 1989, 'there had been comparatively little joint working other than on transportation and physical planning matters, with a very narrow technical agenda rarely addressing redistributive questions'. In the 1970s, energies and funding focused on the construction of the New Town of Villeneuve d'Ascq, now highly successful, but back then criticised for its diversion effect on towns in crisis such as Roubaix. This is very similar to the British New Town policy, which did not improve the situation of declining industrial cities (Paris and Stevens, 2000: 86).

In the late 1980s, the relationship between the city of Roubaix and the LMCU improved. Under the leadership of Pierre Mauroy, from 1989 onwards, a 'metropolitan consensus' emerged within LMCU with the support of the mayors of the four big cities (LMCU, 1998). There was a recognition that, beyond old (and remaining) rivalries between cities,

- there was a need for a strong 'core city' acting as the banner under which the wider city-region would be marketed (Lille), and for related flagship projects;
- whilst at the same time the metropolitan authority needed to commit itself to tackle the unbalanced development of the city-region and help deprived areas, to avoid a core-periphery situation which in the long-term would be detrimental to the overall prosperity of the city-region.

Le Galès and Mawson (1995: 384) describe the formation of this 'metropolitan consensus' in clear terms:

'Local politicians adopted a pragmatic and politically realistic approach recognising that it would only be through the participation of all sections of the community and areas of the conurbation that progress would be achieved. This new agenda was sealed with a formal agreement between the mayors comprising the inter-communal body, the *Communauté Urbaine de Lille* (CUDL) [*now LMCU, author's note*]. In the process of moving to this position a great deal of political and administrative effort was expended in building a consensus. This political outcome is generally regarded as the most important achievement of the exercise with a commitment not only to large-scale prestige flagship projects and other economic development schemes but an equal and parallel commitment to tackling the problems of disadvantaged groups and areas across the conurbation. *The Contrat de Ville* deals with the social dimensions of this approach. However, the notion of an integrated social and economic strategy is incorporated into all aspects of the planning framework for the area'.

This new 'consensus' materialised as an operational compromise: Roubaix/Tourcoing accepted the backing of massive public investment in Euralille and the marketing of the city-region under the 'Lille Métropole' banner... whilst the LMCU put significant resources into extending the metro to Roubaix and Tourcoing (decision made in 1990) as well as funding city centre and housing renewal in these two cities. In 1998 René Vandierendonck, the Mayor of Roubaix elected in 1994 and until then affiliated to the 'Centrist party', joined the Socialists at the regional election and thereby sealed the close relationship between Roubaix and the LMCU.

Urban regeneration and renewal in the ‘Ville Renouvelée’

The new ‘metropolitan consensus’ is expressed in the strategy of ‘Ville Renouvelée’, a concept and approach set out in the strategic spatial plan of the metropolitan region (ADULM, 2006b). The ‘Ville Renouvelée’, inspired by recent British approaches to integrated urban regeneration and renewal, became one of the key objectives in the strategic plan for the Lille metropolitan region (the *Schéma Directeur*) in 1997, to stop the economic, social and urban decline of major parts of the agglomeration. The word ‘renouvelée’ (‘renewed’) has replaced ‘régénération’, which is felt to be too ‘physical’, in order to reflect the integrated nature of urban renewal – economic, social, environmental and cultural. It is not incidental that the notion of urban renewal, as understood in Britain, first emerged in France in Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing, since these cities are confronted with inner-city decline patterns similar to the situation of UK cities. Fraser and Baert (2003) also note similarities with the integrated approach advocated in the 2000 UK Urban White Paper (DETR, 2000). The concept of ‘Ville Renouvelée’ subsequently became a key element of French national urban policy based on the experience of the Lille region. It was a key principle in the National Planning Act 2000 (*Loi Solidarité et Renouveau Urbains*, modified in July 2003 with the *Loi Urbanisme et Habitat*). Bonneville (2005) stresses how Lille/Roubaix were pioneers in the French (national) urban policy context.

The aim of the ‘Ville Renouvelée’ strategy is to build upon the potential assets of areas in decline to recreate ‘value’ for existing residents and potential investors. Bonneville stresses that this new approach is not without ambiguities:

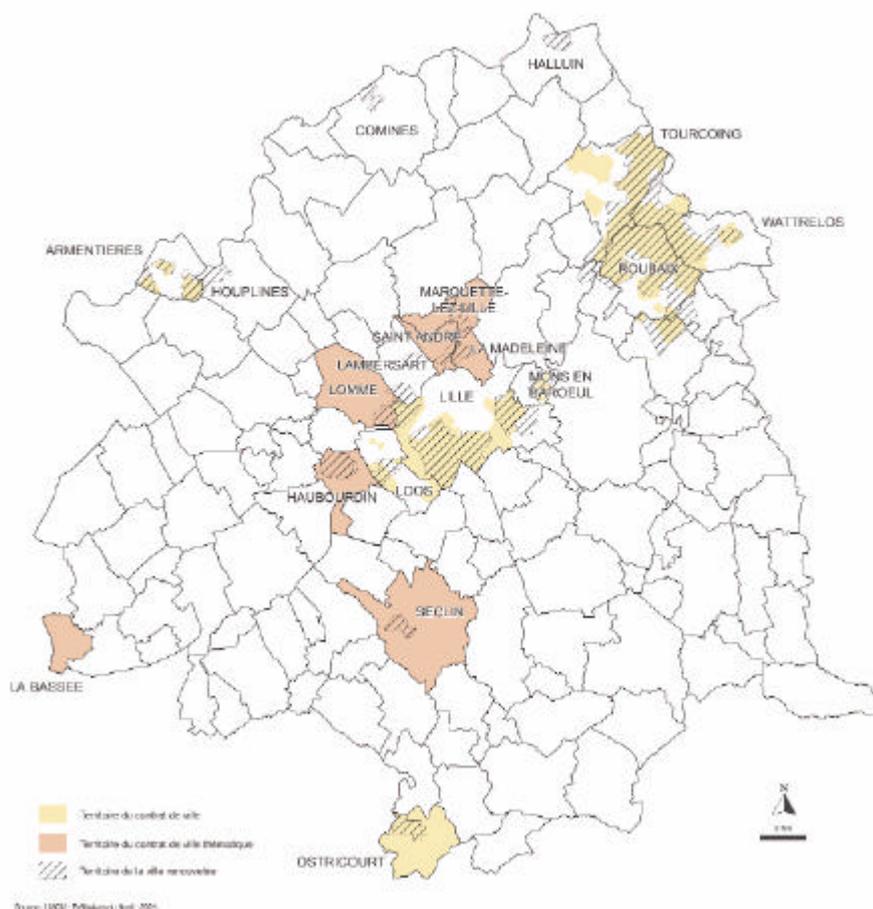
‘Urban renewal as it is currently practised in France is marked by the ambiguities of public policies for urban development. Such policies cannot trigger processes of revaluation if they do not manage to reinsert the run-down and derelict sectors into the land and real estate markets and to attract investors. But if this approach succeeds, residents, activities and even entire sectors of the city that are not solvent under market conditions are then excluded from the renewal process. The public actors are thus faced with a dilemma. They can carry out urban renewal according to the logic of social urban development by concentrating on areas and populations that are socially deprived. This would be a continuation of the type of urban renewal [led by] the central state, through its geography of priority areas and its subsidies, even if it involves more radical measures such as large-scale demolition and reconstruction. This approach seems to pose a risk that the areas concerned will retain their “special” position outside the common social and economic dynamics of the city. Otherwise, they can promote a strategy of rupture, in which the risks and the consequences of a market-led approach are accepted. This implies the acceptance that urban renewal also means social renewal, if it aims at normalising the functioning of run-down areas, at increasing the possibilities for a residential mobility, and at creating a mix of uses and of functions. This approach does not address the issue of social exclusion or that of housing the socially deprived population’ (2005: 241).

In this case-study we demonstrate that the city of Roubaix has successfully managed to follow the second approach whilst integrating the issue of social exclusion and ‘traditional’ housing renewal.

In the Lille city-region, the ‘Ville Renouvelée’ strategy translates into an economic development strategy at the scale of the city-region (described above) as well as a series of specific projects in the most deprived neighbourhoods. At present 4,000 ha of inner city neighbourhoods in various part of the urban region were designed as ‘Priority neighbourhoods’ in the 2002 strategic planning document (*Schéma Directeur*) and in the Contrat d’Agglomération (agreement between Central Government, the region and LMCU defining funding priorities in 13 neighbourhoods over 15 years). These include 19th century working-class residential neighbourhoods, former factories, brown field sites, and some post-war housing estates. Most of Roubaix’s territory is included under this designation, as shown in Figure 13.

Figure 13. Map of Priority Areas under *Contrats de Ville* [Source: ADULM, 2004a: 11]

LES TERRITOIRES PRIORITAIRES DE L'ARRONDISSEMENT DE LILLE



The *Schéma Directeur* is based on the assumption that the success of urban renewal can only work if suburbanisation and urban sprawl on green field sites are contained and if future urban growth is geared toward brown field sites. The objective is to accommodate only one third of urban growth on green field by 2015 and build 3500 to 5000 housing units per year on brown field sites.

The '*Ville Renouvelée*' strategy relies on long-term commitment from key local public stakeholders, in spite of constant changes in national policies. This strategy integrates the various (and successive) area-based initiatives launched by central government and the EU (ADULM, 2006b: 8-9), such as the *Contrats de Ville* (see below). In addition there is a strong functional financial inter-relationship between the different areas forming the territory of the LMCU, since parts of the local taxes go to the metropolitan authority which then reinvests in the areas most in need. LMCU has a much bigger investment capacity than individual municipalities, with its resources levied from local taxes and central government grants (in 2005 its budget was 1.4 billion euros, 73% of which go to investments).

Contrats de Ville

The *contrats de plans* set out long-term programmes of investment in the economy, social welfare, transport, the environment etc. This system was tried out at the urban level between 1988 and 1996. The first generation of *Contrats de Ville* aimed at incorporating specific help for disadvantaged neighbourhoods into a broader, city-wide approach to urban development. Under these contracts local authorities and the Government agreed to implement a long-term programme of integrated urban development – and agreed on their funding contributions towards it. In the Lille metropolitan area, the pilot *Contrat de Ville* was signed in January 1992 for a total value of 1.5 billion francs over 3 years, of which 40% was contributed by the central government. The *Contrats de Ville* represented a new form of relationship between central and local government whereby, in return for a guaranteed package of funding from several government sources, the decentralised local authorities were enabled to carry through the agreed plans for their towns, and central government also ensured that its wider urban policy objectives were achieved. The contracts were re-launched in 1998 and 2000, in order to include other national objectives, e.g. on social inclusion, inter-communal cooperation, sustainable development and housing. The recent *Contrat de Ville* for Metropolitan Lille was signed between the central government, the *région*, the *département*, and LMCU within the wider framework of the *Contrat de Plan Etat-Région* for 2000-2006 (which matched the time period of the EU's Structural Funds). LMCU was the key local partner, as it was recognised that the regeneration of disadvantaged areas cannot be dealt with in isolation from the rest of the metropolitan economy. Funding for up to 50% of total costs was provided by the central government, with the remainder coming mainly from LMCU and the municipalities. The benefit for local partners lies in the additional funding from central government and the long-term nature of its commitment (Sources: EUKN, 2005; BURA, 2007).

Under the '*Ville Renouvelée*' policy, investment priorities are channelled towards the North East of the metropolitan region, i.e. Roubaix and Tourcoing. Housing renewal is a crucial element of this strategy. Projects have included the renewal of old, substandard housing in working class neighbourhoods; the renovation of post-war housing estates; urban design improvements for key public spaces (e.g. *Canal de Roubaix*); improvement of green spaces and urban parks; and education and training programmes in poor neighbourhoods.

The operational 'tool' of the LMCU to implement the '*Ville Renouvelée*' strategy is the SEM *Ville Renouvelée*, a typically French 'mixed-economy' company working towards the renewal of the 'Priority Areas' identified in the *Schéma Directeur* on behalf of the LMCU and the cities concerned. As well as the SEM *Ville Renouvelée*, a regional tool for the conversion of industrial brown field sites was created in the early 1990s, the *Etablissement Public Foncier Nord Pas de Calais*. Its main area of intervention is the coal mining basin, but it also includes large-scale, complex sites in the Lille urban region, like *l'Union* in Roubaix-Tourcoing.

Summary

The strategy of the LMCU for the regeneration of the Lille urban region relied on two key elements:

- the development of flagship projects/events, which mobilized energy from various sectors and stakeholders (public, private) and changed the external image of the city.
- the move towards a new form of urban policy in the most deprived parts of the city-region, the '*Ville Renouvelée*', illustrated by successful initiatives taken in Roubaix.

In 20 years, the Lille conurbation has managed, to a certain extent, the transition from an industrial to a service-oriented economy. It also successfully promoted itself from being a secondary French city to a 'Eurocity' and a metropolis of significance for North-West Europe. Lille now has a vibrant image both in France and in North-West Europe. In the city of Lille itself, the decline in inner city population stopped in the 1990s (6% population growth between 1990 and 1999). Tourist flows have significantly increased in the last 10 years (40% of tourists are from the UK and Belgium). In 1998, the region Nord-Pas-de-Calais came first among French regions for direct foreign investment, of which one third is located in Lille Métropole.

The factors explaining the success of the economic and urban regeneration strategy of the Lille conurbation can be summarized as follows:

- Harnessing the key opportunity brought by the location of the High-Speed Train interchange station in Lille and changing patterns of accessibility in North-West Europe.
- Developing well-established institutional co-operation between the municipalities making up the urban region through the LMCU. This has allowed for coherent investment and strategic planning decision-making at the scale of the metropolitan region from 1989 onwards. Although decision-making within the LMCU has not always been easy, there has been a broad degree of consensus on the strategic development options to be taken to improve the positioning of the conurbation in Europe since the early 1990s.
- Having a proactive, charismatic civic leader with good political and economic networks: the personality of Pierre Mauroy has been crucial.
- Tapping into European and central government funding and programmes in the poorest part of the urban region; as well as in the financing of some major projects.
- Having a public transport system that connects the cities of Lille, Roubaix Tourcoing and Villeneuve d'Ascq, which acts as the 'spinal cord' of the polycentric conurbation.
- Placing the emphasis on the polycentric development of the urban region through a wide network of public transport and the planning of major flagship projects in various locations, *Euralille*, *Eurasanté*, *Haute Borne*, *l'Union*, *Eurotéléport*, *Euratechnologies* - with each major city specialising in a certain type of activities.
- Developing a sub-regional economic strategy of clusters that deal with all the elements in the supply chain (*filière*) from design and training through to production and retail (*l'Union*, Roubaix).
- Encouraging an economic development agenda which is matched by a strong concern for social and economic cohesion in an urban region with very high socio-economic inequalities: the focus on the urban renewal of the most deprived areas of the urban region, through the *Ville Renouvelée* strategy, particularly benefited Roubaix.
- Developing cross-border networks to build synergy and links with Belgian cities.
- Promoting a proactive cultural marketing policy (Lille 2004 European capital of culture – national and international impact).

However, in spite of the successful achievements of the past decade, there is still an unbalanced pattern of growth in the city-region. Historically, the East-West axis in the conurbation developed at the expense of the North-South axis. Roubaix and Tourcoing still suffer from very high unemployment and pockets of deprivation and dereliction. Various programmes and initiatives of physical, economic and social regeneration were set up in these areas in partnership with central government, the LMCU and the city of Roubaix, as described below. These initiatives are starting to bring about tangible, visible positive results in Roubaix. The efforts need to be continued.

As summarised in section 1.1.2 above, in the early 1990s the urban regeneration challenges for the city centre of Roubaix were:

- **recreating an economic base for the city following massive deindustrialisation;**
- **tackling the severe urban decay of the city centre and bringing back retail to the inner city;**
- **tackling the acute housing situation for the benefit of the local population and to attract new residents;**
- **tying up economic development and investment in the city with employment and training opportunities for unemployed local people.**

It was necessary to recreate 'value' in the inner-city of Roubaix: land values, real estate values, image value (Paris and Stevens, 2000: 217). Until the mid-1990s issues of economic development and access to employment were treated in a relatively classical way by the City Council (DIV, 2002). Economic development was dealt with through real-estate and land policies. Access to employment was understood in terms of '*insertion*' (see below section 3.2.1). In the mid-1990s the City Council realised that the fight against unemployment necessitated a stronger focus on getting newly created jobs to local residents – which meant working with employers and with jobseekers. It also realised that the exodus of employed people out of the city had to be stopped through a strong urban regeneration of the city centre.

Since 1994 the Mayor, René Vandierendonck, has carried out an integrated strategy bringing together economic development, access to employment for locals and urban renewal. One of the underlying principles is that public action has focus on recreating the conditions necessary to attract private investment, and in particular make it attractive for investors to locate in inner-city brown field sites rather than peripheral green field sites. However this is not to be done at the expense of public intervention in public services, social housing, community facilities, education and culture – unlike 'property-led' regeneration as practised in the 1980s in the UK.

Two important preliminary points should be made:

- **The key role of the metropolitan authority:** the proactive strategy of Roubaix happened in a changing context at city-region level, whereby the metropolitan authority LMCU clearly decided to focus its resources on renewal and regeneration in Roubaix and Tourcoing (see the 'Metropolitan consensus' in Section 1.2.4 above).
- **The key role of central government support:** the Lille metropolitan area, and Roubaix in particular, have been used as experimental areas for all urban policy initiative taken by successive governments at a national level since the birth of 'urban policy' (*Politique de la Ville*) in the early 1980s. The mayor of Roubaix spoke about the juxtaposition of urban policy programmes in his city as the 'Jurassic Park of urban policy'. This has created a complex combination of schemes and funding, but has also meant that the city has used all possible programmes (47 types listed in Lemas, 2000). In terms of funding, the city had a weak tax base, and the sustained funding from both the national State and the LMCU have been very significant. The designation of the city centre as a '*Zone Franche*' (enterprise zone, see below) has provided a key impetus in the revitalization of the inner city.

Table 3. List of national urban policy initiatives used in Roubaix [compiled by the autor]

1982	<i>Développement Social des Quartiers</i>	Roubaix was a pilot site (5 neighbourhoods). Measures in education, social work, housing renewal.
1989	<i>Contrats de Ville</i>	Shift from the neighbourhood scale to the scale of the city (CUDL - now called LMCU - was the partner). 13 sites in France, among which Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing.
1992-94	<i>Contrat de la métropole</i>	Central Government, LMCU, region.
1995 to present	<i>ZUS (Zones Urbaines Sensibles)</i> <i>ZFU (Zones Franches Urbaines)</i>	Tax benefits for companies. 15 ZUS in Lille metropole. The whole city centre of Roubaix is designated as ZUS and ZFU.
2000-2006	<i>New Contrats de Ville (Contrats d'Agglomération)</i>	
1994-99 & 2000-06	<i>URBAN EU programme</i>	Roubaix-Tourcoing participated in both URBAN programmes: community centres, new offices, 'insertion' measures, and physical improvements to public spaces were financed.
1997 to present	<i>GPU (Grand Projet Urbain),</i> <i>later GPV (Grand Projet de Ville)</i>	Set up in 1993 for 12 cities in France. 13 neighbourhoods in Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing are targeted. Whilst other GPU in France focus on peripheral housing estates, the focus in Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing is the inner city. Various fields of action – physical, social and economic. Since 1997 a single organisation, called GIP coordinates the GPV and all the funding streams financing it: government, cities, LMCU, CDC and social housing landlords.
2005 to present	<i>ANRU (Agence Nationale de Rénovation Urbaine)</i>	Areas concentrating national funding for housing renewal.



Figure 15. The geographic coverage of different urban policy initiatives in Roubaix (ZUS, ZRU and ZFU) [Source : Green et al., 2001 : 60]

2.2 Vision, aims and elements of the regeneration scheme

The social, physical and economic regeneration of the city-centre of Roubaix involves a set of schemes, which together regenerated the city centre through action and flagship projects in 5 different areas:

- Recreating attractive and safe public spaces and promoting the architectural heritage of the city;
- Bringing retail back to the city and making the city a shopping destination;
- Encouraging economic development through a designated 'Enterprise Zone' and other zones of targeted development;
- Developing an innovative and proactive cultural strategy to make Roubaix a city of culture and tourism;
- Supporting housing renewal for the benefits of the local population.

It is crucial to note that the various elements listed here were carried out *in parallel* over a concentrated period of time, and that it is the **synergy** between these which has generated the successful regeneration process in Roubaix. The Head of Urban Regeneration of the city talked about a 'commando style' approach (David, personal communication, 2006) in which parallel actions are carried out to reverse the cycle of decline, disinvestment and the bad public image of the city. The concentration of resources and actions in various fields over a period of time is perceived as paramount.

The economic, urban and social crises had to be addressed simultaneously. For example, training and employment schemes have to be accompanied by housing renewal to retain successful workers in the city, as economic success without housing renewal encourages the out migration of people to other towns and cities. This integrated approach, which might sound like 'mainstream' regeneration philosophy in other cities, was new for the city and relatively pioneering in the French context. Although many European cities talk about an integrated approach to urban regeneration, few take the actions needed to achieve it. Roubaix can be seen as a successful case of integrated urban regeneration.

2.2.1 Recreating attractive and safe public spaces and promote the architectural heritage of the city

A number of actions were carried out to **improve the public realm of the inner city** as a prerequisite to attract small investors, retails and shoppers back into the city centre:

- Regenerating the main central square and its civic buildings (the City Hall, erected in 1911 to the glory of the textile industry and the virtues of labour) (200mF public investment);
- Regenerating the public realm of the main streets (*Grand Rue, Rue Jean Lebas*), while respecting the architectural heritage;
- Promoting a scheme encouraging the colouring of façades to break up the grey, industrial, image of the city (*Place de la Liberté*);
- Improving the safety of inner-city users (policing, surveillance, tackling crime and anti-social behaviour; CCTV; street mediators).



These actions may not sound particularly innovative, but they have to be viewed against the backdrop of the desperate situation faced by the city centre of Roubaix in the mid-1980s, which was described as a ‘ghost town’, with a main street nearly entirely boarded up. Most of these actions were funded by the LMCU. A non-binding urban design framework for the centre underpinned the whole strategy (*Plan de Référence* of Christian Devilliers). Improvements in the public realm were tied in with the access points of the new public transport interchange in *Eurotéléport* and in *Grand Place* (ADULM, 1998), as the metro was extended to Roubaix in 1999.

The regeneration of the **Canal de Roubaix**, a shipping canal running alongside the city centre, has also been a major part of the physical improvement strategy for the public realm. The Canal stopped being used for shipping in 1986 and fell into dereliction. In 1993 the Metropolitan Planning Agency (ADULM) launched an international urban design competition for the canal. It is now at the heart of a ‘greenway’ strategy. Roubaix, with its very dense urban fabric inherited from the industrial urbanisation, has generally lacked green spaces. New projects aimed at greening the city have been implemented including the *Canal de Roubaix*, *Parc du Brondeloire* (1999); *Parc du Nouveau Monde* (2000); and *Parc de Cassel* (2001).

Finally, the refurbishment and promotion of the **high-value industrial architectural heritage** has been a key element of the city’s public realm improvement strategy. A major study was commissioned in 1998 to look at the urban and architectural heritage of the city (*Inventaire et Diagnostic du Patrimoine Architectural et Urbain*), including industrial, civic and residential architecture. The result was the creation of a designated area for heritage conservation and improvement, the ‘*Zone de Protection du Patrimoine Architectural Urbain et Paysager*’. This zone is based on a set of regulations underpinned by an analysis of the historical urban fabric and what should be preserved. Within that framework, the restoration of old factory buildings and residential buildings has been encouraged by the City council through subsidies for façade refurbishments.



The first designation of a factory building (the spectacular *Motte-Bossut* building, pictured above) as ‘listed building’ happened in 1978. In 1998, 33 additional industrial buildings were listed (Gayot, 2006). The conservation of the industrial heritage does not only include flagship factories, but also ordinary residential ‘*courées*’ (*Courée Dubar / Dekien* listed in 1998).

2.2.2 Bringing retail back to the city and making the city a shopping destination

The aim was to recreate a lively city centre, provide retail opportunities for the local population (which had massively turned to out-of-town shopping centres) and attract a regional clientele to the city.

Bringing retail back to the city centre

In the late 1980s, the city centre was a 'dead' area. Nearly all the small shops had closed. The high street (*Grand Rue*) presented a desolate landscape of boarded up shop units. The city council concentrated its efforts in helping to **recreate a core of small shops and retail opportunities**, through:

- physical work to improve the urban design of the street (Grand-Rue);
- particular attention paid to public transport nodes (metro-tram-bus);
- support (financial and technical) to small retail business creation, including grants for refurbishment of the premises and tax exemptions within the framework of the designation of the city centre as a '*Zone Franche Urbaine*' [see below].
- the development of a medium-sized shopping centre on the high street (*Espace Grand-Rue*), including a 8,000 m² supermarket (Casino) plus a multiplex cinema. The development was financed by a public-private partnership including the Casino supermarket chain and the public bank *Caisse des Dépôts et Consignation*.

An association was set up to act as a 'one-stop shop' for all queries regarding the management and maintenance of the public realm of the city centre. It coordinates those involved in public space management: retailers, police, municipal cleaning services etc.

The strategy to support small retail units was also implemented in surrounding neighbourhoods which had a traditional high street in decline (*Contrat de Rue de l'Epeule*, jointly financed by the city, LMCU, Chamber of Trade and Industry).

Making Roubaix a shopping destination of regional / supra-regional status

Building upon the textile and retail tradition of the city, the idea to open a major **factory outlet centre** for 'bargains' and reduced price clothing and fabrics emerged in the 1980s. Factory outlets (*magasins d'usines*) are an old tradition in the city. They were initially set up for the benefit of local factory workers who could buy unwanted goods, but they were later extended to the general public. The outlet store from *La Redoute (Aubaines Maison)* dates from the 1960s. Designer/factory outlets offer permanent discounts, with a minimum of 30% off a wide range of brands and designer labels¹⁰. Retailers use designer outlet centres as an opportunity to sell surplus stock directly to the public.

Two major outlet centres were successfully opened in Roubaix:

- **L'Usine**, at the edge of the city centre, in a former velvet factory of high architectural value built in 1903, closed in 1981. The concept of the factory outlet *l'Usine* was born in 1983, as an unemployed manager decided to gather all the factory outlets of the city

¹⁰ There are 34 such designer/outlet centres/villages in the UK, with a further 18 schemes in the pipeline.

region under one roof, in a disused factory in Roubaix. *L'Usine* opened in 1984 with 25 retail units initially. It now hosts 70 units selling goods from the big mail order companies (*Redoute, 3 Suisses, Blanche Porte*) and other brands (*Camaieu, Promod, Etam, 1-2-3...*)¹¹.

- **McArthurGlen Roubaix** is a 192,000 sq ft town centre outlet opened in 1999 which offers over 55 top brand stores - including Adidas, Cacharel, Lacoste, LaFuma, Samsonite, and Nike¹². It is designed as a purpose-built pedestrian street characterised by pastiche 'New Urbanism' architecture. The site is at the heart of the city, served by the Eurotéléport tube station. It is an integral part of the city council's plans for inner city retail revitalization: the city council consequently provided the developer with the land. McArthurGlen was founded in 1993 and is Europe's leading designer outlet owner and operator with over 3.2 million sq ft of retail space (gross lettable area) in operation, under construction or in planning¹³.



Both the *Espace Grand Rue* (shopping centre) and *McArthur Glen* (factory outlet) were completed through a ZAC (*Zone d'Aménagement Concertée*) planning procedure. The degree of support by public institutions (city council and LMCU) was high, involving the preparation of the site for development, free transfer of land to the developers; extension of the metro and tramway; creation of car parks; public space improvements; creation of a town centre management entity.

2.2.3 Encouraging economic development through a designated 'Enterprise Zone' and other zones of targeted development

The responsibility for economic development is shared between the City Council (*Ville de Roubaix*) (land and real-estate, direct support to investors) and the LMCU (strategy, subsidies for firm location). Four main economic development initiatives can be identified:

Eurotéléport

This was the first major economic development project of the 1980s. The decision to create a leading centre for telecommunications was taken in 1983. The '*Téléport*' project was agreed upon

¹¹ See <http://www.lusine.fr/>

¹² See <http://www.mcarthurglen.fr/destockage-fr/magasin-usine-roubaix/index.php3>

¹³ There are seven McArthurGlen outlets in the UK: Cheshire Oaks, Ashford, Bridgend, Swindon, York, Mansfield and Livingston. A further five McArthurGlen Designer Outlets are found in Europe – Troyes and Roubaix in France; Serravalle, Italy; Roermond, Holland and Parndorf, Austria (2004).

in 1989 on a 14 ha site at the heart of the city, around the *Motte-Bossut* factory, a listed building. *Eurotéléport* opened in 1993: it was the first 'teleport' in France, i.e. a private telecommunication centre and hub serving regional businesses. It contains a satellite communication centre and offers various services (visioconference, digital TV and radio, telemarketing, tele-training etc...). *Eurotéléport* now includes 25,000 m² of office space and 50 firms of all sizes. The scheme is run by a SAEM (semi-public company) which acts as an independent telecommunication operator managing the technical element of the scheme in partnership with public and private partners.

The commercial part of the project was complemented by a major, publicly-funded project: the creation of the national Archives of the History of the Labour movement (*Archives du Monde du Travail*) in the former *Motte-Bossut* factory.

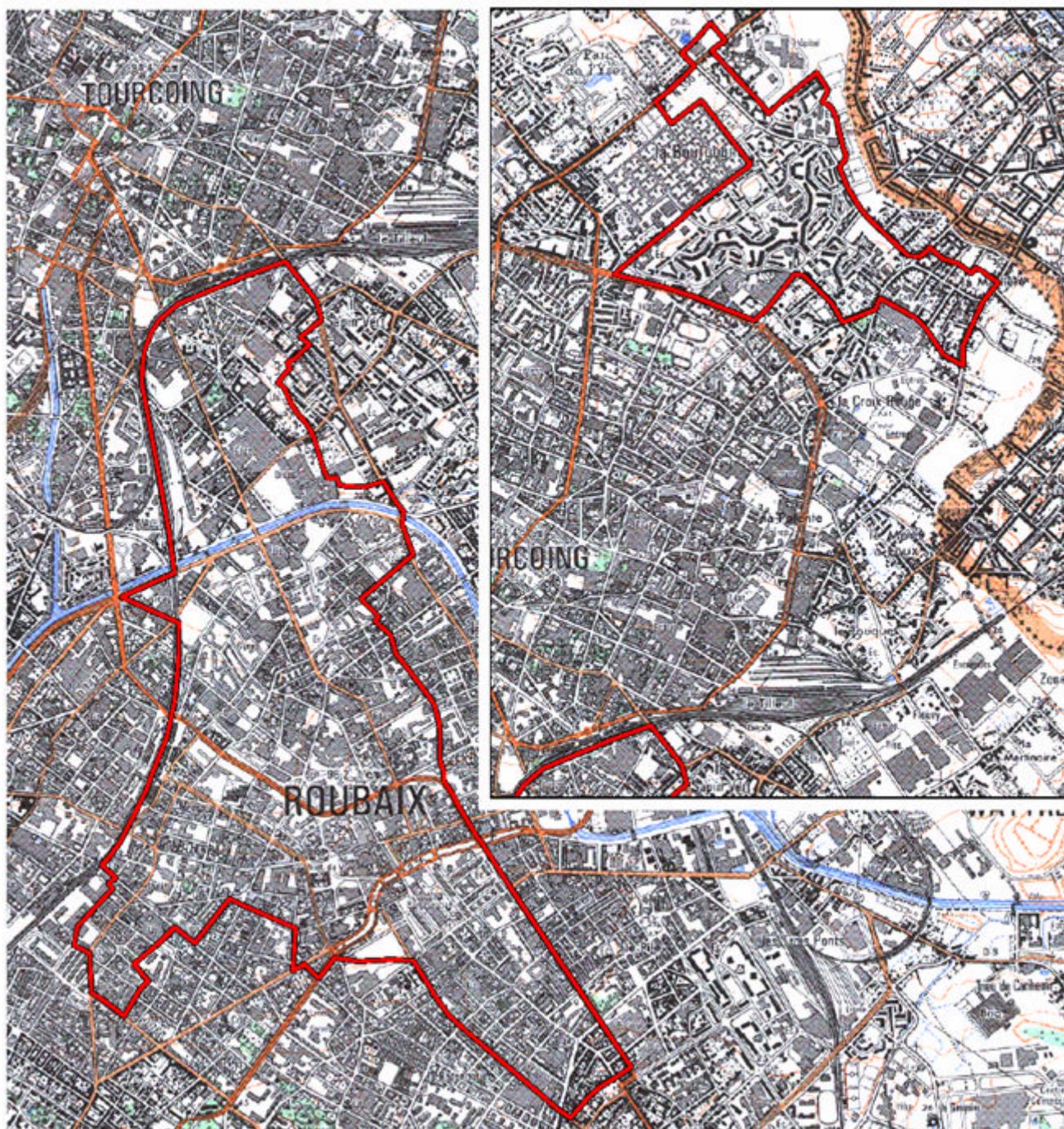
Zone Franche Urbaine (Tax-exempt Enterprise Zone)

In December 1996, the Chirac Government officially designated 44 *Zones Franches Urbaines* (ZFU) to focus national funding on a limited number of quarters (*quartiers*) identified as the most deprived in French cities. The ZFU represented a change in approach by targeting, for the first time, *businesses* in urban areas as part of urban policy. The approach focused on the economic dimension of urban development and the location decisions of small businesses (Green, 2001). The aim was to encourage the location of small firms in designated areas through 5-year tax exemptions and various support mechanisms.

In Roubaix, the entire town centre was designated as a *Zone Franche Urbaine* in 1997 (see map below), as the result of extensive negotiations and a strong political lobby led by the Mayor. This was a political opportunity that linked the tax break incentives subsidised directly by central government with the wider urban policy objectives of the city (Gree et al., 2001). The ZFU area covers 345 hectares and a population of over 42,000 inhabitants, almost half of Roubaix's population. It is one of the largest ZFUs in France and according to the national indicators of deprivation, Roubaix's ZFU was classified as the most deprived area of all French ZFUs (Green et al., 2001).

Figure 16. Map of the area covered by the 'Zone Franche Urbaine' designation (enterprise zone) [Source : DIV].

<p>ZONE FRANCHE URBAINE</p> <p>Carte au 1/25000 visée à l'article 1 du décret n° 96-1154 du 26 Décembre 1996</p>	<p>Nord Pas de Calais 31 Nord (59)</p> <p>Commune : Roubaix/Tourcoing.</p> <p>ZFU: La Bourgogne, Alma, Cul de Four, Fosse aux Chênes, Epidème, Roubaix centre, Epeule, Sainte-Elisabeth.</p> <p>N° INSEE: 31042ZF</p>
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La zone concernée est délimitée par un trait de couleur rouge.
Les documents relatifs aux délimitations rue par rue sont annexés à la présente carte.

(c) IGN 1/ 25000 Carte(s) 2504E (93)

Benefits available to businesses in the *Zones Franches Urbaines* include:

- exemption from the *taxe professionnelle* (payroll tax) for 5 years for businesses with less than 50 employees as a means to encourage the creation of new employment within the most deprived neighbourhoods. This is accompanied by a phasing out period of 3 or 9 years (depending on the size of the company);
- tax exemption from company tax (*Impôt sur les Bénéfices industriels et commerciaux*, BIC) for a duration of 5 years for new and existing businesses (up to a limit of €61,000 per year);
- exemption from employer's tax contributions (*exonération des charges patronales de sécurité sociale*) for 5 years for businesses with less than 50 employees;
- full exemption from land tax (*exonération de taxe foncière*) on all buildings for a duration of 5 years (state subsidised during this period) (Green et al., 2001).

These tax incentives are, however, subject to certain conditions. The most important is that at least 20% of any new employment created must be taken up by residents of the local designated area covered by the ZFU. From the 3rd employee onwards, 33% must be recruited with the ZUS (*Zone Urbaine Sensible*, a larger designated area) in which the ZFU is located for a minimum contract of 16 hours a week.

The Roubaix *Zone Franche* was one of the only ZFU located in the inner city (*most Zones Franches* in other French cities were located at the fringe of the city centre, in and around peripheral housing estates). At national level the results of the ZFU policy were questionable (Green et al., 2001), but Roubaix has been referred to as the most successful one (see section 2.3.3 below for statistics on job creation).

Green (2001) sees the advantages of the ZFU system as follows:

- the *communes* themselves bear no direct cost for the initiative, because funding is through taxation, and they have minimal involvement in its administration;
- the ZFU brings new employment to areas of need;
- the ZFU helps rejuvenate the economic activity of many of the areas where vandalism and poverty have driven out the traditional local shops (*petit commerce*).

Supporting a 'textile cluster' in the city

Besides the designation of the whole city centre as a *Zone Franche Urbaine*, the City Council and the LMCU have supported a number of projects focusing on **the textile sector and related activities**. Despite the crisis of the textile manufacturing sector and the huge job losses in the sector, Roubaix has not turned its back on textiles. The sector still employs 7,000 people in Roubaix and Tourcoing. Local companies have attempted to shift to forward-looking, innovative aspects of textile-related research, design, production, marketing and retail. Whilst it is clear that no large-scale textile manufacturing activity will be recreated in the city due to global competition, there is still a very strong willingness to retain and expand the skill base built over two centuries and to promote new forms of economic activities around the textile sector, focusing on so-called 'innovative' or 'technical' textiles (*textile innovant / textile technique*).

The underlying idea is to develop a strong, locally rooted '**textile cluster**', which includes all the elements in the supply chain (*filière*) from education, research and development, design, to production (of very specialised types of textile), retail, mail order and marketing. The strategy for the textile sector is part of a policy framework at city-region and national level with the '*Poles*

d'excellence' encouraged by LMCU and '*Poles de compétitivité*' advocated by the DATAR. Three key projects illustrate this approach:

Cité de l'Initiative

This is an example of a 'Local Productive System' (SPL), i.e. a cluster of SMEs grouped together specialising around one area. The *Cité de l'initiative* was born in 1994 under the impetus of Annie Favrie, who was in charge of a 'conversion pole' and business incubator in the city since 1988. The *Cité de l'Initiative* was established as a cluster of 26 firms. Its aim is to support the local textile and clothing sector through clustering and pooling of resources, in order to reduce firms' fixed costs and enhance their competitiveness and access to new markets.

In 2001, the *Cité de l'Initiative* had 43 member firms and represented 600 jobs over 2 sites: a former school building given by the Council now hosts 20 companies, and the former Lepoutre weaving factory redeveloped by the SEM *Ville Renouvelée* is to host 14 firms. Both sites are located in the *Zone Franche Urbaine*, and therefore companies have since 1997 benefited from its tax exemptions.

The *Cité* operates as a not-for-profit organisation (*association Cité de l'Initiative*) managed by a limited company (SARL) in the form of a *Union d'Economie Sociale* (UES or Social Economy Union). The partnership involved is broad, involving the City Council, Région, Département, LMCU, national government, EU funding, Chambers of Trade and Industry, education institutions, trade associations and professional unions, and major customers. The *Association Cité de l'Initiative* manages the sites and organises the pooling of resources. It is financed by a yearly subscription by member companies and by various public subsidies, and employs 17 people. It is backed by a non-profit consultancy '*Initiative, cité et développement*' which works as an advisory body on textile sector development for various partners at regional and national level.

Firms are all medium and small enterprises in the clothing and linen sector, and suppliers to a number of big local contractors (mail order and retail). The firms who are members of the association have agreed to sign an 'Ethical and Solidarity Charter' in which they express their commitment to the clustering approach and to local employment. 37% of the permanent jobs involve the inclusion of individuals previously disadvantaged on the labour market, such as long-term unemployed, handicapped, and women.

The pooling of resources involves:

- techniques and technologies, such as printing and specific machinery;
- management and communication;
- human resources management;
- training schemes.

Other common activities include:

- a website and a common promotional brochure plus joint press releases;
- communal stalls in textile trade fairs;
- weekly exchange of information and services through 'Tuesday breakfasts';
- a communal fashion collection jointly set up between 10 firms run by women.

Internal competition does not seem to pose a problem. Thanks to cooperation and the pooling of resources, the firms involved seem to withstand the difficulties faced by the textile sector.

Since the beginning of the project, no company has closed down and employment and capital gains have strongly increased. This approach has been found to be particularly suitable for very small enterprises and SMEs as it offers the most effective basis for sharing resources and achieving diversification.

Quartier des Modes (Fashion Quarter) (around the *Piscine* Museum and *Boulevard Lebas*)

This project led by the City Council aims to offer retail spaces to young fashion designers at preferential rates. A similar project is developed in the South of Lille. The project builds upon the presence of prestigious higher education institutions in the field of textile and fashion (complexe Textipole): *Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Arts & Industries Textile* (ENSAIT); *Ecole Supérieure des Arts Appliqués et du Textile* (ESAAT); and fashion design school ESMOD, which train dozens of fashion designers every year.

L'Union

This is not part of the case-study site, but is a major flagship project on which all energies will focus in the coming 10 years. *L'Union* site is located on 70 ha of brown field land alongside the canal, at the border between Tourcoing, Roubaix and Wattrelos. It is identified in the strategic plan for the Lille metropolitan region as one of 6 key flagship areas for economic growth in specific sectors. It has a strategic cross-border location within a wider 250ha area undergoing massive urban and economic renewal. Three priority sectors have been identified for the site: textiles; image technology; dispatching and logistics.

The project takes the concept of an innovative textile cluster further through the creation of a European Centre for Innovative Textile (CETI) and a textile-focused, cutting-edge R&D centre (UP-TEX). *L'Union* was designated a national 'Competitiveness Pole' as part of a national programme supported by DATAR, and will welcome researchers and firms to develop innovation in textiles. The site will also host a *Centre de l'Image* for graphic design and image technologies (building on the prestigious art school *Le Fresnoy* located in Tourcoing).

The site will be connected to high-speed train, metro and regional train lines. It will include 900 housing units, public amenities and retail, and a major new park. Office space will be put on the market around 2010. Current proposals for floor space include 67,000 m² for R&D; 110,000 m² for the tertiary education sector and labs; 8,000 m² for services, 48,000 m² for productive activities; 86,000 m² for housing and 60,000 for public amenities (sport, schools). The expected impact in terms of employment is 3,500 jobs over 15 years plus 600 jobs in the 'Pôle Image' (mostly highly skilled jobs).



Figure 17. Plan of the future site of L'Union [Source : Lille Métropole Europe, 2006]

2.2.4 Developing an innovative and proactive cultural strategy to make Roubaix a city of culture and tourism

Historically, the city was never perceived as a 'cultural' city in the sense of a centre of 'high' bourgeois culture. Throughout the 19th and early parts of the 20th century, the City Council focused on social and sports amenities for the working class. Popular cultures, however, were very dynamic: at the start of the 20th century there were 80 puppet theatres, but no library (Groupe de Travail, 2001). The supply of cultural infrastructure was improved in the late 1970s and 1980s (a new central library, the *Colisée* theater, the *Ballets du Nord* dance company, *Archives du Monde du Travail*).

Archives du Monde du Travail

The Motte-Bossut cotton factory, symbol of the industrial architecture of Northern France, was built between 1862 and 1891. It was listed in 1978 due to its 'castle-like' façade. The factory closed in 1981. In 1983 a project emerged to open an archive of the labour movement history. The Centre was opened in 1993. Its aim is to safeguard, preserve and make available to the public the archives of companies, trade unions and workers associations bearing testimony of the economic and social activities of the industrial society. The Centre is funded by the French Ministry of Culture.

Centre Chorégraphique National Carolyn Carlson and Ballets du Nord

Established in Roubaix since 1983, this prestigious dance company and focus of contemporary dance creation is located in the former Roussel Factory. The *Ballet du Nord*, with its 28 in-house dancers, tours major national and foreign stages and has a powerful impact on dance in the Nord/Pas-de-Calais region.

From the 1990s onwards, individual artists were attracted by the availability and affordability of working spaces in former industrial buildings, and supported by the City Council and various artists' networks (*Chez Rita*, *Arts et Action*). Since the mid-1990s there has been a lively cultural scene focusing on 'urban' cultures, with art collectives and associations such as *Dans la rue la danse*, *Chez Rita*, *L'ARA*, *Samirami*, *Théâtre en scène*, *L'oiseau Mouche*, *Art Point M*.

Culture as a field of local public policy was considered for a long time as an unnecessary luxury in a context of acute economic and employment crisis (Michel David, Head of Urban Regeneration and Culture, personal communication, 2006). However, in the late 1990s, culture has moved centre-stage in the policies of the City Council, now seen not as an 'add-on' to the urban regeneration strategy, but as a key element of it, for both economic and also symbolic and social reasons. Culture is expected to play a role in local policies through:

- an improvement of the external image of the city;
- the regeneration impacts of cultural amenities and venues (the spatial planning dimension);
- an improvement in social inclusion/integration through a 'cultural democratisation' (Pryen and Rodriguez, 2002);
- a positive impact in terms of economic benefits;
- a redefinition of the identity of the city (Groupe de Travail, 2001).

This is in line with the three dimensions which Basset et al. (2005) have identified in the UK with regard to the contributions of culture to 'urban regeneration' and revitalization:

- (i) Exploitation of perceived cultural resources in the entrepreneurial and urban marketing strategies of cities (economic competitiveness);
- (ii) Contribution of 'creative quarters' and the creative industries to the city's economy (economic competitiveness);
- (iii) Contribution of culture to social cohesion and urban identity (social cohesion).

These three dimensions are all key elements in the 'cultural policy' of the city of Roubaix and they are strongly emphasised by the relevant stakeholders. Cultural policy, in Roubaix, is thus considered a key political area, and is strongly linked to other policies in the field of housing renewal and economic development. It is a tool to raise pride in industrial heritage which should be viewed not just as a source of bad memories. Promoting industrial heritage includes refurbishing the physical heritage, as well as preserving the 'intellectual' or social heritage of the industrial era (creation of the national Archive for the history of the labour movement). Culture is also perceived as a tool to prevent the social crisis of Roubaix turning into a cultural/ethnic war (Michel David, personal communication, 2006).

The cultural policy led by the City Council has three key dimensions which are to:

- improve cultural facilities (*Colisée, Studio Roussel, Oiseau Mouche, Gymnase*)
- support the creation of new flagship cultural projects to raise the city's profile: *La Piscine Museum / La Condition Publique*.
- improve the accessibility of cultural venues/events/activities for all parts of the local population.

Two key flagship cultural venues opened in 2001 and 2004, and have significantly raised the cultural profile of the city:

La Piscine, Musée d'Art et d'Industrie André Diligent

'La Piscine' is the former public swimming pool, a building of exceptional architectural quality built in the Art Deco style between 1927 and 1932. The Piscine is located half way between the main civic square and the station. It was the only swimming pool in the city, where the children of factory workers and industrialists mixed with each other. The swimming pool was closed in 1985. In 1990 the City Council decides to launch a competition to turn the building into a museum of Art and Industry (the previous museum had closed in 1940). Works started in 1998, and in 2001 the museum re-opened.

The original art-deco architecture and pool have been kept (pictured on the front cover of the report), together with several shower and bath rooms as decorative features. The museum holds paintings, textile, ceramics, furniture, photographs and sculptures from the 19-20th century. Works by Ingres, Dufy, Claudel are exhibited, along with artists from Roubaix such as Cogghe and Weerts. The museum also traces back the history of textile, design and fashion, with a collection of around 20,000 pieces from all over the world, some of which date back to the very beginning of weaving. It has a library of textile samples. The museum includes a garden of fibre plants and a sensorial discovery path. Access to the museum from the main street is channelled through the façade of the former *Hannart* textile factory.

***La Condition Publique* (The Conditioning House)**

'Condition' comes from the word used to describe the 'conditioning', cleaning, testing and packaging of the wool traded in Roubaix. The building opened in 1902 as a warehouse for the storage and packing of wool. The quality of the imported wool was tested in laboratories and the prices fixed there. Wool 'conditioning' stopped in 1972, but the building survived, partly used by small companies. At the end of the 1990s, the vacant building was used for one-off cultural and fashion events. The remarkable architecture of the building certainly explains its preservation: enamelled bricks on a concrete structure, covered with flat roofs on steel pillars. The rooves preserved the humidity levels within the building necessary to keep the wool moist. In 1998 the building was listed.

The City council decided to convert the building into a centre for cultural production and dissemination (an 'artistic manufacture') within the wider framework of the regeneration of the neighbourhood of *Pile-Sainte-Elisabeth*, a very deprived working class residential neighbourhood. The building was subsequently designated as one of 12 flagship buildings (*Maisons Folies*) for Lille 2004 European Capital of Culture, and was entirely refurbished for that event. The architect, Patrick Bouchain, advocated minimal interventions in the building



(Castany, 2004). During the construction works, the building site remained open to the public (an unusual move): a temporary wooden barrack adjacent to the building acted as a canteen and meeting space for the architect, the builders, the administrators and the local population. The *Baraque* was also used for concerts and parties.

The *Condition Publique* opened in May 2004. The financing of the project was very complex and mobilized funding from various sources: the city, the region, central government and Europe. The whole challenge of the project, as summarised by its cultural director, was to develop a cultural project which would support high artistic standards whilst facilitating community engagement (Debrock, 2006, Personal communication). The internal space is flexible and accommodates a concert hall, work space for 12 SMEs in the creative sector, a large exhibition space, small studios, a café and a restaurant.

2.2.5 Housing renewal for the benefits of the local population

The city has a long tradition of experimenting with various mechanisms for social or affordable housing provision, led by the municipality and by local industrialists themselves. Historically, many housing initiatives which were initiated in the city were subsequently applied at national level and marked the history of housing policy (Loi Loucheur of 1928 supporting private affordable house building; '1% Logement', a 1946 initiative by Albert Prouvost through which

1% of the wages is set aside by companies in order to provide new housing for their employees) (Paris and Stevens, 2000: 75).

The 1950s, 1960s and 1970s were characterised by large-scale slum clearance and a policy of demolition of the unsanitary, unhealthy housing stock inherited from the 19th century, in particular the *courées*. In Roubaix, 2,000 houses in '*courées*' were demolished between 1971 and 1982. The ORSUCOMN (*Organisation pour la suppression des Courées de la Métropole-Nord*) was created in 1971 and supported by the City Council. It was disbanded in 1979. An example of the result of the heavy-handed approach to urban renewal from those decades is still visible behind the *Usine Motte-Bossut*: the *courées* of the *Rue des Longes-Haies* (now *Rue Edouard Anseele*) were razed in 1957 and replaced by tower blocks in the 1960s. A few medium-rise housing estates were also built in the 1950-60s in Roubaix, such as the *Hauts-Champs*.

In the late 1970s, the approach to housing renewal shifted to 'soft' rehabilitation schemes, under the influence of citizens' movements opposing the wholesale demolition of the traditional residential neighbourhoods. The *courées* were the symbol of unfit housing, but also of working class solidarity and a strong sense of community. The planned renewal of the *Alma-Gare* neighbourhood triggered a major conflict between the city council and local residents backed by a number of progressive planners. The struggle for the '*Alma-Gare*' neighbourhood was a key moment in the history of urban policy, both locally and nationally (Miller, 2003). Local residents, for the first time, opposed the strategy of slum clearance and its associated displacement of former residents. The conflict between the local residents' association and the city council lasted more than 10 years (Hatzfeld, 1986). A local 'Urban Planning Workshop' developed alternative proposals, in a showcase of participatory planning which became famous among progressive planning circles in France and abroad. Eventually, the neighbourhood was rebuilt accordingly to a plan jointly negotiated between local residents and the City, without displacement. The newly built development which emerged from the consensus was a success at the beginning. However the socio-economic problems of the neighbourhood were not addressed, so 20 years later the area is still suffering major social problems.

'Soft' housing renewal became mainstream national policy in 1977 with the creation of the OPAH (*Opération Programmée d'Amélioration de l'Habitat*) procedure, aimed at respecting the wishes of the local population and proposing an incremental approach to housing renewal while avoiding large-scale displacement (Vervaeke and Lefebvre, 1999). Since then various programmes of housing renewal have been set up (with the support of the LMCU and Central government) based on community participation, selective demolition and careful renewal of the existing housing stock whenever possible. This has included the use of Compulsory Purchase Orders and demolition (for unfit housing) or grants and subsidies to landlords and tenants to encourage incremental improvements. A specific programme against unhealthy housing, ranging from monitoring of unfit houses, support to landlords, advice and relocation for tenants, has been put in place. In deprived neighbourhoods there are a lot of owner-occupiers on very low income with no investment capacity to put into housing improvement. Typically they bought their houses for a few thousands pounds when the housing market was very depressed. A number of subsidies are available for private landlords to improve their houses, as well as tax incentives, technical advice, loans, subsidies and grants. However 'soft' housing renewal is a long and slow process, and much remains to be done. Today 192 *courées* remain, and about 50 still have to be refurbished.

In the neighbourhoods surrounding the core of the inner city, housing renewal has been accompanied by investments into the public realm, local facilities and amenities in partnership

with local residents' associations: *Contrat de Rue de l'Epeule*; new local police stations; creation of new local parks (*Nouveau Monde* in the Hommelet neighbourhood).

Current housing renewal initiatives

For the City Council, housing renewal is felt to be a key area of action both for the benefit of the local population (poor housing is part of social exclusion and good housing helps to retain local residents who gain employment), as well as to attract outsiders to settle down in Roubaix, in particular middle-class households.

Housing renewal programmes currently focuses on the following areas:

- Continuing the renewal of the very large social housing stock (35% of housing in Roubaix is social housing) started in the mid 1980s, with central government funding. In France, *communes* do not directly construct or manage low-cost rented housing (referred to here as social housing) but they may set up and participate in housing agencies. There are several legal forms ranging from public to private, mixing different funding sources: communal or departmental *Habitation à Loyer Modéré* (HLMs), semi-public agencies, joint stock companies and non-profit making associations operating in housing renewal as part of urban redevelopment schemes (Le Galès and Mawson, 1995).
- Pursuing the renewal/refurbishment of the private housing stock inherited from the industrial revolution, representing 2/3 of the total housing stock of the city (of which 20-30% is owned by registered social landlords). In 2004, the '*opération Habitat Patrimoine*' was launched in Roubaix, Tourcoing and Wattrelos. The aim is to support the refurbishment of 4,500 private housing units, but progress has not been as fast as planned. The SEM '*Ville renouvelée*' is now targeting 800 units for 41 m€, with funding from the region, the LMCU and central government.
- Encouraging the construction of new private housing, since private house-building in Roubaix had declined dramatically. The current target is 1,000 new housing units. The aim is to attract middle-class workers to live in the city. The first private housing development since the mid-1990s was built on the square opposite the *Piscine* museum by a private building society (*Crédit Immobilier de Lille*).



In 2000 national legislation was brought in to encourage urban areas to address the housing question at the scale of the city-region. A Metropolitan Housing Plan (*Plan Local Habitat*) has just been approved by LMCU, aiming at balancing the proportion of types of housing between different parts of the city-region. It stresses the need to accelerate housing renewal in deprived parts of the city-region, as well increase housing production in the coming decade (56,000 units by 2015, i.e. shifting from 3,500 to over 5,000 units per year). The Plan will coordinate existing mechanisms and actors involved in housing at the scale of the metropolitan area.

2.3 Summary of Progress and overall success of scheme

In this section, achievements to date under each of the themes listed above are highlighted, bringing in quantitative and qualitative evidence from various sources. The specific benefits to disadvantaged and vulnerable groups are discussed in Section 3.2.

2.3.1 Recreating attractive and safe public spaces and promoting the architectural heritage of the city

There have been visible improvements of the public realm in the city centre (*Grand Place*, main streets, public transport interchanges), brought about by a unified floorscape and street furniture, cleanliness, coloured facades (the subsidies scheme has worked well). There is now a systematic approach towards the conservation and refurbishment of the industrial architectural heritage. The efforts put into the improvements of the public realm have partly helped to bring back the private sector (retail) into the town centre, which is now alive and busy during day time.



2.3.2 Bringing retail back to the city and making the city a shopping destination

The vacancy rate for retail units in the main streets around the Grand Place had decreased significantly, and the *Grand Rue* is now a lively shopping street catering for the local population. The designation of the city centre as 'Zone Franche Urbaine' had a very positive impact on small retail unit creation. At its heart, the *Espace Grand Rue*, a small shopping centre of 50 units funded by 50m€ of private investment, attracted 5.4m visitors in 2005.

The McArthurGlen factory outlet centre (25m€ of private investment) comprises 60 shop units and attracts 1 million visitors per year. Roubaix is now a shopping destination of regional / supra-regional importance: in 2000, just under 2 million visitors visited the 2 factory outlet centres in Roubaix, among which 1.63 million locals (78% from the Nord department, 67% from the urban region, visiting an average 20 times per year!) (Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie Troyes et Aube/MAGDUS, undated). 2/3 of these visitors only come to Roubaix to shop in the factory outlet centres. However, 167,000 visitors shopped in other locations in the city and 52,000 ate out in town, spending 471,380€ per year in the town centre (2000 statistics). This was made possible by the fact that the McArthur Glen factory outlet is at the heart of the city, not out of town, and is accessible by public transport. In terms of job creation, the outlet *L'Usine* created 350 jobs; McArthurGlen 250 jobs; the Espace Grand Rue about 600.

Bonneville (2005) notes that it takes time for impacts on the local real estate market to be felt, as prices and the level of transactions in the area remained low for some time. Over the past 2-3 years prices have steadily increased [see 2.3.5 below].

2.3.3 Encouraging economic development through a designated 'Enterprise Zone' and other zones of targeted development

Cité de l'Initiative and Textile Cluster (Quartier des Modes)

In 2001, the Cité de l'Initiative had 43 member firms (against 26 in 1994) and accounted for 600 jobs (a third of them held by 'vulnerable' groups). Thanks to cooperation and pooling of resources, the firms involved seem to withstand the difficulties faced by the textile sector. Since the beginning of the project, no company has closed down and employment and capital gains have strongly increased. Firms have built successful linkages with local higher education institutions (schools of fashion and textile design). Key lessons from the experience of the Cité de l'Initiative are that local partnership approaches can reduce the fixed costs of SMEs; that providing premises that can host several SMEs in the same sector provides important advantages through sharing information, resources and expertise; and that locating several social enterprises in a single site facilitates the provision of specialist support, for example *'insertion'* programmes for disadvantaged groups (Ecotec, 2004a).

Around *La Piscine* Museum, there is evidence of the gradual emergence of a 'fashion' cluster (Quartier des Modes) (1,500 m² of shop units at the end 2006).

Zone Franche Urbaine (Tax-Exempt Zone)

The effectiveness and impact of *Zones Franches Urbaines* was criticised at national level in a 1999 report (Garin, 1999), but the Roubaix ZFU is usually acknowledged as being the most successful of all. This is due to its inner city location and its integration into a wider proactive strategy of physical and cultural renewal led by the City council. In Roubaix, most stakeholders agree that the ZFU has been a key element in the revitalization of the inner city, but not the only one. Alone, as a mere tax incentive mechanism, it might not have worked so well. Various quantitative assessments of the impact of the ZFU on Roubaix city centre show positive results. 806 new companies were created between 1997 and 2004 (URSSAF Roubaix Tourcoing, 2004). The estimated job creation between 1997 and 2001 is 5,000 - a real success - among which an estimated job relocations from other parts of the urban region of 60% and a net job creation of 40%. Among the net jobs created, 20% went to local unemployed residents in the designated area, i.e. roughly 400 jobs. If the ZUS zone is considered, 33% of jobs went to locals. More recent statistics are even more optimistic, estimating that 6,000 jobs were created since 1997 (65% net job creation), 2/5 of which filled by Roubaix residents and 3/4 on permanent contracts (Ville de Roubaix, 2006). A 1998 INSEE study (quoted in Paris and Stevens, 2000: 197) argues that the Zone Franche has stabilised or mitigated the increase in the unemployment rate in Roubaix compared with national trends.



The ZFU scheme stopped for a year in 2002 but has been renewed by Central Government until 2011. Mechanisms for a gradual phasing out over 3 to 9 years were put in place to avoid a mass relocation of firms once the scheme stops. However, an increasingly limited availability of business premises has now begun to restrict the number of new businesses that can develop (Green et al., 2001). The current priority of the City Council's Department of Economic Development is thus to improve the supply of office space and warehouses in the ZFU, by converting redundant buildings in partnership with the SEM *Ville Renouvelée*.

2.3.4 Developing an innovative and proactive cultural strategy to make Roubaix a city of culture and tourism

Roubaix now has a recognised set of cultural amenities of metropolitan importance (*La Condition Publique*, *La Cave aux Poètes*) and of national / international significance (*La Piscine* Museum). The proactive attitude of local leaders has secured a cultural regeneration strategy in a city where it was least expected. The idea that Roubaix might become a tourist destination of regional importance and a 'cultural city' - and be marketed as such - would have been considered a joke in France 15 years ago. The cultural strategy played a key role in changing the national media coverage of Roubaix after 2001 (Lemaire, 2002). This was new, after decades of negative portrayal and stigmatizing... Since 2001, the city is classified as '*Ville d'Art et d'Histoire*', a label

given to cities with a strong historical heritage by the Ministry of Culture. As an economic sector, the cultural industries are growing: 15 % of new jobs created in the city in the cultural industries.

The image of the city as 'bargain capital' and the improvement in the cultural infrastructure is reaping benefits in terms of tourism. A Tourist Office has now opened in Roubaix. The tourist office has launched an original programme of tours and events, building on the specific assets of the city and its recent regeneration. Themed tours include the 'lofts of Roubaix', or urban regeneration in the city.

La Piscine Museum

Even before 'Lille 2004 European Capital of Culture' benefited the whole city-region, the opening of the Piscine Museum in 2001 attracted very positive media coverage of Roubaix at national level. On the opening ceremony, 12,000 people came along and the local newspaper reported that local people cried when 'rediscovering' the pool. According to a survey by the Regional Chamber of Trade and Industry, the Museum attracted 212,556 visitors in 2002 and 170,236 in 2003, making it the second most visited cultural venue in the whole region, after *Nausicaa* in Dunkerque and before the Museum of Beaux-Arts in Lille¹⁴. Local firms and big regional companies regularly have meetings and receptions at the *Piscine*, which is becoming an 'icon' of the regeneration of Roubaix. The Museum has had a positive impact on the local property market (turning the neighbourhood into a desirable place to live) and a key factor in success of the new nearby 'fashion district'.

La Condition Publique

The 'cultural manufacture', which was one of 12 flagship venues during the 'Lille 2004' festival, attracted 60,000 visitors in 2004 and 120,000 visitors in 2005 (15% locals, 70% from the metropolitan area and the rest from outside the region and Belgium). It boasts a very eclectic and diverse cultural programme. It accommodates 12 small creative businesses and has since then been faced with a high demand for more studios and office space. A private investor has just announced its plan to open a 'music centre' close to *La Condition Publique*, offering rehearsal studios in a former factory building. Small impacts on the immediate neighbourhood (a very deprived area) have been felt: refurbishment of houses, opening of a few shops (hairdresser, grocer). Although the *Condition Publique* has a good image in the neighbourhood, according to surveys, outreach activities targeting the residents of the surrounding neighbourhood have brought mixed results (see below section 3.2.4).

2.3.5 Housing renewal

Housing renewal initiatives have brought about major improvements in specific neighbourhoods, but there is still a lot to do as processes are slow, and the task is huge. A new set of local amenities of direct benefit to local residents were built in deprived neighbourhoods adjacent to the town centre (*rue de l'Epeule, parc Brondeleire, Pole Petite Enfance*). ...



¹⁴ <http://www.crt-nordpasdecalais.fr/modeemploi/economie/economie13.asp>

There are clear trends pointing towards the revitalization of the inner-city residential real estate market. Roubaix is catching up with the rest of the Lille urban region, although it is still cheaper than Lille. The average purchase price for a house in Roubaix in 1995 was 32,000€, in 2005, 115,000€ (versus 75,000€ in 1994 and 134,000€ in 2004 at City region level). More young and middle-class people from the wider city-region buy in Roubaix, in the neighbourhood around *La Piscine*, for example. Lower house prices are the key factor, with good public transport linkages and increased cultural offer. Conversion of industrial buildings into loft apartment has been a profitable business: 250 loft apartments were sold since 10 years (Van Parys, 2005). About 100 lofts per year are being put on the market (a trend which will stop in 6-7 years as supply will dry out). Some critical voices speak of an emerging 'gentrification' process, whilst local leaders prefer to speak of a process of 'normalisation' within the context of a housing market which had totally collapsed years ago. The city started with such a depressed market, and there is still such a high proportion of deprivation and poor housing in Roubaix, that local officials are sceptical that heavy gentrification through saturation may ever occur (Brodin, 2006, personal communication). However, house prices in the Lille city-region as a whole are increasing fast, and the issue of affordable housing is becoming a major issue, as in all other big French cities. This will certainly put upward pressures on the Roubaix housing marketing. For local officials, the private construction of new residential units is still too weak and needs to be encouraged at a pace of 1,000 new units per year (Brodin, 2006, personal communication).

A new rule requiring '3 years of local residence' or possession of a job in Roubaix has been introduced as a prerequisite to access social housing in the city, so that the mass influx of poor households from other parts of the city-region is stopped.

3. IMPACTS OF URBAN REGENERATION ON VULNERABLE/DISADVANTAGED GROUPS

3.1 Identification of Vulnerable Groups

The **vulnerable groups** associated with the Roubaix area are:

- Unemployed workers from the former manufacturing and textile industries, in particular unskilled and semi-skilled workers, most of them in long-term employment;
- Foreigners and French citizens from migrant background (second and third generation);
- Young people who leave school without qualifications;
- Women, who have either not worked for a long time and want to return to employment, or who have cumulated temporary contracts in factories.

Inter-generational poverty and inter-generational unemployment patterns are strong in Roubaix. There is real a real situation of 'social exclusion' (a term that the French invented) for some individuals and families in Roubaix. For those with a migrant background, integration is made harder by discrimination, language barriers and cumulative deprivation. Multiple deprivation and social exclusion often involve a mixture of poor housing, poor health, problems with language and illiteracy, poor access to culture, educational underachievement and, sometimes, domestic violence or crime.

Interviews have helped us to identify the **barriers to employment amongst the vulnerable populations of Roubaix, which are:**

- lack of jobs;
- jobs not going to locals;
- skills mismatch and lack of training / low levels of qualifications;
- lack of mobility;
- cultural/expectations mismatch;
- discrimination.

These barriers are discussed below. Some are of a local nature, and some are related to the national context (education system, labour market regulations, economic trends). Various actions at local level have sought to influence each of these barriers, in partnership with various tiers of government where responsibility is shared (e.g. vocational training is within the remit of the Region) and with a plethora of NGOs and charities.

The following table summarises how these barriers are being addressed in Roubaix:

Table 4. Barriers to employment in Roubaix [Source : author]

Barrier	Intensity of actions taken locally to address the problem	Comments
Skills mismatch and lack of training Low levels of qualifications	++	A diverse offer for training, reskilling, etc... New mechanisms to assess skills rather than formal qualifications. But failures of the national education system cannot be entirely dealt with locally.
Lack of geographical mobility	++	1/3 households in Roubaix do not have a car (1999 census). The key role of the metro. But this is not enough!
Cultural/expectations mismatch	? Still an issue. New attempts at dealing with this.	Problems with: - expectations of young unskilled people; - cultural resistance to work in certain sectors which are not valued locally (personal services) - skills of 'customer relations' are difficult for former factory workers - weak entrepreneurial spirit, innovation and creativity due to the legacy of a paternalistic manufacturing system ... Still a major challenge in the fight against unemployment!
Discrimination	++	National programmes implemented locally + local policies.
Lack of jobs!	+	Generally Roubaix as a city has enough jobs... (see 1.1.3)... but nearly half are taken by commuters. Proactive search for new areas and sectors of employment.
Jobs not going to locals	+++	Very strongly acted upon. Systematic use of 'insertion clauses' for public investments. Negotiations with private investors for local employment + relevant support mechanisms.

3.2 How were their interests taken into account?

Four areas of action were identified as being relevant in our analysis of how the interests of vulnerable populations were taken into account:

1. Employment & Training
2. Anti-discrimination measures
3. Housing renewal
4. Access to culture

Each of these are now considered in turn, looking at tools and mechanisms put in place to reach out to vulnerable groups and achievements to date.

3.2.1 Employment and Training

A strong network of local stakeholders involved in employment and training support activities

The unemployment question has been at the core of the City's problems for 30 years. Consequently there is a very strong network of people and organisations involved in local employment policies – both in formal institutional settings stemming from the national system of employment support organisations, and in local initiatives (non-profit charities or partnerships). The key stakeholders are listed in the table below.

Table 5. Key organisations involved in supporting unemployed people to access employment and the labour market in Roubaix [Source : compiled by author]

Organisation	Description	Presence in Roubaix
<i>Agence Nationale pour l'Emploi (ANPE)</i>	National Employment Agency, with local branches everywhere in France. Centralises job offers and registers job seekers. All individuals receiving unemployment benefits have to be registered.	3 local branches in Roubaix.
<i>Mission Locale (ML)</i>	550 ML in France whose aim is to support young people aged 16-25 searching for employment. Nationally established but operate locally. For 20 years they have operated a network of centres providing information, advice and guidance for young people. The <i>Mission Locale</i> works with the local Employment Agency (ANPE).	A local resource centre, aimed at welcoming, advising, training and monitoring young people looking for employment. 18 months personalised programmes of advice to ensure access to employment: TRACE programme (<i>Trajet, Accès à l'Emploi</i>). Two-third of the customers of the ML in Roubaix have a qualification below the <i>BEP/CAP</i> (the equivalent of a GCSE), but some university graduates also use the service.
<i>Plan Roubaisien d'Insertion (PRI or PLIE)</i>	PLIE (<i>Plans Locaux d'Insertion par l'Emploi</i>) were set up within the framework of the national Objective 3 programme funded by the	The Roubaix PLIE is called PRI. It is managed by a non-profit association (<i>Gagner</i>) led by a steering

	<p>European Social Fund.</p> <p>PLIE operate in localities across France. They are an important policy tool to support the reintegration of long term unemployed people or disadvantaged groups. They are nationally recognised and established but operate locally (Ecotec, 2004b).</p>	<p>committee including mayor, State representative, region, department.</p> <p>Its aim is to bring coherence between the local, regional and national policies for the insertion of local people into employment on the Roubaix territory.</p>
City Council Department for Economic Development and Employment		Strong linkage between economic development and employment advocated by the City Council since the mid-1990s.
Comité Bassin d'Emploi (CBE) Roubaix Tourcoing Vallée de la Lys	<p>CBE were set up in the early 1980s by the Socialist government to address the emerging problematic of persistent unemployment. The aim was to bring an element of local analysis in labour market and employment policies. The CBE work in a given 'employment basin' roughly defined by 'travel-to-work' journeys. They bring together elected councillors, trade unions and employers' federations and since 2002 the charities' sector. Since the mid-1990s the CBE have strengthened their role of experimentation.</p>	<p>Analyses, studies of future trends in the local labour market in Roubaix and 24 communes.</p> <p>Anticipates recruitment needs and economic change.</p>
NEW: 'Maison de l'Initiative et de l'Emploi' (The House of Employment and Initiative)	<p>41 <i>Maisons de l'Emploi</i> accredited nationally in July 2005 (9 in the NPDC region)</p>	<p>The MIE in Roubaix opened in December 2006. See below. It gathers under one roof the following organisations:</p> <p><i>D.D.T.E.F.P.: Direction Départementale du Travail, de l'Emploi et de la Formation Professionnelle - Cellule de Coordination Emploi Formation</i> <i>Association GAGNER: Plan Roubaisien d'Insertion</i> <i>B.G.E.: Boutique de Gestion ESPACE</i> <i>Mission Locale: Mission Locale, Espace Ressources Jeunes de Roubaix</i> <i>AFPA: Association nationale pour la Formation Professionnelle des Adultes</i> <i>ANPE: Agence Nationale pour l'Emploi de Roubaix Centre</i> <i>ADIE: Association Pour Le Droit À L'initiative Économique De Roubaix Tourcoing Watrelos</i> <i>RTT - Conseil Régional Nord Pas De Calais</i> <i>CBE: Comité du Bassin d'Emploi de Roubaix-Tourcoing-Vallée de la Lys</i> <i>D.G.D.E.: Direction Générale du Développement et de l'Emploi</i></p>

All these organisations have to operate within national guidelines, objectives and funding from the Ministry of Employment, whilst adapting and responding to the local situation, the local 'audience' and local opportunities. This can be challenging.

Traditionally there have been two schools of thought and related practices among employment and 'insertion' professionals dealing with local job seekers:

- Promoting return to employment through a gradual process (involving various steps from training and re-skilling to intermediary employment to full employment), using various instruments of 'insertion through economic activity';
- Promoting the immediate offer of a job followed by training and reskilling, through instruments of 'employment mediation' to match job seekers and employers (this approach is more fashionable at present).

Both approaches are supported by different networks of professional, advisers, mediators and charities.

Institutional fragmentation, and the complexity of the networks of stakeholders involved in employment and labour market programmes was thus often mentioned as a challenge. A recent initiative is likely to improve coordination, coherence and efficiency between all the initiatives in place locally: a new '**Maison de l'Initiative et de l'Emploi**' (House of Employment and Initiative) opened in December 2006 in the Quartier de l'Alma. The project, conceived in 1999-2000, brings together under one roof all the various actors involved in economic development, coordination of training and employment services, business creation and support to local entrepreneurship (170 employees in total). The aim is to create a 'one-stop shop' for job seekers, professionals and local businesses¹⁵. An 'employment unit' will be set up in partnership with the local Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The MIE is structured in various thematic units which share common administrative services: Information and Advice; Training; Employment; Industrial Restructuring; Business creation; Economic Development etc...

A coherent local strategy for access to employment and reintegration into the labour market

The City of Roubaix has defined a local plan for 'insertion' and employment in 1991, the PRI (*Plan Roubaisien pour l'Insertion*). 'Insertion' refers, in French, to the integration or reintegration into the labour market of unemployed individuals which are in vulnerable situations for various reasons (see 3.1). Such Plans (called PLIE nationally) are a **key policy tool to support the reintegration of long term unemployed people** or disadvantaged groups in target areas defined by municipalities. They are nationally recognised but operate locally (Ecotec, 2004b). Finance is provided from various sources including local, national and European funding. In Roubaix the plan is implemented by a non-profit association called *Gagner* (to win), which seeks to place job seekers in fixed-term employment contracts within a six months period. In 2002, 2,374 individuals benefited from training and re-skilling supporting measures within the framework of the PRI (1,500 men and 874 women). Individuals' progress is monitored until they get a permanent contract or a short-term contract above six months.

Tools such as '*Chantiers Ecole*' and '*Chantiers d'Insertion*' are used to target those unemployed with the most difficult profiles that are likely to exclude them from mainstream employment. They are

¹⁵ See <http://www.mie-roubaix.fr/index.php>

usually implemented by charities. There is a very active charity / non-profit sector in Roubaix, providing placements and jobs for the most excluded individuals in fields such as catering, cleaning, childcare, maintenance of public buildings (Verfaillie, 2000). In addition, in 2002, 496 'insertion positions' were available in the City Council itself, managed by non-profit organisations or charities (Hainzelin, 2003). Finally, local employment policies are backed by a series of national schemes of State-sponsored employment contracts (*contrats aidés*), for which the government subsidises the employer to cover part of its labour costs.

The PRI is the **key tool to link employment objectives with the other strategies** led by the City council in the areas of economic development and urban policy (regeneration / housing renewal). The PRI's innovative character consists in the co-ordination and joint work between all the relevant institutional, social and economic partners at local level in order to tackle long-term unemployment (Ecotec, 2004a).

In addition to employment support activities, there is a **concentrated network of organisations supporting business creation** (Ville de Roubaix, 2006), providing:

- help about the technical and legal aspects of business creation (*Espace Flandre Boutique de Gestion, Ruche d'Entreprises de Roubaix, Ecloserie des Arts, Coopérative Extra Muros*);
- working space and premises - through SME incubators;
- small-scale grants and loans (*Versant Nord-Est Initiative, Comité Local d'Aide aux Projets* (specifically targeting young unemployed), *Nord Entreprendre; Association pour le Droit à l'Initiative Economique*; Regional Council).

In addition to these, the City Council itself also provides information about public subsidies to business creation and the ZFU (tax-exempt zone).

From flagship urban projects to local jobs: the systematic search for positive impacts in terms of local employment

All interviewees stressed the very strong political will, within the Roubaix City Council, to use *every possible investment opportunity* (public or private) arising in the city in order to generate local employment opportunities. A set of mechanisms and support structures are available to match new employment opportunities with local jobseekers. These are described here, with particular reference to the key urban projects mentioned in section 2.2. The mechanisms are different depending on the nature of the investor – public body or private investor.

(i) Using public investment by public bodies as a lever for local employment opportunities

There is a clear political will to use public investments into physical, social and cultural infrastructure as a lever for local employment, both during the construction phase and after - in other words to 'organise the social profitability of public investment' (Lemas, 2000: 26). Examples systematically mentioned by interviewees include:

- At *La Piscine* Museum: the security staff, guides and some administrative staff were all recruited amongst unemployed workers laid off by the *Lainière* textile factory which closed in 2000. This decision was taken early on in the project. In practice this has not necessarily been a smooth exercise, as noted by some, since some of the former factory

workers did not adapt to their new role easily, in particular when it comes to contact with the public (Touraine, 2002).

- At *La Condition Publique* the bar and restaurant staff were recruited among locals from the neighbourhood, a very deprived area. Some of the employees had prison or drug-related records.

It is worth noting that the City Council itself has 1,483 permanent posts, among which 313 are '*emplois aidés*', i.e. jobs subsidised by central government to allow the recruitment of job seekers in difficult situations. These represent 25% of total staff (Hainzelin, 2003). Local residents are hired as a priority. This deliberate policy requires strong management skills.

There are **formal mechanisms in place** which allow the City Council to generate local employment opportunities for every public investment: the '**clauses d'insertion**' (insertion clauses) (Frédéric Andrieu, personal communication, 2006). The basic principle of these clauses is to tie in local employment clauses to public investment projects led by a public body. The first experiments in this approach were carried out in the 1980-90s, for example as part of the construction of the extension of Line 2 of the Métro. These practices were stopped between 1995 and 1999 due to uncertainties following a legal challenge in Strasbourg. In 2001 the *Code des Marchés Publics* (National legal code for public procurement) was reformed and this clarified the legal framework for employment clauses under articles 14 and 30. These give any public authority the ability to use not only the cost of a tender as selection criterion, but also the experience of the bidding firm in terms of 'insertion' (i.e. integration of unemployed). Frédéric Andrieu, a local official in charge of lobbying for and negotiating such clauses (personal communication, 2006), stressed that although this creates a framework for local employment opportunities, elected officials still have to be convinced to actually use these clauses in a systematic way. In Roubaix there has always been a clear political will to do so, which is not the case in all French cities.

'*Clauses d'insertion*' can take different shapes:

- straightforward employment contracts (in all possible forms: permanent/temporary, State-subsidised or not);
- sub-contracting of certain parts of the public contract to specific 'insertion organisations' (usually non-profit charities whose sole purpose is to reintegrate unemployed people into work);
- 'mutualisation of working hours' (temping agencies working with a specific audience of unemployed people);
- in rare cases, training (usually avoided as it is unpaid and can encompass anything...)

These clauses are mostly used in the **construction sector** and heavily depend on the vitality of that sector. They also depend crucially on the political will of the elected officials in the contracting public body who is tendering the work (city council, SEM, social housing provider)... and on the readiness of the technical, legal or planning services of this authority (as this means more work involved). These clauses also bring two potentially opposed sectors together: the business world and the 'insertion' world. There are strong prejudices to overcome on both sides.

These new clauses were used for the first time in Roubaix on the construction site of *La Condition Publique*, due to the strong commitment of the architect (Patrick Bouchain) in charge of the project who personally wanted to see local employment benefits arising from the project. He divided up the construction works into many small public procurement contracts to allow local

craftsmen and small companies to work on the project. An unusual partner was selected for the works planned on the roof of the building: a local charity (*Ferme aux loisirs*) worked with a botanist to rescue hundreds of plant species which had grown on the roof of *La Condition Publique* from seeds contained in the packs of wool imported from all over the world over one century. This task was carried out with local young people in training and employment programmes.

The latest programme in which these clauses have been used in Roubaix is the massive housing renewal programme financed by central government through the ANRU (*Agence Nationale de la Rénovation Urbaine* - national agency for urban renewal), in which local youths will be trained and hired in the construction industry. However housing renewal will not give jobs to all local unemployed...

(ii) *Negotiations with the private sector and private investors to ensure job creation and opportunities for local people*

The formal employment clauses described above can only be used within the framework of a public procurement procedure. However, the City Council has systematically negotiated with all private investors involved in private development schemes in the city to create local employment benefits on the back of major investments into the city. The Mayor got involved in early negotiations with major investors (such as MacArthurGlen or Casino). Most interviewees stressed how important it has been to integrate the search for employment opportunities early on in the process (of public or private investment), and to set up mechanisms early on to ensure these opportunities are met (e.g. by training 'locals' and working closely with employers to identify their needs).

For each major flagship project or major investment in the city, a dedicated team from the City Council negotiated the creation of a number of jobs going to unskilled/poorly skilled local residents. These were negotiated and made possible because the public sector could offer a number of subsidies or support mechanisms to help private sector investment: business location subsidies, availability of land, payroll tax breaks, provision of security and cleaning services etc. This was therefore a reciprocal arrangement! Most interviewees stressed that these negotiations are useful and do have an impact on local employment because they are used systematically in Roubaix, which is not the case in all cities. But they alone will not solve the unemployment problem in Roubaix.

Historical big companies, such as *La Redoute*, do feel some sense of loyalty towards the city¹⁶ and try to support local employment initiatives, but are limited by factors such as the need to be competitive, and the need for skilled labour. There is less 'room for manoeuvre' for these companies now than a few years ago. *La Redoute* considered relocating its headquarters but decided to stay in the city. However, out of the 3,000 employees of *La Redoute*, only 307 are residents of Roubaix.

The following examples illustrate the outcomes of negotiations between the City Council and private investors in Roubaix in terms of local employment benefits.

¹⁶ Hainzelin quotes a local entrepreneur: those who didn't like the city have left, those who have stayed love it! (Hainzelin, 2003: 25).

Cité de l'Initiative

The 43 companies prioritise the employment of groups disadvantaged in the labour market, including the long-term unemployed, young or handicapped people. As a result, some 37% of the 600 employees are from these groups. There is a high percentage of female entrepreneurs and ethnic minority staff.

McArthurGlen

There were no formal 'insertion clauses' for the retail staff but political negotiations between the Mayor and investors have secured employment for local people. In the first wave of recruitment, 140 jobs were created, 50% went to locals, among which 60% to long-term unemployed (Lemas, 2000: 26). To make this possible, a new 'Employment Unit' (*Cellule Emploi*) was set up in partnership with the Mission Locale and local branch of the ANPE to prepare locals for the jobs being created and match the expectations of employers. This has involved innovative methods of recruitment going beyond the CV/interview approach to assess practical skills. The ANPE, in close link with the recruiting companies, identified a number of skills and abilities required for the jobs on offer: deal with noise, work under pressure etc. It set up real-life exercises in which candidates were put into a work situation. Those selected were then trained and accessed employment. This method can in some cases help overcome the problem of lack of formal qualifications.

Casino-Gerec and the shopping centre in *Espace Grand Rue*:

An agreement was signed by the Casino supermarket chain and the city to favour local employment. 80% of the staff at non-management level was recruited locally. An 'Employment Unit' (*Cellule Emploi*) was also put in place, steered by the ANPE, PLIE and Mission Locale with the support of many institutional actors. Its role was to 'pre-recruit' candidates for 315 out of the 350 jobs created by Casino. The unit set up specific training schemes (DIV, 2002). This approach (the use of a specifically set up employment unit) will be used in the future in the construction works for the economic growth pole *l'Union*, to bring about local employment opportunities for local unemployed people in construction, landscaping and gardening.

In addition to the negotiations described above, the designation of the city centre of Roubaix as ZFU (Zone Franche Urbaine) is a powerful tool to ensure minimum standards of local employment (see Section 2.2 and 2.3 above). The ZFU imposes a legal obligation on businesses to employ local people in return for tax exemptions. Compliance is monitored through tax and social security inspectors who check on companies and can suspend the tax benefits and demand pay back if the obligations are not fulfilled. As mentioned earlier, the estimated net job creation for 1997-2001 represents 40% of 5,000 jobs, among which 33% went to unemployed local residents.

An important lesson from the Roubaix experience is that securing benefits from urban regeneration projects and investments, in terms of local employment opportunities for local people, was not left to a supposedly natural 'trickle down effect'. This process was managed by a strong political will backed by a technical professional network, and therefore negotiated into every major investment decision, both public and private-led.

Training

As mentioned above, skills mismatch and low levels of formal qualifications are two significant barriers to employment locally. A key element in Roubaix's policy has been the provision of training schemes. There is a strong support network counselling and advising people in need of training (*Mission Locale*, ANPE, AFPA, *Direction Départementale du Travail et de la Formation Professionnelle*). A programme of evening courses in maths and language has attracted 1,000 people from various socio-economic groups.

Regarding the issue of unskilled workers, one respondent stressed that the city might have reached a 'peak' in terms of levels of unskilled workers: the lowest levels of skills are mostly among the oldest part of the working population. With retirement, statistically the level of skills is going to increase. The supply of training schemes will therefore have to respond to demographic change.

As highlighted by several respondents, however, the issue of skills mismatch is not easily solved by training and education programmes as in some cases, the most fundamental issue hindering employment are individual behaviours, communication abilities and ability for inter-personal relationships. Training schemes must adapt to these challenges. Emphasis has to be put on a number of 'cross-cutting' skills not necessarily provided in the school system such as computer literacy, language, team work, personal initiative and customer relations.

New methods of assessment and recruitment have been tested locally to overcome the issue of lack of formal qualifications: job applicants are put in concrete, predefined work situations and their patterns of behaviour and abilities in dealing with the tasks are observed, to assess the appropriateness of the candidate in dealing with the job.

The proactive search for new employment sources

The *Comité de Bassin d'Emploi* (CBE) is a non-profit organisation working for 24 municipalities in the North-eastern part of the city-region. It aims to monitor and explore future areas of employment growth and future trends in the labour market in partnership with employers' federations. Our interview with the officer in charge of the CBE Roubaix-Tourcoing has raised a number of interesting points concerning the future local employment opportunities in various sectors in the Roubaix area.

The following table show the economic sectors which **currently** provide jobs in Roubaix:

Figure 18. Key sectors providing employment in Roubaix in 2003 [Source: Assedic –CBE]

Les principaux secteurs employeurs en 2003	Effectifs (number of jobs)
<i>Vente par correspondance</i> (mail order)	10,300
<i>Textile – Habillement</i> (textile – clothing)	8,800
<i>Commerce de gros</i> (wholesale retail)	8,700
<i>Conseil et assistance (gestion – marketing – publicité – ingénierie...)</i> Consultancy, management, and business services (marketing, advertising, engineering)	9,000
<i>Services opérationnels hors intérim (sécurité – nettoyage – conditionnement – routage...)</i> Other services to firms (security, cleaning, packing, delivery), temping excluded	7,700
Construction	7,700

The CBE has carried out a major study of local employment trends and forecasts until 2015 (2006): what will the labour market be like? Will there be a lack of jobs or of labour force? Which sectors and occupations are going to change? What will be the impact of demographic and

sociological changes? What will be the impact of local economic development strategies? The CBE studies show that future sources of **low to medium skilled jobs in the Roubaix area** are in the following sectors: **retail, construction** (linked with urban renewal and regeneration), **business services** (cleaning, logistics, security), **personal services and care, catering and hospitality**. Future sources of **highly skilled** jobs are in textile; image technologies, multimedia and culture; retail; health; education and leisure.

Surveys are done by the CBE to assess the need for labour of local firms. Most recruitment is done by small companies (60% of jobs), i.e. firms of less than 50 employees. There are a number of occupations for which there is (and will be) a need for labour locally – some skilled, some low skilled: cleaners, bricklayers, childminders, teachers, social and sports workers, sales assistant, shop managers, cashiers, unskilled warehouse workers, administrative workers in the private sector, local authority officers, accountants, nurses. So in terms of the demand for unskilled labour, the future picture is mixed: in some areas the demand seems to decline, in some others it grows. In such surveys, a category is systematically mentioned as needed: ‘other industrial unskilled workers’. Very small enterprises (of less than 9 workers) seem to have big employment needs, but by definition it is difficult to gain a clear picture of the nature of these needs.

It seems a paradox, acknowledging the high unemployment rate in Roubaix, that 37% of surveyed local firms claim to have difficulties recruiting the staff they need in 2006 (CBE, 2006). The retail and construction sectors in particular tend to experience difficulties in finding appropriate staff. The problem is one of job attractiveness in these sectors, as wages are low and contracts are flexible and insecure. Interviewees stressed that action is needed at a national level to raise the profile, wages and attractiveness of those sectors.

Another difficult barrier is the mismatch between the expectations of young people with little or no qualifications, and the reality of the jobs available to them: many would be keen to work for the public sector (in local authority employment, in which new jobs are limited and usually skilled) or in the communication sector (which requires qualifications), while they perceive the job-providing sectors (construction, catering and hospitality, personal services, cleaning etc.) as fairly unappealing.

The extension of the public transport system in the city-region definitely played an important role in widening the scope for employment opportunities (one-third of households in Roubaix do not have a car) and reducing perceived borders between cities within the area. But interviewees in Roubaix stressed that transport mobility is not enough: other factors have to be overcome, as well as a traditional culture of low mobility beyond the neighbourhood due to the legacy of the local industrial history. The ‘mindset’ of residents has to be broadened, for example by encouraging the search for education and training opportunities in other parts of the city-region (although a number of children and teenagers do study in Belgium). Other interviewees noted that although the *métro* facilitates workers’ mobility, this would have to be accompanied by a more even and wider spatial distribution of tertiary activities (business services etc...) at the level of the city-region - a process which is only beginning.

Demographic change (retirement) and out migration will be key factors in ‘relieving’ some of the pressure in terms of local unemployment. Statistics from the CBE show that from 2007 onwards, the arrival of under 25s on the labour market will decrease slowly whilst the retirements of over 55s will remain steady (4,000 per year), which means that the mismatch between the two will decrease by 2016. Projections also show that if female employment rates

and employment rates amongst the age group 55-59 remain the same, the working age population will start decreasing from 2007 onwards in the employment basin (-2,000 until 2015). If both are increasing, the working age population will increase (+3,000).

One interviewee stressed that historically, the spatial concentration of people and jobs in Roubaix and Tourcoing was abnormally high when compared to the size of both cities, a fact generated by the highly concentrated structure of textile manufacturing. No economic system will ever be able to provide such a concentration of employment on such a small territory in the same way as the textile manufacturing industry. Even if the new flagship economic development project of *l'Union* will bring about significant new employment in the service sector, this will not match the scale of past job losses. This structural mismatch between high population concentration and the ability of the local economy to produce jobs will require some form of out migration to other parts of the city-region (South and West), to other parts of France (there is a need for manufacturing workers in Lorraine for example), or to Belgium (CBE, 2006: 23). Specific programmes to encourage mobility outside the region are therefore needed (CBE, 2006).

Specific economic sectors likely to generate local employment have been the focus of particular attention by the CBE:

Personal services and home care:

An under-developed source of employment seems to be the area of 'personal services' (*services à la personne*) (childcare, care of old people etc.). Traditionally the 'third sector' (charities) is active in this field, but too few private sector SMEs are. Business creation in this field is now encouraged locally. However several interviewees highlighted the challenges raised by the need to develop this sector, due to cultural 'resistance' and historical patterns. Because of the industrial past, activities related to production and manufacturing are considered 'noble' and respected locally, even production line working in a factory. With the exception of retail, personal services are much less valued. There is an important cultural aspect here. The cultural dimension of the shift to a service economy is underestimated: in nearly all sectors which offer future employment opportunities, a fair degree of customer relations is needed as well as good interpersonal skills. These aspects may be problematic for former factory workers used to a very hierarchical system and repetitive tasks. However, one interviewee, who holds regular talks on future opportunities for factory workers about to be laid off, stressed that he often witnesses a fair amount of personal curiosity and creativity regarding possible career shifts.

The 'Third Sector' (économie sociale et solidaire):

Many hope that it is a sector with strong employment potential. A study of the scope and weight of the Third Sector in Roubaix (Hainzelin, 2003) has shown that it comprises 180 organisations, including 128 associations (charities), 14 regional social economy organisations (banks, insurances); 8 private companies with a 'social economy status', and 31 private companies of traditional legal status carrying out various actions in terms of reintegration on the labour market. Among the 128 associations, 108 had a significant economic activity: 11 focusing on labour market reintegration through economic activities (for a total of 496 jobs); 7 providing home care services (600 FTE jobs); 5 funding and support organisations (*Rhizomes, Caisse Solidaire, Espace, Fédération des Cigales, Clap*); and one grocer. Altogether their activities represent 68.6 million € and 1,512 FTE jobs.

There are thus plenty of people and organisations locally involved in a dynamic Third Sector - but it is also fragmented into various networks and there is no overall coherence. The Third

Sector is supported by the local Council and other support mechanisms are widely available in the Lille metropolitan area and in the region. The Third Sector plays a key role in giving formal employment opportunities to people trapped in situations of exclusion or discrimination, in areas such as catering, gardening, cleaning and maintenance. Such contracts do not mean the end of an often fragile individual economic situation, but they can restore a sense of self-worth and dignity.

Most interviewees, however, noted that in quantitative terms the Third Sector will not significantly 'change' the employment situation at the city-wide level. They see this sector as paving the way for new fields of 'personal services' and activities which should ultimately become self-funded or profitable.

The textile sector:

The children of those who have been left unemployed by the decline of the textile industry do not want to hear about textile as a future occupation. Locally the image of jobs related to textile production is very negative. The sectors of 'innovative textile', research and design which are being promoted (see 2.2.3) primarily relate to high-skilled jobs. Quantitatively they will not recreate opportunities for mass employment in textile production. The textile sector in Roubaix is renewing and reinventing itself, but in new forms and structures, with new types of job. There are fewer big firms, and more SMEs with highly-skilled jobs ('technical' textile; fashion design). However, related sectors such as retail, mail order and distribution have more potential for higher numbers of employment opportunities (including low-skilled jobs).

3.2.2 Anti-discrimination measures and the promotion of 'local multiculturalism'

Interviewees stressed that discrimination against ethnic minorities has probably not been worse in Roubaix than anywhere else in France in absolute terms, but that the high proportion of an ethnic minority population (in general, and in the unemployed population in particular) has made the phenomenon of discrimination more visible and frequent at local level. However it is difficult to quantify it, as France does not analyse its immigrant and immigrant-origin population in the kind of systematic ways used, for example, in the UK (through questions on ethnic origin in census and employment statistics) (Geddes, undated).

At the same time, Roubaix has successfully 'grown' a local middle-class elite stemming from Northern African immigrant families, visible in the public administration, local NGOs and cultural institutions in the city (Garbaye, 2000). Garbaye (2000) has shown that the politics of ethnic minorities in Roubaix is atypical of other French cities: their position on the local political scene is unusually strong, with the emergence in 1995 of a significant second-generation local elite. In 2000 there were 5 councillors of North African background (or 9% of the total number of councillors), one of which in particular is entrusted with significant aspects of the city's urban regeneration policy. Garbaye argues that this can be explained by the peculiarities of the politics of the city - an unusually strong community movement and weak political parties: 'The high level of community activity has acted as a training ground for ethnic minority leaders and activists, and as a channel towards electoral politics ; and the weakness of parties, and the fluidity of alliances in municipal politics, provide allies and places on slates for these elites' (Garbaye, 2000: 9).

In particular, ethnic minorities have been able to participate in mainstream community activities through individual participation in several para-municipal structures, especially the *Comités de*

Quartiers, the *Fédération des Associations de Jeunes (FAJ)*, and Muslim networks. These 'are intent on raising issues of racial discrimination and recognition of cultural and religious difference, and are very militant about it, vocally criticising the city council and other local authorities about it'. Whilst they might have been viewed with suspicion by local politicians and officials at times, they were too powerful to be ignored (Garbaye, 2000), Commission Extra Municipale des Populations étrangères.

Within the framework of urban policy and urban regeneration programmes, the general trend has been not to target 'immigrants' as such, but rather to address their situation indirectly through a targeting of specific neighbourhoods as part of the *politique de la ville* (Geddes, undated). However, specific 'anti-discrimination' measures are carried out within the framework of national anti-discrimination programmes and government priorities (5 measures by the Interministerial Committee on Integration in 2003; 3 priorities of the 'Social Cohesion Plan' of the Government - Employment, Housing, Equality of opportunities). Various programmes were set up locally to fight against discrimination of ethnic minorities in accessing employment and housing in particular. The most active regional organisation is the FASILD (*Fonds d'Action et de Soutien pour l'Intégration et la Lutte contre les Discriminations*). This regional fund works to help the integration of migrant populations and champion equality of rights and accessibility, through language training, support to entrepreneurship and support to migrants in housing and employment search. In addition, since 2003, the *Département du Nord* has piloted a new 'welcome and integration contract' (CAI) which includes personalized advice, language support, citizenship training etc. Finally, locally, in 2001 the cities of Roubaix and Tourcoing have launched a plan against discriminations on the labour market ("*Plan Intercommunal de lutte contre les discriminations sur le marché du travail*").

In Roubaix there have also been efforts to promote the 'cultural memory of migration' and the support to cultural diversity. Roubaix has been a pioneering municipality in this respect. Michel David, Head of Regeneration and Culture, has been a strong champion of integration and multi-culturalism issues in the city. He summarized the principles underpinning the local approach to integration of ethnic minorities as follows (personal communication, 2006):

- i. Recognition of collective cultures and a right to express and practice one's culture and religion: 7 mosques, 3 pagodas and 7 protestant temples; an Arabic festival and cultural centre.
- ii. A right to freedom and individual emancipation from one's culture of origin to define oneself as an individual (converts, gays, women etc). No individual should be locked into his/her community if he/she does not want to be.
- iii. Need for interactions between cultures - a difficult task! People keep to themselves even if they mix in public space. Avoid a 'multi-culturalism of juxtapositions' and foster a real 'living together'.
- iv. Recognition, fostering and protection of common values and human rights in the spirit of the Republican French model. This means that it can be publicly maintained that not all beliefs have equal worth if they attack the integrity of a person (e.g. circumcision/excision of African women is not tolerated).

3.2.3 Housing renewal

Specific mechanisms within housing renewal schemes which are helping vulnerable groups include:

- The urban renewal of public social housing at a massive scale;

- The availability of a number of subsidies for private landlords to improve their houses in a number of neighbourhoods: e.g. tax incentives, technical advice, loans, subsidies and grants. In deprived neighbourhoods, there are a lot of owner-occupiers who bought their houses for a few thousands pounds and who are on a very low income with no investment capacity to maintain or improve their housing. These subsidies are thus needed to encourage improvements to the housing stock.

Processes of housing renewal and re-housing have been tied up with counselling and support to families on related matters (employment and training). Within the framework of the latest housing renewal schemes funded by the national ANRU programme in two areas (*Trois-Ponts* and *Auchan-Longchamp*), the housing renewal and rehousing process is used as an opportunity to start a dialogue with families on their employment situation: inform people about training and reskilling opportunities, put people in contact with relevant organisations etc. This stems from a willingness to link the process of change in the housing situation with an attempt at stabilizing the employment situation of the family as a whole (Picher-Douterlungne, personal communication, 2006).

3.2.4 Culture

As highlighted above in section 2.2.4, one important aspect of the cultural policy of the city has been to improve the accessibility of vulnerable groups to 'culture' (broadly understood), and to promote the diversity of local cultures emerging from Roubaix's industrial and immigration history. Local initiatives have involved:

Improving financial accessibility to cultural facilities for local people

This is achieved through free or discounted access for unemployed and individuals on benefits.

Developing cultural facilities and opportunities in deprived neighbourhoods, not only in the town centre

One primary example has been the location of *La Condition Publique* in the *Pile* neighbourhood.

Creating linkages between cultural facilities and their deprived surrounding neighbourhood

The building of the *Ballet du Nord* hosts a dance association for local children. The *Piscine* does a lot of work with local children. At *La Condition Publique*, a real willingness to open to local communities has been demonstrated through: re-skilling and the employment of local people on the construction site and later on, in the facilities such as the café; the opening of the construction site to the public via a common community restaurant for workers, architect and locals; the organisation of parties for locals; early communication with local residents on issues of concern such as drug dealing, parking spaces etc.; openness of the cultural centre towards its surrounding communities (a traditional monthly ball on Sundays; inclusion of different styles of popular music; a café with a time slot for locals to play cards; a project with patients from the local psychiatric hospital). In spite of these activities, the attendance at different events and performances staged at *La Condition Publique* is 'segmented' between socio-economic groups, with few interactions. Some have been successfully attracted locals (free concerts and children's

activities), but many local residents live in very extreme forms of poverty and social exclusion and seem impossible to reach.

Changing the content of cultural events to integrate the local cultural diversity and local memories (memories of migrants, memories of workers)

Forms of celebration of local 'cultures' (industrial culture / immigrant culture / youth culture) are encouraged through festivals such as the *Transculturelles*, and cultural and festive events in public space and streets (carnivals, bals, concerts, open air theatre etc.). Culture, in these festivals, is understood not only as 'elite' culture, but also as popular and minority culture. Efforts have been made to promote local memories of immigration and labour history (creation of a directory of activities and organisations working on the 'memory of immigration' in the region; contribution to the new national Museum of Immigration).

In spite of a very proactive policy of the City council and of local cultural actors, there is still a long way to go to increase access to culture for the benefits of all city residents. A report was commissioned to look at the impact of Lille 2004 European Capital of Culture on the 'democratisation' of culture and cultural practices (Lavieville, 2006). The report concluded that multiplying the number of cultural and artistic events does not guarantee an increasing access to culture and the diversification of the audiences. The analysis made by the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in *La Distinction* (1979) is still valid: strong differentiation between legitimate culture and non-legitimate culture; strong inequalities in the relationship to culture related to the ownership of specific cultural codes, or social and educational capital.

4. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND LESSONS

This section provides a summary of the findings from the previous sections and draws key lessons for UK cities.

4.1 Extent of overall regeneration success

- There is definite evidence that local unemployment has fallen substantially: from 33% in the late 1980s to 22% in 2005. This decrease is due to a mix of factors: improved general economic climate; the impact of the tax-exempt zone (ZFU); and a better coordination between economic development and local employment as described above (DIV, 2002).
- Various recent studies have reported positively on the benefits of Roubaix's 'cultural' investment and on the fight against discrimination in local labour markets.
- The image of the city has significantly changed and media reporting, at national level, is overall positive since 2001, emphasising the dynamic strategies and achievements of the city in terms of culture, retail and urban regeneration.
- There is also clear evidence of people wanting to move into, and invest in Roubaix. People who can no longer afford to buy property in central Lille are starting to move in. Demographic decline stopped and the property market is picking up.
- The town centre is now alive with retail and cultural opportunities, and is very busy during the day.
- There seems to be a sufficient number of instruments, policies and resources to support access to employment and training in Roubaix. The challenge is rather how to secure coordination between the various professionals involved in supporting access to employment, '*insertion*' and training. Bringing together all relevant personnel under one roof at the MIE (see above) should considerably improve the overall coordination of services to local unemployed and local businesses.

4.2 Extent of success in benefiting vulnerable groups and key factors

- The various elements of the regeneration of Roubaix's city centre have clearly benefited vulnerable groups, in particular through the systematic search for local employment opportunities.
- Challenges remain, in particular when it comes to addressing the skills mismatch and the 'cultural' problems in the move to a service economy.
- Some of these challenges require action at national level (e.g labour market legislation, levels of wages in different sectors, and reform of the education system).

- There is still a small proportion of the Roubaix population which has slipped through support networks and social services' safety nets. Illiteracy in particular is still an issue amongst socially excluded groups and is difficult to monitor.

4.3 Remaining challenges for the future

- There is still a lot to do. But all interviewees felt that the spiral of decline in Roubaix has been stopped, and that more progress will be made in terms of local employment now that investors are coming back.
- The scale of the problems is much bigger than all the means mobilised so far. The time scale for a positive, long-lasting visible regeneration is a 20-year horizon. The first results and positive changes are now becoming visible after 10 years of integrated actions led by committed and proactive local political leaders, officers and professionals.
- Two battles will have to be pursued: the battle for attractiveness (which includes retaining local skills and investors) and that of social cohesion, in order to offer everyone a role (economic, but not only) in society (Baert, personal communication, 2006).

4.4 Potential lessons for UK

(1) Success could not be achieved outside the framework of a strong city-region in which political cooperation developed in the early 1990s

- The political construct of the LMCU - since 1968 a metropolitan authority of 83 local authorities with key strategic responsibilities funded by local taxes (shared with local authorities) - has allowed for coherent investment and strategic planning decision-making at the scale of the metropolitan region from 1989 onwards. Although decision-making within the LMCU has not always been easy, there has been a broad degree of consensus on the strategic development path to be taken to improve the positioning of the conurbation in Europe.
- With the election of René Vandierendonck as Mayor of Roubaix in 1994, the relationships between Roubaix and the LMCU improved significantly.
- A key event helped secure the political strategic role of LMCU as a key body for urban economic development: the early 1990s '**metropolitan compromise**' (*compromis métropolitain*). This was expressed clearly by Michel David (Head of Regeneration at Roubaix City Council, personal communication): 'It is in the interest of Lille to save Roubaix'... and for the first time 'Roubaix has accepted that Lille is the capital of the city-region'. In Leeds / Bradford there is still resistance to both ideas!
- There were and still are historic rivalries between Lille, Roubaix and Tourcoing but eventually consensus was born around the idea that there is a need for a strong core city (Lille), whilst at the same time there needs to be a strong will from the metropolitan authority to tackle the unbalanced development of the city-region, help deprived areas

and avoid a core-periphery situation which in the long-term would be detrimental to the overall prosperity of the city-region. There is still competition... but within a context of cooperation and search for complementarities. The personality of Pierre Mauroy was key in overcoming rivalries!

- This 'consensus materialized in a trade-off: Roubaix/Tourcoing accepted to back massive public investment in Euralille as a flagship project of central importance for the city-region as a whole, whilst the LMCU put significant resources into extending the metro to Roubaix and Tourcoing plus funding city centre renewal and housing investment in both towns. At the same time there has been a strong emphasis on the polycentric development of the city-region through a wide network of public transport and the planning of major flagship projects in various locations (*Euralille, Eurasanté, Haute Borne, Eurotéléport, Euratechnologies*) - with each major city specialising in certain types of activity.
- The key lesson for the UK is that tying up the benefits of urban renewal to economic and social regeneration cannot be achieved without a strong, proactive and long-term political and social regulation at the scale of the city region (Paris and Stevens, 2001: 217).

(2) Civic leadership and vision both at the level of the city-region (Pierre Mauroy) and at the level of the city of Roubaix (René Vandierendonck) have been paramount

- In the wider Lille urban region, it has been important to have
 'the existence of powerful political figures who, backed by the *Comité Grand Lille*, have had a vision of how the Lille conurbation can reinvent itself given its favourable geographical location in the urban fabric of North-west Europe and the tenacity to bring it into being. They have also had the tools and agencies, managed by equally visionary staff, to back them up' (Fraser and Baert, 2003: 108).

The political clout of Pierre Mauroy has been to the 'metropolitan consensus' described above: Member of the French Parliament, Member of the Senate, ex Prime Minister, politically recognised and respected beyond his party.

- Lever's 2001 study assessed the impact of 'good' and 'bad' mayors and concluded that there does appear to be some evidence that decisions by strong mayors in European cities can be related to economic performance. He mentioned Lille and the role of Pierre Maurois as one of the 'success stories': 'Maurois was able to create a regional coalition for growth amongst a group of towns which hitherto had been destructively competitive one with another whilst maintaining Lille's pre-eminence' (2001: 121). In Roubaix too, the key role and personality of the mayor were instrumental in securing, among others, public funding. 'The mayor's role, as described by himself, is to bring together the key stakeholders in a process of change and to make people, investors and others, embrace the culture and vision of the city' (René Vandierendonck, mayor of Roubaix, in Lemas, 2000).
- Michel David (Head of Regeneration at Roubaix City Council, personal communication) emphasised specific local cultural features as important factors in the recent positive trajectory of the city: commitment to a work ethic, local civic pride (historically constructed through opposition to Lille!); spirit of resistance; entrepreneurialism and

coping strategies; local pragmatism reflected in local politics, urban governance and class relations (i.e. overcoming political divisions and class conflict for the benefits of the city, putting the state of the city above politics and ensuring close relationship with the business community). Change has been driven by a class of locally grown political actors committed to the city whilst there has been some stability in the local political staff, refreshed by a young generation of local authority staff (under 40s) keen to experiment with new solutions in planning, social policy, economic development, and a good capacity for cross-departmental work within the city council.

(3) Operating in a polycentric metropolis with an integrated transport system which links together a city-region with a favourable external accessibility

- One of the main factors which changed the fate of the Lille city-region for ever is the significant opportunities brought about by the location of the high-speed train (TGV/Eurostar) interchange station in Lille, which has changed patterns of accessibility in North-West Europe.
- But as this report has sought to demonstrate, good transport and improved accessibility is not enough! An economic strategy at the level of the city-region is key.

(4) An integrated strategy addressing urban/social/economic regeneration in parallel

- In a city like Roubaix, which concentrated so many problems and so much dereliction and decline, regeneration was likened to an 'art of war' requiring a commando strategy. The integration approach to urban regeneration (which has been familiar to UK practitioners for many years now), has been embedded in the concept of '*Ville Renouvelée*' at city-region level, and backed by a strong vision and political leadership at local level.
- In Roubaix this approach has been translated into five key elements: Recreating attractive and safe public spaces and promoting the architectural heritage of the city; bringing retail back to the city and making the city a shopping destination; encouraging economic development through a designated 'Enterprise Zone' and other zones of targeted development; developing an innovative and proactive cultural strategy to make Roubaix a city of culture and tourism; supporting housing renewal for the benefits of the local population. A positive 'chemistry' between these elements was perceived as a reason for success: each in isolation would not have been enough to secure visible change. The ZFU, in particular, was a key factor, but embedded within a wider strategy. Housing renewal is seen as crucial to retain and attract new residents.
- This strategy is only starting to bring about visible results after more than a decade of strong actions and changes... Tenacity and political commitment are key to the long-term sustainability of the positive trends witnessed so far. This means investing in long-term key projects (*l'Union*, for example, has a 15-20 year horizon).

(5) Putting 'culture' at the heart of the strategy

- Local leaders have managed to build an impressive cultural regeneration strategy in a city where it was least expected. This has meant a bold, daring and creative attitude towards cultural infrastructure. When visiting *La Piscine*, an English planner from Bardford commented that a curator with an idea such as the conversion of a pool would have been totally ignored in England!
- Cultural investments have been perceived as paramount, not only as an add-on for image purposes. Culture is not only understood as an economic sector (the 'creative industries'), but there is also a strong emphasis on its symbolic and social role to restore pride and social cohesion.
- More recently Roubaix benefited from the wider impact of 'Lille 2004 European capital of culture'.

(6) Strong political will, within the City Council, to use every possible investment opportunity (public or private) arising in the city in order to create opportunities in terms of local employment

- The benefits to local people in terms of employment stemming from the regeneration and renewal of the city centre, were not left to a supposedly natural 'trickle down effect'. They were supported by a strong local political will backed by a technical network: local employment opportunities were negotiated into every major investment decision, be it public- or private-led. For public investments, the legal instrument of '*Clauses d'Insertion*' was used, in line with French regulations on public procurement. But local political leaders and officials also systematically negotiated with private investors for local employment benefits in return for public subsidies and other forms of support. Such negotiations have to be accompanied by local measures to train and 'prepare' local unemployed.

(7) Finances and public funding

- The renewal of Roubaix would not have been possible without a strong financial commitment from the public sector. In the two ZACs that were subject to urban renewal measures, the share of the public sector in the financing amounts to 90% and 82%, respectively. When all the public investment outside the ZAC is included (infrastructure, public transport, housing and public space), the amount of public investment turns out to be four times higher than that from private sources (Bonnevill, 2005 based on Morlet 2002).
- The case of Roubaix shows that private sector investors are only willing to invest if the public sector takes on the risks involved in land conversion and if it implements public facilities that are required to produce economic externalities (public transport) (Bonnevill, 2005).

- One of the challenges for the Lille city-region has been to integrate all scales of funding (from EU to local) into a coherent strategy at the level of the metropolitan area. In France the preparation of regional contracts, *Contrats de Plan*, 'makes possible a dialogue between central government and the different tiers of local government concerning the priorities of urban policy and regional development which in turn are translated into negotiations surrounding the preparation of individual *Contrats de Ville* and neighbourhood regeneration programmes at the local level' (Le Galès and Mawson, 1995). However this process, which is based on bargaining between centre and locality, 'requires strong political backing from central government and favourable local circumstances in terms of political support from the local communes and heads of state services. (...) A number of parallels can be drawn between the roles of the prefect and that of the Senior Regional Director in the Government Offices for the Regions. In order to operate the contract planning system effectively, the French recognised that a new set of skills were required [in public organisations] in terms of networking, negotiating, and the management of multi-agency multi-funded schemes and programmes' (Le Galès and Mawson, 1995: 390).

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Useful websites

Lille city-region:

Lille Métropole Communauté Urbaine (LMCU)

<http://www.lillemetropole.fr>

Agence de Développement d'Urbanisme de Lille Métropole (ADULM)

<http://www.lille-metropole-2015.org/>

Schéma Directeur for the Lille City-Region approved in 2002

<http://www.lille-metropole-2015.org/schemdir/index.htm>

Agence pour la Promotion Internationale de la Métropole Lilloise (APIM)

<http://www.apim.com>

SEM Ville Renouvelée

<http://www.semvr.fr/>

SAEM Euralille

<http://www.saem-uralille.fr/>

National and regional policies:

Ministère de l'emploi, de la cohésion sociale et du logement: Politique de la Ville (French national urban policy)

<http://www.ville.gouv.fr/>

Direction Départementale et Régionale du Travail, de l'Emploi et de la Formation Professionnelle

<http://www.npdc.travail.gouv.fr/>

Fonds d'Action Sociale pour l'Intégration et la Lutte contre les Discriminations (FASILD)

<http://www.fasild.fr/dispatch.do>

Roubaix:

Mairie de Roubaix (Roubaix City Council)

<http://www.ville-roubaix.fr/>

Cité de l'Initiative

<http://www.citedelinitiative.com/>

McArthurGlen

www.mcarthurglen.com

L'Usine Factory Outlet

<http://www.lusine.fr/>

Maison de l'Initiative et de l'Emploi de Roubaix

<http://www.mie-roubaix.fr/index.php>

Comité de Bassin d'Emploi Roubaix Tourcoing Vallée de la Lys

www.cbervl.org

Office du Tourisme de Roubaix

www.roubaixtourisme.com

La Condition Publique

<http://www.laconditionpublique.com/>

La Piscine Musée d'Art et d'Industrie

<http://www.french-art.com/musees/roubaix/>

[A virtual tour of the museum is available on the Piscine Section of the Ville de Roubaix Website].

Médiathèque de Roubaix

<http://mediathequederoubaix.fr/>

Housing Renewal programme for private landlords

<http://www.habitat-patrimoine.org/>

List of interviewees

- Thierry **Baert**, Head of International Affairs and Culture, *Agence de Développement et d'Urbanisme de Lille Métropole* (Lille Métropole Urban Planning Agency), on 6/01/2006
- Chantal **Delahoutre**, Head of Economic Development, *Agence de Développement et d'Urbanisme de Lille Métropole* (Lille Métropole Urban Planning Agency), on 6/01/2006
- Thibaut **Brodin**, Head of Economic Development and Employment Policy, Roubaix City Council (*Directeur Général du Développement et de l'Emploi, Mairie de Roubaix*), on 27/03/2006
- Anouk **Teneul**, Head of Economy, Roubaix City Council (*Directrice de l'économie, Mairie de Roubaix*), on 27/03/2006
- Sylvie **Picher-Douterlungne**, Director of the *Mission Locale* (Youth employment advice centre), on 27/03/2006
- Frédéric **Andrieu**, Officer in charge of 'employment clauses', *Gagner - Plan Roubaisien D'insertion*, on 31/05/2006
- Eric **Vanhuysse**, *Comité Bassin d'Emploi Roubaix-Tourcoing Vallée de la Lys*, on 31/05/2006

Presentations from:

- Michel **David**, Head of Cultural and Regeneration, Roubaix City Council on 11/04/2006.
- Pascale **Debrock**, Cultural Manager, *La Condition Publique*, on 11/04/2006.

Thanks to all interviewees for their time and insights into the story of Roubaix's regeneration!