

FROM TERRITORIAL COHESION TO THE NEW REGIONALIZED EUROPE

Luisa Pedrazzini, Renata Satiko Akiyama (eds.)



From territorial cohesion to the new regionalized Europe

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**Luisa Pedrazzini
Renata Satiko Akiyama**

**From territorial cohesion to the
new regionalized Europe**

Marchio Maggioli

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Preface

*Alessandro Balducci**

The book «From territorial cohesion to the new regionalized Europe» is the result of a year of discussion and reflection promoted by Luisa Pedrazzini during the course «European Spatial Planning and Policies», held in the PhD program Spatial Planning and Urban Development at the Politecnico di Milano in 2009-2010 and offered to all of Athenaeum's PhD courses. This volume collects the contributions from key opinion leaders in European spatial policies and selected research papers from PhD students.

The common thread that connects all the contributions presented in the following pages regards the concept of Territorial Cohesion as a fundamental issue for promoting a harmonious development of the European territory, applied through the very different subjects threaded by the authors. Further, reflections refer to the new configuration that seems assuming Europe, where new macro regions, aggregated on the basis of their character and common problems overdriving administrative borders, are emerging. In this framework, the importance of regional and local government role is rising to contribute with more effectiveness to an integrated Europe together with the influence of European Union's (EU) sectoral policies on European spatial configuration that has been growing for more than twenty years, so that in the European Treaty the term 'territorial cohesion', along with those related to economic and social issues, has become a concurrent matter between EU and Member States and represents.

EU member states are extraordinarily different and this diversity is considered a fundamental advantage that can contribute to the sustainable development of the EU as whole. However, to turn EU diversity into strength it is indispensable to coordinate territorial capital, local potentials and national-regional demands through EU policies and programs. For that reason, the book edited by Luisa Pedrazzini addresses issues related to the territorial impact of European policies and the application of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) principles, supported by the most recent information about EU future scenarios and consolidated experiences of EU cities and regions.

* Coordinator of the PhD program Spatial Planning and Urban Development.

The book is structured in three parts. In the *first part*, entitled «European Perspectives», three experts of European spatial studies provide us some unmarked ESPON results and open horizons about the European spatial planning arena.

Luisa Pedrazzini, the coordinator of the course and executive manager of the General Directorate of Green Systems and Landscape at Lombardy Region, opens the discussion with the article «From European spatial planning to the new regionalized Europe». After providing a critical overview of main issues and process of European spatial planning and development, she emphasizes the importance of the territorial dimension and the role of regional cooperation for EU cohesion policies, analyzing key EU reports and programs and highlighting the growing participation of Baltic Region in EU projects.

Roberto Camagni, professor of economy at the Politecnico di Milano, introduces the main results of the ESPON project «Spatial Scenarios: new tools for local and regional territories» developed for the 2008-2020 period. Working with three integrated scenarios: Reference Scenario, a Pro-active Scenario, and Defensive Scenario, he gives us a general idea of current trends and provides suggestions for the Latin Arc countries.

Jan Van der Borg, professor of economy at Ca' Foscari University, discusses the relationship between tourism and social-economic development in European urban regions, presenting the idea of sustainable tourism development through the respect of a carrying capacity limit established by the ESPON project 1.3.3 «Role and Spatial Effects of Cultural Heritage and Identity», developed with his collaboration. To conclude, Van der Borg discusses the consequences of this limit to tourism development taking as reference the case of Venice.

The *second part* of the book, entitled «Evoked Images for the European Space», discusses the current scenarios proposed by different interpretations and applications of European policies. The chapter starts with the article of Francesco Curci, who discusses the role of icons and metaphors in the European Planning Culture, supporting the idea of a complementary use of technical cartographies and non-technical images to support, and not to limit, policies and programs. The second author Maddalena Falletti analyses the concept of isotropy proposed by Bernardo Secchi and Paola Viganò as an alternative interpretation of European policies that could integrate economic, social and spatial aspects in a single matrix. In the sequel, Angel Gonzalez highlights the cultural and social aspects of sustainable development, pointing out the necessity to incorporate them in the European regulation, especially with regard to agricultural areas and energy development. Laura Pierantoni supports the idea of culture and identity as conduct elements for spatial planning in EU territory. To conclude, Nausica Pezzoni

reflects about the growing phenomenon of migrant flows and the necessity to create a common European immigration policy to address issues related to integration and social cohesion between Europeans and immigrants from developing countries.

The *third part* of the book, entitled «Regional and Local Interpretations», investigates consequences, problems and opportunities related to the interpretation of European policies at a regional and local scale, introducing operational and theoretical aspects of European principles applied by EU regions and neighboring countries. Opening the chapter, Renata Akiyama underlines the Italian future challenges evaluating the consistence and the correlation between the projections of EU Region 2020 report and national policies and also reinforces the opportunities that territorial cohesion policy brings to Italy, especially for the Lombardy region. In the sequel, Maria Chiara Pastore analyses the implications of the European Water Framework Directive upon Italian planning policies, focusing in particular on the impacts of water regulations in the Lombardy region. The next article written by Ilija Gubic presents the construction process of the Serbian Government Space Plan, in which are established the territorial development strategies that would be implemented until 2020 when it expects the inclusion of the country in the European Union. Hossein Maroufi evaluates the different features of the sprawling process found in Europe from that found in the Tehran metropolitan region. The next author, Martín Barreiro Cruz, calls attention to the process of substitution of the Galician traditional landscape due to the implementation of high speed infrastructures. Finally, Haysam Nour brings the discussion about rehabilitation of urban heritage as a strategy not only for city improvement but also as a mechanism to promote economic and social development, comparing the experiences of the Urban Community Initiative program in Palermo and the rehabilitation of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar district in Cairo.

These and other arguments are treated in the pages of this book. The intention was to transform the reflections and experiences discussed in this volume in a valuable source of information and inspiration for policy makers and local governments. Moreover, the book sought to improve knowledge and work out an adequate system of spatial data on territorial scenarios that considers the individualities and potentials of each region and country, and thus promoting the effective cohesion throughout EU territory.



EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES

From territorial cohesion to the new regionalized Europe

Luisa Pedrazzini

1. Background and main steps

It is commonly assumed that the adoption of the European Spatial Development Perspective – ESDP (CEC, 1999) states the fundamental role of territorial issues in EU policies, recognizing the need to coordinate sectoral policies in the view of their territorial effects and in order to give them more effectiveness. Even though the ESDP was prepared by the Committee on Spatial Development formed by member states representatives, and “only” supported by the Commission, it represents the milestone of the common path of the General Directorate for Regional Policy of European Commission (DG Regio) and member states, with a particularly active role of European regions, to focus common issues in the field of European spatial planning and to share goals on European spatial development. As it is known, the most active actors in designing as European common spatial feature, in the debate and operative activities were mainly officials and experts from the North Western EU states which were able to exploit their vision of European spatial development through the Commission’s voice and in the contents of the ESDP (Faludi, Waterhout, 2002; Pedrazzini, 2006).

The incoming third millennium was very crucial for European spatial planning issue, due to the launch of the new structural fund (European Regional Development Fund – ERDF) programming period 2000-2006 and the strategic role attributed to the ERDF cooperation programme Interreg in applying spatial principles of the ESDP. Other important steps were the approval of the White paper (CEC, 2001) as a manifesto of the European governance and the proposal of the European Constitution in 2004; moreover, the preparation of the entering in the Union of ten new eastern member states after the fall of the “iron curtain”. They joined the EU in two steps, eight entered in 2004 and two in 2007. In the same period many other important targets were reached by the EU. The common currency Euro was adopted, and the Eurolandia involving in the first phase 11 states, became reality in 1999.

A very ambitious integrated economic strategy, as a fundamental step to re-launch the European economy, facing global economic challenges in a view of sustainability, was agreed on and started up with the Lisbon-Gothenburg agenda (2000-01). All these facts seemed to contribute to assuming a more concrete perspective the plan of a common destiny of EU member states in spatial matter too.

Within this framework, both spatial and economic factors in the process of political convergences and in the view of the enlargement of the EU put in evidence the role of the territorial dimension of the “European project”, particularly because of the challenges posed by inherited territorial imbalances characterizing such a wide and composite continent.

The Commission recognized the importance of spatial policy and its integration in sector policies, and the ERDF programmes were identified as the instruments both to promote such integration and to improve the dialogue between the different General Directorates of the Commission, in order to favour policies coordination and better allocation of funds and expenditures by different expenditure centres.

In particular, the ERDF transnational cooperation programme Interreg IIIB 2000-2006 was identified as the main instrument to pursue the three political objectives of the ESDP, assumed as principal reference of the thirteen programmes, and the related operational programmes documents, composing strand B of Interreg.

The three main priority topics of Strand B were:

- 1) spatial development strategies including co-operation among cities and between rural and urban areas with a view to promoting polycentric and sustainable development;
- 2) development of efficient and sustainable transport systems and improved access to information society;
- 3) promotion of the environment and good management of cultural heritage and of natural resources, in particular water resources.

Further, specific priorities were referred to the promotion of integrated co-operation of maritime regions and of insular regions, of integrated co-operation of ultra-peripheral regions.

During the process of alignment between the Commission and member states on territorial matter, the political role of the regions grew, due to their competence on town and country planning, with implementing ESDP principles also by the means of the ERDF cooperation programmes.

Aggregation of transnational European regions earlier shaped in the document *Europe 2000+* (EC, 1994), later on become firstly the pioneer macro regions of the art. 10 ERDF Pilot Actions and Interreg IIC Transnational Cooperation for Spatial Development, and then the European macro regions of the cooperation programmes (EC Guide lines 2000 Interreg eg.:

Alpine Space, Mediterranean). Further, the experience of the Euro-regions was useful to consolidate the role of cities and urban areas of cross-borders regions particularly in the core of the old Europe.

Important territorial issues were pointed out in the above mentioned period: the role of the cities as “European engines” for economic competitiveness, polycentrism as a better territorial organization, the concept of sustainable territorial development, the importance of ensuring access to services of general interest to all European citizens. All the issues listed above were considerate conditions for reaching territorial cohesion, the EU political objective introduced in the Third Cohesion Report (CEC, 2004).

In this frame, cities and aggregation of regions (namely: the transnational cooperation areas) cooperating within EU programmes didn't perform the same role. A first pattern of spatial diversity inside the regions' grouping can be recognised by the mean of Interreg IIIB 2000-2006 ex-post evaluation results. In fact, three main spatial regional typologies related to the transnational cooperation programme macro regions, emerged:

- «— *programmes covering the central zones located in the continental area of the EU 27 Member States (North West Europe, Alpine Space, North Sea, CadSES). Their overall level of multimodal accessibility was either very high or high level and their pattern of urban-rural relations was rather uniform (i.e. an above-European average population density, existence of many Metropolitan European Growth Areas, above-European average share of artificial and agricultural surfaces).*
- *Programmes covering the more peripheral zones located on the continental part of the EU 27 Member States, (Baltic Sea, Western Mediterranean, South West Europe, Northern Periphery). Their overall level of multimodal accessibility was either medium or low and their pattern of urban-rural relations was variable (i.e. equal or below-European average population density; existence of a few Metropolitan European Growth Areas; very different combinations of land use).*
- *Programmes covering either peripheral and continental zones (Espace Atlantique, Archimed) or ultra-peripheral and non-continental zones of the EU27 (Indian Ocean-Reunion, Caribbean; Canarias-Madeira-Acores). Their overall level of multimodal accessibility was mostly low and only in one case at a medium level (Espace Atlantique), but their overall pattern of urban-rural relations was rather uniform (equal or below- European average population density; existence of only a few or no Metropolitan European Growth Areas; relatively similar combinations of land use)» (EU, 2010, pp. 78-79).*

According to the mentioned ex-post evaluation document, it is evident that the first group seems more EU oriented in planning and their territorial integration in a European perspective is explicit. The report put in evidence: «*A very high or high depth and intensity of co-operation was achieved by 10 INTERREG IIIB programmes. These were programmes covering the central and continental parts of the EU27 (North West Europe, Alpine Space, North Sea, CADSES, South West Europe,*

Espace Atlantique) as well as a number of other programmes covering more peripheral (Baltic Sea, Northern Periphery) or even ultra-peripheral/non-continental parts of the EU (Caribbean, Canarias-Madeira-Acores)» (EU, 2010, p. 100). More in depth, fig. 1 shows that the highest intensity of cooperation corresponds to the North-western macro region, followed by northern and eastern countries (mainly new member states), and by the Atlantic, South-Western regions.

These programmes played an important role «*in furthering the integration and socioeconomic development of the Strand B programme areas*» (EU Cohesion Policy, 2010, p. 80).

Territorial cooperation is an important indicator of orientation to EU integration and a way to approach territorial issues in an integrated way. As it is shown (ESPON, 2006, pp. 56-57) a very high level of intensity of cooperation is concentrated in the Baltic area, in North-West Europe and in the Alpine region.

A decisive year for the EU related to territorial perspective policies was 2004. The Third progress report issued on February 2004 stated the reform of ERDF and the introduction of the territorial cooperation as a third objective of the regional policy. This was done in order to complement the two consolidated European policy objectives: social and economic cohesion with adding a third, new strategic political aim: the territorial cohesion.

It was very important, particularly in the view of the new ten eastern member states joining the EU with a strong impact in terms of population, spatial dimension, decreasing of GDP and increased imbalances. Despite the fact that the ten new member states were already involved and participated in cohesion and cooperation Community programmes for more than ten years, they were concerned with formal duties as member states only for a brief period in 2004-2006.

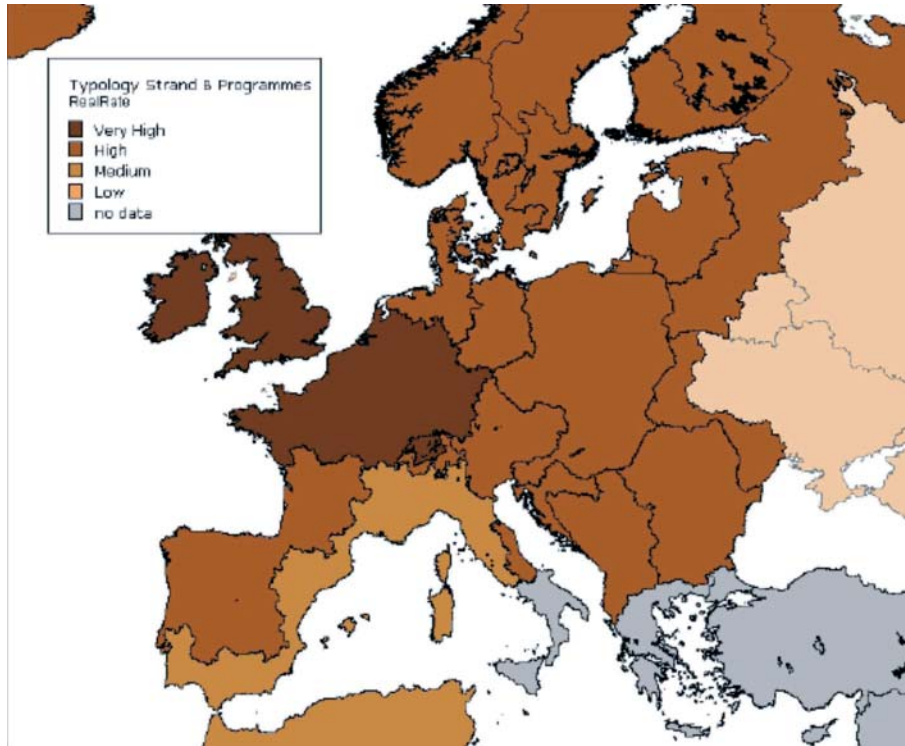
The proposal of the European Constitution introducing territorial cohesion as a political aim together with economic and social cohesion was issued, assuming territorial cohesion as a shared competence between the EU and MS. As it is well known, the Constitution of Europe wasn't issued at all but in the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU (Lisbon Treaty), entered into force in December 2009, territorial cohesion become officially a shared competence between the EU and member states.

In this view territorial cohesion has been assumed as the aim to be reached for a more balanced development in Europe; a way to point out strengthen and weakness of EU and the opportunity to drive to a regionalized Europe.

It is properly the Pentagon, the macro European region described in the ESDP (even though not represented with a picture in the document!) as well as the European global integrated region mentioned in the Third cohesion report (EC, 2004, p. 27) the paradigmatic area evoked by the Commission

Fig. 1 – Depth & intensity of co-operation achieved by Strand-B programmes

Source: EU Cohesion Policy, 2010 Ex-Post Evaluation of Interreg 2000-2006, Evaluation Report



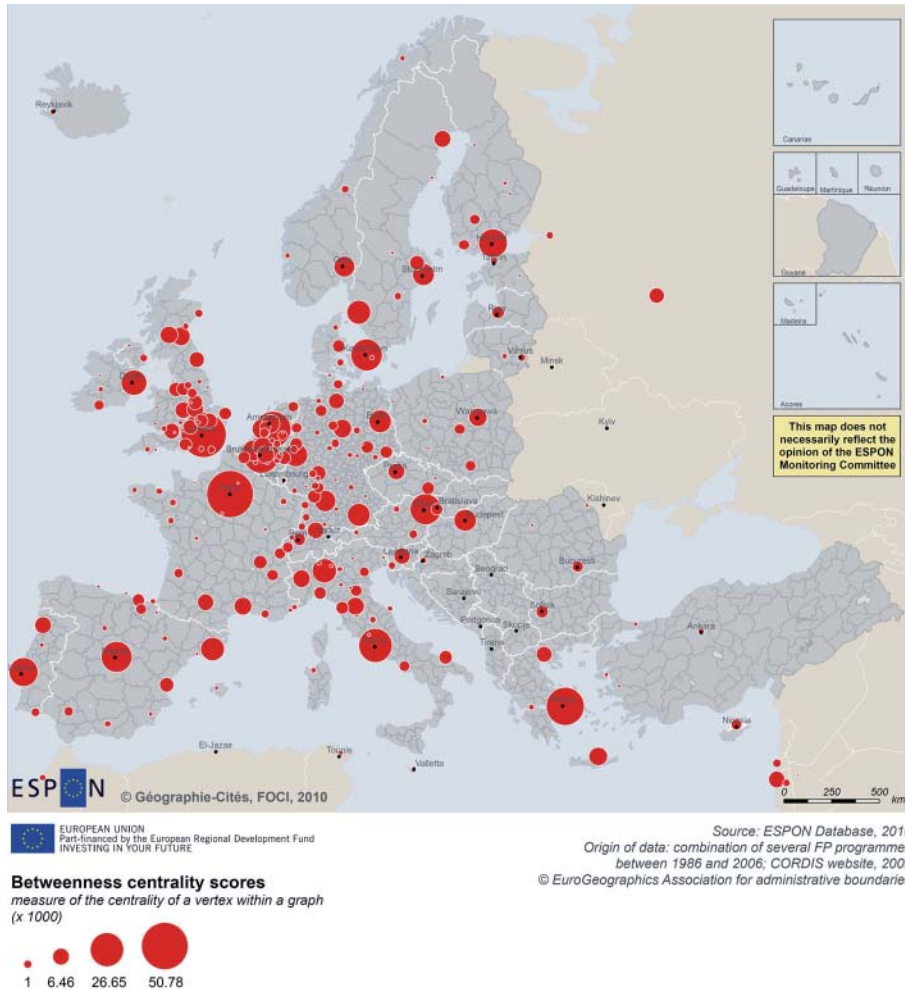
to exemplify a critical spatial situation against which territorial cohesion objectives had to be addressed.

Referring to above, results of ESPON 2006 programme researches were very useful to comprehend outputs and effectiveness of EU policies with spatial implications in member states.

The representation of “Economic specificities” (ESPON, 2006, p. 22) of the European regions shows that financial and business services are mainly concentrated in the macro region of the “Pentagon” and particularly they are located along the former “blue banana” area, even if there are some dots outside the central area of old Europe, such as in the Scandinavian countries. In particular, the Danube region and the Scandinavian countries of the Baltic emerge as homogeneous macro-regions.

Analysing the regional specialization in term of economic typology (ESPON, 2006, p. 23) the strongest European area is still the Pentagon, but the role of northern capitals grows and plays an even more important function.

Fig. 2 – Centrality within NBIC Networks, 1986-2006
 Source: ESPON, 2010, p. 35



In particular, despite northern regions are located outside the old EU core highly accessible by transport, they are the more skilled and performed in I&T (ESPON Atlas, 2006, p. 24) and they are at the top in the continent for household telecommunication uptake and broadband internet access (maps pp. 42-43). In this way, these regions balance their “peripherality” with a strong orientation to innovation and attractiveness for high-tech firms. (ESPON Atlas, 2006, sec. IV).

Regarding the trend to 2020, the temporal goal of the oncoming European cohesion policy, in the recent results of the ESPON researches emerge

the most innovative territories (fig. 2). The innovation in economic field is represented by Nanotechnology, biotechnology, information technology and cognitive science (NBIC) «that are expected to drive the next innovation wave by 2020». Behind the capital cities and main economic centres, cluster of innovation are located in Denmark, Sweden and Finland (ESPON, 2010, p. 34).

There are also innovative rural regions that profit from their global connectivity. Innovative and high-tech companies with worldwide trading and links are present in Finland, Norway, southern Germany and other parts of Europe, outside the main cities. Also the natural resource base of rural areas allows them to be players in global markets, linking directly to clients around the world. Regions in the Nordic Countries seem to overcome their peripheral location by capitalising on strengths in relation to ICT, research, educational and environmental opportunities.

Among the different types of global connections of rural areas there are the «Rural innovation regions» where Innovative and high-tech companies with worldwide trading and collaboration links can be located. Again, in this frame Finland and Norway play an important role in innovation and global trade in rural areas. Innovation is not exclusively an urban issue (ESPON, 2010 p. 41).

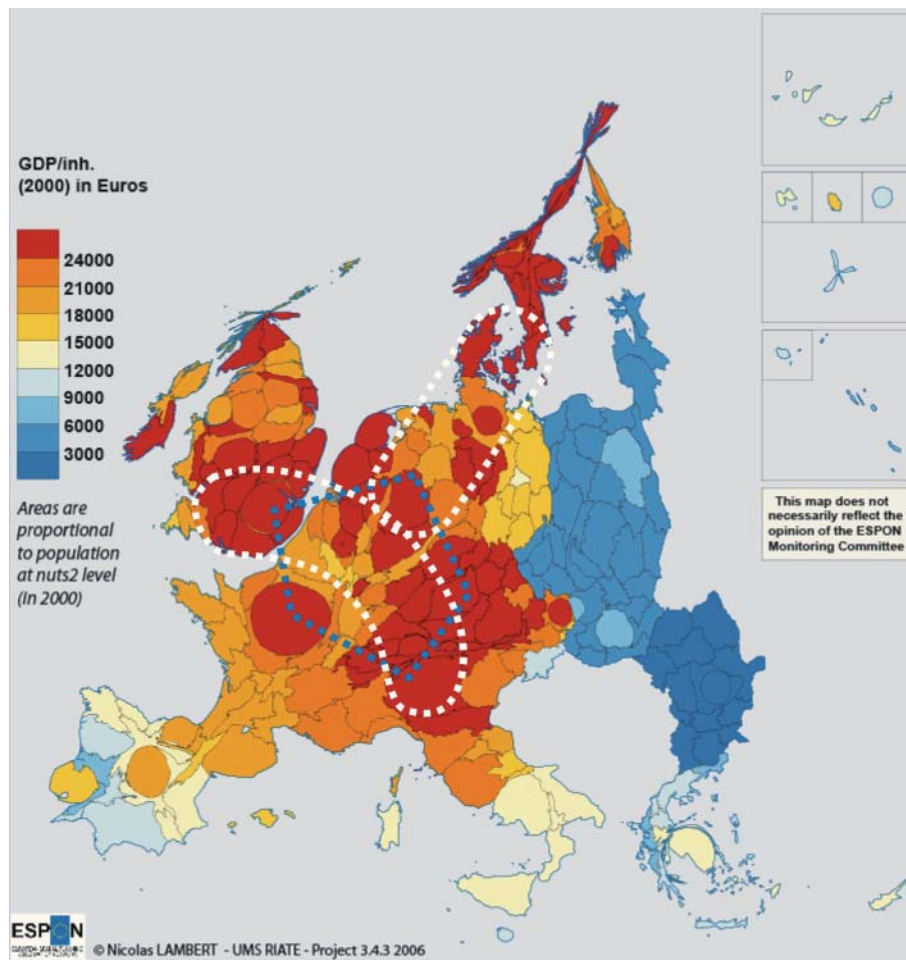
Deepening the spatial analysis perspective with a glance to the position of the MEGAS (Metropolitan European Growth Areas) (ESPON Atlas, 2006, p. 31) a more articulated view appears. The role of capital cities is evident, an important concentration of activities is located by these cities, indeed the image of the Pentagon seems now to become fuzzier. It is confirmed the historical economic role of the Rhine Westphalia backbone, that corresponds more or less to a cross border linear region along the border of France, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Germany, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, North Italy and Austria, where the most integrated European cross border cities lie.

The above sketched linear macro region is surrounded by less competitive territories and it is complemented with the link to the two global cities London and Paris; recently this macro region has been joined by the northern “twin” cities Copenhagen/Malmö. These Nordic cities together are going now to form a unique European metropolitan area also thanks to the realization of the Øresund bridge (one of the TEN included in the «Essen list») and to a well-built and smart transport policy that improved the relationship between the two regions, their functional specialization and the creation of a unique metropolitan region according to European pattern.

Also observing the European clusters of competitiveness and innovation, the Rhine backbone and the two northern arms to UK and Scandinavian are confirmed as the most innovative oriented areas in Europe according to economic Lisbon indicators (ESPON, 2006, p. 27).

Fig. 3 – The “enlarged” Pentagon

Source: Adaptation of the map «GDP/inh 2000 with cartogram proportional to population (NUTS2)» in ESPON Project 3.4.3, «The Modifiable Areas Unit Problem», 2006, p. XXXVII



In accordance with the ESPON analysis, it is evident that «homogeneous territories» on the basis of a cluster analysis shapes a Europe of regions characterized by high income and Lisbon orientation corresponding, geographically, to the sort of large “Y” sketched before, complemented by dots at the borders or outside this area (Midi-Pyrenees or Vienna region) that substantially confirm the new mega region (ESPON, 2006, pp. 58-59).

The essential difference between the regions forming the large “Y” is that in the «Old Europe» there is the highest level of transportation infrastructures, environmental risks and hazards, criticism in environmental

issues, despite in the north-eastern corner of the “Y” we can find high environmental quality, low CO₂ emissions, highest level of telecommunication infrastructures, training, investment in R&D. In a few words: they seem the more «Lisbon oriented» and competitive (fig. 3).

2. Present situation: the drivers

Continuing the analysis of the evolution of regions’ role and territorialisation of policies, it is important to remember that in the present ERDF programming period 2007-2013, to complement the two consolidated objectives of economic and social cohesion, a new objective has been assumed: that of “Territorial cooperation” (Ob. 3). Further, to sustain this orientation, the Council regulation (EC, 2006a, b, c) established a new instrument to pursue territorial cooperation in a more effective way: the European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGCT), that have given legal status to territorial cooperation measures between cross border regions. This instrument has been widely utilized in cross-border regions by regional or local authorities up to now, and allows to lay down in a binding cooperation convention established on the initiative of its members. The EGCT should be a separate legal entity, and within the bounds of its remit acts on behalf of its members according to its specific legal capacity accorded.

Moreover, the Lisbon Treaty, entered into force in December 2009, stated the shared competence between member states and EU on territorial issues and the Green paper on Territorial cohesion issued in October 2008 settled a formal position and political aims of the Commission in spatial matter.

In preparation for the ERDF programmes 2007-2013 and in the view of the formal EU position on territorial matter assumed with the Green Paper, member states carried out the Territorial Agenda of the European Union (TA) and the Leipzig Charter on European Sustainable Cities, approved by EU member states on May, 20-21 2007 in Leipzig. This event, promoted and managed by the German Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs, marked a new step on the path of territorial cohesion.

In particular, the TA was composed of two documents: the analytical one describing the EU territorial state and perspectives, and the political, in which the objectives aiming at orienting the incoming ERDF programmes 2007-2013 are synthesized.

It has to be remarked that these documents were agreed upon by central states representatives, although many European regions participated actively to their making (e.g.: the Italian representative at the documents signing in Leipzig was the president of a region, not a central state one).

Highlighting the territorial dimension of European competitiveness,

the analysis pointed out the regional scale as the most relevant spatial and administrative dimension for applying efficient and effective policy aimed at territorial cohesion, and the importance of the territorial dimension of the Lisbon-Gothenburg strategy in the light of the cohesion policy 2007-2013.

The document assesses the state of EU territory in the frame of the above premises, and, in this light the icon of the Pentagon is assured as a critical core-periphery statement still characterizing Europe due to concentration of economic activities and population (BMVBS, 2007, p. 6, § 27), while the concept of *Regionalization* is assumed properly in geographical and functional term (not merely administrative or political) and according to the definition of the art. 174 of the EU Treaty at the time, under approval.

In the analysis, smart shadow regions are emerging on the basis of the experiences of transnational cooperation projects: they are mainly from centre-north Europe, and as an example the Baltic Gateway Project is cited (BMVBS, 2007, p. 52).

To complement the main reference documents of the present cohesion policy programming period the Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion has to be mentioned, approved by the Commission on 6 October 2008, that under the sub title: «*Turning territorial diversity into strength*» declares what the real asset of Europe is compared to the other global economic competitors.

Within ten years, the geographical character of Europe (distance, huge territorial diversity, climatic diversity, etc.), pointed out as a critical aspect of the territorial management in the ESDP, turned into territorial potential strengthen, recognizing in the diversity, particularly in its thousands of towns and cities the richness of EU territorial capital.

Further, the three field of action to orient policies: «Concentration, Connection and Co-operation», are complemented by a particular accent on geographical regions such as mountains, island and sparsely populated regions, recognised as a specific challenge for cohesion (CEC, 2008a, p. 8).

3. At present ... place based approach, macro regions and regionalization, what else?

The typologies of regions mentioned in the Lisbon Treaty (art. 174) are: «*rural areas, area affected by industrial transition and regions which suffer from severe and permanent natural or demographic handicaps such as the northernmost regions with very low population density and islands as well as cross-border and mountain regions*».

Overweening the main documents driving the new perspective for economic, social and territorial development of the EU, namely those issued by the DG Regio in the last two years, it is possible to observe the main trends for the future of “territorialisation” of policies.

Many are the position documents carried out at present by the Commission to favor and reinforce the role and effectiveness of regional aggregations, from the Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion (CEC, 2008a) to the Fifth Cohesion Report (EC, 2010c).

Out of those specifically oriented to spatial issues, the Barca Report (2009), as the main independent document prepared by a number of experts for the Regional Policy Commissioner Danuta Hübner, introduced the concept of «*Place based development strategy*». In this document, constituting the scientific base to orient the revision of the European cohesion policy and to start thinking to the new reformed cohesion policy for 2014-2020, the need to pursue a strategy spatial or regional oriented in order to reduce inefficiency in programmes' budget spending and to persistent social exclusion is recognised.

Amongst the reasons of the place-based strategy there are the strengthening of a system of multi-level governance and to give a contribution to institution-building in many regions, tailoring targets on specific spatial/regional contexts, and sharing and disseminating experiences improving an efficient EU-wide network.

The following, and more recent steps of the road map to plan the new cohesion policy 2014-2020 are represented by the document *Regions 2020* (EC, 2010a) and the *Fifth report on economic social and territorial cohesion* (EC, 2010), a fundamental step sketching the future cohesion policy as stated in the Treaty of the Union.

The document *Regions 2020* (EC, 2010a), that re-launched the Lisbon strategy for European global competitiveness, with its slogan «*smart, sustainable and inclusive growth*» and the seven flagship initiatives, implies integrated policies with a clear place-based orientation. The same address is confirmed in the Fifth report that connects the effectiveness of cohesion policy with recognising in the macro-regional strategies one of the key factor for strengthening governance (EC, 2010c, p. XXIX).

Even more, the orientation to act with policies in a more integrated way and on spatial significant dimension is established. Macro regions and place based policy are strictly connected. Key words to motive the formalization of macro regions are related to successful cooperation between different stakeholders in some specific regions, but probably the real grounds is their strategic role in the enlarged Europe.

As examples, they are even more mentioned in official documents on the recent EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region, and the new EU Strategy for the Danube Region, as concrete cases of application for macro-regional strategies and «*Both the selection of development challenges for the macro regions and the governance arrangements underline a strong place-based development approach*» (ESPON, 2010, p. 52).

At present, the new two macro European regions shaped and assumed by the Commission both belong to the northern-central-eastern area of the Continent, involving all the new member states and with a glance to the eastern border of the Union.

In 2007 a request of member states was submitted to the European Commission, on 10 June 2009 a Communication on the EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region was adopted in order to carry out a comprehensive Strategy, for the first time on a “macro-region”. The Strategy aims at coordinating action by Member States, regions, the EU, pan-Baltic organizations, financing institutions and non-governmental bodies to promote a more balanced development of the Region. The four objectives of the Strategy are related to the improvement of environment quality (e.g. reducing sea pollution), the promotion of economy (e.g. promoting innovation in SMES), the improvement of accessibility and attractiveness (e.g. better transport links) and ensuring safety and security (e.g. improving accident response) in the area of cooperation.

About 100.000 million inhabitants and eight member states are involved in the strategy: Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Denmark and northern regions of Germany and Poland. Moreover, belonging to this area is the non EU state Norway, part of the Russian federation and Belarus. The macro region is involved in 18 Cross border and 2 transnational cooperation programmes.

In 19 June 2009 the European Council asked the European Commission to prepare a Strategy for the Danube Region by 2010. Eight of the countries concerned are from EU (the German Länder of Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria, Austria, the Slovak and the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, Romania and Bulgaria) and six are non EU countries (Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and the Moldova and Ukraine Danubian regions). The area of the whole River Basin covers 800.000 kmq (about a fifth of EU surface); the population is nearly 100 million, mainly located along the 3.000 km of river passing through the countries involved. The «Danube Strategy» is both integrated (i.e. covering several policy areas making the links between them) and focused (i.e. concentrating on the main issues which concern the entire macro-region). Its content have been discussed with the countries concerned, relevant stakeholders within the region (including regions, municipalities, international organizations, financial institutions, the socio-economic partners and civil society), Commission and other EU institutions. The strategy involves the relevant partners aiming at finding opportunities and providing a governance mechanism for a common strategic approach, as well as to implement concrete projects.

The main issues refer to the environmental threats of the area (water pollution, floods, climate change), the improvement of connectivity and com-

munication systems (transport, shipping, energy and the I&T), the prevention of natural risks and the improvement of competitiveness of the region.

After a public consultation in 2010, the Commission proposed an Action Plan (EC, 2010d) and a governance system adopted in December 2010 in the form of a Communication on the EU Strategy for the Danube Region (EC, 2010c). It has to be reminded that the Danube area is particularly involved in European territorial cooperation. For the period 2007-2013, nearly half of the Territorial Cooperation Programmes (ETC) are focused on the Danube area, for a total of 94 ETC programmes, 41 programmes (18 Cross-border, 7 Transnational, 13 IPA CBC and 3 ENPI) are being run in the Danube region.

Assuming the empirical definition of macro region according the preparation document of the European Union Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region, as: *«an area including territory from a number of different countries or regions associated with one or more common features or challenge.»* (Samecki, 2009) it is evident that in such a region the focus is on the issue, not on the administrative borders or competence. The reason for these geographic aggregations to exist is strictly linked to their mission, not to legal governmental or administrative competences: no implication of territorial size or scale.

The concept of macro region has been discussed in many public occasions at a Community level. In a meeting promoted by the DG Regio on 2 July 2010 they were identified as: *«territory from a number of different countries or regions associated with one or more common features or challenges, such as Geographic features (sea, river), Historic-cultural-social features? (former empires, language groups), Functional features (ports, capital cities, research poles)»* (Baudeol, 2010). This confirms the object orientation of these large scale regions that seems to fit well with one of the policy priorities of the future cohesion programmes: the “concentration” (of resources, themes, goals).

In the oncoming programming scenario the mainstream transnational cooperation regions of the ERDF programmes seems to be complemented by the novelty “functional” macro-regions. They are assumed in the Fifth Cohesion Report as a key factor for more effective governance, in fact: *«new macro-regional strategies should be based on a thorough review of existing strategies and the availability of resources. Macro-regional strategies should be broad-based integrated instruments focused on key challenges and supported by a reinforced trans-national strand, although the bulk of funding should come from the national and regional programmes co-financed by cohesion policy and from other national resources.»* (EC, 2010c, p. XXIX).

As stated above, at present two European macro regions are established. They cover a large part of the Union: the member states of the Baltic and Danube macro-regions are some half of the EU territory as a whole (more than half of the European continent if non EU regions involved are included) and the population is about one third of the total. They engage the northern and eastern regions of Europe spreading outside the

EU borders. Hooking up the geographical (the Baltic Sea and the Danube river basin) attributed two macro regions enables one to face several environmental, social, economic and territorial challenges. The past strong effort on territorial cooperation carried out by the states involved helped to give concreteness to their expectations in the present, making their past successful experiences in transnational cooperation projects more effective and now creating a fast track for the promotion of policies. Once again they are the drivers of a trend that many other “historical” transnational territorial cooperation regions in Europe tried to follow with no success.

Many other regions and member states are acting to promote their role in shaping new European macro regions, such as the Mediterranean and the Alpine even though their motivation appears weaker compared to the successful of the North-East countries.

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Spatial scenarios and policy suggestions for the Latin Arc countries

Roberto Camagni

1. Introduction

This paper summarizes the main results of a large ESPON project developed for the 2008-2020 period¹. The main goals assigned to the project were interesting and quite ambitious: to build new, after-the-crisis scenarios for European regions; to build new methodologies and tools which could provide support to policy makers for quantitative assessment and foresight; to develop stimulating partnership processes between scholars, local-regional policy makers and European functionaries in charge of EU regional policy.

All this implied first the updating of the spatial scenarios developed by the ESPON 2006 3.2 project (ESPON 3.2, 2005), using both qualitative reflections and a quantitative foresight methodology (namely the MASST model) (Capello *et al.*, 2008), and referring in particular to the post-crisis context: globalization processes and the role of emerging economies, energy trends and new roles of rural areas.

Secondly, it implied development and estimation of a new econometric tool for transferring the logics of the MASST model from the Nuts-2 level to Nuts-3: the sub-model: MAN-3 (Masst-at-Nuts-3), developed with reference to three countries: Spain, France and Italy. A quantitative foresight on all Nuts-3 regions was run on the basis of the new qualitative scenarios for these countries.

Thirdly, the construction of new scenarios for the Barcelona Province was envisaged, building on an in-depth analysis on the economic fabric, recent performance and internal structure of this area. A final, relevant and consistent part of the research project was devoted to policy messages and recommendations, mainly focusing on the territories of the Latin Arc Provinces Network and the Barcelona province.

In this paper, mainly the parts concerning the scenarios and policy suggestions will be presented in some detail. The remaining parts and all information on the modelling and results of the quantitative foresight can be found on the EspoN web-site (ESPON-SPAN, 2010).

2. The new scenarios

Three integrated scenarios are built on the basis of updated “thematic” scenarios and taking into considerations the new driving forces which are likely to act in the new condition brought about by the crisis: a Reference Scenario, a Pro-active Scenario, and a Re-active, defensive Scenario.

2.1. *The reference scenario*

The *reference scenario* is not to be considered as a trend scenario in the conventional sense, because the simple extrapolation of past trends does not seem meaningful in a context where numerous factors of strategic significance are changing (globalization, energy paradigm, climate change, social orientation, recent economic crisis, etc.) and are likely to give rise to a clean break with respect to the past. Huge contradictions emerged in the recent past, which were highly responsible for the present crisis: the debt-driven aggregate demand in advanced countries, highly sensitive to the conditions of the financial markets and widely responsible for the emergence and the sudden explosion of the real estate bubble; the financialization of western economies, leading to overlook the problems of the “real” economy; the bizarre evidence of new emerging countries like China and BRICS, relatively poor countries, not only supporting western consumption (and real incomes) with a wide supply of low-price goods, but also supporting western (and particularly the U.S.) balance of payments with huge acquisitions of Treasury and financial assets. All these elements in fact are due to change in the long run but also in the short run.

The balance of the geo-political game will be different with respect to the past. Winning assets will be different. The dollar will no longer be the only reference currency for international exchanges. A “regionalised” globalisation will probably take place, with the large “triad” areas (Europe, America, East and South Asia) becoming more independent and more internally integrated. BRICS will enter progressively in the medium and high technology game and will become sources of international demand, given the increase of internal per-capita incomes. On the other hand, the purchasing power in western countries, particularly of some groups (retirees, civil servants, low income groups), will be particularly affected.

Hopefully, a lower real wage increase in western countries and the already mentioned “regionalized” globalisation will enable some recovery of manufacturing activities in Europe, especially if a number of new technologies develop: nanotech, biotech, transport technologies, new materials, green economy.

Growing oil and gas prices will favour investments in oil and gas exploration and discovery, and the Arctic region will become a strongly targeted region in this respect; regional tensions and possible conflicts are not excluded. The expansion of nuclear energy will be constrained by the progressive depletion of uranium resources.

The most important effect of all these changes and contradictions, and the element on which new hopes for relaunching growth in advanced countries will be the emergence of a new paradigm: the “*green economy*” paradigm. Its importance resides in its pervasiveness (hence the term “paradigm”): it will enter almost all aspects of the economy and the living conditions. Many production sectors will be directly touched: energy of course, but also manufacturing, transport, building and construction, tourism, and even agriculture (production of bio-fuels and, most interesting, the emerging phenomenon of “zero-km-agriculture, due to revitalize in a sustainable way in many peri-urban areas).

The emergence of the green-economy paradigm will provide a relevant part of the new source of aggregate demand, desperately needed at the international scale, new jobs in advanced but threatened countries and a reduction in dependency on fossil fuels. In brief, it may boost a revival of endogenous growth in Europe.

The perception of these structural changes, and consequently the speed of the international recovery, will be different in the three scenarios:

- in the *reference scenario*, there will be this perception, and changes will happen, but policies will not act in an effective way;
- in the second scenario, the *pro-active one*, changes will be perceived and even anticipated; the capacity to pro-act through macroeconomic, industrial and legislative policies will be large;
- in the third scenario, the *re-active one*, changes are not fully perceived by economic actors. The general attitude will be a defensive one, protecting existing structures, sectors and firms; development assets will be more similar to the past, and risks of low development rates higher.

In the Reference Scenario, the profitability of renewable energy increases, but political support is insufficient to generate a radical change of the energy paradigm. The progress of renewable energy sources remains dispersed and fragmented, with low synergy effects. The economy hardly benefits from this process.

These structural changes will have differentiated effects on the Latin Arc, which has a rather heterogeneous economic and geographical structure. In general terms, metropolitan areas with advanced economic functions and technological poles will be favoured with respect to cities with an economy depending upon intermediate or low technologies. After recovery, tourist functions will progress moderately. The residential economy will progress

because of accelerating population ageing in Europe. Rural areas will be affected, up to a certain extent, by the deregulation of the CAP, especially the wine producing regions. A number of rural areas will benefit from the production of renewable energy, but only a modest part of the available potential is being exploited. Immigration will concentrate in metropolitan and tourist areas.

2.2. *The pro-active scenario (“green economy”)*

The *pro-active scenario* is based on the assumption that the decisions adopted at an international level aimed at curbing the speed of climate change are efficiently used as an opportunity to generate significant economic growth throughout Europe. The realization of the scenario requires the active involvement of economic actors and of the civil society. A wide spectrum of sectors – manufacturing, energy, construction, agriculture, transport, R&D and advanced services – will benefit from the spread of the new “green economy paradigm”; aggregate demand will benefit from new investment opportunities.

The *pro-active scenario* in the Latin Arc is favourable to the development of technology poles and of major metropolises. The strengthening of advanced activities generates spin-off effects in the production sectors towards secondary growth poles and medium size cities. In the context of the “green economy”, the development of solar energy is expected to boom along the “Latin Arc”, from R&D activities down to the general implementation of related technologies in rural areas and cities. An increasing share of electricity needs is being covered by domestic production of solar, biomass and wind energy.

The realization of the “*Union pour la Méditerranée*” (UPM), involving partnership agreements and cooperation with the countries of the southern shore of the Mediterranean, will be more likely as economic growth in Europe will be significant. The scenario provides good conditions for its implementation, especially for the development of complementarities and partnerships between the European Mediterranean regions and countries of the southern and eastern parts of the Mediterranean Basin. The metropolitan areas of the “Latin Arc” will benefit significantly from this multilateral initiative. The “Latin Arc” will be less subject to immigration because of stronger economic development in North Africa, pushed by European investments. A larger part of the immigrants of working age will be integrated into the regional labour markets which are likely to expand.

2.3. *The defensive scenario*

This scenario assumes a slow recovery from the crisis in the western economies and in Japan, resulting from a weak reactivity to the changing context and a lower perception of the new technological opportunities. Global demand remains modest. The BRIC countries will maintain their comparative advantages in low-cost productions, a factor which will also constrain the development of their domestic market (because of persisting low wages and resistance to re-evaluation of their currencies). These countries will however progress also in more technology-intensive sectors, competing more intensely with Europe. Fewer foreign investments will address the less developed countries of the world, so that new external markets will hardly emerge. Inflation will be lower than in the reference scenario, but low interest rates could feed new speculative bubbles, threatening the stability of the global economy.

Under this scenario, the outlook for development in the “Latin Arc” is less favourable than under the Reference scenario. The lower level of public efforts in the field of research and technological development does not enable the existing technology poles to generate spin-off effects into second rank cities and to efficiently contribute to the modernization of the regional economies. Manufacturing industries in the “Latin Arc” based on low and intermediate technologies will be sheltered by protectionist national policies in a first phase, but will be affected during a second phase; the potential existing in the field of solar and other renewable energy sources is only modestly exploited. This is also detrimental for rural areas, which are confronted, in addition, to the decline of agricultural activities and to depopulation trends. The stagnating European economy handicaps the development of tourist functions and of the residential economy along the “Latin Arc”.

New activities concentrate mainly in metropolitan regions, adding to congestion and urban sprawl. External immigration is further strictly controlled, but illegal immigration continues, because of unfavourable economic conditions in North Africa and low progress in the project *Union pour la Méditerranée*.

3. Quantitative foresight

Qualitative scenarios are translated into quantitative foresight for all Nuts-2 European regions up to 2025, through the utilization of an updated version of the MASST econometric model (Capello *et al.*, 2008).

In the *reference scenario*, GDP growth rate is positive for almost all regions, but some regions considerably outperform while in others growth is slug-

gish. Results indicate that growth within countries will be mainly a centripetal process, with core areas as leaders in all countries. Many second rank areas are also thriving, whereas all rural areas are sluggish. This pattern is confirmed in the Latin Arc (fig. 1).

The pro-active scenario is more expansionary for all regions of Europe (results are not shown here). In the New Member Countries, the areas which are more able to perform a technological leap forward are the core and capital ones. Instead, among old members, a number of second level and intermediate income areas show relevant growth rates.

In the *defensive scenario*, due to lack of demand for products, insufficient investment and decline of manufacturing, rural and intermediate income areas are those which will lose more, whereas capital regions are more able to survive the recession.

The total level of European disparities increases in all three scenarios, but especially in the *defensive scenario* in which only the most important metropolitan areas are able to react and the weakest countries suffer the most from the general protectionist attitude.

A more disaggregated simulation of the regional effects of the three scenarios (at Nuts-3 level) is carried out through the estimation and implementation of the MAN-3 sub-model (Masst at Nuts-3) for the three countries of the Latin Arc: Spain, France and Italy.

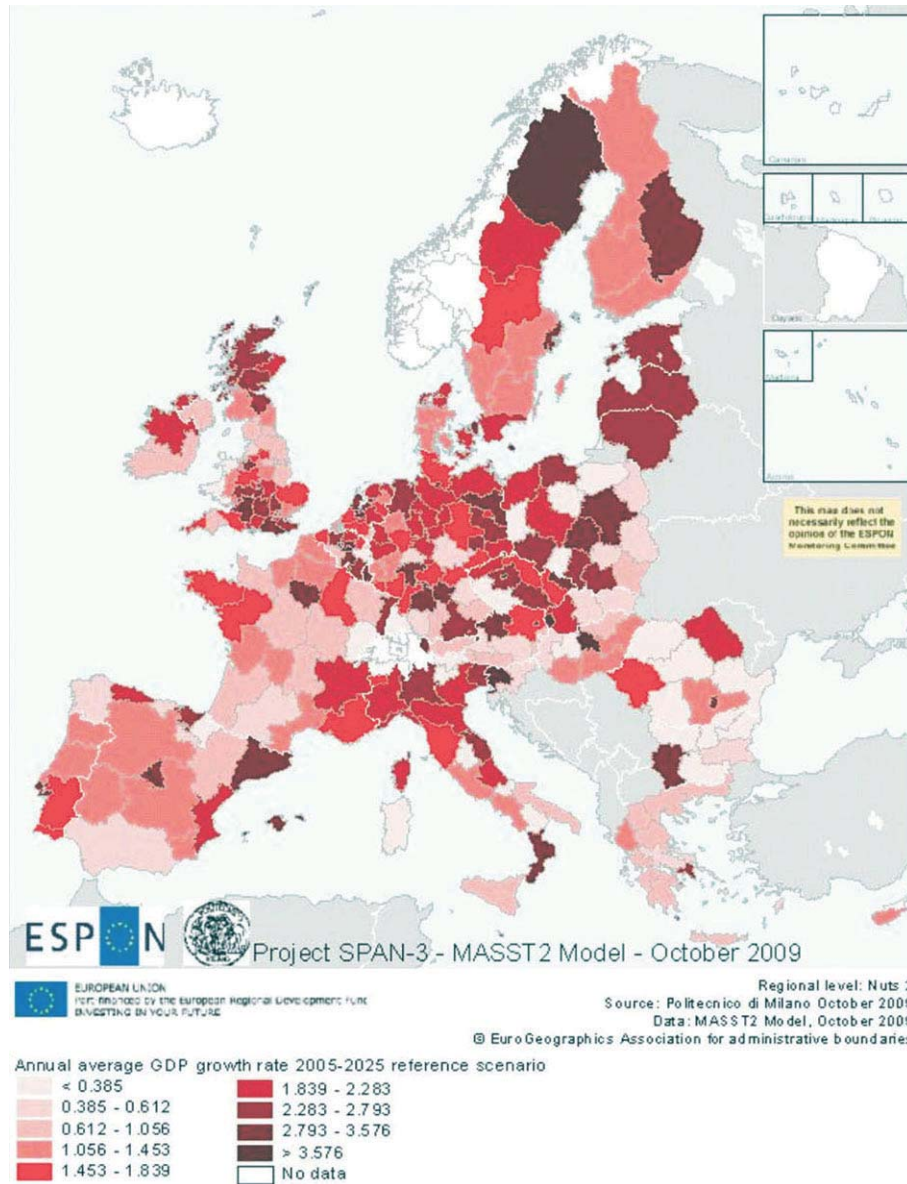
In the *reference scenario*, peripheral rural and urban provinces are the worst performers. By contrast, agglomerated provinces and provinces around the major metropolises generally outperform the others.

The *pro-active scenario* differs in many respects from the Reference scenario and shows higher growth levels for all provinces. Interestingly, some rural and urban provinces with a low rate of growth in the previous scenario benefit more from the pro-active scenario. This shows that the pro-active scenario also favors rural provinces hosting the development of the residential and tourist economy and the “green economy”.

In the *defensive scenario* the most heavily penalized provinces are the rural ones, facing serious problems of decline of yields in agriculture and job losses in small, no longer competitive, manufacturing activities. The “new paradigm” of the green economy does not really show up in this scenario.

Close collaboration with stakeholders (provinces of Barcelona, Hérault and Turin) allowed to fine-tune the econometric results, thanks to the provision of wider and selected information on innovation and growth potentials for the regions of the Latin Arc network. In particular, data on human capital, accessibility and tourism performance were considered in this light. In this way, the econometric results achieved by the model were considered as minimum values in a probable wider performance range of these provinces (fig. 2, showing the results of the “Reference scenario”).

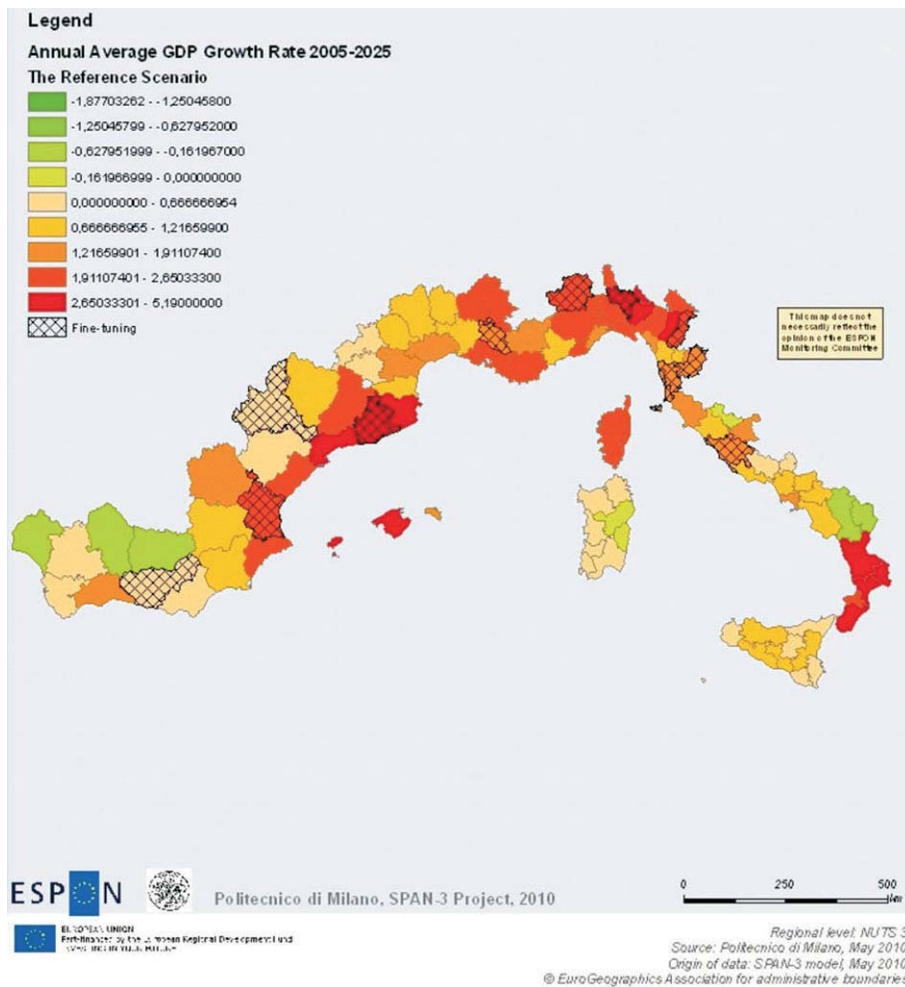
Fig. 1 – Annual average regional GDP growth rates in the reference scenario (2005-25)



4. Policy options for southern European countries

One of the most relevant efforts in economic policy making for the years to come concerns the strengthening of the link between short and

Fig. 2 – Annual average GDP growth rates 2005-2025: fine-tuning on the reference scenario for the Latin Arc provinces (grids indicate that growth rates forecasts by the econometric model have to be intended as lower values in a wider range of possible regional performances)



long-term interventions, to be achieved through what are increasingly called “smart investments”. The general aim should be to revitalize internal demand while at the same time boosting local and national competitiveness (and controlling of excessive public budget deficits).

On a scenario time span reaching 2025, the necessary structural policies become central, and in fact they represent a constituent and consistent part of the scenarios that are presented and elaborated in the study. Even in the *reference scenario*, they are present in the form of support to the emergence

of a new production paradigm, namely the “green economy” one, orienting in a consistent and synergic direction both public and private investments.

But linking short and long-term goals and tools is not the only request for effective economic and structural policies. A similar consistency is requested among the actions of different government levels, from Community to national, regional and local. This goal can be achieved through explicit coordination efforts (“multi-level governance”) or implicit synergetic behaviour, each policy layer operating with its own instruments and inside its own competences with a full complementary attitude. This requested cooperative behaviour implies, in operational terms, two main elements: a strong permeability between policy layers, and the relevance of local policies, acting on the different aspects of territorial capital and implemented through inclusionary processes of vision building and project elaboration.

4.1. Demand policies

The most urgent part of demand policies concerns the design of an exit strategy from the present deficit of Member States budgets, reducing reliance on public expenditure. Direct public intervention through public demand should be substituted by less expensive, indirect public expenditure – e.g. in the form of incentives to private demand – or by appropriate regulatory policies.

The creation of new sources of aggregate demand, like the opening up of new international markets in developing countries.

The full support to the launching of new production paradigms, implying multiple technological advances, multiple applications in a wide array of sectors, multiple possibilities of product innovations.

The conquest of new internal and international markets through enhanced competitiveness of local production.

A smart utilization of existing public procurement of goods and services, although due to shrink, for the creation of an initial market for advanced, environment friendly products, in the building and construction field, in advanced telecommunication networks and services, in the provision of many e-services like health, social assistance, e-governance in general.

4.2. Supply policies

Supply policies mainly concern the efficiency and innovativeness of the production fabric, which, in its turn, depends widely upon national context elements but also, and particularly, upon local context elements.

The second task assigned to these national, supply-side policies concern wide investments with an inter-regional interest. An important case was found during this research work: the transport integration of the Latin Arc regions. In fact, the western Mediterranean macro-region, in spite of the many common characteristics and the sharing of the sea resource, still shows a striking fragmentation in terms of mobility infrastructure (and consequently, in terms of economic integration). The case is also present for exploring more deeply inter-regional co-operation, in the form of the creation of “synergy networks” : between ports, with a commodity and branch specialization; in the spheres of tourism, building integrated “itineraries” in both maritime cruise and city/cultural tourism; among knowledge centres, for cooperation in R&D and advanced education.

But another relevant case for supply-side policies implies important responsibilities for regional and local governments: the accumulation and best utilisation of “territorial capital”, as indicated by an important statement of DG Regio of the EU Commission, still not sufficiently elaborated both by the scientific and the operative policy *milieu* (European Commission, 2005, p. 1; Camagni, 2008).

5. Regional and local policy strategies in the Latin Arc: territorial capital and territorial “platforms”

The concept of territorial capital was first proposed in a regional policy context by the OECD in its *Territorial Outlook* (OECD, 2001). For the sake of simplicity, we may mention four large classes of territorial capital elements:

- *infrastructure capital and settlement structure*, encompassing also the characteristics of the urban system and the quality of the environment;
- *cognitive capital*, in the form of knowledge, competence, capabilities, educational and research structure, embedded in both productive capital and human capital;
- *cultural and identitarian capital*, encompassing cultural heritage, landscape and natural capital;
- *social and relational capital*, in the form of both civiness and associative capabilities.

Acting on territorial capital in policy making means acknowledging the integrated nature of any policy strategy, the added value of intervening on different but linked localized assets at the same time, promoting network relations and supporting innovative projects emerging thanks to these relations. The main messages reside in the necessity to better integrate the traditional spatial development policies into each territory, through a harmonious merging of material and immaterial elements, functional and

relational assets, economic, social and environmental aspects; to create new cooperation networks among local actors and willing and cohesive local communities; to focalize on excellence assets in the spheres of knowledge, culture, natural and cultural heritage, and support innovation through synergetic behaviour. This integration strategy could be properly synthesized and made operational through the concept of “territorial platforms”. Intervening through territorial platforms means exactly to aim at a full integration – in physical, economic, social and aesthetic terms – of new development projects into the local realm. Three main “platforms” are proposed here: *infrastructure platforms, knowledge platforms and identity platforms* (fig. 3).

5.1. *Infrastructure platforms*

New infrastructure platforms will allow the achievement of some basic priorities for the Latin Arc, namely: improving the internal integration of the entire area; boosting external accessibility of each region with respect to the Latin Arc and external territories, in order to achieve enhanced competitiveness and attractiveness; reaching a higher internal efficiency of large metropolitan areas through a polynuclear urban structure.

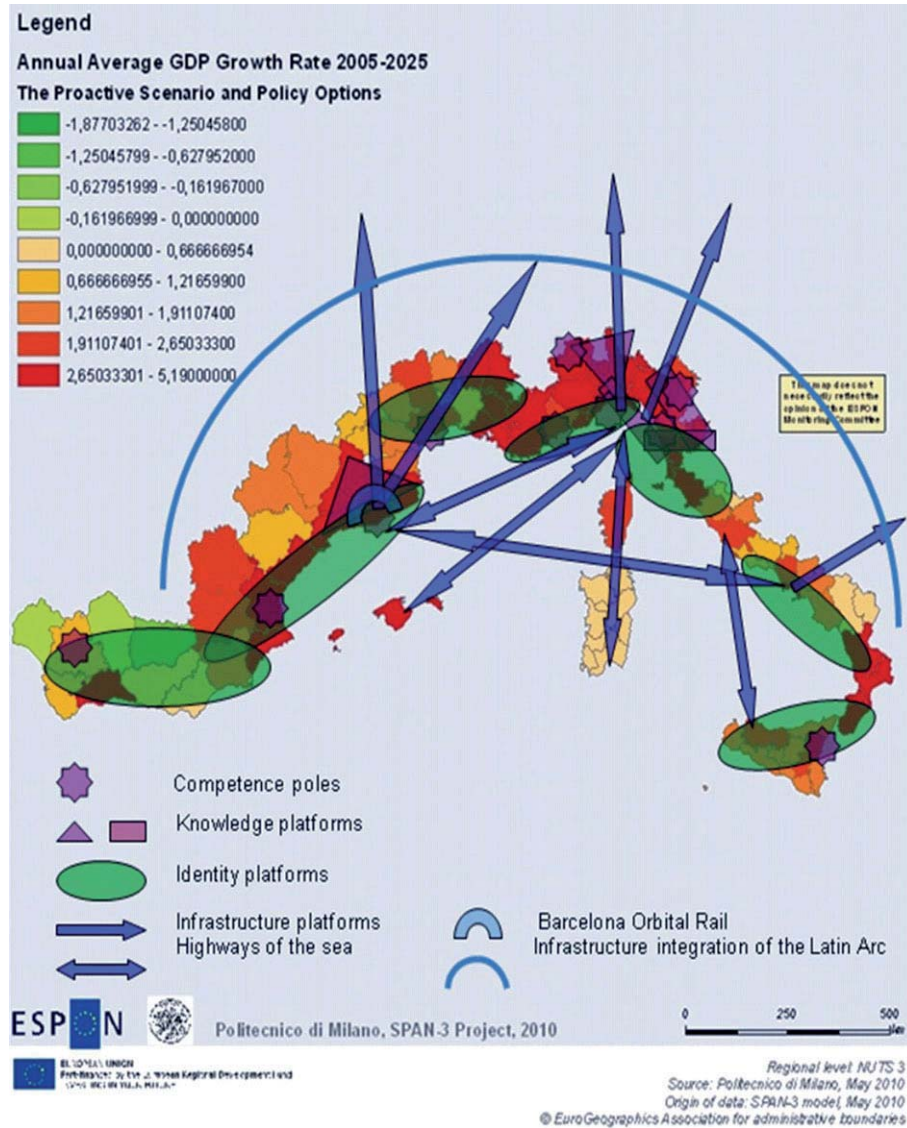
This implies:

- a better and integrated rail network along the entire Latin Arc;
- the use of new “highways of the sea” in order to achieve the same goal;
- improved linkages of large metropolitan areas with the main European corridors;
- new orbital railway systems internal to the main metropolitan regions, in order to boost accessibility of second rank subcentres and avoid sprawl (the case considered here is in the Barcelona metropolitan region).

5.2. *Knowledge platforms*

Knowledge platforms represent systems of cooperation networks between the main actors of the knowledge society: advanced research institutions, high education institutions, advanced and dynamic firms. Local firms are not only the recipients of the output of the specialised knowledge plexus (institutions working on scientific and applied research), but are the carriers of long standing local production competence and know how, and therefore they represent a crucial partner in any innovation and technological advancement strategy. Particular attention should be paid by policy makers not just to achieving fruitful cooperation between these three local actors (in line with the up-to-now successful experience of the French “*poles de*

Fig. 3 – Policy actions and territorial platforms for the Latin Arc



compétitivité”), but also to monitoring the persistence of local production knowledge which could be jeopardised by the selective delocalisation of parts of the production *filières*.

Knowledge platforms may be structures through:

- the synergy and cooperation between the above-mentioned main actors of the knowledge society into what may be called the local “competence

- poles” (Sevilla, Valencia, Barcelona, Montpellier, Nice, Genoa, Turin, Pisa, Florence, Bologna, Catania);
- the inclusion of innovative firms in these cooperation agreements, working on the industrial “vocations” and the specificities of territories. Examples range from marine technologies and shipbuilding (Genoa-La Spezia-Viareggio-Livorno), to mechanical engineering and industrial automation (Bologna-Florence);
 - the development of other *filières*, linking excellence in local natural and productive assets with knowledge and competence poles. The agri-food-tourism *filière* supplies huge potential benefits in the Latin Arc area. Similar virtuous circles refer to the health and wellness *filière*, linking local know-how in medical technologies with the increasing specialisation in wellness services and accommodation facilities for an increasing population of European retirees;
 - a last example concerns a possible increasing engagement in the green economy paradigm (bio-mass and solar energy production, energy technologies and research).

5.3. Identity platforms

Identity platforms exploit natural wealth and local cultural heritage for the development of new economic and employment opportunities. Local identities may become effective “brands” for new, selective and sustainable forms of tourism, but also for the advertising of ancient local competences embedded in food and wine productions and in local handicraft products. An integrated strategy for linking up all the preceding elements with new physical accessibilities, careful site information, worldwide marketing and enhanced logistic receptivity may prove extremely effective.

Local identities have to be re-discovered and interpreted on a wide area level; single pieces of cultural heritage have to be linked with each other in larger and consistent “itineraries”, integrated in both information and logistic terms, in order to reach appropriate critical mass and new visibility on the international tourist market.

6. Scenarios and policy ideas for the Barcelona Province²

On the basis of the qualitative and quantitative scenarios presented earlier, and the deep interaction with partners and external experts during workshops and conferences, a qualitative reflection is presented for the three scenarios focusing on spatial variables.

These scenarios are dominated by the consolidation of Barcelona as a global metropolis, with an enlargement of the radius of Barcelona labour market. This will involve the incorporation of cities that exceed the territorial scope of the Diputació of Barcelona: Girona and Reus-Tarragona-Valls.

From an economic point of view the fundamental change that will affect the urban agglomeration of Barcelona is the substitution of the past low productivity and high employment growth model for an alternative model based on enhanced productivity and innovation. This goal will be pursued mainly in the Pro-active scenario, through the implementation of active policies of local development.

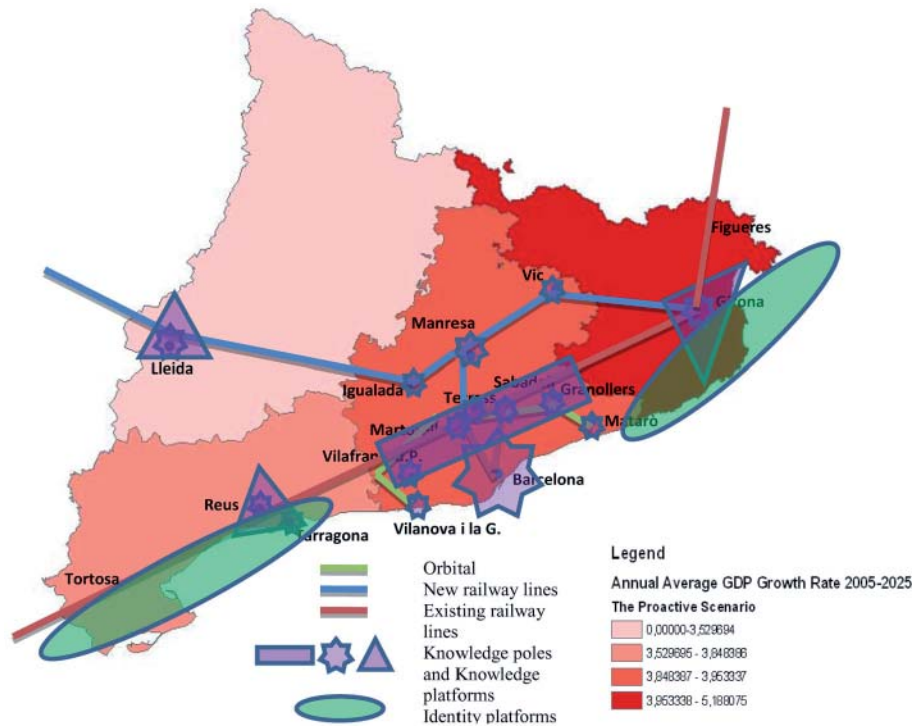
The main issues to be tackled for the future of the Barcelona area may be indicated as follows:

- 1) transforming the area from a low value added to a high value added economy;
- 2) exploiting two great opportunities: (a) to develop the “Metropolitan Arc”, as an articulator middle ground between the central area of Barcelona and the cities of central Catalonia, and (b) to develop a Network of Municipalities as a tool to reach consensus by agents located in the territory;
- 3) managing attractiveness: Barcelona is attractive, there is no doubt about it, but the challenge is to move from mass tourism to higher quality tourism;
- 4) enhancing the communications between Catalan cities, because it is true that much has been invested in central cities and in the high speed train, but very little in the communication system among smaller cities and among industrial areas;
- 5) contrasting the high levels of youth unemployment.

Infrastructure policies will determine the new strategy for the whole territory of the Barcelona province. In particular, the transport infrastructure and the technological and educational infrastructure (fig. 4).

Regarding transport infrastructure, rail policies become fundamental. This especially regards policies affecting the heart of the metropolis, and specifically accessibility to La Sagrera Station, which will become the core of the entire regional network, integrating the high-speed rail in the metropolitan and regional rail transport. Similarly, the new Orbital rail connection, linking Mataró and Vilanova la Geltrú, through Granollers, Sabadell, Terrassa, Martorell and Vilafranca del Penedés, is intended to weave the network of cities in the whole Metropolitan Arc. Finally, the transversal axis linking Girona to Lleida, becomes crucial in the articulation of the whole territory of the rest of the province of Barcelona; therefore it looks necessary to double the existing highway and then building the new high speed railway line.

Fig. 4 – Policy strategies for the Barcelona Province



Along with the rail infrastructure policy, a prominent role is occupied by policies intended to integrate the whole network of cities of the Barcelona province, with the aim of integrating their labour markets. Here the strategy is to help connecting this network of cities through the promotion of knowledge-intensive activities, both locating new technological facilities and encouraging specialization in advanced education activities. The objective is to promote the benefits of specialization of each node while promoting productive diversity of the whole system of cities.

The main elements of the economic and territorial development strategy, mainly elaborated in the Pro-Active scenario, are:

- the integration between long distance transportation hubs, large metropolitan transportation hubs, linking main sub-centres of the province, and local territories, through what we call “transportation platforms”.
- The existence of a large central polarity in Barcelona and in the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona (36 municipalities). It is worth mentioning that the increasing weight of knowledge intensive activities will expand from the central municipality of Barcelona – which will obviously remain

the crucial knowledge pole of the region – towards all the 36 contiguous municipalities of the Metropolitan Area. The knowledge “pole” will expand towards a “territorial knowledge platform”.

- c) The formation of a Metropolitan Arc around the metropolitan Area of Barcelona, defined by the cities of Mataró, Granollers, Sabadell, Terrassa, Martorell, Vilafranca del Penedès i Vilanova i La Geltrú, that will be articulated along the new Orbital railway line. This arc accounts for around 1.8 million of inhabitants. Productivity increases will be higher than in the central metropolitan area, thanks to the attraction and development of new advanced, knowledge-intensive activities.
- d) The implementation of the Transversal hubs, around high-speed train and road infrastructure, with a central role of the poles of Vic, Manresa and Igualada.
- e) Three balancing lower-order metropolitan areas could develop in Catalunya, outside the Barcelona province, enlarging the development of the central metropolis: Girona-Costa Brava, Reus-Tarragona and Lleida. These metropolises organize themselves as “knowledge platforms”, integrating territories going well beyond the single cities and benefitting both from externalities supplied by these surrounding territories – landscape amenities, environmental quality, infrastructure – and by the presence of the Barcelona core.

Around traditional tourist areas (Costa Brava-Girona and Costa Blanca-Alacant) new developments will happen with a growing weight of knowledge intensive services, attracting European population permanently or semi-permanently. A trend will appear from tourism activities to permanent or semi-permanent activities, attracted by the high quality of life, similarly to what is already taking place on the coast of the Barcelona province and in other coastal areas of the Latin Arc. The main attractiveness will derive from local specificities: the cultural heritage of traditional centres, the enhanced quality of the landscape, the sea, the high accessibility to a lively city like Barcelona, the renewed cultural life in second and third rank cities – what we call the “Identity platforms”.

The axis Granollers-Martorell could become the new main “knowledge corridor” of the Catalan economy, with the location of the headquarters of large technological Catalan and Spanish firms, of multinational corporations and also of important university centres as, for instance, the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (awarded the distinction of “International Campus of Excellence” by the Spanish government).

7. Conclusions

In the research project that is briefly summarized here, a huge task was accomplished in a relatively short time span, namely 18 months. New after-the-crisis scenarios for European regions were built; updating and re-estimation of the already existing regional econometric model MASST was carried out and a new sub-model was built and implemented in order to shift from a Nuts-2 level (regions) to a Nuts-3 level (provinces) in quantitative analysis and forecast; an in-depth analysis on the economic structure and territorial performance of the Barcelona Province was realized and renewed policy suggestions for the Latin Arc produced. Mainly thanks to the competence and the enthusiasm of all partners and stakeholders, and the continuous support of the ESPON-CU, interesting and intense interactions were organised with local officials and experts.

Judging from our experience in this project, the intuition of a necessary linkage between the ESPON research work and the natural recipient of the research output, namely regional and local government institutions and policy makers – an intuition at the base of the ESPON “targeted analyses” – proved extremely fruitful and forward looking.

Notes

1. «*Spatial Scenarios: new tools for local and regional territories*», an ESPON 2013 “targeted” project led by the Politecnico di Milano and directed by R. Cagnani and R. Capello. The author wishes to thank the other persons and partners involved, namely: Antonio Affuso, coordinator of the project and in charge of the construction and estimation of the regional econometric sub-model working at Nuts-3 level for Spain, France and Italy; Ugo Fratesi, also of the Politecnico di Milano, who carried out the updated estimation and simulations with the MASST regional econometric model for all EU countries (at Nuts-2 level); Roberta Capello and Jacques Robert who participated in the structuring of the new, after crisis scenarios; Joan Trullen, Rafael Boix and Vittorio Galletto, from Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, responsible for the analysis and policies for the Barcelona Province; the “stakeholders” of the project, namely the Diputació de Barcelona, the Département de l’Hérault (Montpellier) and the Provincia di Torino for the constant stimulus, criticisms and contribution; Sara Ferrara, member of the Coordination Unit of ESPON, who contributed in driving this complex endeavor to a successful outcome.

2. This section mainly builds on the contribution of Joan Trullen.

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Tourism helps or hinders the growth of urban regions? Evidence from Espon and a number of European art cities

Jan van der Borg

1. Introduction

The principal objective of this chapter is to discuss the relationship between tourism development and social-economic development in European urban regions. What will be shown is that this relationship is only beneficial if the urban region in question keeps the pace and level of tourism development sustainable, or, in other words, as long as the tourist carrying capacity is respected. What has already been shown elsewhere (van der Borg, 1991, 2005) is that it is especially true for regions that are endowed with heritage assets since they are far more vulnerable to mono-cultural developments than large metropolitan areas that are per definition far more diversified.

In the theoretical part of the chapter it will be argued that the concept of the carrying capacity is strictly related to the sustainability of tourism development. In fact, tourism is not always beneficial for destinations. There may either be too few (and, hence, the destination is losing development opportunities) or too many people (in this case tourism is damaging the environment in the broad sense) visiting a destination. The carrying capacity indicates where the upper limit to tourism development finds itself.

Urban regions are visited by millions of tourists and business travellers each year. The continuous expansion of the tourism market in general, notwithstanding temporary setbacks due to economic recessions, and the more recent boom of cultural tourism in particular have raised the awareness that art cities may be subject to excessive tourism pressure as much (and in some cases even more) as natural environments. Heritage cities are particularly sensitive to excess tourism demand. They are socially, economically and environmentally complex. The conflicts that may arise between the normal functioning of the heritage city and its tourism may threaten both tourism development and the continuity of the settlement itself. The management of these conflicts becomes of the utmost importance, both to ensure that the art cities are conserved for humanity as well as to turn

tourism into an engine of social and economic development rather than an obstacle to it. This explains why this paper not only tries to develop the above mentioned relationship in a Europe wide perspective but focuses on a particular Italian art city, the city of Venice, as well. Venice is extremely rich in terms of cultural assets and it is the emblematic destination for city trips for the global tourism market.

The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2 introduces the reader to the concepts of sustainable tourism development and the tourist carrying capacity and proposes a methodology that helps to establish the maximum number of visitors a destination may accommodate. Section 3 illustrates the different aspects between social and economic development and the presence of cultural assets presenting the principal results of the ESPON 1.3.3 Programme on the Role and Spatial Effects of Cultural Heritage and Identity (2004-2006) that was completed by a so-called Transnational Project Group (TPG) led by the University of Venice in 2006. Attention will be paid to what in European spatial planning terms is called the “wise use of cultural heritage”. Section 4 discusses the consequences of this limit to tourism development for the management of tourism in heritage cities, both in general as well as with reference to the case of Venice.

2. Tourism in heritage regions and their carrying capacity

2.1. Sustainability of tourism in heritage regions

Sustainability has become a central issue in much of today’s tourism development literature. However, the practical application of the concept of sustainable tourism development has traditionally been limited to non-urban or rural areas. Only recently has it been fully recognised that it can be applied as well to urban environments in general and to historical settlements of different dimensions in particular.

But what is actually meant by sustainable tourism development? Wall (1994) has stated that tourism permanently changes a local society subject to tourism flows and that sustainability is very much connected with such changes or, more precisely, with ‘acceptable’ change.

But not only does the local society continuously undergo changes, tourism in the destination itself tends to change over time. The development process of any tourist location may be represented cyclically. This “life-cycle theory” of tourist destinations is an elaboration of the product life-cycle used by business economists to describe the fluctuations in the sales volume of a product. Instead of the quantity of products sold, the life-cycle theory of tourist locations uses the number of visitors as the indicator.

In its most elementary formulation (see for example Butler, 1980; Mill and Morrison, 1985), the life-cycle theory of tourist locations tells us that, in the absence of drastic external interventions, the number of visitors changes cyclically. Initially, the locality that stimulates tourism experiences a very slow rise in the number of visitors. In the second stage, tourism is booming, while in the third stage growth stagnates and turns into decline (the fourth stage). In Van der Borg (1991), it was argued that not only the volume of the visitor flow changed over the cycle, but also its composition (i.e. the mix of tourists and excursionists). Since different types of visitors generate different positive and negative impacts, costs and benefits vary over the different stages of the cycle.

Growth in tourism demand will positively affect income and employment levels of a relevant part of the population. At the same time, increasing numbers of visitors will generate negative effects, or “costs” borne by the physical and cultural environment, the local population and the visitors themselves. By comparing benefits and costs in each heritage city, it is possible to determine whether tourist flows are either insufficiently voluminous or excessive. In reality, the assessment of the benefits and the costs of tourism are difficult because there are several ‘parties’ involved, which perceive benefits and costs in a different manner.

The concept of sustainability -in terms of desirable or acceptable change, as Wall suggested- and the life-cycle of the tourist destination are closely related. If tourism development gets stuck in the initial stage, investments are unable to trigger the social and economic change desired. There are too few visitors, and the opportunities that tourism offers are not fully used. Tourism is costing the destination money. If growth in tourism demand is such that the quality and accessibility of attractions are compromised, the society and eventually even tourism suffer and change is no longer acceptable. Then, tourism demand has become excessive, and, instead of delivering growth, it threatens the local society’s continuity.

Tourism management strategies for cities that face the problem of how to overcome the minimum limit to sustainability have been described in Law, 1993 and Van den Berg, Van der Borg and Van der Meer, 1995. As far as the authors of this article are aware, no attempts have been made to quantify the minimum level of sustainable tourism development.

In the case of heritage sites and cities, Costa and van der Borg (1992) suggested that it is the maximum limit to tourism development, very much related to what is more generally known as the carrying capacity, that is most relevant.

2.2. Tourist carrying capacity: some underlying economics

Developing tourism in a sustainable manner means using the scarce resources a destination possesses in an optimal manner for tourism purposes, safeguarding not only the interests of today's inhabitants, tourists and the tourism firms, but also of tomorrow's (see also Coccosis and Nijkamp, 1995; Fossati and Panella, 2000). An optimal use of these resources implies that the net impact of tourism development for the local society is being maximised over the different stages of tourism development.

Using Butler's life-cycle model, van der Borg (1991) has clearly shown that any development process of the destination will necessarily contain both sustainable and not sustainable stages. Van der Borg, Costa and Gotti (1996) develop this approach further with the help of a Cost-Benefit Analysis. Typically, the first stage of tourism is hardly profitable: investment costs are huge and benefits meagre. Therefore, developing tourism only makes sense if one may expect that after having invested in attractions and facilities the number of visitors rises sufficiently. The saturation stage tends to generate a net loss for the local society: benefits no longer compensate for negative externalities, such as congestion and pollution.

In general, negative externalities appear when a limit to development has been surpassed. As already stated, the limit to tourism development is called the tourist carrying capacity, that is the maximum number of visitors a destination can host. Notwithstanding the criticism to which the carrying capacity as a planning instrument has frequently been exposed (see for example Lindberg, Mc Cool and Stanley, 1997), it is very difficult to deny that an upper limit to tourism development actually exists; in fact, the concept has proven its value for visitor management in Venice.

It had already been shown by Glasson, Godfrey and Goodey (1995) that the carrying capacity of a tourist destination is a complex and a dynamic instrument to work with. The carrying capacity can be measured on various territorial and functional levels, including the level of the individual attractions and of the destination as a whole. In practice, the specific character of the city determines which of the levels is the most relevant. Interviews with attraction managers in Venice have taught us that, since the majority of visitors do not visit any of Venice's attractions but just wander around in the centre, the attraction level does not seem of much relevance to Venice. A similar situation exists in well-conserved and well-restored heritage cities such as Bruges, Rothenburg and Salzburg, which are attractions in themselves. And since the attitudes and behaviour of inhabitants, tourists and the tourism industry changes over time, the negative and positive effects generated by tourism will be valued differently over time. Hence, the relevance of the temporal dimension.

Moreover, the tourist carrying capacity has a multitude of dimensions. The number of visitors may be limited because the physical structure of a destination is compromised (eg the physical carrying capacity), because the local society loses its character (eg the social-anthropological carrying capacity) or because the local economy gets frustrated (eg the social-economic carrying capacity). Two different dimensions that have always worried Venetians are briefly discussed below: the social-anthropological and the social-economic carrying capacity.

Residents are an important part of the tourism system around a destination. They are an important ingredient of “hospitality” of a destination. The reaction of the inhabitants of a tourism city to tourism in general, and to tourists and excursionists in particular, determines the social impact of tourism on the local society and thus the social-anthropological carrying capacity of the destination.

Following a survey among inhabitants of Oxford (for more details on the methodology see Glasson, Godfrey and Goodey, 1995), the University of Venice organised in 1993 a survey among the inhabitants of Venice. The results of this survey were quite surprising. It showed among other things that Venetians did not have the negative perception of tourism in their city as might have been expected. The respondents were nevertheless very well informed about tourism development in general. They perceived the “massification” of tourism and the diminishing quality and especially the growing weight of excursionists in total demand. However, the decreasing quality of life in the city is not so much blamed on excessive tourism demand but also on the poor management of the local government as a whole.

The social-economic tourist carrying capacity may be defined as the total number of visitors that can be allowed to a city without hindering the other functions that the city performs. This dimension is closely linked to the phenomenon of “crowding out”, described for the first time by Prud’homme (1986). Tourism in cities like Venice or Bruges tends to dominate the urban societies; they push other activities or functions from the centre to the outskirts. The price for centrally located land, and the diminished attractiveness of a city for families and firms due to congestion and pollution, explain the process of crowding out.

The problem of determining the social-economic carrying capacity for the centre of Venice has been formalised in Costa and Van der Borg (1988) and in Canestrelli and Costa (1991). They translated the conflict between tourism and other functions into a fuzzy linear programming model that maximises the income from tourism under capacity restrictions. These restrictions take into account, for example, the availability of accommodation, catering facilities, parking facilities, intra-urban transportation, waste disposal services and the space available in Saint Mark’s Cathedral. The

philosophy of the linear programming model is very close to the sustainability approach, namely that of the quest for the optimal use of resources. Until now, the model has been applied with success to different mature tourist resorts, such as Cambridge (urban environment), Crete and Capri (islands) and Cortina d'Ampezzo (mountain resort).

Notwithstanding the introduction of the Internet in the decision making process of travellers, the emergence of low cost carriers and the proliferation of new types of tourist accommodation (B&B in particular) the principal conclusions can easily be projected on today's situation. Venice may support about 30,000 visitors in one day, of which about 18,000 tourists (60% of total demand) and 12,000 excursionists (the remaining 40% of the total number of visitors). Among the active restrictions are: the number of beds (the model tends to fill Venice first of all with tourists and then starts to look whether there is still space available for excursionists); the availability of local water transport (which determines the number of excursionists); and, relaxing this restriction, Saint Mark's Cathedral.

Although the model lacks an explicit temporal dimension, its results are of great interest for visitor management. It teaches us first of all that the 'optimal' visitor mix differs from the actual one. In fact, instead of a weight of 60%, tourists represent slightly more than 30% of the actual total number of visitors. Secondly, one may conclude that at present the overall pressure from tourism seems close to being – at least in theory – compatible with the total stress the social-economic fabric of the city is able to support. In the absence of fluctuations in demand, the total carrying capacity of Venice is slightly less than 11 million visitors, while the city is yearly visited by 21 (!) million people.

With respect to two decades ago, tourism demand is now structurally conflicting with the most restrictive dimension of the carrying capacity. Nevertheless, an analysis of the distribution of demand over the year shows that demand continues to be concentrated at weekends and in the spring, autumn and particularly summer months. During ten days of the year, total demand amounts to more than 100,000 persons. Peaks of 200,000 visitors on special occasions are no exception. But what is worse, two-thirds of the year, the number of visitors easily surpasses the social-economic carrying capacity.

Thus, at present, sustainability of tourism development in Venice depends on one hand on the mix of the visitor flow, that is the weight of excursionists in total demand, and on the other on the seasonal fluctuations in tourism demand. In effect, the number of excursionists should be reduced, while that of tourists enhanced. At the same time, peaks in demand need to be smoothed out and the low season utilised more intensively. Furthermore, a better distribution of demand over space would be welcomed.

These then become the two priorities of the visitor management strategy of Venice and of any other heritage city and site that is confronted with excess tourism demand during peak seasons.

3. A geography of heritage and tourism of Europe

The earlier mentioned ESDP document mentions the necessity to include cultural heritage issues into European planning practices. In an effort to provide support to a territorial dimension in policy development for an enlarging European Union, the challenge of ESDP was looking for (planning) policies, and cultural policies where just one of the policies considered, that might contribute to the achievement of more territorial cohesion among European Regions. More recently, competitiveness and sustainability, as a synthesis of cohesion and competition, were added as explicit dimensions of a European territorial policy.

The ESPON project 1.3.3 «The Role and Spatial Effects of Cultural Heritage and Identity (2004-2006)», building on the experiences gathered in the SPESP programme, tried to help to meet such challenge, producing an analytic toolkit for analysis of the role and spatial effects of the cultural heritage and identity of European regions, and of the integration of CHI in European planning.

The first step of the TPG in this direction was to select a meaningful list of components of cultural heritage and identity, building upon existing, practicable and measurable categories. Subsequently, territorial indicators for mapping cultural aspects covering the European territory were defined and calculated in the EU27+2 space, and a regional typology is developed according to different methods of multivariate analysis of such indicators. Finally, this information was integrated with evidence coming from a wide number of case studies to yield policy objectives and recommendations for ESDP, at the European, regional and, whenever possible, local level.

The principal result of this programme was a true geography of cultural heritage for the European regions. Notwithstanding the difficulties, insight was given in the distribution of cultural assets and the demand for them, among which obviously also tourism demand. The maps below illustrate how assets and demand are distributed in a Europe of Regions (figg. 1, 2, 3).

Fig. 4 tries to show what relationship there is between the demand for and the supply of regional cultural heritage. Regions coloured in pale yellow are in relative balance. Green areas are those where high potential demand goes together with high supply, generating a potential for sophisticated strategies of heritage valuation (among them are the regions of Vienna, Muenster, Liguria, Malta and Inner London). The ochre areas may need

Fig. 1 – The “Sustainable use” of the European cultural heritage
Source: SPESP, 1999

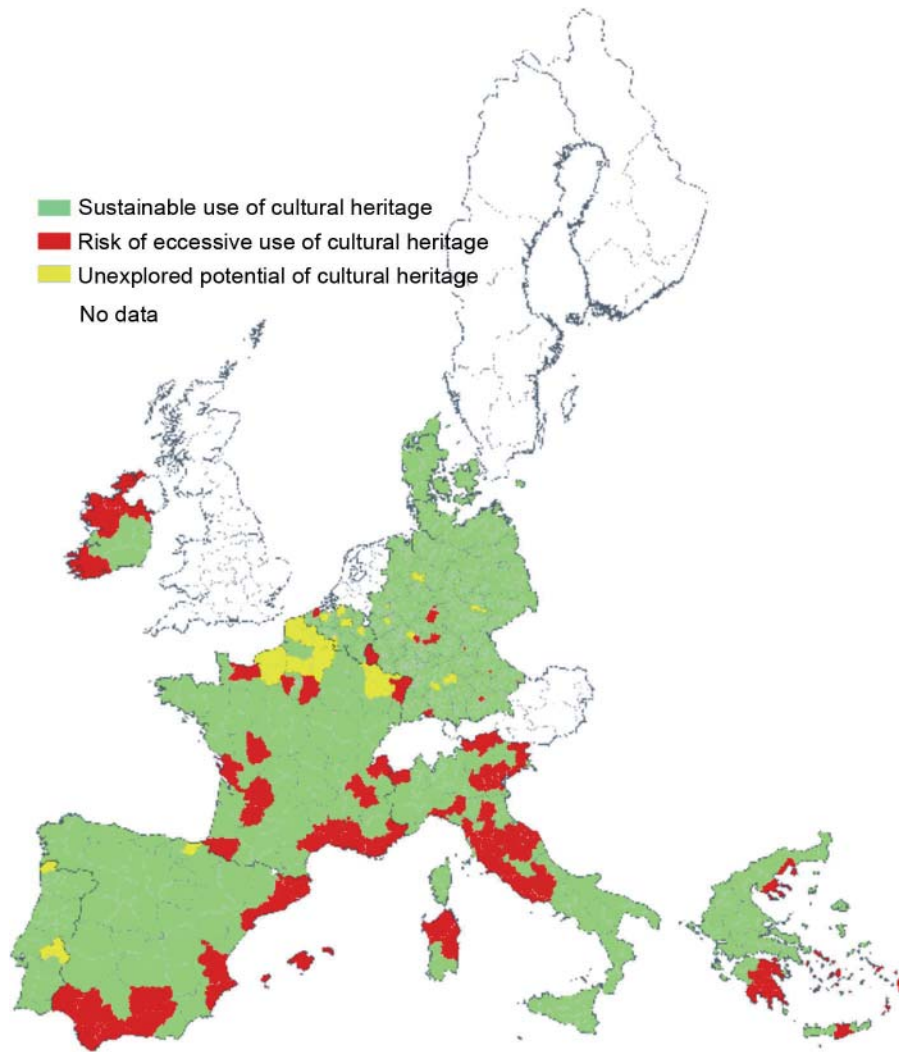
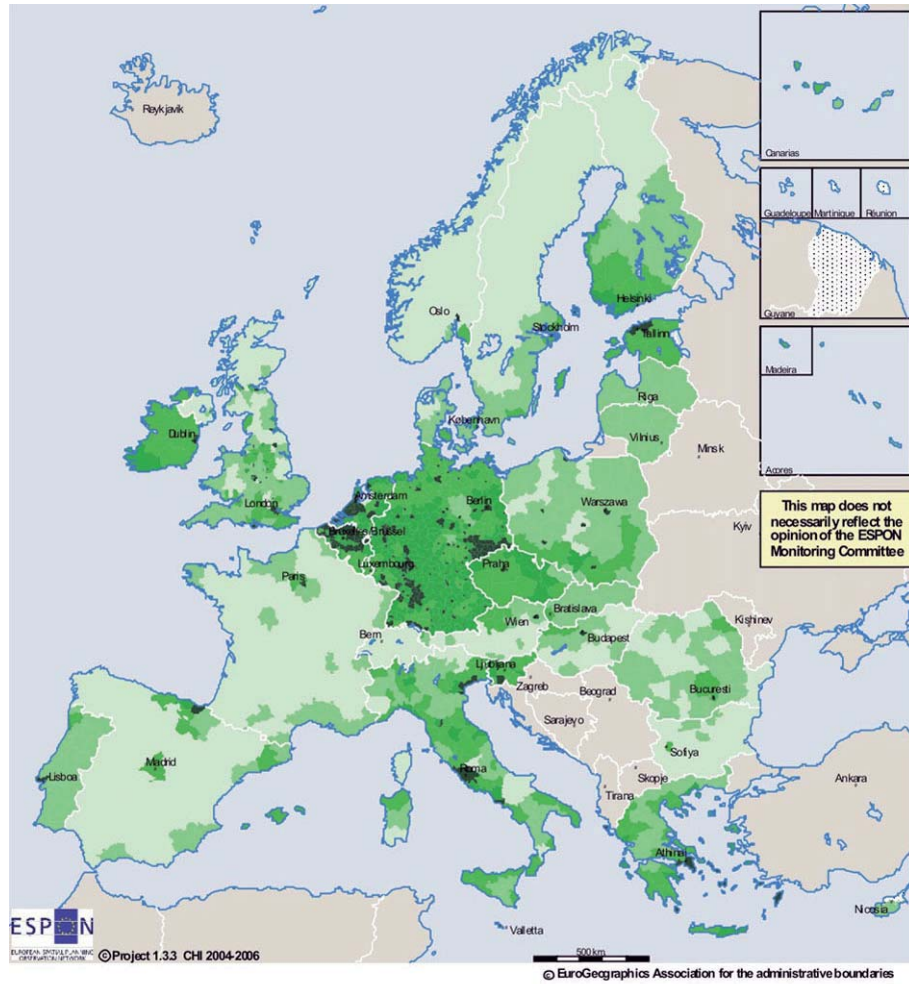


Fig. 2 – Integrated supply of heritage assets



Classification based on the five distribution percentiles

- Very low
- Low
- Average
- High
- Very high
- no data
- non-Espon space

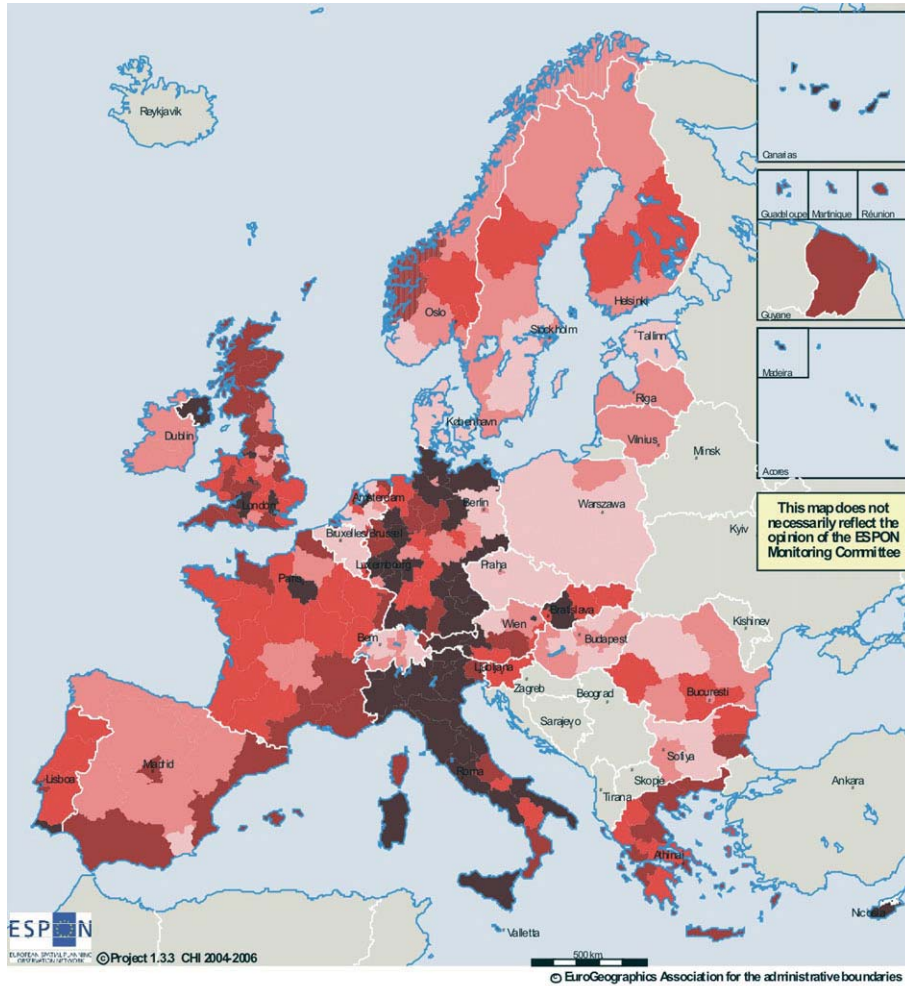
Indicator in database 1.3.3 -
Elaboration on indicators: A².1, B.1, C.1, D.1

Algorithm-
Indicators normalised and summed, sum normalised

Source and other metadata information:
Various sources. See regional metadata (Annex Final Report).
NUTS III

Reference year:
(see reference years of base indicators)

Fig. 3 – Integrated potential demand of heritage assets



Classification based on the five distribution percentiles

- Very low
- Low
- Average
- High
- Very high
- no data
- non EspoN space

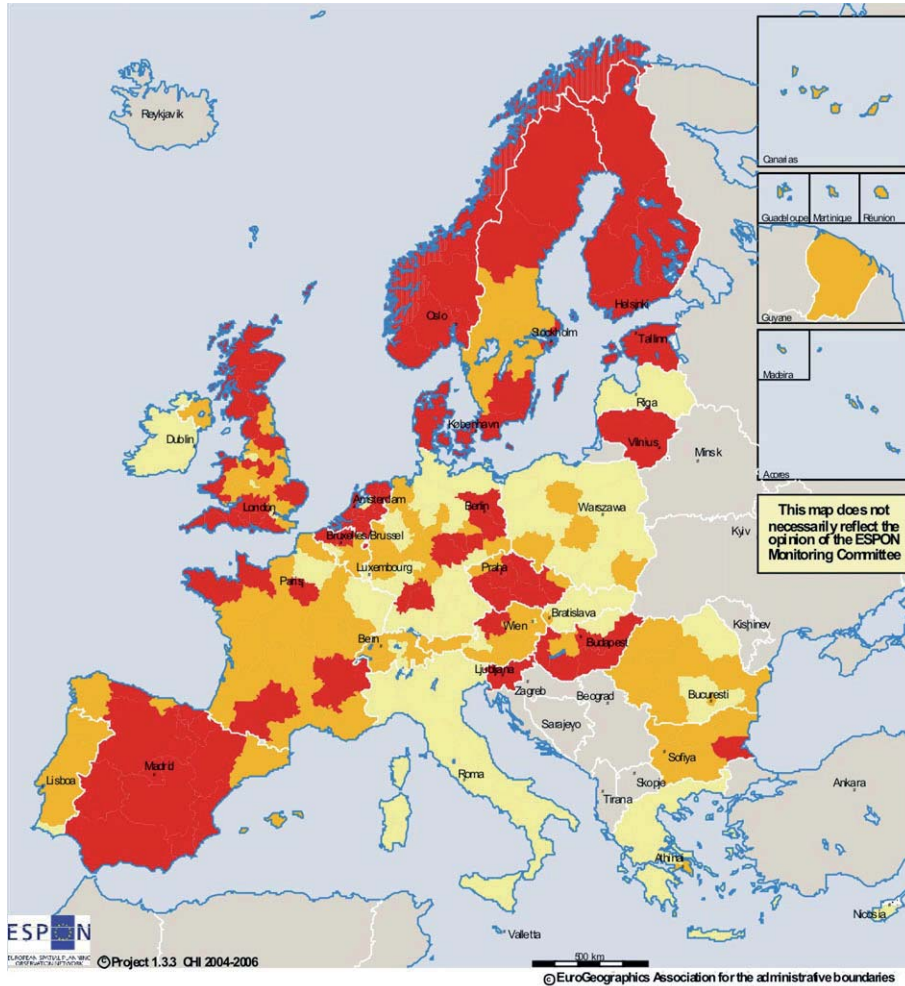
Indicator in database 1.3.3 -
Elaboration on indicators: A², B, C, D, D,4

Algorithm-
Indicators normalised and summed, sum normalised

Source and other metadata information:
Various sources. See regional metadata (Annex Final Report).
NUTS II

Reference year:
(see reference years of base indicators)

Fig. 4 – Orientation to conservation



better valuation of their assets (among them are Brussels, Antwerp, Prague, Berlin, and most Dutch metropolitan regions).

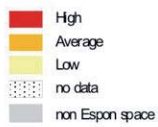
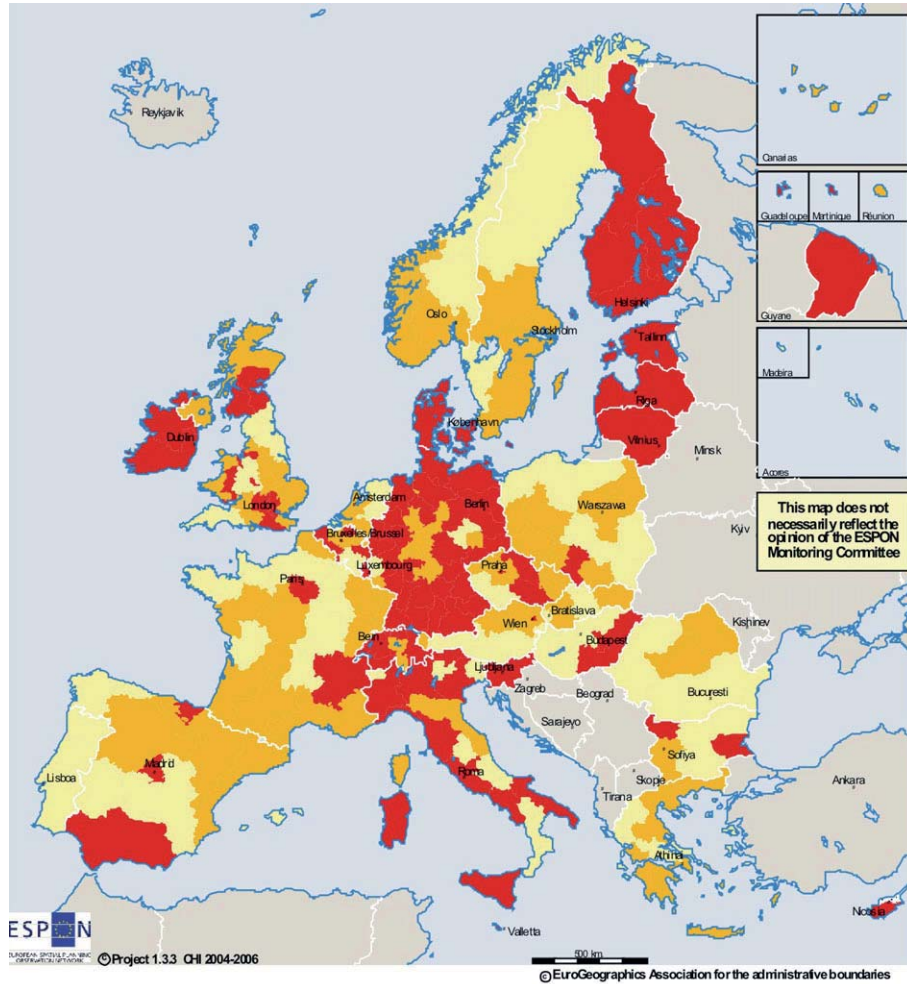
Pink areas are the ones more “at risk” from excessive potential use pressure and need careful conservation and diversification of culture. Among them, are the regions of the most important European “star destinations” (regions of Venice, Florence, Salzburg), plus Greater Manchester, Cyprus, Schleswig-Holstein). Finally light blue areas need to generate more cultural resources to become more attractive. In this region we find some Eastern-European regions especially in Bulgaria, Romania and Poland. It is worth noting that due to the different methodology followed in data collection this map does not necessarily coincide with the map elaborated by the SPESP (see fig. 1), which was nevertheless based on common assumptions regarding the “balanced” use of the heritage between demand pressures generated by tourists and benefits to the local economy. In any case it can be seen that areas at risk approximately coincide, in spite of the 5 year hiatus between the first exercise and the second (which is not surprising, given the development of tourism in Europe and the Mediterranean in this period).

Moreover, regions may be rearranged according to their specialisations with respect to the attitude towards cultural heritage:

- the conservation of cultural heritage: culture as an asset with ethic value and carrier of local identity, which needs to be defended against territorial and market trends which compromise the stability of its provision. The respective regions are to be found in fig. 5;
- the production of cultural heritage: culture as a “commodity” which needs to be (re)produced not only to reconstitute the cultural capital which is one key component of contemporary social and economic development and which is continuously wasted due to its idiosyncratic nature, but also as a source of economic development insofar it is embedded in production processes (creative industries and other knowledge-intensive economic sectors). Fig. 6 represents the results of a classification of European regions that specialise in production;
- the valuation of cultural heritage: culture as a set of social norms and capacities which enrich the local communities and that may be used by the latter to “make themselves known” to the other communities in order to establish good relations for social and economic exchange. Thus culture is about “educating” the local community as well as about “educating” the other users, or developing and establishing an image, a brand.

There are obvious interrelations between any two of these specialisations, e.g. regions that are rich in heritage dispose of more solid “input” for culture-based production, and they have a relatively easier task in diffusion; regions which are strong at producing culture, may “export it” relatively easier but it is useful to keep them conceptually separated.

Fig. 5 – Orientation to production



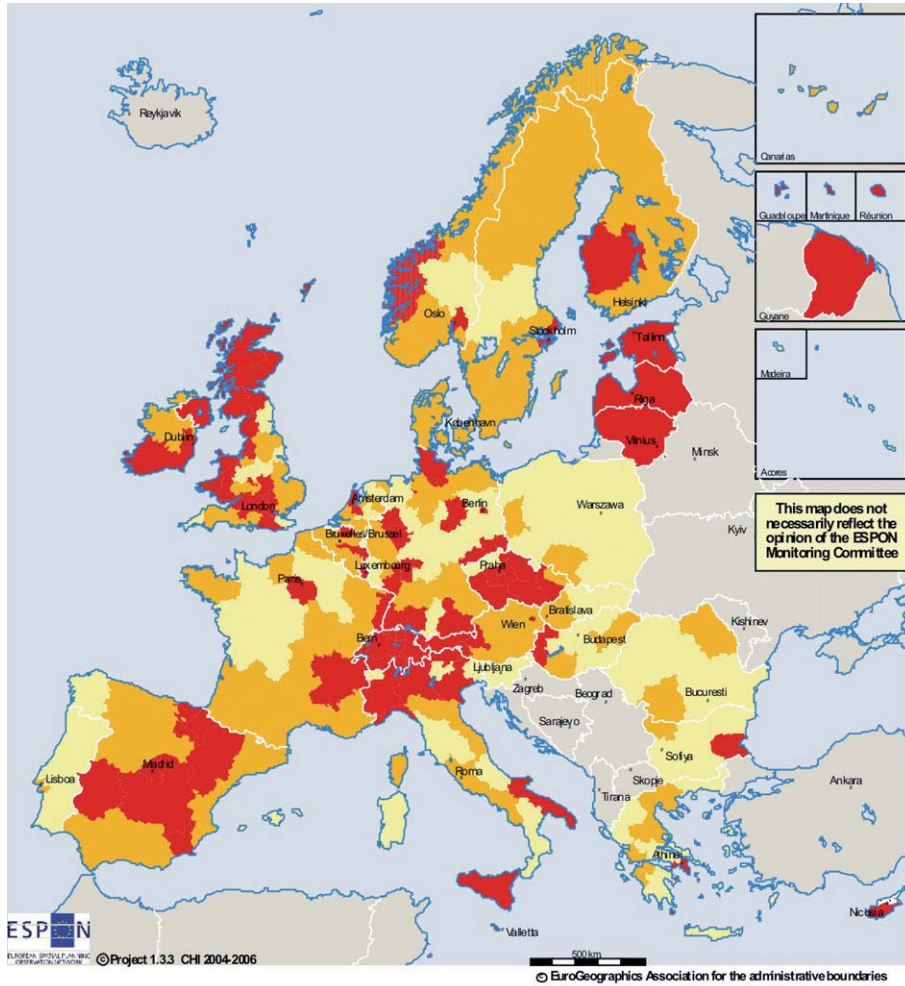
Indicator in database 1.3.3 -
Elaboration on selected indicators
(see detailed methodology in Final Report)

Algorithm -
3 categories:
High - First quantile of distribution
Average - Second quantile of distribution
Low - Third quantile of distribution

Source and other metadata information:
Various sources. See regional metadata
(Annex Final Report). NUTS II

Reference year:
(see reference years of base indicators)

Fig. 6 – Orientation to valorization



- High
- Average
- Low
- no data
- non Espon space

Indicator in database 1.33 -
 Elaboration on selected indicators
 (see detailed methodology in Final Report)

Algorithm -
 3 categories:
 High - First quantile of distribution
 Average - Second quantile of distribution
 Low - Third quantile of distribution

Source and other metadata information:
 Various sources. See regional metadata
 (Annex Final Report), NUTS II

Reference year:
 (see reference years of base indicators)

4. Tourism management in urban tourism regions and the lessons taught by Venice

In the previous sector it became clear that the use of heritage assets in European (urban) regions is not always optimal, and, hence, sustainable. There are a number of regions that are not using their assets intensively enough and are therefore definitely losing important opportunities for social and economic development, and there are regions that are overexploiting their cultural assets. This is especially true for the regions that are among the principal European destinations for tourism (Spanish South and East Coast, Italian Coast, and so on). The task of policymakers is to manage tourism in such a way as to keep the level of tourism development within the limits of the tourism carrying capacity.

Tourism in heritage cities is, however, far from easy to manage. Cities are built to receive visitors and need to be accessible for many types of city users and asking an entrance fee for visiting a city is against most constitutions. Moreover, cities that are experimenting with price discrimination for public facilities are being taken by private citizens to the European Court of Justice, since these measures might hinder the free movement of people.

On the other hand, the number of heritage cities where pressure on the local society and economy is becoming unbearable and where tourism management should therefore be an integral part of urban policies is rising rapidly. Bruges, Florence, Salzburg and Venice are examples of such destinations. Only recently, also in Amsterdam the negative effects that tourism may produce when developed excessively are being felt and countermeasures may be expected.

Although the ESPON study on cultural heritage led to more awareness for the range of problems raised by an increasing number of visitors and have also specified potential tactics to overcome or reduce them, it has been rare to find any municipality involved in the investigation taking political decisions regarding tourism issues.

The issue most frequently confronted by the city councils' urban policy that in some way concerns visitor management is related to traffic and parking. In most cities, a policy to manage traffic congestion has been implemented in the form of a park and ride system on the edge of town, often in combination with a new traffic plan. In cities like Bruges, Oxford and Salzburg, the pressure from day visitors has been eased by means of control of incoming excursionist buses, which are easy to spot and thus to divert. Similar schemes are being developed in the smaller Spanish art cities like Toledo, Granada e Segovia.

However, more direct interventions to improve the visitors' experience and to ease the conflict between tourism and other urban activities are now

sorely needed. More than traffic control, it is management of the tourism function that should be the central focus in controlling the flows of visitors, in particular the excursionists, the real threat to a more balanced and profitable urban tourism system in all of the analysed destinations.

In theory, there are two procedures available: enlarging tourism supply in time and space; and acting on the demand by rationing the use of the city. The actions can be divided in two distinct families:

- to regulate the flows with an increase in the costs of the visit or with some type of booking policy or with a restricting traffic policy;
- to stimulate visitors to make use of alternative attractions.

The measures intended to control tourism demand in the heritage cities studied are in most cases taken by public bodies that are not directly involved in tourism development, such as traffic departments and planning agencies. The measures are not part of the tourism policy of the city as such. Hence, the probability that these measures are co-ordinated with other, usually direct, interventions regarding tourism is low. The measures that are supposed to stimulate dispersion of tourism demand in time (initiatives to render the low season more attractive, for example) or in space (alternative routes) tend to be implemented by public and private bodies together. However, their promotional aspect is still dominant.

Of course, the implementation of strategies and policies affecting visitors in a city of art is not independent from other issues and policies for the management of that urban area. Thus, a clear, comprehensive, action plan is necessary to meet goals for sustainable tourism development in delicate urban environments.

The numerous components of the tourism product make it necessary to co-ordinate the decisions and the actions taken by all of the entities operating within the sector. In order to conduct a marketing campaign in the most efficient manner, the tourism offer should be the fruit of a comprehensive agreement between all of the operators, public and private and the city. This is especially relevant for those places characterised by a historical core area and by an active urban life. Due to their physical structure and their social functions, these cities require a public body capable of more than passively controlling the private sector, of assuming a pro-active role.

For this reason, heritage cities ought to have a public body powerful enough to manage tourism in all its facets. As stated earlier, in order to do so, public administrators need to know how tourism is developing and how the changes can be managed. There are several other reasons why tourism should be an integral part of the political decision making process in all of the art cities of this report. First, both at the city and attraction levels, tourism can be a strongly disturbing factor. Secondly, tourism in cities affects the entire urban community, and services that were originally provided

for residents must be extended to satisfy the visitors' requirements. Last, but not least, competition has been intensified by an increasing number of new urban destinations.

Having recognised the social and economic forces of tourism and its critical impacts on urban systems, it is surprising to note that, even in these highly-reputed international destinations, tourism is still treated as a self-maintaining activity and is thus left to itself. The real problem is that the cities' policy makers are unable to respond properly because they do not appreciate the "soft" sphere of tourism issues. They are generally effective on "hard" issues such as parking lots and congress centres. However, they are not equipped to handle the management of the multiple variables associated with tourism in cities of art.

On the other hand, the private sector, pursuing its own interests, has insufficient vision to ensure that limits to tourism development are respected. A good example of the consequences of this is the continuous flow of promotional material produced in the heritage cities. Since the increase in the supply of hotel beds has by far exceeded the growth in demand, operators insist in promoting the cities, stimulating however, principally due to a limited supply of hotel beds, mainly excursionist demand. The lack of overall organisational capacity has a devastating effect on the development of tourism in these sensitive urban environments.

The city of Venice has in this respect become a benchmark. It has already tried to implement a 'softer' and probably more efficient way of avoiding excess demand, both from the city's and from the visitor's point of view, introducing a series of incentives that guide tourism demand. These incentives recognise the fact that the destination is an asset with a limited capacity, the use of which should be rationalised also for the sake of the visitor experience. Of course, this should be communicated in advance to the market, either directly to the potential visitors or indirectly to the travel agents and tour operators.

This type of rationalisation policy asks for an advanced booking system. Through the reservation of service packages, which could include for example meal vouchers, tickets for exhibitions and museums and discounts in souvenir shops, and visitors may be stimulated to visit Venice in specific periods. The booking of such a package could be mandatory (a sort of entrance ticket) or optional. In the last case the potential user must be convinced of the advantages the package offers him, and hence accept advanced booking. The package can be stored on a "City Currency Card", serving in all effects as a credit card, valid for the length of the visit, and with which goods and services in the city can be paid. The card can be issued in different forms to different types of visitors, in numbers that are fixed in advance. The personal credit card furthermore allows for price

discrimination according to the hour or the day that the card is used, i.e. it is the visitor's behaviour that triggers the differentiation of the price not its characteristics.

Both the city service package and the city currency cards can be seen as surrogates for the core service the tourist uses, the hotel bed. It thus helps to convince excursionists to plan their visit instead of improvising. Their reservation could be organised in the context of any telecommunication network which permits long distance sales in real time, an immediate update of the availability, and the emitting of relevant receipts, such as the systems developed by various consortia of airlines.

In this context, the Internet has some promising characteristics that offer very interesting possibilities when it forms the core of such a reservation system. In principle, the Internet reaches the potential visitors at home before their trip, it is interactive and therefore allows for an eventual booking, it operates in real time, it is cheap, and, last but not least, it is selective.

Venice has seriously started to study the possibility of requiring tourists to book the visits to the city in advance, through the Internet and a call centre. The first step has been the creation of a specific site that informs potential visitors and invites them to make reservations (first www.venicecard.it later www.veniceconnected.com). Visitors that reserve receive a voucher and later a virtual city card that allows them to obtain several interesting advantages. The subsequent introduction of the smart card version of the Venice Card, which is a combination of the two reservation policies mentioned above, might offer visitors an incentive strong enough to make them book their visit to the city well in advance. VeniceConnected (from 2007) has been a further step in the direction of making Venice as a tourism destination bookable for its visitors, in particular tourists.

How do these reservation systems exactly work? Visitors are invited and not at all obliged to book their visit to Venice, and receive in exchange a package of (public) services which offers them a series of advantages and possibilities which are not accessible to visitors that do not book (these still have access to the city). The number of cards issued will be equal to the most restrictive of the different carrying capacities of the centre of Venice, which seems to be the social-economic one. Visitors spending the night within the Municipal boundaries will receive the card together with the reservation of hotel accommodation.

Ermolli and Guidotti already in 1991 described the conditions which have to be satisfied to guarantee a successful implementation of such a reservation system. They come to the conclusion that from a technical point of view, the monitoring and the control of the tourist flows in real time does not create any problems. What is essential, however, is that all the actors involved in tourism development are convinced that a reservation system brings them specific benefits.

Venice has not only been studying ways to improve the spread of visitors over time, but it has been working on improvements of the territorial distribution of the visitors once they are in the city. At present just a few areas of Venice are involved in tourism development. Tourism is concentrated in the area between Rialto Bridge and San Marco Square. Alternative routes within the city may be introduced to rationalise the use of the city and its numerous lesser known cultural treasures. In particular the areas of Cannaregio and Castello still offer plenty of opportunities to host visitors.

Alternative routes in reality are attractions linked through a thematic route and sustained by complementary tourism facilities. Since tourism demand concentrates around the 'musts', an alternative tourism route might persuade the visitors to visit attractions that have been less promoted and thus are less known to the public (which certainly does not mean that they are not worth a visit; on the contrary), and thus relieve the already congested attractions and areas. The alternative route may also involve the surroundings of the city. It has already been said that mature destinations do not only suffer from excess demand, but also from an unfavourable mixture of overnight and same day visitors. The route may, therefore, also constitute a strong incentive for the visitor to stay a bit longer in the city.

Not all cities are willing to spread tourism over the municipal territory. In some cases the concentration of tourism is to be preferred, in order to keep certain areas genuine. Furthermore, there is the danger that by introducing the alternative tourism route the quality of the overall tourism product improves too much. If total demand rises consequently congestion problems after spreading might well remain the same as before. Especially if one realises that the 'musts' will be visited anyway.

The tourism development strategy should address these issues in an explicit way. Otherwise, tourism risks becoming an important obstacle to making an urban region competitive and will not at all contribute to its social and economic development.

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**EVOKED IMAGES FOR THE
EUROPEAN SPACE**

The representation of European space: issues, criticisms and new scenarios within the creation of Europe's spatial icons and metaphors

Francesco Curci

1. The role of visual metaphors of European space

*«Spatial representation is different from other forms of cognitive representation studied by learning scientists – linguistic, conceptual, logical – because spatial representations partake of perceptual processes and experiences»
(Schwartz, Heiser, 2005, p. 1)*

As planners involved in studying the nature of European Planning Culture we must be aware that «the new policy language is accompanied by a new set of visual images and maps of European space» (Jensen, Richardson, 2004a, p. 100). This means that we cannot reflect about European Space's representation as independent from a pre-determined set of aims and priorities established within the logic of European policy making. The shift toward a truly European planning system (and culture) is quite recent because before the Fall of the Berlin Wall Europe was not yet prepared to build its own “personality” in a strictly institutional sense. Actually the capability to perform where only national and regional power had performed before has only emerged since the late 1980s. The example of Spatial Planning is definitely the most relevant example of what we should construe as the sign of an epochal change within the European Union. According to Jensen and Richardson the true role of any spatial representation of European space is to shape the implicit or explicit essence of a determined policy discourse: «[...] *understanding images and metaphors as ‘descriptive’ and thus purely objective is to miss the point of how spatial representations in words and images always carry the potential for normative understandings and power laden strategies. That these do not simply implement themselves instrumentally in the minds of the beholders should not mislead believing in their neutrality»* (Jensen, Richardson, 2003).

In general we use spatial representations to describe the reality, to give form to an idea, to simplify other languages, to support and integrate discursive practices, to help knowledge, to facilitate everyday experience, etc.

Otherwise, the almost discursive nature of any spatial policies needs representations for one fundamental reason: to support the decision. Nevertheless, a planning process could not be considered simply as a mix of abilities that works jointly in producing different kinds of dispositions and documents. The responsibility of suggestions is equally important to provide consensus and make choices coherent with the context. The current reflection upon the growth of a European Planning Culture points out the power of some evocative, metaphoric, iconographic, suggestive representations of European Space. The effectiveness and consequently the success of these kinds of representations is probably due to fact that traditional forms of spatial plans seem to be unconvincing because of the size and the complexity which typify European Space (the improbability of a Euro-Plan). If the point of the size is easily comprehensible, the crucial point of complexity demands some further clarifications: the critical transfer of knowledge and practice from each distinct national planning culture to a European Planning Culture demands effort over a long time period. That effort is itself the object of a specific planning process that nowadays is constantly involving UE (principally ESDP and ESPON) towards the production of an accurate, focused, and compatible knowledge of all the territories that compose European Space according to a “holistic” approach. Going back to the difficulties of a comprehensive European Spatial Plan, it is evident that the power of some conceptual representation is functional to maintain a general view of the space of Europe. In the next lines I’ll propose some reflections around the most famous conceptualized representations of Europe I have analyzed. With respect to those kinds of spatial patterns the major criticism made by scholars is about the simplistic intention they are based on. I prefer to specify in advance that according to Taylor and Hoyler (2000) that kind of scientific criticism is justified by the incompatibility between a *city-based approach* – that should reflect upon networks and interactions - and a *regional analysis approach* – that is traditionally focused on structural and locational factors. Since the late 1980s this phenomenon has demanded numerous attempts to record and map the changes within European economic space in terms of cities. The principle difficulty was to define the new inter-city urban hierarchies also by mixing very different indicators and selecting variables (Taylor and Hoyler, 2000). Certainly the geographical representation of those economic spaces has profoundly influenced the work of many policy makers.

2. An anthology of metaphors

Concerning the results of various studies about city-order in Europe, one of the most famous and suggestive images is the so-called *Blue Banana*

(also known as «Hot Banana», «Dorsal», «European Megalopolis» or «European Backbone»)¹.

The Blue Banana is just the most successful of a series of spatial icons defining the economical space of Europe. Indeed, in the original map redacted by Datar, the Blue Banana was already accompanied by other landmarks. For example a secondary belt known as “European Sunbelt” or “Golden Banana” covers the space stretching between Madrid and Northern Italy (Taylor and Hoyler, 2000). Then there is “l’Arc Nord Est”, a sort of “French banana” that according to Klaus Kunzmann (1992) has been promoted by the French government to respond to German economic influence. A second North-South axis that Kunzmann calls “Cucumber” (*Ibidem*) goes from Lübeck and Rostock to Budapest. Moreover a Central European “Boomerang”, according to Grzegorz Gorzelak (1996), includes Gdansk, Poznan, Wroclaw, Prague, Brno, Bratislava/Vienna and Budapest. As we can see, the adoption of metaphors, in the logic of a spatialized transposition of socio-economical data on a European scale, is quite unavoidable (fig. 1).

Another almost inclusive graphic description of European spatial structure is the so-called *Red Octopus* (Van der Meer, 1998) that is composed of a cluster of corridors connecting cities of the whole European space and in particular with Eastern Europe. In some sense the longitudinal extensions – which are the tentacles within the allegory of an octopus – could mislead somebody about what surely is still a centralistic idea of European Space like the previous one of the Blue Banana. It is important to underline that the “red” color attributed to the octopus icon encloses a geopolitical meaning since «*the Cold War scenario of the Blue Banana contained by the iron curtain evolves into a “Red Octopus” with the demise of the Eastern bloc*» (Van der Meer, 1998, editors’ note) (fig. 2).

Another well-known icon is the *Pentagon*, a European space dominated and delimited by London, Hamburg, Munich, Milan and Paris. The notion appeared first in the “Development Scheme of European Space” (SSSE, Postdam, 1999) to denounce the centralized character of European space. The Pentagon, intended as unique European core – with approximately 14% of the EU27 area, 32% of its population and 43% of its GDP – has often been contested by supporters of the polycentricity of Europe who still sustain that the zones of global economic integration in the EU are more than one (fig. 3).

The three images shown before are perfect examples of a broad conviction about the centralized character of European economic space.

In addition, I want to mention another analytical map proposed by Roger Brunet more than ten years after his intuition of Blue Banana. The central core of Europe is still present and still strong and it still constitutes the essence of European Space. While Brunet was insisting on his central-

istic idea based on the existence of a main ring of cities and a secondary group of peripheral cities, other scholars were already launching a drastically less centralistic interpretation and completely different metaphor of Europe. In the actuality of Brunet's argumentation «*Europe is structured by several geographical figures [...] but it remains divided by borders and their associated centralities. Indeed, the author proposes peripheries as new competitors and antagonists of the main economical core that, anyway, is still described as the "centre of gravity"*» (Brunet, 2002, p. 14) (fig. 4).

The last step we can distinguish inside the "genealogy" of visual metaphors of European economic space is the one leading to Klaus Kunzmann's *Bunch of Grapes*. Concerning the origin of the really innovative metaphor of "grapes", Peter Taylor and Michael Hoyler (2000) sustain that, as suggested by the variety of different spatial metaphors available, the previous images (describing a centralized Europe) «are based less on empirical evidence than on creative geopolitical imaginations». The power of the new polycentric icon of Bunch of Grapes resides in the certainty that «*almost any space in Europe can be depicted as a potentially important European urban space*» (fig. 5).

Despite the irrefutable evolutionary refinement of European space's metaphors, a general criticism can be made according yet again to Taylor and Hoyler: referring to Kunzmann's representation they contest the fact that such polycentric structures can neglect the implicit "core-ness" (centrality) of European economic space of cities. Moreover, in the speculative and accurate perspective of Peter Taylor and Michael Hoyler, the «deficiencies of existing spatial images» is due also to an «under-theorized mix of attribute data». This means that a rigorous empirical approach (working with a set of data which embodies relations between cities) has often been shuffled with the methodologically incompatible theoretical «framework of world city formation».

3. ESDP's and ESPON's contribution to the construction of a collective imagination of European space

Even within the political vocation of *European Spatial Development Perspective* (ESDP) and within the scientific mission dispensed by the *European Spatial Planning Observatory Network* (ESPON) we can find some representations of European space which have had an unequivocally evocative influence on the collective imagination.

In this context ESDP seems to bridge the gap between the two conceptual archetypes of Blue Banana and Bunch of Grapes (Tatzberger, 2008). Indeed the polycentric development is a coherent political tool to reach the major aims of territorial cohesion and competitiveness: «*ESDP represents an agreement on common objectives and concepts for the future development of the territory of European Union*» (*Ibidem*, p. 51). From another perspective someone has supposed that

Fig. 1 – The “Blue Banana” and other landmarks of European economic space
 Source: Reclus-Datar, 1989

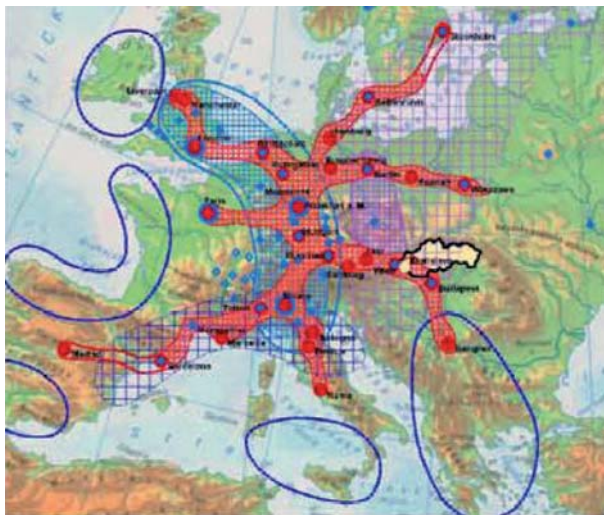
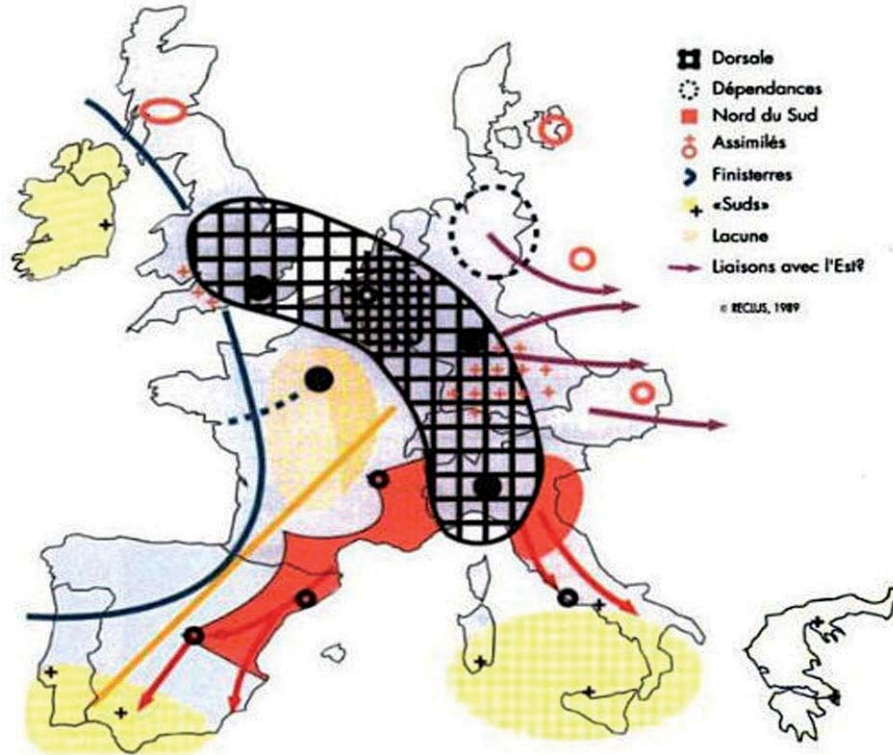


Fig. 2 – The “Red Octopus”
 Source: Van Der Meer, 1998



Fig. 3 – The “Pentagon”
Source: BBR, 2000

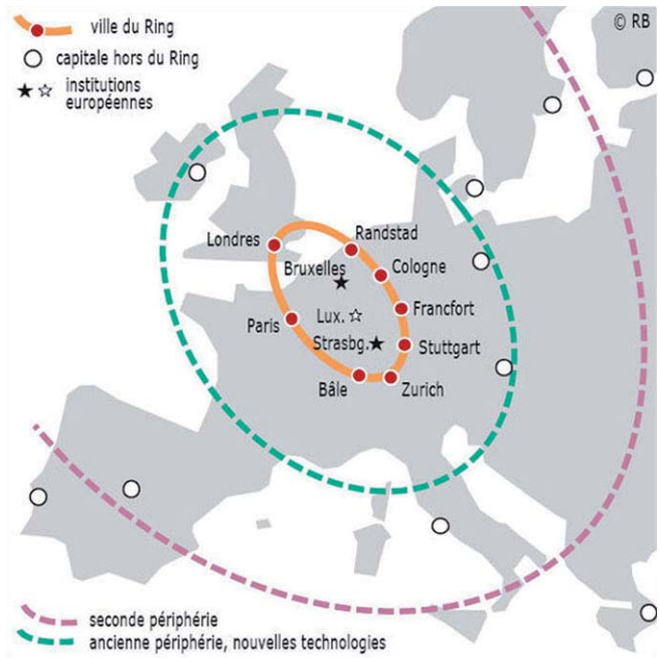


Fig. 4 – The “Ring” and
its peripheries
Source: Brunet, 2002

the concept of a polycentric urban system of Europe is a compromise with some ambiguities driven by the background aim of consensus building that stands out among analytical criteria and spatial planning criteria (Faludi and Waterhout, 2002). Regarding ESDP the main example of the use of maps to make a spatial policy acceptable is the one which shows physical characteristics of Europe and some emblematic chosen distances. Regardless of its specific content, this map is evocative of the difficulties that European spatial policies find when they try to conceptualize spatial issues through enforced simplifications. In fact it is a less discrete version of another map proposed in the Noordwijk draft which was strongly contested by national delegations for the presence of some unshared definitions. In some senses it is the symbol of the conflict between the emergent European planning culture and the national skepticism about it (fig. 6).

Concerning ESPON I will say a few words since it is a scientific programme with only indirectly evocative representations. I want to put the stress on the so-called «*territorial futures*» (ESPON, 2007a; 2007b) in which once again the idea of a European central core appears as an absolute and inescapable feature (fig. 7).

Although «*the scenarios are not to be seen as predictions, but as likely images of the future*» (in both the cases of policy oriented towards competitiveness of Europe in the global context or oriented towards economic, social and territorial cohesion) (ESPON, 2007a, p. 1) the evocative outcomes related to the possible impact of future European policies are always concerned with the enhancement of flows and activities within the very central area of European territory. As explained in the next section this kind of scenario substantially contrasts with other more general scenarios hypothesized by Klaus Kunzmann.

4. Drawing the future of Europe: a review of Klaus Kunzmann's scenarios²

«Metaphors [...] are not predictions, and certainly not predestinations, though people sometimes talk in these terms. [...] They really should be regarded simply as ways of describing the spatial structure of Europe in a manner that can be easily grasped, which may help people who find it difficult to think in European terms to gain a sense of spatial positioning, and may also help with place marketing» (Williams, 1996)

In the previous section I have discussed the use of metaphors mostly in their descriptive and analytical character. The result is a catalogue of portraits of European spatial-economic dynamics starting at the end of 1980's. That typology of images is positively functional for diverse steps of



Fig. 5 – Europe as
“Brunch of grapes”
Source: Kunzmann
and Wegener, 1991

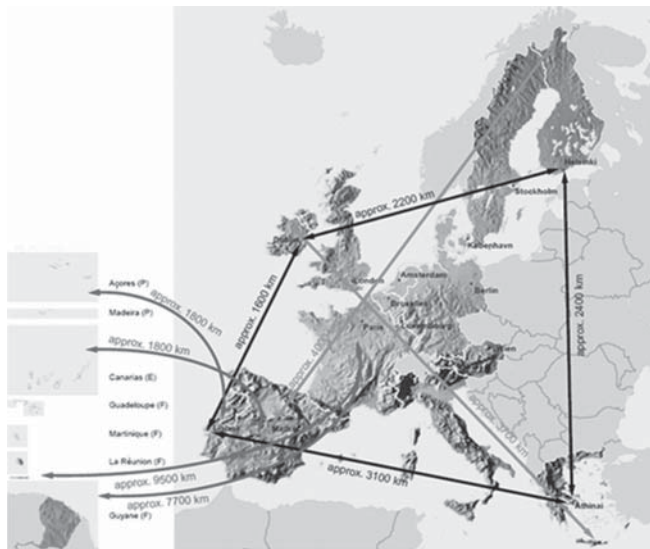
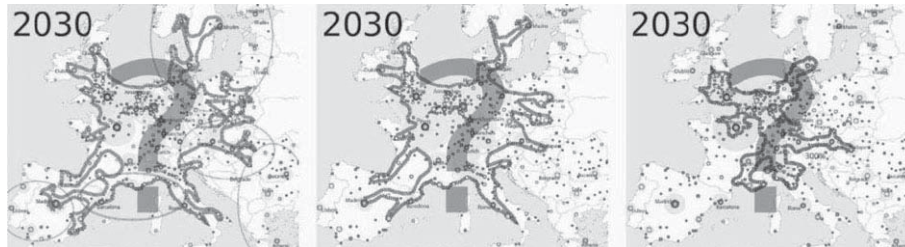


Fig. 6 – A physical map of
Europe with distances
Source: ESDP, 1999, p. 56

Fig. 7 – Three territorial futures according to three different policies
 Source: ESPON, 2007a, book cover



a planning process and to build a general knowledge of European space and a more robust European planning culture. But sometimes in the creation of nontechnical spatial representations, even when they are not necessarily metaphors in the strict sense, researchers and authors are more interested in providing prophetic visions of the future. Even if I'm not actually animated by the visionary mood of some theoretical approaches, I'm all the same attracted by the general topics of Europe's future and by the survey on European peripheries proposed by Klaus Kunzmann. Constantly interested in the general subjects of European Planning Cultures and European space representations, Kunzmann helps us also to summarize very briefly the essence of the metaphors described in the preceding section of this paper. He defines the conceptual evolution inside European spatial images: from the economic concentration (with a western European dominance) of 'blue banana', through to the spatial concentration of 'pentagon' finally landing on the spatial equity, territorial cohesion and functional diversification of 'bunch of grapes' (Kunzmann's own proposal). But in the idea of Kunzmann his personal contribution couldn't be closed with only the metaphor of 'grapes'. In fact, his imaginative effort has continued with two main and interconnected questions to be unavoidably answered: the universal one of what could happen to all the peripheries of contemporary globalized era and the general one of which could be the possible scenarios on the future of European Space.

In regard to the first question, Kunzmann individuates three typologies of European peripheral territories, three 'categories' of "European Uncharted Territories" and he confidently chooses and adopts a very original kind of spatial representation which better crystallizes the synthetic outcomes of his analysis: they are not metaphors but just conceptual images within which Kunzmann fixes his own conviction upon the problematic growth of polarization, fragmentation and marginalization of European territory. The iconographic value predominates and the graphical minimalism appears as a coherent choice within a purely synthetic and conceptual representation (fig. 8).

Fig. 8 – Three typologies of European peripheries drawn by Kunzmann
 Source: Kunzmann, 2008

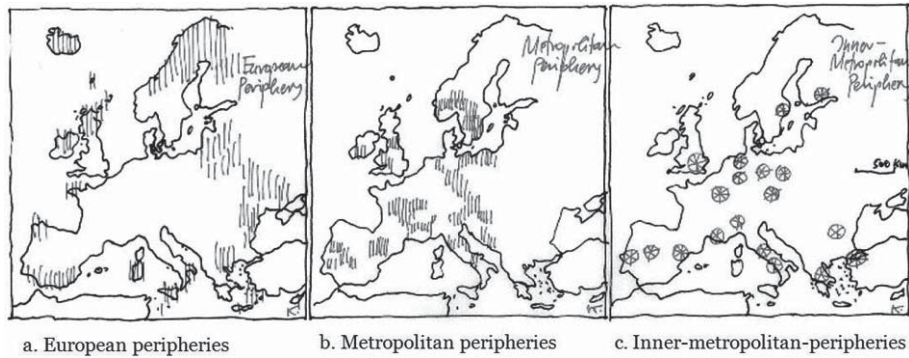
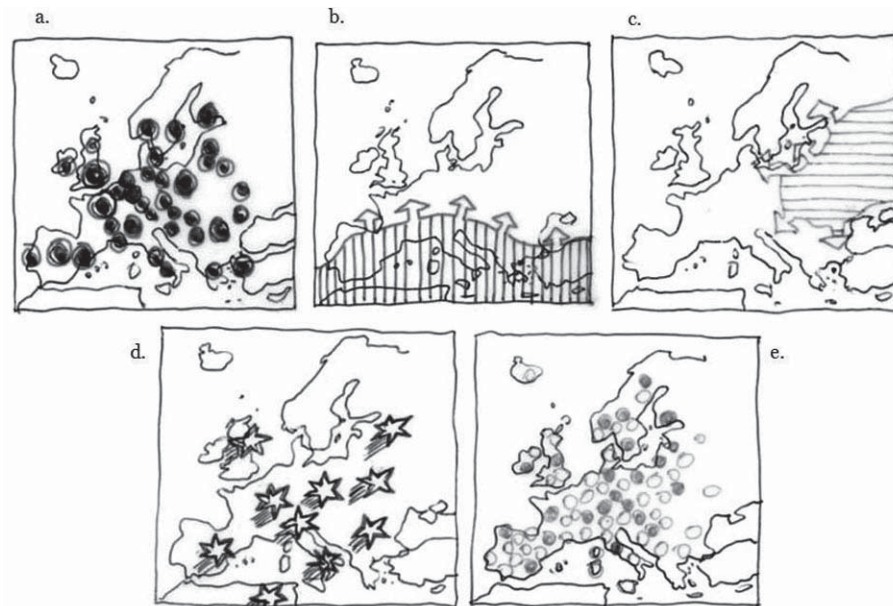


Fig. 9 – The five scenarios of the future of European space drawn by Kunzmann
 Source: Kunzmann, 2008



Answering the second question, Kunzmann develops a more articulated and eclectic sequence of icons. To be more precise, he ‘draws’ 5 scenarios for the Future of European Space 2020 in which the prophetic tone reaches the highest point. The five new icons - representing five distinct destinies of European space - are here charged with a more abstract touch. There are several ways in which drawings like those can influence planners’ voca-

tion in coping with European space. Certainly the more their ‘inventors’ are authoritative members of the international community, the more those images can become solid pillars and prolific references (fig. 9). Synthetically the 5 scenarios drawn by Klaus Kunzmann are:

- 1) the «business and rhetoric as usual» (fig. 9a) in which the existing trends of spatial concentration within the western European cities are supposed to persist until 2020;
- 2) the «Mediterranean Pact» (fig. 9b) with its roots in the Barcelona Declaration (signed in November 1995 by 11 Mediterranean countries, the Palestinian Authority, and the EU) which is expected to produce lots of effects on the presets of economy, migration, religion, governance, sustainability etc.;
- 3) the «Eastern European Pact» (fig. 9c), like the previous geopolitical pact, will be the attempt to merge Eastern Europe with Western Europe working on the key-driver of agriculture, industry, migration and transport;
- 4) the «China Yellow Shadows» (fig. 9d) in which some European territories will find their new balance in a dense concentration of various Chinese “excellences” and strategic poles;
- 5) the «Slowpark Europe» (fig. 9e), which is also the most inspired scenario, is the drawing of a green and sustainable Europe with slow cities and active civil societies.

There is one aspect I would stress in concluding this section completely dedicated to Klaus Kunzmann’s intuitions. While the “bunch of grapes” – as symbol of cohesion and equity and spatially speaking as the representation of a supposed polycentrism of European Space – reveals the existence of a Europe effectively composed of a diversified system of cells but still rooted in a Eurocentric-continental idea (Magnaghi, 2005), thanks to the theoretic deviation exceptionally ridden out by Kunzmann’s five scenarios for European Space 2020; we can finally move toward an inter-European and a-continental conception of what a European Planning Culture should take care of. In the perspective of the UE a substantial change like that is not something which planners involved in ‘designing’ the future of Europe will easily forget about.

5. Conclusions

The attempt to create an anthology of images has a double value: on the one hand the value of putting in a pondered sequence, some emblematic pieces derived from different contributions and rarely compared to each other in a direct way; on the other hand the value of reflecting upon the role of representation in the perspective of European Spatial Planning. More-

over, an irrefutable thesis emerges from the exposures above: the capacity of maps to overlook the geo-political function espouses the exigency of an epistemology of European Economic Space and its dynamics, but the detection of the enzymatic power inherent in some icons and metaphors is crucial as well to address the tasks of European planners. In parallel the incessantly mounting production of technical maps (I allude principally to ESPON procedures) does not invalidate the usefulness of some ‘suggestions’. On the contrary an integrated advancement among technical cartographies and non-technical images appears to be a fundamental choice towards the maturation of the still embryonic concept of European Planning Culture.

Notes

1. The “blue banana” was proposed in 1989 (before the Fall of the Berlin Wall) in a study for the French regional planning authority (DATAR). The author was the French geographer Roger Brunet.

2. This part has been principally inspired by a lecture held the 29th of May 2009 by Prof. Kunzmann on the occasion of a meeting with PhD student of *DiAP* of *Politecnico di Milano*.

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Isotropy through dispersion. A new vocabulary for the European territorial cohesion

Maddalena Falletti

1. Introduction

Territorial cohesion is one of the main objectives of the European Union concerning the spatial organization of Europe. Intended to solve – or at least address – the spatial contradictions resulting from the establishment of deprived peripheries around successful urban areas, territorial cohesion has gained an important place within the EU spatial agenda through the years and a consistent debate has expanded the concept and the ways to implement it, involving mainly planners, economists and sociologists.

With the 1999 European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP), the EU has started paying a lot of attention to the physical impact of programs and policies directly and indirectly affecting the territory. One of the most recent remarkable reinterpretations of this discourse has been undertaken by Bernardo Secchi and Paola Viganò – architects and urbanists – who have long been doing research on the territorial evolution of European cities. Even though they rarely mention the European Union as a reference, their proposals for the future of our cities might deserve more attention by researchers and theorists involved in EU spatial planning.

After a short description of the concept of territorial cohesion, the paper proposes the juxtaposition of the ESPON project 1.1.1 on polycentrism and an alternative scenario for the European territory, based on the theory of *isotropy*, developed by Bernardo Secchi and Paola Viganò. Starting from a comprehensive strategy for Europe – *isotropy* – then zooming on the regional level and reassessing an almost fixed set of opinions regarding urban sprawl and *dispersion*, the scenario shows a coherent approach based on a renewed description of the territory.

Rather than being a critique or an analysis, Secchi and Viganò's research is a project, a proposal whose importance within the debate on territorial cohesion does not only refer to its content, but also to the methodology itself. Approaching territorial cohesion as a matter of urban design has required an effort to set new problems and re-write a story whose powers of persuasion lie in its pervasiveness at any spatial scale. Their project is an

exploration into the neglected sphere of the design of mega-city regions, whose growth and features have been abundantly described and analyzed in literature. By designing the *territories of a new modernity*, redirecting theories and analyses into the physical materialization of urban regions, the necessary overlap of contradictory claims has not been escaped, but acknowledged as the starting point of the research.

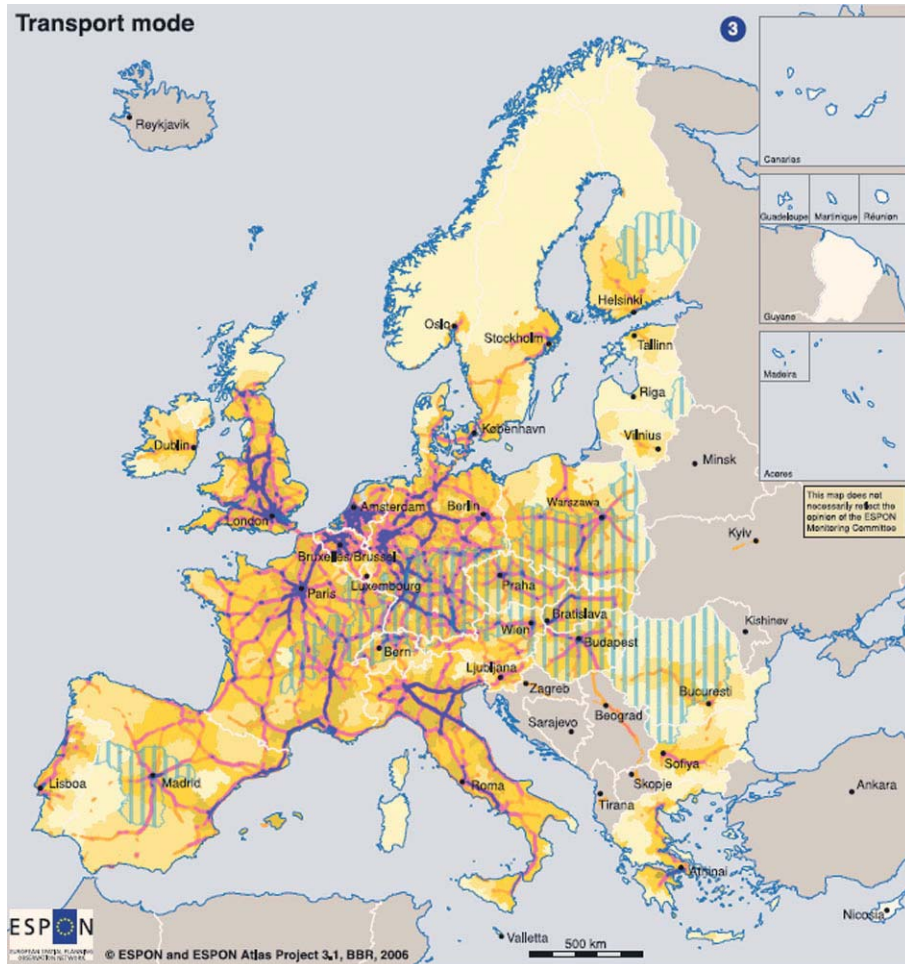
2. Territorial cohesion

The bulk of the EU effort to reduce disparities at the territorial level is the cohesion policy, articulated in social, economic and territorial cohesion¹. The importance of territorial cohesion is evident as a theme, by actually being the crucial node of many of the problems interesting Europe today, but it is also very important as a strategy itself, representing for the EU what could be defined as a spatial strategic plan. Even though EU has no direct competence concerning spatial planning – which is a typically administrative national or regional concern – many of its policies have a consistent effect on territorial development.

The aim of territorial cohesion is to address territorial polarization by better exploiting the richness and diversity of all European regions and making them more competitive. Citizens should have access to essential services, basic infrastructures and knowledge. This implies that people should not be disadvantaged by where in the Union they happen to live or work². Showing clearly how important the spatial issue has become for the EU, the 1999 *European Spatial Development Perspective* (ESDP) has been reinforced through the INTERREG programme and through the establishment of the European Spatial Observatory Network (ESPON). The debate culminated in last year's adoption of the Territorial Agenda and its Action Plan by the Member States.

Strategies regarding the European spatial organization adopted in 1999, have had ever since a double controversial nature. On the one hand, many programs have been developed in order to achieve a more balanced territorial pattern, contributing to improve competitiveness and accessibility in the peripheral areas of the continent through the adoption of the polycentric model. On the other hand, transportation and development corridors, enhance the formation of 'loser' regions and contribute to the development of peripheries next to well connected, accessible areas (fig. 1). Trans-European Networks (TENS) at this stage do not constitute a polycentric network, as the debate around their localization clearly demonstrates: apart from *nimby-ism* phenomena related to the realization of transportation corridors, close accessibility to them represents a key towards successful economical development.

Fig. 1 – Transport mode
 Source: ESPON, 2006



Daily vehicle unit kilometres travelled per km²
 (average for the TEN-STAC European+ scenario
 year 2020)

- less than 500
- 500 up to 1,000
- 1,000 up to 2,500
- 2,500 up to 5,000
- 5,000 and more
- no data

Overloaded corridors classification

- low level
- medium level
- high level

Access time to commercial seaport by truck

- more than 5 hours

© EuroGeographics Association for administrative boundaries
 Regional level: NUTS 3

Origin of data:

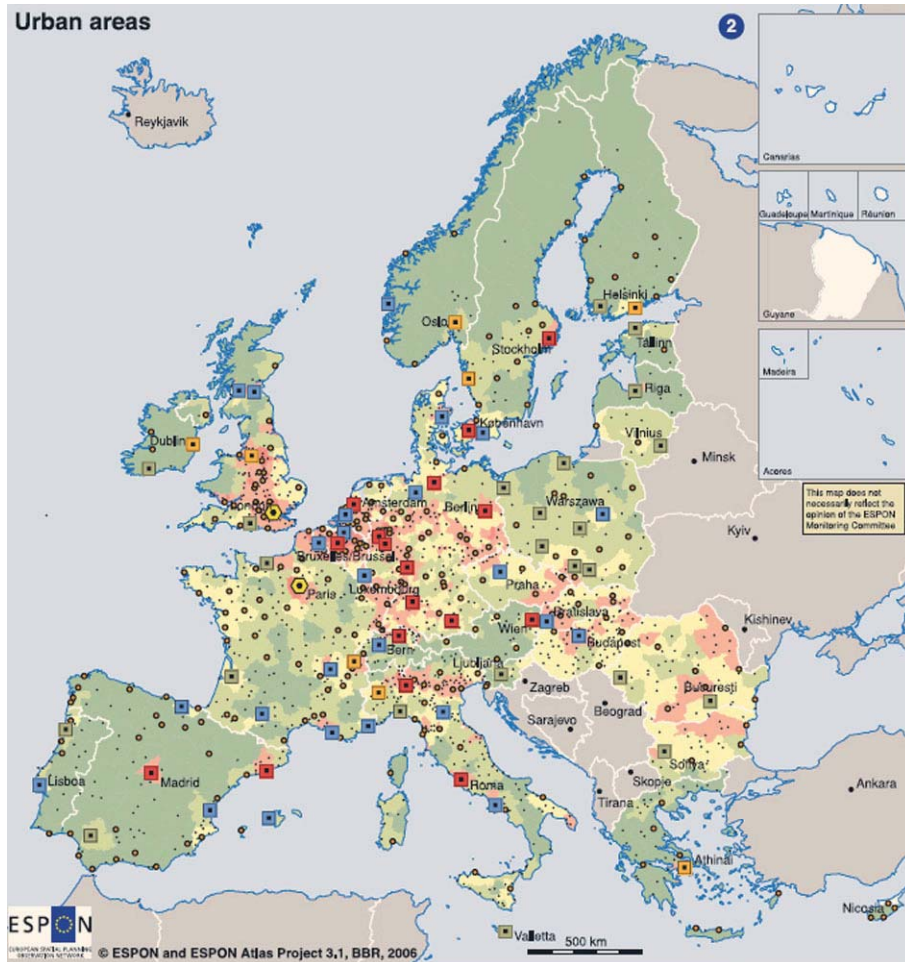
Transportation flows: ESPON Project 2,1,1, BBR on

basis of TEN-STAC:

cost to commercial seaport: ESPON Project 1,2,1, Mcrit

Source: ESPON database

Fig. 2 – Urban areas
 Source: ESPON, 2006



Share of artificial surface

- very low
- low
- medium
- high
- very high
- no data

- Strong MEGAs
- Potential MEGAs
- Weak MEGAs
- Transnational/national FUA
- Regional/local FUA

FUA & MEGA classification

- Global nodes
- European engines

© EuroGeographics Association for administrative boundaries
 Regional level: NUTS 3
 Origin of data: Artificial surface: CORINE & PELCOM;
 MEGA & FUA classification: ESPON Project 1.1.1, Nordregio
 Source: ESPON database

It could be said that many of the spatial contradictions affecting the European territory arise within European spatial strategies themselves. Moreover, the Union's commitment to contrast one of the main consequences of polycentrism – urban sprawl – states the incoherence of an approach based on traditional and new paradigms at the same time. It seems therefore necessary to question some of the principles informing the EU planning agenda and reset them through the exploration of new scenarios for the future of the European territory.

Important changes have affected the analytic models interpreting its spatial organization, in a meaningful evolution from the *Blue Banana* to the *Bunch of Grapes* and the *Pentagon*. Evidence suggests that economic prosperity in the EU is becoming less geographically concentrated. The tendency is due to the emergence of new growth centres such as Dublin, Madrid, Helsinki and Stockholm, but also Warsaw, Prague, Bratislava and Budapest (European Commission, 2007). Within the states, however, economic activity has become more concentrated in capital city regions throughout the EU. This increasing concentration of population and economic activity is seen as one of the main causes of the negative externalities provided by unequal economic growth, such as increases in housing costs, shortages of business space, congestion and pollution, whose consequences are not only noticeable in the urban or regional backwaters themselves, but are also negatively affecting the image and competitiveness of successful areas. Secondary growth poles might help to reduce the pressure on the capital city region and promote higher overall growth potential.

3. Polycentrism. ESPON project 1.1.1

Polycentric spatial development is the main concept underpinning the aims of territorial cohesion. A territory is polycentric when it is characterized by the presence of many urban centres, autonomous and connected at the same time. A polycentric urban system is not dominated by one large city, it is uniform and not polarized and every urban node is equally accessible. In order to develop a cooperative network of cities able to act jointly as a large urban area, polycentrism policies stimulate the growth of several urban centres spreading complementary functions outside the main core.

The concept of polycentrism first appeared with the adoption of the Leipzig principles in 1994 in relation to the ESDP process. European policymakers acknowledged the development potential of peripheral areas as well as the danger of hyper-concentration in the core, and individuated polycentrism as a key aim to achieve territorial cohesion. «[...] the concept of polycentric development has to be pursued, to ensure regionally balanced develop-

ment, because the EU is becoming fully integrated in the global economy. Pursuit of this concept will help to avoid further excessive economic and demographic concentration in the core area of the EU. The economic potential of all regions of the EU can only be utilized through the further development of a more polycentric European settlement structure. The greater competitiveness of the EU on a global scale demands a stronger integration of the European regions into the global economy» (Committee on Spatial Development, 1999).

The aim of polycentrism is therefore to spread the benefits of good social and economic performance across the continent, while at the same time, strengthening Europe's global competitive position as a whole. Strategic cooperation between urban regions can take place by developing synergies between similar specialization centres, by complementary specializations of work allocations or by co-operating and creating shared advanced infrastructures and access to the provision of services. Complementation should not however be focused solely on economic competition but should also be expanded to all urban functions such as culture, education and knowledge, and social infrastructure.

Polycentrism is a nested concept and refers to differentiated strategies of development in accordance with territorial scales: the local level (intra urban), the regional level (inter-urban) and the national, meso-regional, trans-national and continental levels. The polycentrism concept marks a fundamental shift in thinking on Europe's spatial and economic structure. It replaces the core-periphery model often put forward in the first years.

The European Spatial Development Perspective advocates the creation of several «*dynamic zones of global economic integration, well distributed throughout the EU territory and comprising a network of internationally accessible metropolitan regions and their hinterland [...]*» (Committee on Spatial Development, 1999). The ESDP foresees a polycentric settlement structure cutting across the whole of the EU territory. At the same time every centre – the ESDP does not give an indication of the size of a *centre* – is in itself seen as a polycentric system on a smaller scale. The hypothesis of polycentrism is not set against the concept of territorial diversity, while the idea is to elaborate a heterogeneous pattern of strategies, responding to the different territorial circumstances (such as geographical location, the characteristics of the urban system etc) and policy goals. Since the concept is not new, but still confused and ambiguous, one of the major challenges of the ESPON project 1.1.1, «*Urban areas as nodes in a polycentric development*», has been to produce a clear research framework, analyzing recurrent features able to stimulate polycentrism.

The building blocks of polycentrism are the functional urban areas (FUAs): economically integrated urban cores and surrounding areas (fig. 2). Starting from the identification of FUAs, the analysis of the different national urban systems has been developed on the basis of the following

three dimensions of polycentrism – size, location and connectivity – and ranked through specific indexes. In order to rank FUAs according to their importance within the national and the European system, different variables have been taken into account: demographic patterns, transportation, tourism, industrialization, knowledge and attractiveness to private investors. The resulting image for Europe presents a generally monocentric regional fabric, with the exception of the Pentagon. Clues of other polycentric spatial organizations have been found in correspondence to the proto-mega-city regions identified by literature (Hall and Pain, 2006).

Rather than being an analysis of the *status quo*, ESPON project 1.1.1 tries to discover the most promising potential for development towards a more polycentric urban system for Europe. Proximity is one of the main preconditions for polycentrism. Beyond morphological proximity, co-operation and functional integration are required. As a conclusion of a first stage of analysis, the final report states that : «[...] *polycentricity at the European level must build upon functional specialization, i.e. stimulate cities outside the core area to develop functions for the whole of Europe. Increasing the demographic mass of cities through regional polycentric integration is, if it is done everywhere across Europe, likely to further enhance the contrasts between the European core area and the rest of the European territory. We cannot currently identify any region in the European periphery where the polycentric integration of neighbouring cities could increase the population mass sufficiently to the extent that the potential for a new global integration zone was created*» (European Commission, 2004).

Even though the method developed still suffers from limitations due to the complex nature of the European territories and to the difficulties arising from data themselves, the ESPON project 1.1.1 represents the missing ring in the chain that links cohesion and competitiveness strategies. It is not possible to assert that polycentrism is the sole way to achieve a balanced global European development, but the issue deserves much academic attention. What seems to be missing within the project is the provision of genuinely speculative scenarios. These tools – commonly adopted by designers – could improve the research, opening it towards unexpected solutions.

4. An alternative scenario for Europe

«Isotropy is an extreme and ideal figure: the territory is not perfectly isotropic and it is not homogeneous. Today a new project of isotropy is at the same time the acknowledgement of a territorial specificity, a scenario to be investigated in its manifold consequences, and a design hypothesis that can be concretely devised in terms of intervention on the water system, on roads and public transport, alternative mobility, forms of diffused welfare, innovative agriculture and the decentralized production of energy» (Viganò, 2008).

During a seminar held at Politecnico di Milano on the 23rd of April, 2009 (titled «La nuova questione urbana»), Bernardo Secchi presented an alternative scenario for the European cities and territory, developed together with Paola Viganò and based on the concept of *isotropy*. Their research «deals with the durable, enduring infrastructural part of our territory that constructs the conditions for the society to reproduce itself. [...] The hypothesis is that today the relation between the fundamental elements of territorial support and daily life practices, the way in which the territory is used, is facing a big change [...]» (Viganò, 2008).

Hierarchy and *isotropy* are seen as different, but equally rational, forms of order. If *isotropic* means *equal in all directions*, the idea that direction might not be influential in the construction of a territorial project is quite radical and capable of questioning the conceptual toolbox we have at our disposal. As mentioned before, in consequence of the increasing flows of people, goods and information, it has become necessary in the past years to improve the connections between nodes, fundamentally through the construction or the reinforcement of infrastructures along strategic corridors. Where there is a preferential strategic direction, there are many others neglected. Corridors inevitably provide an unbalanced territorial development which could be toned down by organizing them as a denser network. If it is true that the TENS policy goes exactly in that direction, it may also be correct to assert that to achieve an isotropic infrastructural distribution, avoiding at the same time soil consumption, a more diverse spectrum of mobility paces has to be considered.

Secchi and Viganò's project of *isotropy* enquires into the likely positive consequences of a density pushed to the limit, beyond poles and corridors, where the network partially loses speed and efficiency while gaining in efficacy and accessibility and recovers a virtuous relationship with the natural environment, as claimed within the debate on sustainability.

During an interview regarding the itinerant exhibition *New territories*, Bernardo Secchi assessed that by going back to practices and urban facts, it is possible to advance hypotheses about a new EU political agenda for cities and territories, reevaluating 'native' solutions as logical attempts to solve local problems (Petti, 2002). According to Secchi and Viganò, *isotropy*, rather than being only a process we look at, could be a rational option for urban planning.

Their exploration of different European urban patterns discloses a frequent phenomenon which has been hitherto condemned for environmental and aesthetic reasons: dispersed urbanization is commonly not considered as a possibly useful experience, not only by the administrations, but also by most of the scholars involved in urban planning and design. Without defending urban sprawl, rather trying to understand the differences between more and less densely urbanized territories, Secchi and Viganò's scenarios

explore the relation between isotropy and dispersion, in the attempt to conceptualizing alternative schemes, contrasting with an approach whose inner contradictions have been abundantly described before. Dispersion especially occurs when the accessibility of territories between cities has improved, allowing the construction of dwellings in places which otherwise would be too isolated. Dispersion is also related to the formation of mega-city regions, whose development depends on the existence of consistent and diverse flows. A dispersed territory might not be as attractive as the compact city but seems to be a more coherent model for many of the European territories going through the formation of urban regions of the kind (fig. 3).

Suspending the judgement on the aesthetics of dispersion and analysing its different declensions, Secchi and Viganò have reinterpreted the results of the analysis and have started producing different 'extreme' scenarios where the changing grades of dispersion or concentration offer different ideas for the organization of the European space (fig. 4). From a polycentric Europe, with reinforced centres surrounded by large voids, stating a rigid subdivision between the urban and the rural, to a gaseous Europe gradually turning the densest nodes into a spread 'inhabited carpet'. In-between the extreme scenarios, interesting models, developing on the edge but quite diffused throughout Europe, gain new importance. It is the case of what Secchi and Viganò call the *running idle territories*, where well-being can be guaranteed by local resources, dwellings are large and comfortable, there is no unemployment, close social relations provide good services and good education system.

According to Paola Viganò there is a relation between such high standards of comfort and the refusal of the traditional urban organization, but more precise definitions are required: «*Sprawl* cannot adequately describe a territory of dispersion where specific economies, society and cultures are related to an extended way of experiencing, using, and living in a place. It is a term pertaining to English-speaking cultures, and has a long and heavily connoted history. The phenomenon of dispersion in Europe can be interpreted in at least two different ways: the first emphasizes the breaking of equilibrium, the traditional relationship between town and country; the second insists on development 'without fractures' that distributes resources and creates opportunities for individual undertakings. Following the former, *sprawl* concerns the spreading out of the city and the commuting of its inhabitants; the second deals with traditional conditions of dispersion – for example, a dense network of infrastructures – which, since the 1960s in several parts of Italy, have supported the original economy and territorial form» (Viganò, 2008).

5. Conclusions

Secchi and Viganò's story about *isotropy* is a story of territorial cohesion.

Fig. 3 – Isotropy in the Veneto region
Source: Google Earth



It looks at the territory as an economic, social and spatial matrix, involuntarily insisting on the same thematic division of the EU cohesion policy, integrating the three aspects in a single joint perspective. The research carried out conveys the peculiarities of the cities and their being part of wider complex territories, facing the rowdy theme of the mega-city regions design. In a period of dissolution of paradigms, the lesson we can draw from the two authors is that it has become necessary to proceed with a renewed conceptualization of the most problematic and rigid issues, conjuring up scenarios that represent friction among conflicting phenomena.

The scenarios offered question the great categories concerning the European city and territory in an attempt to establish new and different relations exploring trends while proposing visions and rhetorical settings. Scenarios, ductile and at the same time rigorous instruments, interfere with the consolidated current ideas regarding Europe today, overlapping different images – inhabitants', administrations' and academic images – radicalizing conflicts and testing the extremes: how is it possible to improve a true multi-scalar accessibility through the provision of development corridors? Is it useful to re-propose the model of the compact city while many of the European cities are part of large conurbations whose boundaries are very hard to define?

Fig. 4 – X-treme Europe. Scenarios for European city and territory
Source: exhibition «New Territories», Iuav, Venice, August-September 2002



Although Europe has so far managed to maintain a relative balance between urbanisation and the preservation of rural areas, contrasting *dispersion* seems to be at the top of the urban agenda. The *Green Paper on Territorial cohesion* (Paris, 2008), for instance, suggests means to avoid differences in density such as depopulation or urban sprawl. If the parity of access to infrastructure can actually improve the large scale territorial cohesion and turn the Pentagon into a more polycentric system, its effects on the regional scale produce a paradox with no ways of escape, unless considering dispersion as a condition to explore and improve. We have no examples of beautiful, harmonious and eco-friendly urban sprawl because nobody has hitherto tried to design it. Nevertheless we dispose of a few good examples of *running idle territories* of dispersion as starting points for a new path of research.

Notes

1. The territorial cohesion strategy was been confirmed in 2004 as a priority strategy of the new cohesion policy (*Third report on economic and social cohesion*, 2004).

2. This concept lies at the basis of the theory of isotropy developed by Bernardo Secchi and Paola Viganò.

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Complexity and contradiction in European regulation. Sustainable energy development and agricultural space

Ángel L. González Morales

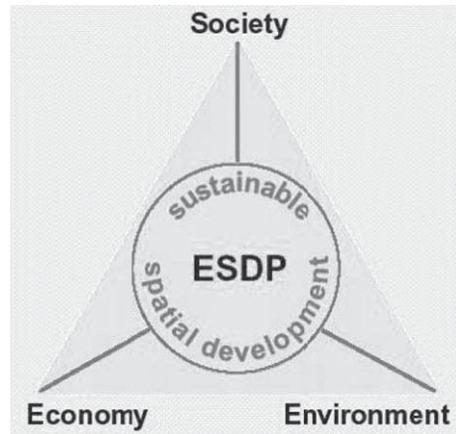
Among all the problems that our world is actually suffering, from hunger and food emergencies to natural disasters, from climate change to the lack or the pollution of water, from uncontrolled urban growth to immigration and security problems .. there exists a common denominator i.e. all these problems take as a center and as principal “battlefield” the rural and natural spaces. But if the potential of these spaces is the “egg white”, and we add to this the situation of degradation and disparity in wealth (as we can read in the text of the European constitution of 1994¹), wouldn't it be right to declare that the study of these zones become not only interesting but also urgently necessary?

For this reason, the aim of this article is to demonstrate the complexity and diversity of a field like the rural/natural areas, departing on one hand from the analysis of the diverse aspects underlined in the European regulations and on the other one, from the need to identify a series of deficiencies and contradictions in the management of the spaces on the part of the organisms which should carry out them. Contradictions that became very important, when we compare several documents, normative and objective products for others organisms, though they are European too.

1. “Objectives triangle”: balanced and sustainable spatial development

The first aspect that appears surprising from the beginning is the direct identification that exists between rural areas and poverty in this norm reflected in the insistence of the diverse European documents to speak always in terms of cooperation, and balanced development (from the Maastricht Treaty, 1992; Amsterdam Treaty, 1997; Nice Treaty, 2001; European Constitution, 2004; Lisbon Treaty, 2007; Second Report on economic and social cohesion, 2001; Third Report on economic and social cohesion, 2004, to the Third Report on economic and social cohesion, 2007 and

Fig. 1 – ERDF's objective triangle



same the diverse European entities (from the Community Competition Policy, Structural funds, ERDF; Trans European Network, HAVE; Environmental policies, Common Agricultural Policy, CAP; Research, Technology and Development, RTD; to the Loan Activities of the European Investment Bank, EIB) but what does it mean exactly (rural) sustainable development? Is it really possible to plan it? Isn't it true that the sustainable development of the rural areas produces inevitably problems and contradictions with the sustainable development of the urbanized areas? And finally, if we can make a clear economic relation between "poor countries = agriculture (rural)" and "rich countries = services and production (urban)", is it possible to think that we are able to reach a "balanced and sustainable spatial development", not only between the central and the peripheral countries within Europe, but also between the countries of the "first world" and those of the second or third one? (fig. 1).

To confirm this necessity, the aim of this reflection will be centered in the analysis of Europe spatial policies linked to the topic of major projection and world repercussion nowadays: the sustainability. And we will do it from two points of view: the spatial energetic policies and the agriculturalists.

Starting from the analysis of the different documents, the ERDF (European Regional Development Fund) is the first one in which we find the term, "sustainability". The main aims of this document (1999) were:

- balanced and polycentric urban system and a new urban-rural relationship;
- parity of access to infrastructure and knowledge;
- sustainable development, prudent management and protection of nature and cultural heritage.

Let's focus the attention on the last point since it's the one where the relation between sustainable development and the rural areas spoken about is spoken about more. The specific items of this point, which are summarized in the famous sustainable development triangle, were:

- economic and social cohesion;
- protection of natural resources and cultural heritage;
- balanced competitiveness of EU territory.

Looking at these aims, we need to clarify several doubts, the first one being: what does “sustainable development” mean? And, if these are the three fundamental aims from the point of view of the sustainability, how is the relation between these points and other famous definitions like the Brundtland Report (that specifies what sustainable means, we have to satisfy the needs of the current generations without sacrificing the capacity of the future generations to satisfy its own needs)?

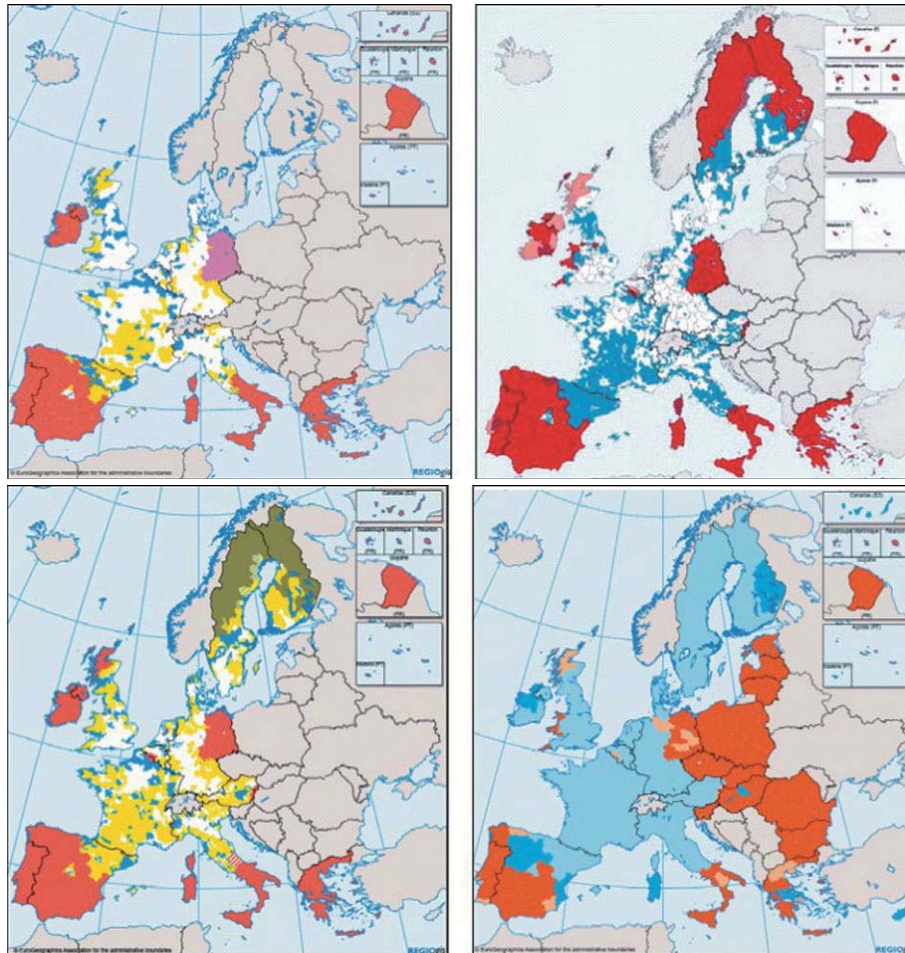
2. Economic and social cohesion. ESDP and the G8 meeting about agriculture

We have to start clarifying what the meaning of “social and economical cohesion” is, because when we speak about the economic aspects, the “ESDP” specifies that the main objective is to obtain a “balanced and polycentric urban system and a new urban-rural relationship”, where it could be possible to find intentions as the promotion and supporting exchanges and cooperation between the different agricultural areas, or topics as important as the involution of the use of the renewable energies but always “taking into account place and regional conditions” (fig. 2).

But how is it possible if, when we take other documents which should clarify and make one see the practical application of these intentions, for example the past meeting of international importance of the G-8 on agriculture (Treviso, Italy 2009), don't we find any article that puts all these topics in relation with the urban areas? Or speaking about “clean” energies does it mention only the production of agro fuel (activity that produces the most economic benefits but also the most contradictions and discussions around the world)?

Contradictions that became evident when we read affirmations like: *«the production of renewable energy from the biomass must be increased in a sustainable way, what does it mean exactly sustainable in this case? And especially, sustainable for whom...? Or on the other hand, if for the economic sustainable growth the agricultural families and the small farmers have to occupy a decisive roll»*² why has this meeting been criticized principally for not permitting any type of participation of farmers associations and from the local scale, taking all the decisions only

Fig. 2 – Areas lagging in their development (“Objective 1”) from 1994 to 2006
 Source: Regional Policy InfoREGIO



from and with the generic and general perspective of the global scale? Is it not exactly this lack of participation and choice, one of the fundamental problems?

Because, what it happens when we analyze this lack of attention and representation of the “local scale” from a spatial point of view? What is the relationship between the physical distribution on the territory of the sustainable energy production and the richness or lack of richness of the communities which live in this space?

To answer this question, a small analysis of the main aims of the ERDF has been made, with the specification on the spatial distribution in the

European territory and the development of the renewable energies, more concretely, the distribution of the wind energy in the same territory.

The first interesting thing in the diagrams, which show the evolution of the different documents of the ERDF, was that from the first documents of 1994 up to the current ones, we can find the same zones classified as “Objective 1”, some of these being of the “East Europe Country, the whole Center (South of Spain, the North of Germany, the south of Italy and the West of England): areas that have a character and economic specialization linked to agriculture.

But the real doubt begins when we compare these diagrams with the information obtained about the development of “wind power” in Europe, where we can find a direct coincidence between these areas and the more productive zones of “sustainability” and “clean energy”. In this way, for example, analyzing different documents we can verify as in the last decade the increase of the electricity production linked to wind power (near 25%), has brought with it the evolution and parallel development of different markets associated with this one, for example the production of turbines (this being of about 20%) being placed at the head of the above mentioned markets some countries with a clear peripheral character as Spain and the north-east of Germany, by almost 70% of the European production followed considerably by Denmark, France and Italy.

Deepening on the Italian case, there is some information which show us furthermore this clear coincidence between the “ red zones “ of the graphs and the major production of wind power: placing it the head of the list of wind farm regions as Puglia, Campania, Sicily and Sardinia, with 47, 39, 31 and 22, as opposed to the 1 of Piemonte or zero plants of regions as Lombardy or Valle D’ Aosta). But is this distribution exclusively a consequence to favorable conditions of the winds along the top of the Apennines and the reliefs of the islands, while the presence of the Alps determines negatively the utilization of the wind in the regions below the Alpine arcs?

Because if such an advanced technological production is developing rightly in these zones, why do they continue to be the poorest? Why do the producers of this technology decide to locate there? We will get a real example of one of these zones to make the question clearer, this is the case of the province of Cadiz. Lot long ago comparing two articles in one of the main newspaper: the first one published the information that the production of wind farms in Andalusia had grown in a disproportionate way making this region become the first one in Spain for the production of wind power (fifty percent of the production is created in the province of Cadiz). This fact makes me think that the social and economic situation of the province should have improved but how is it possible to explain that

in another article published one month later, I could read the opposite? I.e. that the province of Cadiz is the first in poverty, social exclusion and black economy indexes? If the benefit of all this economic-technological development doesn't arrive to the populations who live in these territories, where are they going? These provinces are more sustainable from a social, cultural, economical and environmental point of view?

3. Protection of natural resources and cultural heritage: diversity, identity and landscape

The questions carried out in the previous point have also a continuity and a very important relation with the second aim, because if it's clear that there does not exist a relation between technological-energy development and the populations who live in these zones, it's also evident that this growth has a clear and real spatial repercussion and consumption of soil. Returning to the case of Cadiz, if only in 2008, 28 new energy settlements have been established in the province, it means that there has been a change in the spatial conditions and uses of the soil with a lot of social, economic and landscape consequences. Are these changes an answer and are they foreseen by the diverse Spatial European and local Regulations?

To answer these questions, like in the previous case, we will begin from the analysis of the aims of the ESDP that we can find from articles 41 to 45³, where it's clear the importance that some aspects, like diversity (natural and biological, cultural or way of life), the need to search for a continuous integration across the planning of strategies or the safeguard and protection both of the resources and of a territory's original values, should represent for all the European regulations related to a spatial, energetic and economic development.

Here another important topic is included: the landscape. And I would like to underline this affirmation: *«it is necessary to pay attention to the 'monotonous landscapes', as well as to the local specificity, geographical, environmental, cultural or socio-economical»*. But, is it not evident that one of the consequences of energy implant infrastructures destined to produce renewable energy, most of the time replacing the traditional agricultural uses, is the destruction and the transformation of these unique and full of local specificity landscapes that become monotonous and homogeneous elements, creators of a generic and standardized image based on the repetition of technological units?

But the main problem arises when to this question we put forward the premise aimed in the previous paragraph, that it is not the populations who live in these territories that decide, but also that there is not even an intention or an attention of involving them in these topics.

Besides all that, the contradiction (and the hypocrisy?) is yet more and more evident yet if we take another European document like the text of the European Landscape Convention where we can read affirmations like: «... *Recognizing that landscape is, in every place, an important element for the populations' life quality in the urban areas and in the field, in the degraded territories, as in this one with a highest quality, in the considered exceptional zones, and also in the daily life places. Art. 5 to recognize landscape from the juridical point of view like an essential component of the context of the life of the populations, expression of the diversity of his common cultural and natural heritage and foundation of his identity*».

Therefore all that has been said previously will be what will lead us to affirming the importance and the need to plan spatial common strategies, agricultural and energy sustainability, not only from the economic or environmental point of view, but basically from a cultural and social point of view, promoting the participation and democratization of this global sustainability, searching for a real improvement in the quality of life and in the conservation of an identity and a local character.

Anyhow, since we have identified the beginning and since we can feel for example in Obama's speech in the climate forum of 2009⁴, a fundamental problem exists when we speak about agriculture and sustainable production of energy, and whereas the effects and the results of the energy production are common and global (the climate change, the global warming, greenhouse effect), the competition and the efforts are and must be localized, and so the one and the other do not often coincide appropriately. Moreover, normally the poor countries have the "potential" (spatial, climatic, geographic) but the rich ones have the "possibility" (means and the technology), and while Europe has given some principle by the "agreement of Lisbon and Goteborg", it does not happen the same in the rest of the world.

We only need to analyze the aims of the Green Book to understand that sustainability is only one of the worries of the European Community, but not the most important. Other aspects (a few linked directly with the term sustainability and others not so much) such as climatic change, energy efficiency, development of the home energy market, creation of a Europe network of security in the energy supply are equally important.

But, as we said at the beginning one of the fundamental aims is to reach a "*balanced competitiveness*", that is to say, the same possibilities between different populations, in the development of a possible energy potential. The one linked to agriculture, it is true that actually with the current policies, we are living the risk of reproducing some sadly known situations where the existence and possession of energy resources or raw materials of great value (such as oil, precious minerals, materials used for the new technologies, etc.) controlled only by the market and a few institutions on a global scale, instead of producing benefit to the countries and the populations

who possess them, bring with it wars, poverty and destruction (since we can sadly observe in the news about Africa, Middle East or South and Central America)? The main idea of this work born from the search of a possible solution to these problems with the implication and the creation of new participative strategies that from architecture and urbanism can produce an increase and involution of the sense of property and of belonging (respect, responsibility and love) of these populations forward a certain territory, producing in addition, thanks to these “natural” areas, an increase, not only in energy and economics, but from the social and cultural point of view.

Notes

1. In order to promote its overall harmonious development, the Union shall develop and pursue its action leading to the strengthening of its economic, social and territorial cohesion. In particular, the Union shall aim at reducing disparities between the levels of development of the various regions and the backwardness of the least favored region. Among the regions concerned, particular attention shall be paid to rural areas, areas affected by industrial transition, and regions which suffer from severe and permanent natural or demographic handicaps such as the northern most regions with very low population density as well as island, cross-border and mountain regions. Article III-220, Section 3: Economic, Social and Territorial Cohesion. European Constitution.

2. «We have to put agriculture and to rural development to the center of the economic sustainable growth close to other policies, reinforcing the role of the agricultural families and of the small farmers and their access to the land in many areas of the world, reinforcing the role of women, the equality between the genres and the young farmers. The food safety also needs policies looking to guarantee the effective management and the sustainable use of natural resources, involving the local communities in the respect of its identity. This model of growth answers also to the requirements of the least developed urban areas where it is necessary to increase the local sustainable production. It is necessary to give attention to the operations of leasing and sale of agricultural areas in developing countries to assure that the local and traditional conditions of use of the land use are respected».

3. Art. 41. Integration of biodiversity considerations into sectoral policies (agriculture, regional policies, transport, fisheries, etc.) as included in the Community Biodiversity Strategy. Art. 42. Preparation of integrated spatial development strategies for protected areas, environmentally sensitive areas and areas of high biodiversity such as coastal areas, mountain areas and wetlands balancing protection and development on the basis of territorial and environmental impact assessments and involving the partners concerned. Art. 43. Greater use of economic instruments to recognise the ecological significance of protected and environmentally sensitive areas. Art. 44. Promotion of energy-saving and traffic-reducing settlement structures, integrated resource planning and increased use of renewable energies in order to reduce Co2 emission. Art. 45. Protection of the soil as the basis of life for human beings, fauna and flora, through the reduction of erosion, soil destruction and overuse of open spaces.

4. It is true that for too many years, mankind has been slow to respond or even

recognize the magnitude of the climate threat. It is true of my own country, as well. We recognize that. But this is a new day. It is a new era. And I am proud to say that the United States has done more to promote clean energy and reduce carbon pollution in the last eight months than at any other time in our history. (...). Yes, the developed nations that caused much of the damage to our climate over the last century still have a responsibility to lead and that includes the United States. And we will continue to do so by investing in renewable energy and promoting greater efficiency and slashing our emissions to reach the targets we set for 2020 and our long-term goal for 2050. These nations do not have the same resources to combat climate change as countries like the United States or China do, but they have the most immediate stake in a solution. For these are the nations that are already living with the unfolding effects of a warming planet: famine, drought, disappearing coastal villages, and the conflicts that arise from scarce resources. What we are seeking, after all, is not simply an agreement to limit greenhouse gas emissions. We seek an agreement that will allow all nations to grow and raise living standards without endangering the planet. By developing and disseminating clean technology and sharing our know-how, we can help developing nations leap-frog dirty energy technologies and reduce dangerous emissions. Barack Obama. Remarks by the president at United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon's climate change summit, 22 September 2009.

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Placing culture at the heart of regional and urban development processes: EU strategies and programs

Laura Pierantoni

This paper investigates what steps the European Union is making towards a new understanding of regional and urban development which no longer excludes its cultural dimension and includes practical knowledge on how to use cultural resources for the sake of the cities and regions.

The initial question to start the investigation on the topic relates the identification of the role of culture in urban and regional development. The growth and richness of major cities have always been characterized by the simultaneous development of economic and cultural aspects of the city. Some examples like the cities of Florence, Venice or Paris have seen their constant growth being based on a virtuous cycle involving material resources, technological innovation and dynamic cultural life.

Today most of the world population lives in urban areas (Hambleton and Gross, 2007, p. 5). Citizens are increasing their expectations of cities, claiming not only better opportunities, like jobs and contemporary facilities, but also looking for *something else*. This attitude is well described by Rifkin, «*If an industrial society is defined by the quantity of goods as marking a standard of living, the post-industrial society is defined by the quality of life as measured by the services and amenities such as health, education, recreation, and the arts – which are now deemed desirable*» (Landry, 2000, p. 84). Cities are therefore at the heart of urban discourse dealing with quality of life.

The discussion about how to improve life in urbanized areas goes back years, when in the late 1980s the field of “social regeneration” became a priority alongside physical development of cities. The first areas of interest to be investigated and exploited have been education, health, community involvement, and safety, followed, only recently, by culture activities and the arts.

For the purpose of this paper, the focus is on the field of culture and creativity as important factors in the process of urban development and regeneration of urbanized areas. Although it has never been demonstrated that culture can make a substantially positive difference in processes of urban development, there are several studies explaining why culture should, at least, be part of these processes (Landry, 2000; Murray, 2002; Kelnar

and Holden, 2006; KEA, 2009). One of the first question to come about is Who is supporting culture (and in which way) to boost urban development?

Most of the initiatives involving culture within territorial planning are promoted by local institutions. There are little national or supranational strategies that see culture at the heart of urban development. In recent times the role of culture is slowly changing, achieving more importance that it has had in the past and many cities such as Birmingham, Helsinki, Lille or Turin have invested in cultural activities or supported creative industries so as to regenerate their deprived urban areas. Some of them transformed abandoned factory buildings into art centres (Cable Factory in Helsinki; Old Truman Brewery in London; La Fabbrica del Vapore in Milan; The Weils in Brussels; etc.), others developed entire districts creating cultural and learning quarters with opportunities for shops, housing, education, leisure and business (Eastside and the Custard Factory in Birmingham; District IX in Budapest; Quartier21 in Wien; etc.).

In only few cases, national governments have introduced culture as a key factor for the sustainable development of their cities and regions: Sweden proposed culture and creativity as a priority for private and public investment from 2009 onwards for the future economic development of the country; UK has a long experience in funding arts and culture as a tool for development: next to the emphasis put on creative industries as a motor for economic growth, culture is used also as a tool for social regeneration and urban development.

In 2006, the role of culture within territorial development was finally brought to the attention of the whole of Europe thanks to the *Figel Report*⁴, which offers an overview of the economic dimension of cultural and creative sectors.

Pointing out the increasing economic value of culture and creativity, it clearly supports the main objectives of the Lisbon Strategy, which was that of building a Europe by 2010 where «*the economy is based on the most competitive and dynamic knowledge of the world, able to promote an economically sustainable growth, offering better jobs a social cohesion*». The basis from which each European nation should start to rethink their investments is to be found in the fields of research&development, creativity and culture.

One of the latest study prepared for the European Commission, issued in June 2009, on «The impact of culture on creativity, among all the suggestions it states that countries should promote collaboration through structural funds between cities and regions using culture and creative sectors for local development» (KEA, 2009, p. 156). So far, it seems that culture has entered the EU's sphere of interest concerning its potential as a driver of virtuous economic cycles, which is closely tied to territorial development but still does not have so many spatial implications.

When looking for place of culture within the European Union framework we need to go back to a half century ago (1949), when the idea of a united Europe was drawn up and the Council of Europe (COE) set up. Since the beginning, culture has played an important role in the COE's Agenda for promoting awareness of a European identity based on shared values and cutting across different cultures. A step forward was made when the European Commission (EC), which is the cash machine, and the executive body, of the European Union was set up and started financing projects through Structural Funds, which aim to redress the economic and social imbalances between EU regions. The EC also promotes international collaboration within the EU through such permanent programs as Culture 2007/2013, European Capital of Culture, and temporary programs.

The contribution of the European Commission to culture has probably been the most visible, but still very little for the real needs of the sector. At a time when Europe is expanding, the increase in budget is seen as important to pursue most of the objectives of EU through cultural programmes. In 2001 the European Parliament issued a resolution on cultural co-operation (the Ruffolo Report) which stated that strategic actions, and in particular culture, needs more money. According to the EU president José Manuel Barroso «*The questions of what Europe can do for culture and what culture can do for Europe have acquired a new sense of urgency*». This statement was recently reinforced by the same Barroso, when he urged national and local authority leaders to «*make sure that culture is firmly anchored in the long-term development strategies*»².

A further step was made in March 2009 when the campaign «70 cents for culture» was launched by the European Cultural Foundation and the European Forum for the Arts and Heritage. The campaign aims to secure an increase in the EU Culture Budget for the years 2007-2013, from the current level of € 34 million a year to a more realistic budget of € 315 million. Although this would be a massive increase on the current budget, that is because the current level of EU funding for culture is too small. It costs just 7 cents per EU citizen per year, 0.03% of the total EU budget. The revised budget would comprise 0.27 percent of the EU's funds at a cost of just 70 cents per citizen per year. The new € 315 million culture budget would, among other things, go towards encouraging cross-border cultural exchanges, boosting the EU's cultural foreign policy, and enhancing the EU's cultural competitiveness.

Looking at the impacts of cultural policy on the development of territories, we see that there are some EU cultural policies and EC programmes that have evident implications on the territories where they are implemented, even though, in most of the cases there is no direct reference to territorial development and spatial planning. This thesis is supported by Palermo and

Ponzini (2010), «*managing urban and regional development does not fall within the province of the European institutions but there is no doubt regarding the spatial implications of a broad set of EU policies concerning economies, society, environment, infrastructure, energy, and urban quality or innovation*» to which list I would add culture.

One of the most internationally visible programs, promoted by Culture 2007-2013, is the yearly nomination for one (or more) European Capital of Culture (ECoC), which funds one year of cultural activities and cultural-related improvements, providing a possibility of redeveloping cultural and non-cultural infrastructure and introducing new services in the city. The European Capital of Culture initiative can promote and encourage longer-term local investments for building sustainability of the city in question, as many studies have shown (Palmer 2004; Garcia 2005; Clark 2008). However, it can also bring several problems and raise questions on the local level regarding the relationship between economic development and urban regeneration, heritage preservation and community engagement, which are not always thoroughly thought through and can remain temporary in their effect (Palmer and Richards, 2007). In some cases, the ECoC programme has changed the image, the role and the functions of a city in a dramatic way, as in the cases of: Glasgow 1990, Dublin 1991, Genoa 2004, Lille 2004 and Liverpool 2008.

Culture 2007-2013 has set, in the terms of subsidiarity, that the EU funding must not exceed 60% of the total budget of the proposed project. Even with its small budget, it is important to understand that the event can be an important driver for urban development, especially for infrastructure, but it is not the only source of funding to be addressed for the projects intended. From the Palmer report (2007), all Capital of Culture cities between 1994-2004 invested in infrastructure project improvements to public space/lighting and cultural infrastructure such as refurbishments of facilities and monuments; new cultural buildings such as concert halls and museums were also common features of cultural expenditure.

Among the objectives of EU agenda for Culture there is no direct reference to the relation of culture with its territory and the role that culture could have in promoting a sustainable development of the territory and its spatial organization, however these seem to be among the main drivers of many of ECoC experiences. Since Glasgow 1990, the first city to be acclaimed for showing how the designation might be appropriated to underpin the wider project of regeneration (Garcia, 2005, p. 842), many other cities have taken the opportunity to improve the city at different levels through the ECoC programme. As argued by Garcia, the selection of Glasgow in 1990 marked the start of the ECoC as catalyst for urban regeneration. Initially used as an opportunity to reinforce the status of prestigious European cultural centres – Athens (1985), Florence (1986), Paris (1989), etc. – after

Glasgow, the title has been integrated within medium-to-large regeneration projects and used to promote emerging cultural assets in capital, second and third cities alike – Thessalonica, Porto, Lille, Liverpool (2005, p. 843 and 2004, p. 319). What about the future? Following the history of the ECoC, we can see how the programme has always been increasingly adapting to the needs and demands of those cities hosting it rather than imposing a predefined model. The visible trend of the last few years has been a greater attention towards a broader territory than the city itself and the definition of material and immaterial networks based on cultural activities, actors and infrastructure, connecting many centre of the same region, or even at the trans-regional/national level. Some examples are the Lille-Region of Nord-Pas de Calais 2004, Luxembourg and the Greater Region 2007, Ruhr 2010, Marseille Provence 2013, etc.

As argued in the previous section, the EC budget for cultural programmes is very little. To overcome the scarcity of funding in the sector, most of EC funding comes to cultural activities from programmes that are not designed to meet cultural objectives, rather to support economic and territorial development processes. The largest amount of funding for culture is therefore made available, indirectly, by Structural Funds. Next to the structural funds, a range of other Community funding programmes make an important contribution to culture. Support offered by the Cohesion Policy or Rural Development Policy can be instrumental in promoting, for example, the restoration of cultural heritage and the promotion of creative industry quarters in view of enhancing the attractiveness of regions.

The European Structural Funds programme aims to redress economic and social imbalances between regions of the EU and their stake is more than 30% of the EC total budget and they can contribute more than 80% of EC funding for culture. The positive aspects of using European Structural Funds for culture is that their programs can provide assistance for large cultural projects, lead to fruitful partnerships and offer the opportunity for culture to “piggy-back” on other projects. There are still some drawbacks: it is not easy for culture to satisfy criteria (the requirements in terms of management and governance of the programmes are far ahead the possibilities of cultural and, in general, non-profit, organizations), and that opportunities will depend on where the project is based.

The regional aid related to Structural Funds – ERDF, European Regional Development Fund – is particularly important for the territorial development of a place. The main objective for regional spatial development is European Territorial Cooperation (2007-2013), which used to be sustained by programmes like INTEREGG III (ERDF), URBAN II (ERDF), LEADER (ERDF) and EQUAL (ESF) during the previous term 2000-2006, and today integrated under the same umbrella of funding.

Under the Regulation of 5 July 2006 on the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)³, the category “culture” relates to the «protection and preservation of cultural heritage», to the «development of cultural infrastructure in support of socio-economic development» and to «aid to improve the supply of cultural services through new higher added-value services». In addition, some support of the Structural Funds in the area of *culture* and *cultural and creative industries* may be covered under other categories such as urban regeneration, tourism, innovation or information society. The programmes INTEREGG III (ERDF), URBAN II (ERDF) and EQUAL (ESF) are important for investment in the cultural heritage as much as in community development projects based on artistic and cultural activities.

For the period 2007-2013 a fourth round of programmes (INTERREG IV) has been launched. An example of funded projects is «Creative Metropolises: Public Policies and Instruments in Support of Creative Industries», 2008, which is intended to establish and promote an efficient public support system for creative industries in the participating cities⁴. Among the five key areas to be developed for the project, it should be mentioned «Space for activities by creative industries and creative city districts as creative incubators».

A successful case funded by URBAN II (2000-2006), a Community Initiative Programme of the ERDF favouring economic and social regeneration of cities and neighbourhoods in crisis in order to promote sustainable urban development, is the restoration of Villa Scheibler and Park (Milan). The project, which is under the priority 1 – Multifunction urban redevelopment – sees as key actions the improvement of the physical environment and include the rehabilitation of the natural and cultural heritage and derelict industrial areas to create space for cultural interaction.

When discussing about policy, it should be also stressed that with the adoption of the EU Territorial Agenda, the EU Ministers responsible for spatial planning and development underlined the need to pursue sustainable economic growth, job creation, and social and ecological development in all EU regions while securing «*better living conditions and quality of life with equal opportunities irrespective of where people live*»⁵. The Territorial Agenda, and the first Action Programme for its implementation adopted in November 2007, have thus given new impetus to the debate by identifying six territorial priorities that see cultural resources next to regional innovation clusters to ecological structures, polycentric development and new forms of partnership and territorial governance.

To conclude the paper, I think the quote by the Italian artist Dario Fo «... *even before Europe was united at an economic level or was conceived at the level of economic interests and trade, it was culture that united all the countries of Europe. The arts, literature and music are the connecting links of Europe...*» does put into a nutshell the overall idea the paper is proposing, beyond the funding issues.

On the other hand, when we look at policies and funding systems, we see that the place of culture within the European context is an interesting one. Culture seems to be always there, laying in the back of almost all the European policies and strategies, but at the same time it is not given enough importance, and funding, to become a key driver for the achievement of EU objectives.

The partnership idea between the cultural field and the other sectors working on urban development of territories is also stressed by Bianchini, who claims that the «cultural sector certainly has a lot to offer, but it will not be able to achieve substantial shifts in attitudes and mindsets without reforms in other spheres of the life of the city and essential help from other constituencies» (1996, p. 168).

Assumed that culture is already part of some EU policies and funding programmes, it is important for national governments and local authorities to understand and implement the EU directives in order to foster sustainable territorial development strategies. If the Lisbon Strategy 2007 can be considered as the first step towards an official recognition of culture as a key driver for the economic development of Europe, it is time now to move forward and acknowledge culture as a catalyst for urban development too. The value of culture must be acknowledged by EU's institutions through both the inclusion of cultural aspects in development strategies and the increasing of its budget. This should be pursued while keeping in mind that new concepts are emerging as important reference points for regional policy with spatial impact, such as integrated planning (culture together with social and economic aspects), partnership approach (private sector supporting the public funding), networking as a potential for co-operation (culture is an easy tool for establishing a new web of relations across sectors and nations), and finally the project-oriented approach (concentrating resources on sound objectives).

Notes

1. Written by Ján Figel, European Commissioner for Education, Training, Culture and Multilingualism.

2. During his speech at the EC conference organised in Brussels in March 2010 to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the European Capitals for Culture.

3. Regulation (EC) No 1080/2006 Of the European Parliament and of the Council of July 2006 on the European Regional Development Fund and repealing Regulation (EC) No 1783/1999 available on [http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docoffic/official/regulation/pdf/2007/feder/ce_1080\(2006\)_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docoffic/official/regulation/pdf/2007/feder/ce_1080(2006)_en.pdf).

4. The cities participating to the programme are 11: Amsterdam, Barcelona, Berlin, Birmingham, Helsinki, Oslo, Riga, Stockholm, Tallinn, Vilnius and Warsaw.

5. Territorial Agenda of the European Union, Leipzig, 24-25 May 2007.

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City and migration. The European policies on urban transformation caused by migratory flows

Nausica Pezzoni

*«Thinking about immigration means thinking about the state but it is the state that is thinking about itself when it thinks about the immigration»
(Abdelmalek Sayad, 2004)*

1. Introduction

This paper deals with an analysis of European policies and in particular of the territorial policies introduced by the EU in relation to the transformation of the towns after recent migratory flows.

The goal is to give a framework of the legislative and cultural references necessary to urban planning to create a harmonic sharing of the territory with heterogeneous people.

The process of continuous territorial re-configuration of the EU caused by the progressive widening of its borders, involves the necessity for the EU to re-define itself through the unit of measurement of inclusion or exclusion according to the annexed or not annexed Countries, as to create an ideal relation between different people and territories.

The presence of more and more extra-European citizens on European territory puts at stake the same unit of measurement, and puts forward again, through a relation to foreigners – but more or less permanently settled into European borders – the problem of re-defining new rules, that answer to emerging forms of cohabitation and that refer to a more advanced system where each one can recognize oneself.

«Defining the criteria of inclusion or exclusion of foreigners means to state, in negative form, a person's membership to a Country or to a Community, and so his political, ethnical and cultural identity»¹.

The idea of the present study is that in the process of a rapid transformation of European cities, a good cohabitation between old and new inhabitants should necessarily be funded on attentive political, legislative and urban planning thinking, that should take into account the specific needs originating from migratory flows as far as different social, economic and housing needs are concerned.

To introduce the field of research, we present the case of Antwerp, taken as a paradigm of the urban development without clear guidelines on governance of the transformation processes caused by the migratory phenomenon. Here the town has transformed itself into a sort of puzzle where every piece has its own social, ethnical and religious connotation.

Our study is going to examine the course of policies undertaken along the migratory process as the EU was being established, through an analysis of Treaties that have led to the EU constitution.

In the end the *research* is going to analyze the community plans that take care of the integration of migrants from third-world Countries: the Program EQUAL and its declinations shown in the programs *Integ.r.a.*, and the *Handbook on Integration for Policy-makers and Practitioners – Second edition (2007)*. They offer a series of successful urban renovation practices and access to the housing dwellings, and still frame them into policies oriented to the inclusion of the migratory phenomenon in the process of cities transformation.

2. The case of Antwerp (Belgium)

From the Seventies Antwerp, like many other European towns, has become the final destination of intensive migratory flows: people from Morocco and Maghreb at first and then from North Africa; later on, from Balkans and Eastern Europe, Turkey and India. The Antwerp inhabitants, as well as the inhabitants of other Flemish cities, have experienced, while facing such a hard migratory flow, a twofold reaction.

A consistent part of the Flemish population has abandoned the town, spreading into the “sprawl town” with low housing density and a better level of comfort; a consistent part of the consolidated town has been left to the immigrants. In this way the building of a new form of the town has started: between Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and moving to East until Cologne, a huge metropolitan area has been created, different from Paris and London areas, but with the same extension and perhaps the same economic power. A metropolitan area which includes international capitals, as Brussels, national capitals, like The Hague, and regional capitals, like Antwerp and Cologne, ancient cities like Harlem, Delft, Breda, Ghent and Antwerp itself. But it also includes new towns, big modern districts facing the same problems as Paris suburbs, even if not that significant. In this large metropolitan area there are the headquarters of great multinational companies, famous universities, sanitary complexes, large sport and cultural facilities. An out-and-out city with a shape completely different from traditional cities, and which perhaps represents a new kind of city.

Fig. 1 – Map of Antwerp by Claes Jansz Visscher in 1924
 Source: www.mapsorama.com



Another part of the Antwerp population has had an apparently different reaction, as it adopted a policy of separation, with the creation of areas ethnically and socially connoted. It is possible, for example, to find the North African district, the Turkish district, the Indian one, etc. Antwerp had already experienced a historical case like this: the Hebrew district. Antwerp is the capital of the diamond metalwork and has a consistent orthodox Hebrew district right in the centre (fig. 1).

In this way Bernardo Secchi, in a speech at the Festival of Economy in Trento (2006) about *Center, periphery, sprawl town: the disparity on the territory*², describes the urban reality in a city whose history traces back to immigration, as Antwerp, so as to introduce a significant problem which today also concerns many European towns: the conflicts between different social, ethnical or religious groups «when the various pieces of the puzzle while expanding come into conflict at their own borders, giving rise to strong competition for space»³.

In presenting the case of Antwerp Bernardo Secchi, who worked in that town on services and infrastructure, on public spaces and housing, says that «it may be illusory to think that an urban policy could ever settle this

kind of problems». Some operators and practitioners of the town, in fact, had officially asked for the creation of *gated communities* in the metropolitan area, that are closed districts, where one has only access in cooptation, just like in other parts of the world.

The whole of Europe seems to share this separation policy in Antwerp, where different stages of transformation connected to the migratory flows have created ethnically and socially connoted areas. The migration is both interregional and regional, and in this second case the geographic, cultural, linguistic proximity often plays a more important role than the economic conditions. This tendency contributes to the development of areas ethnically connoted, where there is a high risk to live the urban and social space in condition of marginality.

If in Antwerp, stage of a significant transformation over the last three decades, the integration policies of the immigrants have failed, and as a consequence there has been an increasing fragmentation of urban society, we hope that in the European towns local governments will be able to conceive policies that can include different populations within the urban context.

Cohabitation, cultural exchanges, social cohesion between native and foreigners are the modern highlights to be promoted for a sustainable urban development, especially in those countries with a more recent immigration flow.

3. The relation between city and immigration into the European policies

The question of transformation of European towns in relation to the migratory flows is a recent question in European policies, where goals of integration and social cohesion are traditionally addressed to the populations settled inside its territory.

One reason for this delay is that policies of access to Europe are not within the EU jurisdiction; once more significant is the fact that before the Schengen Treaty (1985), the EU legislation acknowledged no explicit legal rights for immigrants. In spite of the increasingly supranational entity of the problem, the EU still has no formal competences on migration, and still copes with the problem only indirectly within its regulative activity referred to inner market, free circulation of people, and cooperation with third Countries.

The path towards realization of a European policy on immigration:

- 1) the Treaty that funded the Economic European Community – *Rome's Treaty* (1957) – has reorganized the European economies, and although it had considered the possible lack of labour force, it failed to regulate

the foreseeable extra-European migratory flow. In particular, the Treaty recognized the right of free circulation and settlement in all the European territories, but just in terms of an economic activity and of the possession of a European citizenship.

- 2) The *Schengen Treaty* (1985) hasn't recognized either the International relevance of the migratory flows or the importance of a statute considering the legal condition of foreigners, instead it left the regulation of housing, of work, of civil and social rights of extra-European citizens to the legislation of each single Country. Still today, the juridical condition of foreigners is different on the basis of the final Country of destination.
- 3) The *Treaty of Maastricht* (1992) brings about a significant change: it assigns a competence on migration through the act "VI Title" (articles K.1-K.9 TUE), delegated to the «cooperation in jurisdictional and inside affairs sectors» (third pillar). The "third pillar" is addressed to free circulation of people. This goal is pursued through co-operation among the Member Countries in the sectors of "common interest" that should take place according to «the European Convention for safety of Human Rights and of fundamental liberties» (4/11/1950) and of «the Convention related to the status of refugees (28/7/1951)». The new factors introduced by the Treaty of Maastricht concern the participation of EU institutions that the Schengen Treaty didn't foresee, and a detailed inclusion, in the art. K.1, of the different sectors (point 3, letters a, c) that has taken on particular importance for a European migration policy.
- 4) The *Amsterdam Treaty* (1997) has brought into EU jurisdiction the subject of «visa, asylum, immigration and other policies connected with people's free circulation», achieving the goal to «preserve and develop the EU as a space of freedom, safety and justice» (art. 2 TUE).
- 5) The *Nice Treaty* (2001) has essentially consolidated the legal framework established in Amsterdam.
- 6) Finally, with the *Lisbon Treaty*, approved in 2009, the migratory policy has been included into the internal policies, together with the policies concerning border checks and asylum. Art. 62 reports that «The Union shall develop a policy with a view to: (a) ensuring the absence of any controls on persons, whatever their nationality, when crossing internal borders; (b) carrying out checks on persons and efficient monitoring of the crossing of external borders; (c) gradually introducing an integrated management system for external borders».

The Lisbon Treaty, for the first time, develops «a common immigration policy aimed at ensuring, at all stages, the efficient management of migration flows, fair treatment of third-country nationals residing legally in Member States, and the prevention of, and enhanced measures to combat, illegal immigration and trafficking in human beings» (art. 63a).

Only in the last stage of the difficult path towards the implementation of European integration are there clearly introduced measures designed to encourage the integration of people coming from the third-world countries, without however specifying the content and the significance, and indeed stressing the maintenance of legislative and regulatory autonomy of the Member States.

This digression on European policies about migration shows how, in this field and in issues related, an agreement at a European level is still problematic; the long process towards a common European policy on immigration, as outlined above, has not led to the formulation of specific programs relating to migration and the resulting dynamics of processing of urban spaces.

4. The European Programs on integration

The Community programmes concerned with the integration of immigrants from third-world countries are focused on aspects of the process of integration which affect only indirectly the urban policies.

The *Program EQUAL «Different cultures for equal developments»*. It is a Community initiative born in the framework of European strategy for employment and co-financed by European Social Fund in two stages (2000-06, 2005-08), that aim at promoting the testing of innovative approaches and policies to combat the phenomenon of discrimination and inequality in the labour market.

This Program, born in 2000 as part of the integrated strategy for the control of the EU against discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion, disability, age or sexual orientation – and social exclusion, focuses on victims of inequalities of which are the weakest in the labour market, in order to «develop and spread, also through transnational cooperation, innovative practices for the creation of a market open to all by adopting a logic in advance, to intervene on problems at the root of the phenomena of marginalization and to remove barriers to access to the market». While mentioning problems which are at the origin of the phenomena of marginalization, in Program *Equal* there is not a precise reference to urban dynamics that may be related to discrimination in the labour market; nor are immigrants considered among the vulnerable people to which the Program is addressed, with exception of the specific categories of refugees, asylum seekers and the Roma.

Program Integ.r.a is more specifically oriented to the integration of immigrants, of asylum seekers and refugees, and it is focused on Italian cities; it was launched in 2003 with local projects accompanying the working,

housing and social autonomy of asylum seekers and refugees in 8 Italian municipalities. These municipality plans involve training, work and social issues and answer to each territory's specificity.

A further specification of Program *EQUAL* in relation to immigrant conditions in Roma, is the Program *Integ.r.a.* connected with services promoted by the Department of Social Policies and Health Promotion of the Municipality; it is addressed to integration of migrant citizens and asylum seekers. In particular the Program is defined in different fields: first it refers to migrants and it promotes courses of Italian language, professional trainings, juridical support; second it promotes training for field operators, assistance and updating courses, and the same applies for cultural mediators. Through this short description of *EQUAL* Program we can observe that due to missing European agreements on migratory events, it was only possible to develop policies addressed to general integration, in particular as far as working conditions are concerned, without taking into account any policies including the migratory phenomenon within transformation and governance of European towns. These policies are partially covered by a document which intends to cover common European principles in order to support member countries to develop national integration policies and thus become a reference point for the development and the evaluation of present and future integration policies: the *Handbook on Integration for policy-makers and practitioners* – Second edition (2007), «*European societies should become "learning societies" as they should accustom themselves to interacting and communicating to different categories of people, including immigrants and refugees*».

It is an handbook oriented to local, regional and national information exchange, aiming at giving an answer to the question «what do we mean by integration?» through a concrete approach to migrant conditions in the European towns, operating in particular in terms of economic and social mobility, education, health, housing, social services and social participation of third-world countries citizens.

While suggesting a series of good practices, it refers to teachings of political practitioners and operators of the field in all Europe, and it produces some concrete examples of the different aspects of integration, thus becoming part of a wider strategic process as far as EU immigration is concerned.

The first edition of the *Handbook* (2004) considered integration of immigrants and refugees just upon their arrival, their participation to the civic life and the factors of integration to evaluate the relevant results.

The second edition introduces a critical contribution so as to consider the integration process as a complex phenomenon due to not only a variety of personal factors (working conditions, housing, learning of the language, etc.) but also to a series of transformations within European society.

Since family life, education, political parties, unions, religions, social dialogs and other mechanisms and institutions are changing upon a rapid socio-economical transformation, immigrants and refugees in Europe have now to integrate into a society which is experiencing deep transformation and not at all static.

In developing different issues and presenting examples of different kind of integration as described above, the Handbook takes into account the complexity of the migratory phenomenon considering the transformation of European cities and funding its series of good practices on the experience of “a learning organization”, and on good practices exchange as far as integration is concerned.

The Handbook has four chapters dealing with different matters: chapter 1, integration policies mainstreaming; chapter 2, housing and urban environment, describes those practices aimed at widening immigrant housing choices by improving the availability of houses and their quality; chapter 3 deals with the problem of migrant economic integration (migrant working conditions); chapter 4 deals with the governance of integration and also analyses those processes, mechanisms and forms of cooperation that constitute the political frame of integration.

5. Conclusions

A rapid transformation of European towns due to consistent migratory flows from extra-European countries, suggest that one should include the migratory phenomenon into all territorial plans, starting from community plans that affect in a specific way urban and economic development.

As explicit policies on urban integration, as we could see in the Antwerp case, are missing, migrant communities turn out to be particularly vulnerable and subject to strong discrimination in access to urban services. This is crucial to the worsening of social conflicts.

Through an analysis of the territorial policies developed at a European level, we can see that problems related to immigration have not yet been considered as an organic whole. According to programs *EQUAL* and *Integ.r.a.* that represent the most advanced answer to the problem of social inequalities, migrants are considered part of a larger variety of “weak” subjects, and the policies suggested are addressed towards working integration and not yet housing processes, which is not yet towards an urban planning which could take into account the specific requirements of this increasing share of population within the urban space.

The path towards a common European immigration policy, as described in chapter 2, has not yet brought about a formulation of specific programs

concerning the migratory events and the processes of transformation of cities, nevertheless it has created a cultural groundwork on which one can work for integration of citizens from third Countries.

The second edition of the *Handbook on Integration for policy-makers and practitioners* (2007) gives a fundamental contribution to the creation of a European integration framework, referring to good practices of political practitioners and operators in many European towns.

This Handbook highlights, through concrete examples concerning different aspects of integration, international migrations as an urban phenomenon which involves a many-sided policy making, including local economic development, housing, and social and cultural aspects.

The regulatory aspect of urban planning is nevertheless still poor although it constitutes a crucial challenge to the concept of the EU itself, as shared territory under constant transformation.

Because of a progressive widening of its borders and because of a constant increase of migrants, the EU should face the problem of foreigners, which could be managed thanks only to new specific and complex policies of urban integration.

Notes

1. Abdelmalek Sayad, 2002, (translation of the author).
2. Bernardo Secchi, 2006 (www.festivaleconomia.org/relazioni/secchi).
3. *Ibidem*.

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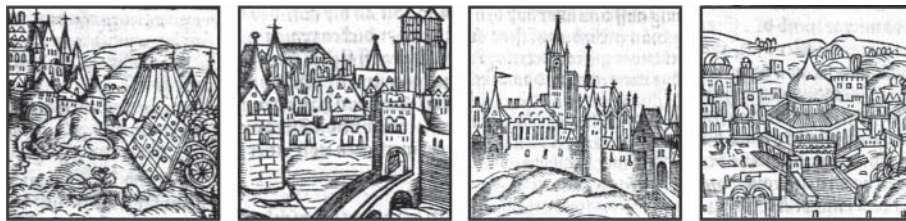
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**REGIONAL AND LOCAL
INTERPRETATIONS**

Territorial future. Understanding Italian challenges and Lombardy opportunities

Renata Satiko Akiyama

1. Introduction

On November 2008, the European Commission presented a consultation paper entitled *Regions 2020 – An assessment of future challenges for EU regions* (CEC, 2008a). The document sketches out future challenges in the fields of globalization, demographic variation, climate change and energy, it also maps which regions are most vulnerable to these challenges and identifies their regional effects in the medium-term perspective. According to this report, almost all Italian Regions are classified with a level 4 on a scale from 1 to 4, where 1 corresponds to the lowest level of challenges and 4 to the highest level of challenges. A few Regions of Portugal, Spain, Poland, Bulgaria and Greece are classified in the same level, but Italy is one of a small number of countries that concentrate a high number of complexities. Taking into consideration these projections, this essay presents European future challenges for cities and regions, underlines these issues in the Italian territory and reinforces the opportunities that territorial cohesion policy brings to Italy, especially for the Lombardy Region.

2. New challenges for cities and regions

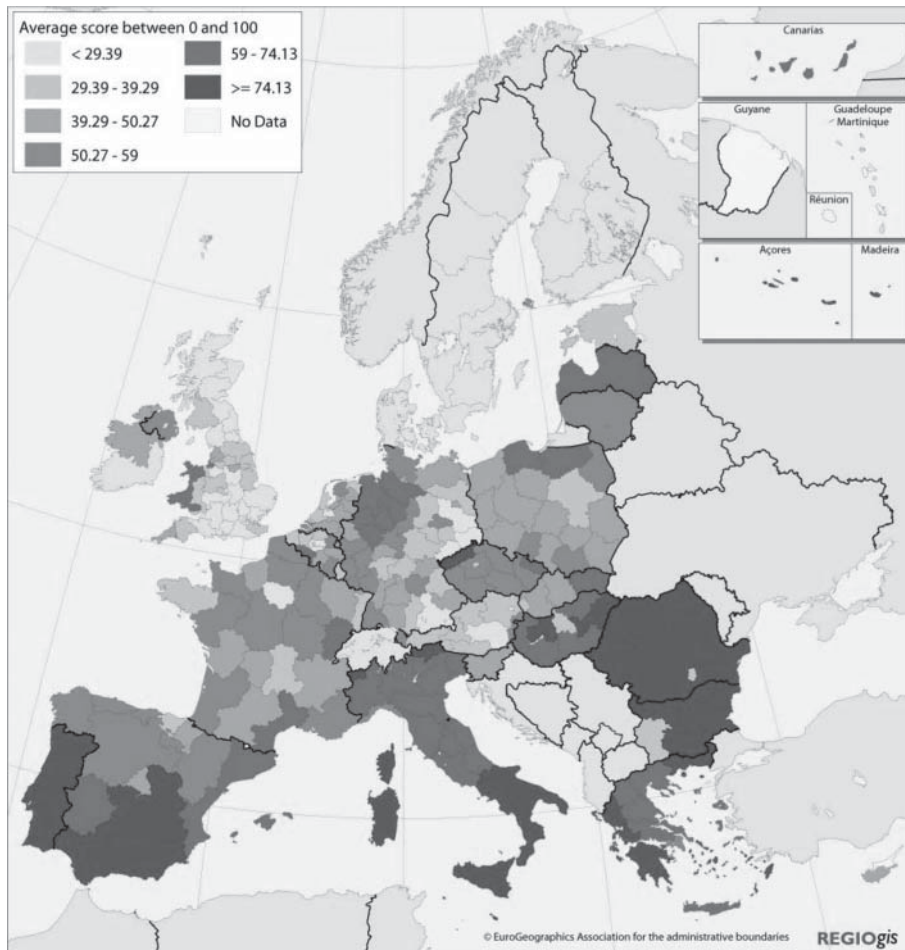
2.1. *Cities in the context of globalization*

Globalization shapes our lives promoting exchanges of peoples, technologies, goods, services, ideas and also offers new opportunities to society and industry with the opening up of huge new markets. However, at the same time it requires structural adjustments to confront changes in economy, society and environment. For that reason, the Lisbon Agenda encourages European economies to increase labour and resources growth, employment and education.

Comparing these three characteristics (labour, employment and education) it is possible to assert that regions in a rather favourable position will

be benefit from a workforce with a high level of educational attainment, a high level of employment, a high share of employment in advanced sectors and a high level of labour productivity. In the opposite situation, regions that seem to be much more vulnerable to the challenge of globalization are characterized by: present weaknesses in workforce qualifications, which may lead to difficulties in attracting investment and creating or maintaining jobs, and also a relatively large share of low value added activities (fig. 1).

Fig. 1 – Globalization vulnerability index 2020. Index based on estimated productivity, employment rate, rate and low education in 2010
Source: Eurostat



2.2. Cities, demographic change and migration

The population of the 27 member states is projected to become smaller and older, mostly because of declining fertility rates and increasing life expectancy. At the same time, Europe will confront a growing migratory movement from its immediate neighbour states due to economic differences between developed and developing countries, political problems and instability in countries of origin, proximity, climate change and natural resource limitations.

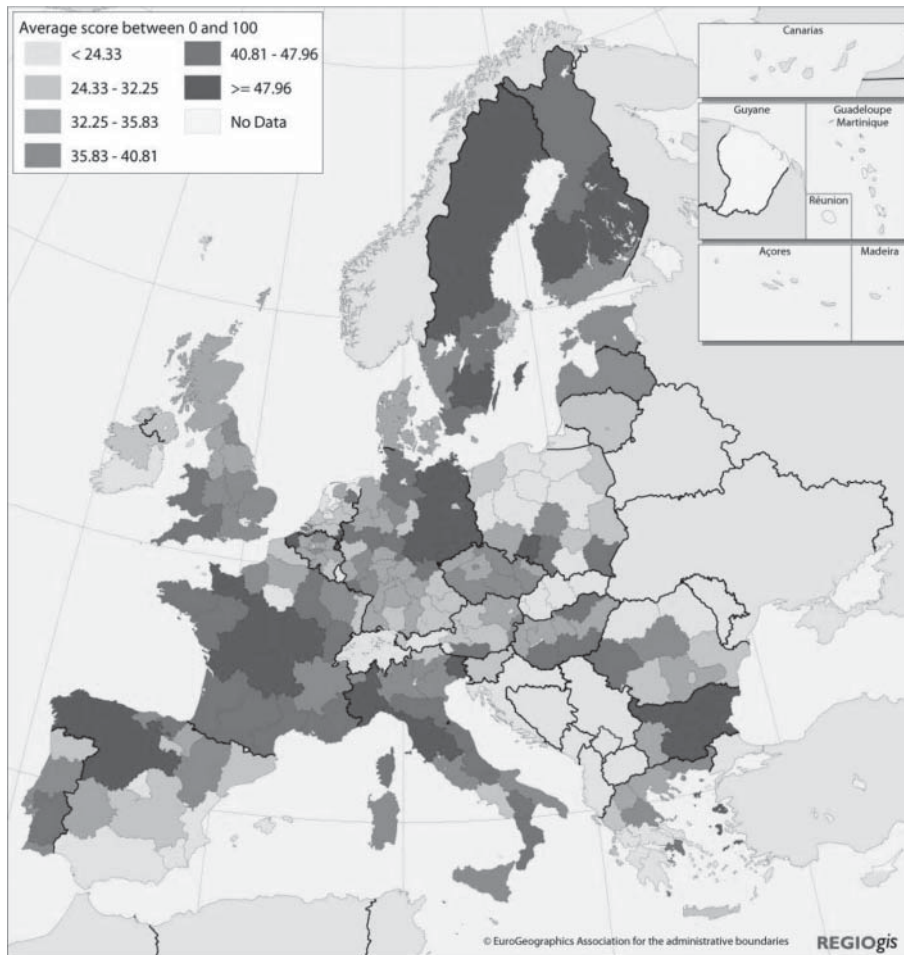
In terms of socio-economic characteristics, these prospects alert us to challenges that Europe will have to face in the years to come: decrease of population which reflects on world competitiveness, necessity for consistent investments in essential public goods and services, relatively low income levels, high unemployment and a large proportion of the workforce employed in declining economic sectors. Regions in demographic decline also tend to have a small proportion of young people, which shrinks labour force, resulting in their migration to other areas, low fertility rates, and produces low population density and low economic growth potential (fig. 2).

2.3. Climate change

The impact of climate change is a central issue on European agenda because it directly affects agriculture, forestry, fisheries, large scale energy production and the tourism industry as well as healthcare in certain areas and, in consequence of that, will require considerable investments to combat and prevent drought, fires, coastal erosion and flooding and peak temperatures (fig. 3).

In general, the intensity of impacts will be different across EU and will depend on physical liability, level of economic development, natural and human adaptive capacity, health services and disaster surveillance mechanisms. Climate change will affect agriculture throughout Europe and will lead to changing yields and production methods with distinct patterns throughout Europe. It will also cause greater damage on marine ecosystems subject to overfishing. In tourism, Alpine areas will have to focus on summer activities and the Mediterranean will suffer with high temperatures. Climate change will lead to changing patterns of energy demand and production, compromising regional growth potential. In rural and urban regions with a high risk of drought it will be possible to see more limited water resources.

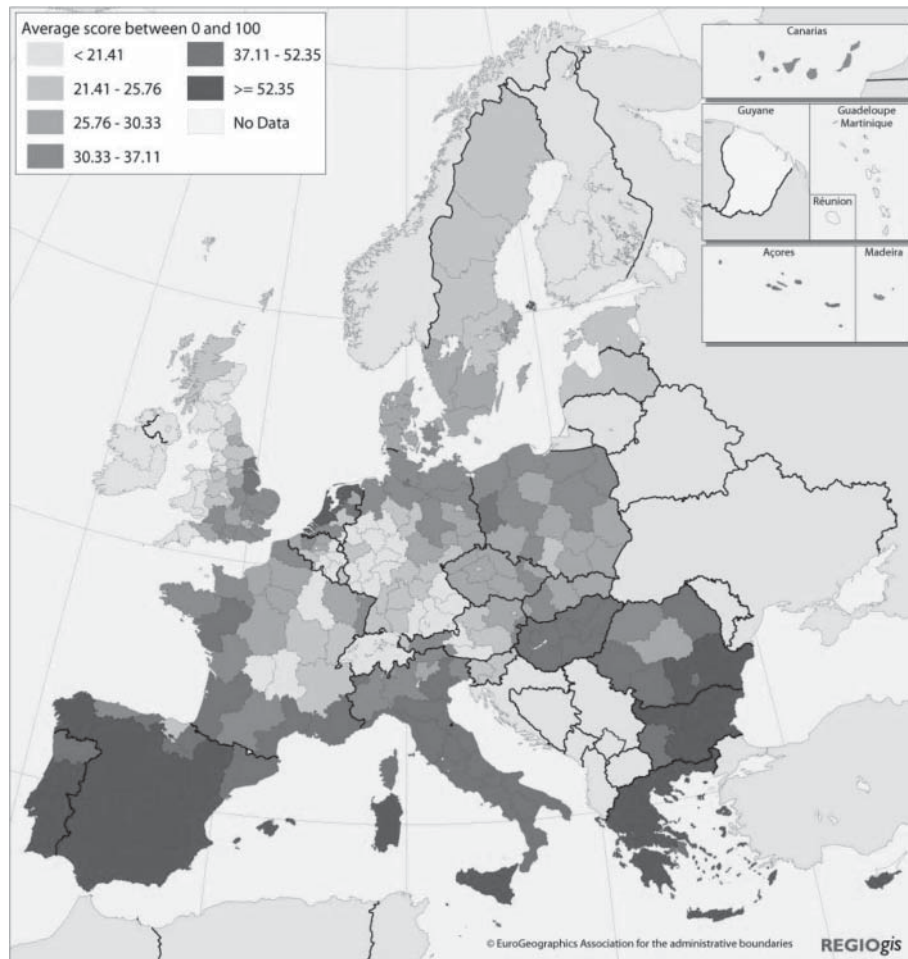
Fig. 2 – Demography vulnerability index: 2020. Index based on the estimated share of people aged 65 and over in total population, share of working age in total population and population in decline in 2020
 Source: Eurostat



2.4. Energy

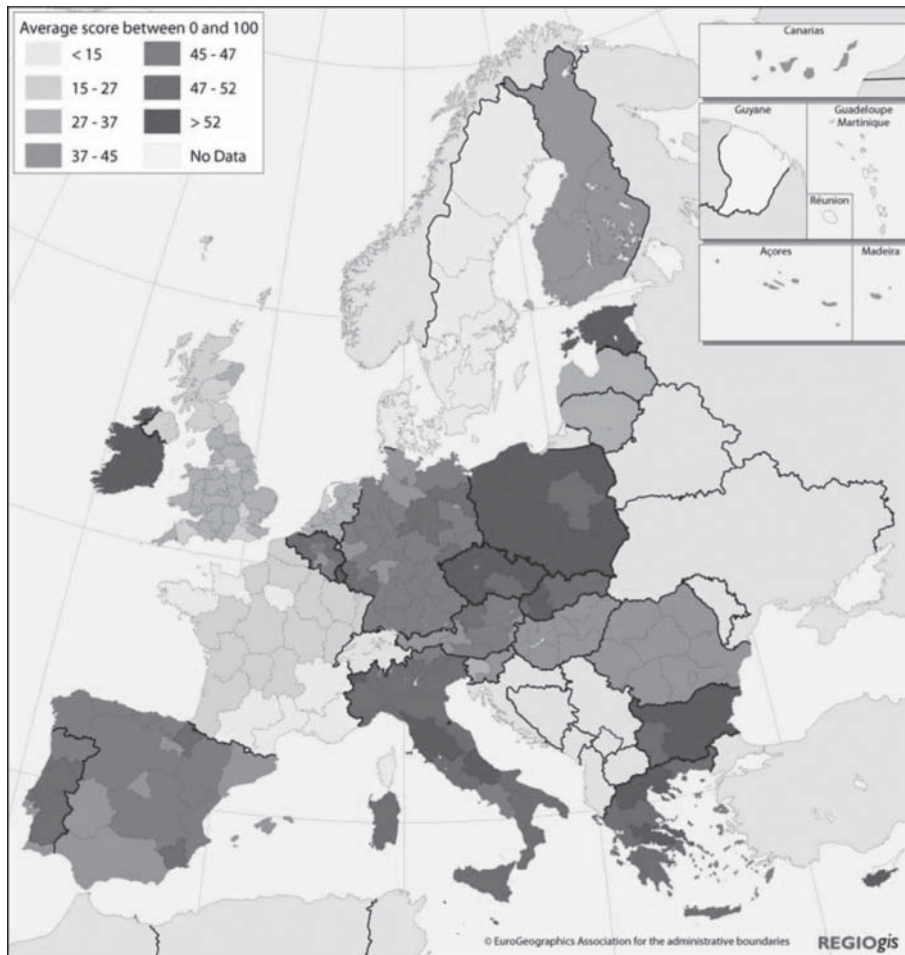
All EU members are facing the challenges of rising and fluctuating energy prices but some European regions are more affected than others, mainly for the reason that there is no integrated energy market, which provokes significant differences across the EU. Another necessity of energy challenge will be to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in transport, energy, households, agriculture and others (fig. 4).

Fig. 3 – Climate change vulnerability index. Index based on change in population affected by river floods, population in coastal areas below 5 m, potential drought hazard, vulnerability of agriculture, fisheries and tourism, taking into account temperature and precipitation changes
 Source: Eurostat, JRC, DG-REGIO



Impacts of energy challenge at a regional level are strongly determined by national choices and can be pointed in three main structural factors: internal and external security of supply, energy use and efficient consumption, and carbon emissions. In general, regions that depend on transport, heavy manufacturing sector and distant markets could be more exposed to energy challenges. Alternatively, regions with high energy efficiency can have economical and environmental benefits from investments in innovation and technology. The production of renewable energy will sponsor some rural

Fig. 4 – Energy vulnerability index. Index based on regional energy consumption by households (incl. private transport), estimated energy consumption by freight transport, industry, services and agriculture, national carbon intensity, national energy import dependency
 Source: DG-TREN, DG-REGIO

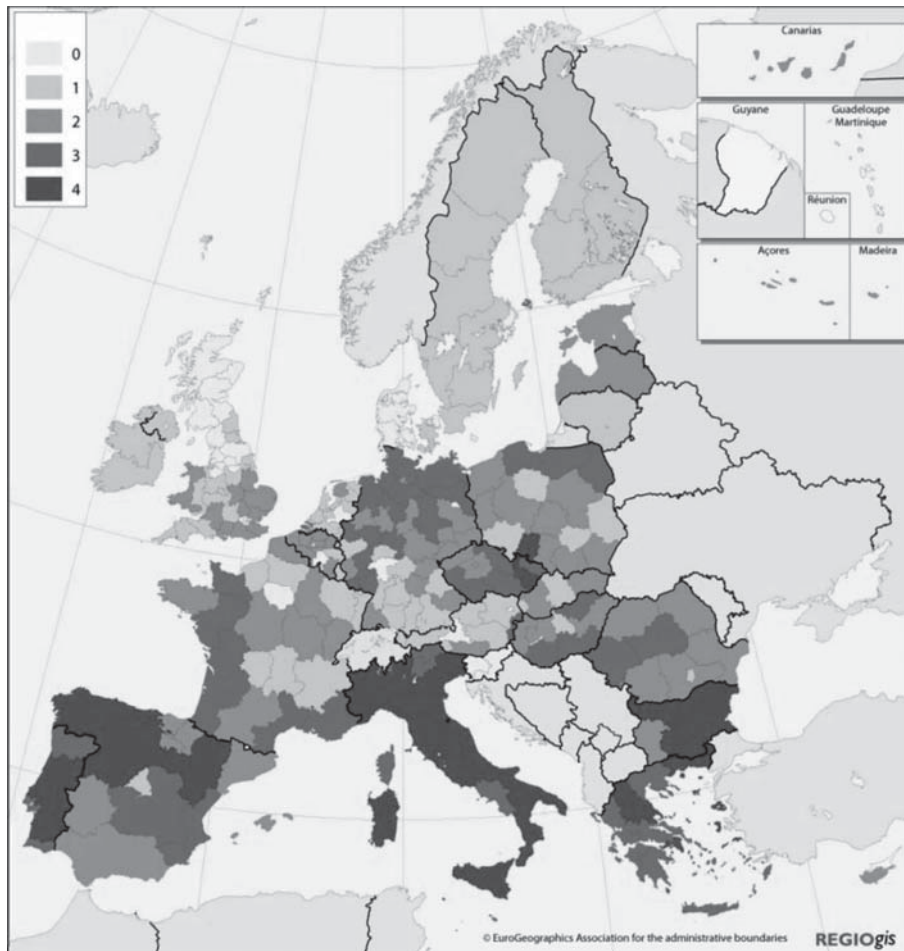


and remote regions that invest in geothermal or biomass, as well coastal areas with offshore, wind, wave, tidal or solar energy.

2.5. Multiple challenges

All European regions will deal with a number of challenges in the years to come, however they will present strong variations between sub-national levels. Globalization and demographic change will majorly affect South

Fig. 5 – Multiple challenges
Source: DG-Regio



and South Eastern regions, but regions located in Central France, Eastern Germany, parts of Sweden and Finland, even if favourable to globalization, will present demographic decline. In general, metropolitan areas seem to be better prepared to both challenges, in comparison with rural areas (fig. 5).

The differences between core-periphery at the European level will be evident for climate change and energy. However, it is expected some variations according to deviation in climate change scenarios and the capacity of European Union to establish a common energy policy that will ensure the functioning of the internal market and security of energy supply.

The map above selects 50% of the EU Regions most affected by each individual challenge and classifies each region according to their number of challenges, summarizing a geographical pattern of intensively challenged regions. It is important to note that regions relatively close to the geographical core of the EU, but are also located in Southern Spain, the UK, Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Lithuania are expected to have a lower number of simultaneous challenges. On the other hand, most of the regions located in Southern Europe and on the coasts of Western and Central Europe are expected to be affected by three or more challenges at the same time.

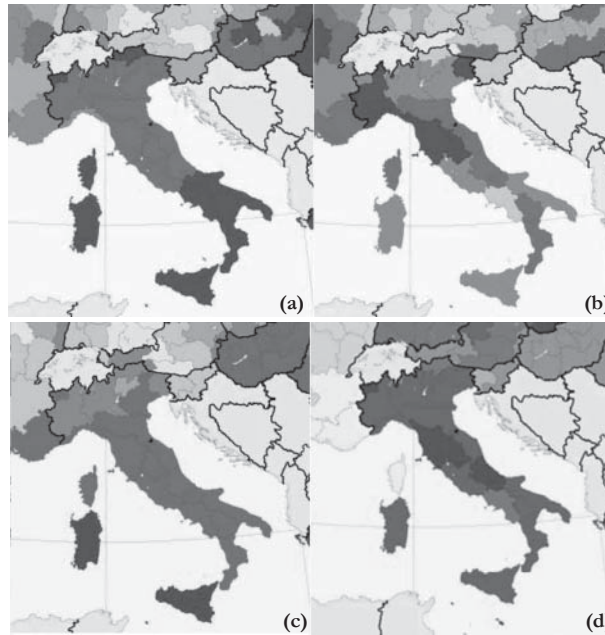
2.6. Italian challenges

The projections for Italy estimate the maximum number of challenges for almost all regions. According to the map above, just three Italian areas score less than four challenges: Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano, Provincia Autonoma di Trento and the vicinity of Campania. It means that Italy is potentially vulnerable for effects of globalization, demographic variation, climate change and energy and therefore must reorient its policy to prevent and mitigate future impacts. According to *Regions 2020* report, issues of energy (see item 1.4) seem to intensively effect almost all Italian territory, specially the central part of the country, and it will represent a major challenge to face in the future. The areas around Campania and Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano appear to have the lowest levels of difficulties on this topic. Globalization (see item 1.1) will influence particularly the southern part of Italy, islands and points of northern border. The islands of Sicily and Sardinia will also be strongly affected by climate changes (see item 1.3), issue that will pressure the Italian peninsula in a homogeneous form. On the other hand, demographic changes (see item 1.2) will have different intensities across the Italian territory and the northwest area will be the most susceptible to this challenge (fig. 6).

This picture of Italy illustrates a number of future challenges, however the impact of the four challenges will be expressed in different ways according to the particular region. In addition, the combination of various challenges is extremely complex. Some of them tend to be more closely interlinked than others and therefore might reinforce each other in a different mode. In the same way, other interactions of challenges might have a lower impact.

Therefore, it is significant to note the limitations of the projections made by *Regions 2020*, which cannot substitute a detailed analysis of specific national and regional contexts. As with all prospective work, the *Regions*

Fig. 6 – Maps of: globalization (a); demographic changes (b); climate changes (c); energy (d)
Source: Eurostat, JRC, DG-REGIO



2020 results are based on assumptions that may or may not correspond to future reality. It is evident, for example, that Member States could adjust their cohesion programmes for 2007-2013 and respond, completely or partially, to future challenges. In any case, addressing concerns about globalization, energy supplies, demographic decline, climate change and more recently, world recession in the EU and National policies for the next decade is a key issue to reduce future impacts in Europe.

3. Territorial cohesion in Italy and opportunities for Lombardy Region

The territorial diversity slightly indicated in the previous chapter could represent an unbalance between UR Regions increasing the challenges that Europe will face in the next decades. To prevent this situation, Territorial Cohesion Policy encourages EU members to turn this diversity into strength, promoting new forms of cooperation, coordination and partnerships to bring about a more balanced and sustainable development. The strategy of activating assistance and integrated actions and policies among EU Regions would achieve a sustainable use of assets with benefits for both the environment and the quality of life. «*Many of the problems faced by territories*

cut across sectors and effective solutions require an integrated approach and cooperation between the various authorities and stakeholders involved. In this respect, the concept of territorial cohesion builds bridges between economic effectiveness, social cohesion and ecological balance, putting sustainable development at the heart of policy design» (CEC, 2007, p. 3).

Taking into consideration the challenges that Italy will face in the years to come and the analysis presented in the first part, this chapter shows the territorial policies promoted by Italy in cooperation with EU countries and regions to deal with future European and national challenges, and reinforce the opportunities that territorial cohesion policy brings to Italy, especially the Lombardy Region.

3.1. Italian and Lombardy strategies

To understand Italian opportunities and its disposition to handle future adversities it is essential to be familiar with its national strategy.

The Italian National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF) defines for the 2007-2013 programming period the amount of € 124.7 billion for the objectives of Convergence, Regional Competitiveness and Employment and European Territorial Cooperation. From the total resource, the EU contributes € 28.8 billion (from the ERDF and the ESF), which sets Italy as the third biggest beneficiary of the EU Cohesion policy after Poland and Spain¹.

Italy aims to improve productivity, competitiveness and innovation throughout the country using a sustainable development framework. The main efforts will therefore be:

- promotion of Research & Development and innovation to enable the regions of the south to catch up with the European average in terms of GDP per capita and to create 473 000 new jobs in the Convergence Regions (€ 9.6 billion);
- investments in sustainable transport infrastructure, including the Italian hubs that are part of the trans-European transport Networks TEN-T (€ 4.1 billion);
- promotion of entrepreneurship and in particular support for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMES) to improve the competitiveness of production systems (€ 2.7 billion);
- development and improvement in terms of information and communication technologies (more than € 1.6 billion);
- investments in human resources and training including the creation of networks between universities, research centres and businesses and also tackling early school dropout rates in the regions of southern Italy (€ 2.6 billion);

- improvement of competitiveness by preparing businesses for change, encouraging the creation of new businesses and supporting SMEs on the global market (€ 1 billion);
- investments in security and legality in order to make regions more attractive, facilitate the economic and social integration of immigrants and combat illegal immigration.

The National Strategic Reference Framework for the period 2007-2013 clearly orients its priorities to prepare the country for global competition. The main investments cover the fields of research and development, cooperation and training, information and communication technologies, transport infrastructure, new business and security. Undoubtedly, the Italian strategy assumes European orientations regarding cohesion policies, expecting to promote sustainable and equal development across EU. Although, it is relevant to emphasize that there is a reduced number of investments with regard to the challenges of demographic changes. Italy has one of the oldest population in Europe and about 2.6 million legal foreign residents, which means that demographic challenges are extremely relevant.

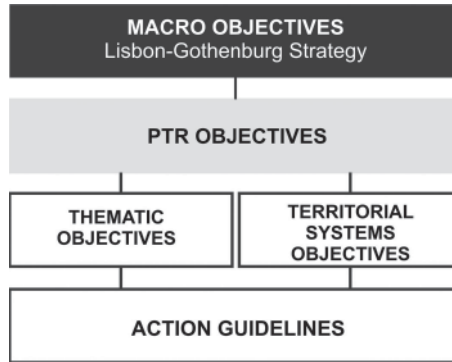
Another important contribution to EU Territorial Cooperation is promoted by the Lombardy Region. The Regional Spatial Plan – PRT demonstrates the Lombardy Region consciousness about future challenges. The PRT is an important instrument of local governance aimed at consolidating a shared framework for the development of the Lombardy Region. Its organized in objectives and strategies articulated by themes (environment, territorial structure, economic/productive, landscape and cultural heritage, and social issues) and territorial systems (metropolitan, mountains, foothills, lakes, irrigated plains, the Po and the other great rivers).

The objectives of the PRT are built (and updated) based on macro objectives that in turn make reference to the Lisbon-Gothenburg Strategy. As a consequence, the sustainable development expressed by EU policies has declined in the Lombardy Region strategies. This basic principle permeates the entire approach of PRT, giving consistency among regional, national and community guidelines. The graphic illustrates EU policy influence in the whole plan-objectives and actions (fig. 7).

3.2. Lombardy Region opportunities

The vulnerability to globalization, demographic variations, climate change and energy could represent an unbalance between EU Regions increasing the challenges that Europe and member countries would have to deal with in the next decades. For that reason, it is fundamental to address these issues in the national, regional and local policies and to pursue

Fig. 7 – Lombardy Region PRT



a cohesion approach in territorial policies, transforming Italy and Europe diversity into strength and searching for a more balanced and sustainable development.

To support this strategy the Commission proposed the European Territorial Cooperation objective as an important vehicle to achieve a more balanced and harmonious development among UE Regions, encouraging them to work together and learn from each other by means of cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation programmes. As a consequence of this cooperation, the territorial diversity of the EU can be transformed into a vital asset for the sustainable development of the whole EU, preparing cities and regions for future challenges.

In Italy there are 14 programmes under the European Territorial Cooperation objective, they are implemented through 7 cross-border cooperation programmes², 4 transnational cooperation programmes³ and 4 interregional cooperation programmes⁴. Among these programmes, it is presented below the cross-border and transnational cooperation programmes that include the territory of Lombardy. The objective of this selection is to underline the cooperation, development and funding opportunities proposed for the period 2007-2013, bearing in mind that “organizing capacity” of cities and regions has become a vital factor to strengthen their position in the global market, to reach critical mass, to realize increasing returns by combining activities and can help to jointly respond to common challenges. Strategic alliances are fundamental to bring forth new products, services, techniques, concepts, social and economic balance and great solutions for future challenges.

The territory of Lombardy is covered by one cross-border programme between Italy-Switzerland and four transnational programmes: Alpine Space, Central Europe, Mediterranean and South East Europe. These programmes

invite national, regional and local actors from the public and private sector to propose projects and apply for the programmes funds. These selections of projects are based on the quality of the submitted documentation and their capacity to deliver the best results. Participating in these programmes it is an opportunity for Lombardy to reinforce its capacity to better assess future territorial challenges.

The cross-border cooperation programme Italy-Switzerland was approved on December 2007 by the European Commission with a contribution of € 69 million from the ERDF, which means 75% of the total cost of the programme (€ 92 million). This programme covers just some parts of Italy and Switzerland (61 000 km²) characterized by Alpine mountain areas sparsely populated but endowed with an exceptional natural and environmental heritage or by an area of lakes that acts as a link in its privileged position between the main axes of communication between the North and the South. The programme invests in the fields of accessibility, innovation, optimal use of natural and cultural resources. It aims to share infrastructure and integrate services; increase competitiveness at southern European and world levels; secure the cohesion among the partners; and encourage job creation and sustainable development.

The first transnational EU cooperation programme was launched for the Alps in the period of 2000-2006 during the INTERREG IIIB. Its successful results have contributed for the actual transnational programme between Germany, France, Italy, Austria and Slovenia, Liechtenstein and Switzerland. Alpine Space for the period of 2007-2013 was approved on September 2007 by the European Commission with a contribution of € 98 million from the ERDF, which represent 75% of the total budget of the programme (€ 130 million). The programme's overall aim is to increase the competitiveness and the attractiveness of the cooperation area in a sustainable way by fostering territorial development and cohesion.

Central Europe is a transnational programme approved on 3 December 2007 between Czech Republic, Germany (territories in the East and South), Italy (territories in the North-East), Hungary, Austria, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia. The Ukraine (western part). Central Europe invests € 231 million to encourage cooperation among these countries aiming to improve innovation, accessibility and environment; develop the competitiveness and attractiveness of their cities and regions; strengthen territorial cohesion; promote internal integration; and enhance the competitiveness of Central Europe.

The MED programme is a transnational programme of European territorial cooperation approved on December 2007 to promote the cooperation between Cyprus, France, the United Kingdom, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain (with participation from Croatia and Montenegro).

The Mediterranean Programme has a total budget of € 256 million with a contribution from Community funding (ERDF) of € 193 million. The Programme aims to strengthen the region's economy in order to ensure growth and employment for the next generations (Lisbon strategy). It also aims to support territorial cohesion and improve the protection of region's environmental and sustainable development credentials (Goteborg strategy).

South East Europe Programme (SEE) is a transnational programme approved on December 2007 to promote the cooperation among 14 countries (Albania, Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Greece, Hungary, Serbia, Montenegro, Slovakia, Slovenia and Moldova) and some regions of 2 countries (Italy and Ukraine). The total budget of the programme is € 245 million and the Community assistance through the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) amounts to € 206 million. This resource will be invested to improve integration and competitiveness in an area which is as complex as it is diverse. The programme's global objective is to improve the territorial, economic and social integration process in South East Europe; contribute to cohesion, stability and competitiveness of the area through the development of transnational partnerships; and joint action on matters of strategic importance.

The table below regroups the five programmes, specifying the EU and National resources by priority axis for each programme. These programmes, together with interregional programmes (INTERREG IVC, ESPON, INTERACT, URBACT), can and should be used by public and private sector to prepare Lombardy for future challenges. To achieve this purpose and reverse the small participation of Lombardy a massive publicity must be done of European programmes throughout municipalities, companies, consortium, organizations and institutions. Furthermore, national, regional and local governments should invest resource to enable public servants, instigating them to acquire expertise in EU policies (tab. 1).

Summing up, in the first part it was demonstrated that globalization, demographic variations, climate change and energy are the main challenges that EU members will have to face in the coming years. In the case of Italy, all these challenges are at a high level of influence which could represent a risk for the country and the whole of Europe. However, in the second part of the essay it was confirmed that the Italian National Strategic Reference Framework skilfully addresses EU policies, preparing the country for major future challenges. The same approach emerges in the Regional Spatial Plan of Lombardy Region, which founded its objectives and actions on the Lisbon - Gothenburg Strategy. Analyzing the framework of national and regional territorial policies it is possible to conclude that Italy and the Lombardy Region have incorporated EU guidelines into

Tab. 1 – Table of finances by operational programmes and priority axis

Source: European Commission, Regional Police Inforegio, Italy operational programmes

Operational Programme	Priority Axis	EU Contribution	National Public Contribution	Total Public Contribution
Italy-Switzerland	Environment and territory	17 334 750	5 778 250	23 113 000
	Competitiveness	26 685 500	8 894 500	35 578 000
	Quality of life	20 685 750	6 895 250	27 581 000
	Technical assistance	4 107 858	1 369 286	5 477 144
	Total	€ 68.811.858,00	€ 22.937.286,00	€ 91.749.144,00
Alpine Space	Competitiveness and Attractiveness of the Alpine Space	32 173 670	10 160 106	42 333 776
	Accessibility and Connectivity	27 577 433	8 708 663	36 286 096
	Environment and Risk Prevention	32 173 670	10 160 106	42 333 776
	Technical Assistance	5 867 538	3 159 444	9 026 982
	Total	€ 97.792.311,00	€ 32.188.319,00	€ 129.980.630,00
Central Europe	Facilitating innovation across Central Europe	49 202 215	10 077 562	59 279 777
	Improving accessibility of and within Central Europe	63 962 879	13 100 831	77 063 710
	Using our environment responsibly	63 962 879	13 100 831	77 063 710
	Enhancing competitiveness and attractiveness	54 122 437	11 085 318	65 207 755
	Technical assistance	14 760 664	4 920 221	19 680 885
	Total	€ 246.011.074,00	€ 52.284.763,00	€ 298.295.837,00
Mediterranean	Strengthening of innovation capacities	57 957 399	19 009 318	76 966 717
	Environmental protection and promotion of sustainable territorial development	65 685 053	21 543 894	87 228 946
	Improving mobility and territorial accessibility	38 638 266	12 672 879	51 311 145
	Promotion of a polycentric and integrated Med space	19 319 133	6 336 439	25 655 572
	Technical assistance	11 591 480	3 863 827	15 455 306
Total	€ 193.191.331,00	€ 63.426.357,00	€ 256.617.686,00	
South East Europe	Innovation	44 051 157	7 773 734	51 824 891
	Environment	53 739 828	9 483 499	63 223 327
	Accessibility	55 160 834	9 734 265	64 895 099
	Sustainable growth areas	41 338 329	7 294 999	48 633 328
	Technical Assistance	12 401 497	4 133 832	16 535 329
	Total	€ 206.691.645,00	€ 38.420.329,00	€ 245.111.974,00
TOTAL		€ 812.498.219,00	€ 209.257.054,00	€ 1.021.755.271,00

their policies. Nevertheless, it is necessary to evaluate the effectiveness of their policies in concrete actions. In terms of opportunities for Lombardy, there are five European Programmes that institutions, organizations and governments could participate in, increasing regional and local capacity to deal with future challenges.

Notes

1. Italy, 2009.
2. Agreement among adjacent regions that aim to develop cross-border social and economic centers through common development strategies. The Italian cross-border cooperation programmes are: Italy-France (Alps-ALCOTRA), Italy – Maritime France, Italy-Slovenia, Italy-Malta, Italy-Austria, Italy-Switzerland and Italy-Greece.
3. Agreement among a group of regions with issues in common, leading to common priorities and a coordinated strategic response. The Italian transnational cooperation programmes are: Alpine Space, Central Europe, South East Europe and Mediterranean.
4. The Interregional Cooperation Programme (INTERREG IVC) and 3 networking programmes (URBACT II, INTERACT II and ESPON) cover all 27 Member States of the

EU. They provide a framework for exchanging experience between regional and local bodies in different countries. INTERREG IVC promotes exchange of experience and good practices among the regions, URBACT – thematic city networks, INTERACT – support for cooperation programme management organisation, ESPON – an observation network for spatial planning.

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Who plans the water. The water framework directive and the “Contratti di fiume”. Water management and spatial planning in Europe

Maria Chiara Pastore

«Water protection policy and water resource management have become a necessity. Policies for surface water and ground water must be linked with spatial development policy. Preventive measures for the reduction of waste water, over-utilisation and pollution of water resource should have preference over “end-of-pipe” technologies. Corresponding spatial and land use planning can make a decisive contribution towards the improvement of water quality. That is the reason why the impact of large water exploitation related projects should be examined through territorial and environmental impact assessments. Moreover, cross-border and transnational development strategies are a basis for a better water resource management»
(ESDP, 1999)

1. Introduction

Until the Industrial Revolution, cities were connected to seas and river systems with synergy and interdependence. Water was the first recognizable infrastructure, it marked city boundaries and a country limit, it ruled agriculture; it had great importance in enhancing health conditions and was essential for living. It was considered a tool of socialization and the first resource exploited for industrial purposes.

From the nineteenth century water became a resource controlled by engineers. Piped, purified, used, treated, often buried undergrounds for health reasons, it became invisible. Soon, water was recognizable only by the presence of the big machineries made to use and manage it: dams, irrigation systems, power stations and sewage treatment. They were located at the edges of the cities, or better, far from the urban areas. Gradually, people lost their knowledge of the water resource, associated then to the tap.

In the last forty years, growing concerns for the environment, the demand for a better or “sustainable” use of resources, the introduction of the concept regarding “landscape conservation” and the increase in the number of the institutions involved in the management process all influenced the

relation between water and the territory. The necessity of an integrated approach that would embody the different actors at the different levels of water supply, management and its uses, led the European policies towards the Water Framework Directive in 2000 (Kaika, 2003, p. 90).

This article tries to analyse the implications of the Water Framework Directive upon Italian planning policies in order to understand how the new policies regarding water management can affect land use and spatial planning.

In particular this article tries to focus on the potential impacts of water policies on the Lombardy region, describing the “contratti di fiume” and their applications upon the existing planning framework.

2. The water framework directive

The Water Framework Directive was adopted in December 2000 (2000/60/EC). The purpose launched by WFD «is to establish a framework for the protection of inland surface waters, transitional waters, coastal waters and groundwater» (EU, 2000).

In order to achieve a “good status” for all waters by 2015, the two major innovations introduced by the WFD are:

- the division of the territory into *River Basin Districts* (RBD), each of which are regulated by a River Basin Management Plan (RBMP);
- the *participatory approach*.

Linking water to its geomorphological boundaries is not really new in Italy. In fact the law 183/89 firstly mentioned the concept of River Basin, although WFD took a step further from the law 183/89 with the introduction of:

- a) the *analysis*, the interpretation and the economic analysis of the data referring to the basin. In fact, in order to prepare a River Basin Management Plan, each Member State, art. 5): «shall ensure that for each river basin district or for the portion of an international river basin district falling within its territory: – an analysis of its characteristics, – a review of the impact of human activity on the status of surface waters and on groundwater, and – an economic analysis of water use». These three main issues involve a mandatory study of all the uses of water, shifting the perspective from the hydrogeological status to an integrated vision that includes human uses, agriculture, energy and transport at different levels.
- b) The direct impact on the national and local planning policies, as the RBMP should be incorporated or complying with the land legislation (White and Howe, 2003, p. 1028).

The river management plan should in fact prepare a *long term scenario* that would lead and take action in the river basin, acting in the geographical context as a unique system instead of the administrative boundaries to which the river belongs.

We can argue that, as Kaika (2003, p. 91) suggested, the directive can be seen as the first attempt to combine physical planning to water resource policies.

In order to achieve this point, the other great innovation introduced by the WFD is then explained: *the participatory approach* is indeed necessary in order to involve and guarantee the interaction among all the different actors and institutions related to the river basin.

The first shift is at the institutional (or broadly the public) level. Considering the complexity of the river basin area with the introduction of the management plan, the different institutions are required to work together, around the geographical boundaries, not the administrative ones. This point highlights the complexity of the legislation (particularly the water one) at the different levels, increased by the internationalisation of the issue, the number of actors involved from the local to the European, and sometime international level.

The second shift is the numbers and typology of actors involved in the process (or the private sector). As water became a social and market issue, debates and consciousness on the topic arose among the different actors. Participation of the different groups and private companies with economic interests on the resource involved in the debate affects the decision-making procedures¹.

Both the public and the private sector enlarge not only in the number of actors (affected by the change of scale) but also by the broadening of the issues. As the Water Framework Directive works in the direction of a more integrated approach, different sectors (energy, agriculture, planning, etc.) were taking part in the process, adding complexity and giving a more holistic vision.

3. “Contratti di fiume”, the WFD takes place. The Lombardy Region policies

The WFD was formally adopted in Italy in 2006 with D.lgs 152/2006, which substantially confirms the participatory approach and requires the re-organization of the river basins, their analysis and the Management Plan document to be ready by the end of 2009.

While waiting for the WFD to be adopted by the Italian policies, the Lombardy Region has been working on the strategic scenarios with the

“Contratti di Fiume” (CdF); is an agreement that lets *«the actors adopt a framework in which public utility, economic measures, social activities, and sustainability are balanced in order to obtain effective solutions for the regeneration of the river basin»* (definition 2, World Water Forum).

Explicit references for the “Contratti di Fiume” are the Water Framework Directive and the principles stated in the occasion of the II World Water Forum meeting.

CdF is a public, voluntary agreement, led by both private and public sectors interested in the management, use and protection of the water resources. The participation activity engages different actors to be involved in the regeneration process which takes into account all the environmental aspects of the territory.

The final outcome will be the realization of a long term strategic scenario, which objectives will be related to the three spheres: the technical one (water pollution reduction-hydraulic risk reduction), the environmental-spatial one (relation among urban areas and landscapes, environmental renovation of the river systems) and the education-social sphere (the diffusion of knowledge and culture of water). The strategic plan becomes the framework for the different and complex approaches to be taken into account while working on top-down negotiation strategies; a flexible tool that can be easily managed and implemented by the multiple stakeholders involved in the process.

Since 2003, the Lombardy Region has activated two “Contratti di fiume”, Rivers Olona, Bozzente, Lura, and River Seveso. It is promoting the CdF for the River Lambro (the CdF should be signed by the end of 2010); it is working at the preparatory processes for the Rivers Mella, Oglio Sud, Adda, Mincio.

In specific, we will discuss CdF for the rivers Olona, Bozzente, Lura and we will review the spatial implication of the directive on this contract.

The CdF was signed in 2004, headed by the Regione Lombardia and involved 78 municipalities existing in the Olona, Lura and Bozzente river basin; 3 Provinces (Varese, Como and Milan); 3 river districts areas (ATO: Milan-Province, Varese and Como); the regional environmental agency (ARPA Lombardia); the Po River authority and the educational service of the Lombardia region.

As stated, the establishment of the “contratto di fiume” had the purpose of building a strategic framework upon the river basin. In order to achieve this goal, the CdF has been facing two main challenges to deal with.

The first one regards the governance level: water policies at the national level are still separated sectors, in terms of processes, actors and field areas. At the time the “contratti di fiume” were first proposed, the WFD had not been adopted by Italy yet. The Lombardy Region, which was the leading

institution, was working in a new field, creating and adapting new policies able to cope with the multilevel, multiscale, activities².

As the CdF are voluntary agreements and the policies are not yet regulated at the national level, Lombardy Region has tried to integrate the water policies through the PTR (Piano territoriale regionale) and the PPR (Piano Paesistico Regionale). This will be recognizable with the introduction of the definition of the Piano strategico di Bacino within the Regional legislation: “legge regionale per il governo del territorio 12/2005”³ and Piano Territoriale Regionale (PTR approved 2/2010).

During these years, the Region headed the whole process, probably the only actor capable of defining, analysing and interpreting the different aspects and the problem and give the general and most complete framework. This is also explained by the fact that the river basin taken in analysis lies completely within the borders of the region, and there are no integration processes among the regions to be activated. In the near future it is expected that the Province will be leading the processes, together with other intra-sectorial policies at the middle scale level⁴ as they are more connected to the local communities, while the Lombardy Region will be focused on the general framework.

The second aspect regards the distinctiveness of the territory crossed by the rivers and the characteristics of the rivers itself. The increasing anthropic pressure, the pollution of the rivers (which goes back to 1990s), the different agricultural uses and discharges, the loss of biodiversity and the complexity of the other infrastructure were just some of the challenges the Contratto di Fiume Olona, Bozzente, Lura has faced in this area.

The first important goal was the definition of the geographical area enclosed within the river basin, in order to investigate and settle the economic, environmental, spatial and management analysis, all compulsory for the construction of the scenario. The second point was the division, within the river Basin, upon UPAS (*Unità Paesaggistico Ambientali*) that try to divide the territory by homogeneous lands and to connect all the actors around the different issues (fig. 1).

This division is crucial for the land reading and for the affiliation to a local system. The UPAS are then identified considering the administrative boundaries, the location in the east-west system (from the hills system, to the Po valley area) and the north-south system (the river valleys) (fig. 2).

The individuation of 4 “ambiti vallivi” (Olona, Lambro Meridionale, Seveso-Vettabbia bassa, Lambro settentrionale) give the chance to design specific local scenarios, identify and enhance the different communities, work on the best practice and connect the different actors and their communities. Sewage treatment, conservation of the historic landscape and water uses become specific projects able to be followed within the complexity of the water system.

Fig. 1 – Territorial framework Lambro-Seveso-Olona
Source: Presentation slides by Mario Clerici, Regione Lombardia, 2007

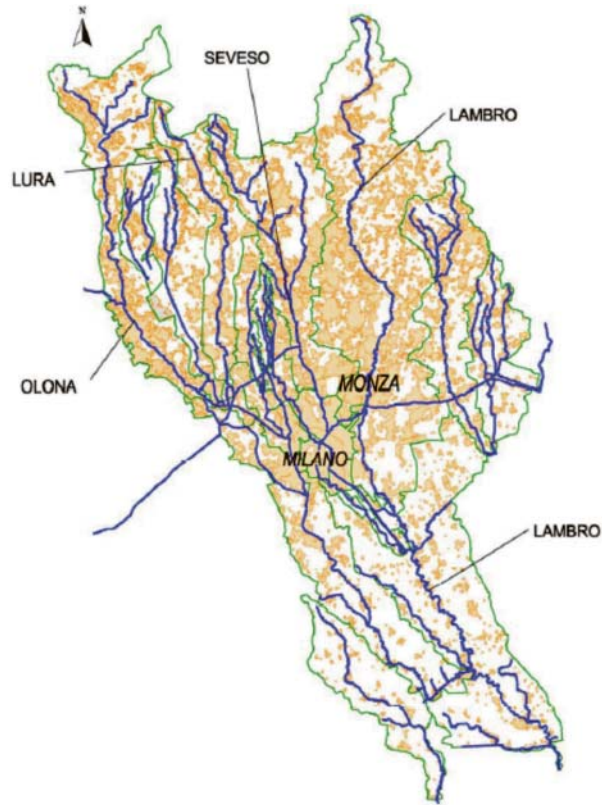
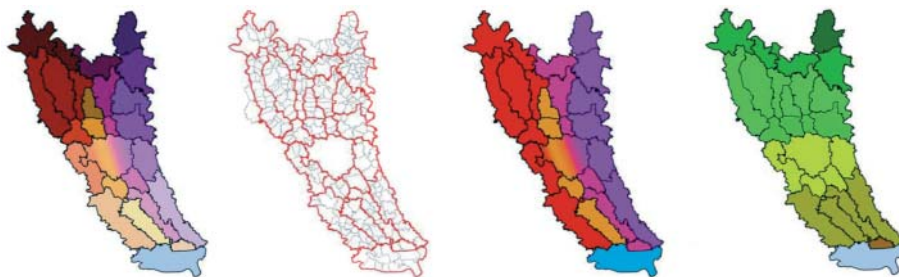


Fig. 2 – The division upon UPA
Source: «Atlante sottobacino Lambro-Olona», p.16 (www.contrattidifiume.it)



4. Conclusions

The aim of this article is to establish the connection between water management policies and spatial planning approaches.

The case study, the Lombardy Region is an example of how a top-down voluntarily negotiated process, strongly referred to the WFD, is implemented by European spatial planning policies (INTERREG CADSES 2000-2006) and introduced in the regional legislation level.

I would like to use a table created by Johan Woltjer and Niels Al, authors of the article “Integrating Water Management and Spatial planning” to compare the four different approaches to integrating water management and spatial planning with the Italian policies taken into account (tab. 1).

This interesting summary goes from the “conventional” approach, possibly defined also as the “engineeristic” one, to the “new water culture one”, that put water at the centre of a new era of planning. The implementations in the table are related in particular to the different fields involved, starting from the hydro-related one, to the human, and social ones.

Given this theoretical point of view, it is interesting to locate the Lombardy case study within the four approaches.

While it is quite clear that after 2003 the Region was able to go beyond the *conventional approach*, it is still difficult to properly locate the Region under a specific proposition. Even though the water culture approach is clearly represented by the will to engage the population through the participation process, the specific conditions of the site⁵, make this approach very difficult to be achieved. Probably assuming that the approach claimed by the Lombardy region is “strategic”, the third approach which «puts more emphasis on creating political support and assumes a stronger planning role» (Woltjer, Al, 2007, p. 222), could be considered the more appropriate, even though further steps through the strategic scenario will have to be made in order to regain the relation between water and the cities.

To conclude, the relation between water policies and planning policies quite new in the spatial planning field, particularly in Italy. I would like to bring attention to some issues from the analysis of the case study. The first one is the importance of the participatory approach as the only possible tool to integrate the increasing number of institutions, the raised economic interests and the growing concerns toward the environment (Kaika 2003) around the water resource, which is impossible to locate in one defined sector (multiple uses of the resource).

The second point is the new understanding of the regions by geographical areas instead of the administrative boundaries. This division gives planning a multi-scale approach, as water is connecting, changing and linking all the lands crossed from source to sea. All the issues are repeated all

Tab. 1 – Four approaches to integrating water management and spatial planning
Source: Woltjer, Al, 2007, p. 220

	Functional regions	Socio-cultural regions
Regulatory	<p>1. Conventional</p> <p><i>Key objectives:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public management of water quantity and quality <p><i>Key instruments:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Technical expertise • Functional separation of water from other policy subjects • Reliance on draining water away and blocking water out • Reliance on norms and standards 	<p>2. Spatial planning</p> <p><i>Key objectives:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Water integrated into broader policy making <p><i>Key instruments:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comprehensive approach, water as a broader issue • Stronger references to water in the practice of spatial planning • Water as a source of aesthetic quality in planning
Strategic	<p>3. Water planning</p> <p><i>Key objectives:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Making water management more important politically and socially <p><i>Key instruments:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Separate water management regions and agencies • Processes for creating political and public support • A role for water management demands in land-use decisions • Ensuring sufficient space for water 	<p>4. New water culture</p> <p><i>Key objectives:</i></p> <p>Water as a source of social coherence and participation—a new water culture</p> <p><i>Key instruments:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using water strategically to create new capacities, new identities • New coordinating institutions • Water as part of attractive living and working conditions

along the rivers, and this peculiarity needs to be combined with a strategic scenario. The third point regards the increase in the knowledge exchange and the need for a water culture. The existence of a new era of water policies and planning is mostly due to the rising importance of environmental concerns. The new uses of databases and shared information systems will be the most convenient tools in order to raise awareness of the resource.

Notes

1. Further readings on this subjects Kaika, 2003, pp. 299-316, whose article is mainly focused on a review of the participatory process within the WFD.

2. References to the water policies for the Lombardy Region are the Regional law 12.12.2003, n.26, the DCR VII/1048 issued the 27/04/2004 and the DGR VIII/2244 issued the 29/03/2006. Below, in original language, the specific parts of the text of the laws: – Legge regionale 12.12.2003, n. 26 «Disciplina dei servizi locali di interesse economico generale. Norme in materia di gestione dei rifiuti, di energia, di utilizzo del sottosuolo e di risorse idriche»; – «Atto di indirizzi per la politica di uso e tutela delle acque della Regione Lombardia», approvato con DCR VII/1048 del 27.07.2004; – «Programma di Tutela e Usi delle Acque in Lombardia (PTUA)», approvato con DGR VIII/2244 del 29.03.2006. I CDF sono gli strumenti di attuazione del Piano di Gestione, insieme alle procedure negoziate e agli accordi di programma (CDF are the tools for the Management plan together with the negotiation tools and the program agreements).

3. The Region, with the 55bis article defines the sub-basins of the Po river as the

most appropriate area to consider in order to manage lands and soils. And uses the CDF as the most appropriate planning tool to be used in this areas. Specifics of the Law are in original language here below: (art. 55bis) «la Regione riconosce nei sottobacini idrografici lombardi del distretto del fiume Po gli ambiti territoriali adeguati per il governo di acque e suoli e predispone progetti strategici di sottobacino idrografico elaborati in accordo con i soggetti istituzionali e sociali interessati, attraverso processi partecipativi come i Contratti di Fiume».

4. Definition of different Park planning tools: Parchi Locali di Interesse Sovracomunale (PILS), Comunità Montane, Enti Parco.

5. The forgotten relation between the city and its water claim, from one side the necessity to achieve this goal as soon as possible , on the other side, the difficulties given by the land and the physical and perceptual distances between people and water created in the last century are still a huge gap which is difficult to close.

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Serbian chances for integration in the European Union

Ilija Gubic

1. Introduction. EU enlargement

Process of globalization and European integration are the phrases in the Western Balkans which are used in everyday discussion, and are promoted as positive processes of progressive development of society, and which reflect the state of economy, politics, government system, and quality of life.

The European Union in the new global environment is trying to keep one of the leading positions in political and economic arena, and therefore urgently solves any problems that may arise internally.

After the former communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe joined the Union, citizens of old member states began to blame newcomers for most economic and social problems that have arisen, and the attitude to further enlargement of the EU has become rather negative. Countries of the Western Balkans are aware of the possibility that such negative campaign could slow down the process of EU enlargement. Slowing or stopping the process of EU enlargement to countries of the Western Balkan would show poor determination in Brussels to continue the process of spreading peace and democracy and building market economy, which was one of the goals. Furthermore, it would put into question the completion of transition of Western Balkans countries as well as their economic development, which now lags behind the EU, regardless of current budgetary problems of some of the member states.

The leading EU countries primarily protect their own interests, but it seems that they are willing to compromise to integrate the countries of Western Balkans, primarily in economic terms, and thus improve the negotiating position with the leading world economies, the United States of America, People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation, which once again has the countries in the Western Balkans under its influence (Simurdic, 2009, p. 6).

2. Lament over EU integration of Serbia

One of the most frequently discussed conditions for strengthening relations between the Republic of Serbia and the EU is cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague¹. Full cooperation, which involves finding and arresting Goran Hadzic and Ratko Mladic, accused of crimes against humanity, is a condition for obtaining candidate status for EU membership. Additionally, since the political elite of the Albanians settled in the southern Serbian province of Kosovo and Metohija declared independence² from the state of Serbia, good neighbor relations with Kosovo are more frequently mentioned as one of new conditions.

The declaration of independence by Kosovo has shaken the idea of European Serbia. According to Serbian government officials, self proclamation of Kosovo as a state has brought into question the basic postulates of international law, primarily the United Nations Charter, resolution 1244, the EU Treaties, the Helsinki Final Act, The Constitution of Serbia, etc. (Serbian Government, 2008).

As Kosovo comprises 15% of the territory of Serbia, it is certain that the Government of Serbia will not recognize Kosovo's independence, which will mean long-term tension with EU countries³ that have recognized Kosovo as a sovereign state. As it was done by the countries with the greatest influence in the EU, with which negotiations about signing and implementation of the Agreement on Stabilization and Association with the EU should follow, and as for the candidate status agreement should be reached by all member states, recent integration of Serbia into the EU seems as a utopian plan.

3. Serbia and the EU budget

European future of Serbia was much more apparent before self proclamation of independence of Kosovo. Nevertheless, EU keeps funding projects in Serbia through the European Agency for Reconstruction that from 2000-2006 was supporting Serbia with Euro 1.27 billion for development of democracy, stimulation of public administration and strengthening of institutions. From 2007 to 2009 Serbia received pre-accession assistance of Euro 572.4 million (European Commission, 2009).

In the EU budget for 2013 significant financial resources are set aside as pre-accession development assistance to countries of the Western Balkans, where Serbia is a leader in amount of funds set aside, and to illustrate how formal membership is important let us use the fact that Republic of

Bulgaria, with which Serbia has a common border and approximately the same number of residents, uses allowed funds from the EU budget that are 7 times higher than the amount intended for projects in Serbia.

Serbia is still trying to maintain good relations with the EU and it maximally exploits the signed agreements, tries to attract foreign investments, and most importantly, to separate politics from economics and to give them same importance. At the same time, trade with Russia and China should be intensified.

Candidate status for EU membership, which currently is a short-term goal of Serbia is not in itself the main objective of development strategies, but will serve as a powerful catalyst and lead the country through a process of dynamic and sustainable development, thus promoting an effective market economy that will attract investments, reduce unemployment, increase production and export, which are the key principles for overall development of Serbia defined in Draft of Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia, which was made by Republic Agency for Spatial Planning and is currently in the process of public discussion.

4. Spatial plans of Serbia

During the past half century, Serbia has experienced a lot of social turbulences: reconstruction after the Second World War, nationalization of land and property, relatively frequent changes of constitution, disintegration of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, fall of communism and establishment of a multiparty system, privatization and market economy. All these changes were accompanied by certain laws which regulated the development of settlements in Serbia. All those former planning and construction laws had to cope with the extremely dynamic reality of Serbia of that moment.

Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia is a document of spatial planning valid for the entire territory of the country including Kosovo. Other planning documents (regional spatial plan, spatial plan of special purpose areas, plans by local government and urban development plans) must be consistent with the spatial plan of Republic of Serbia. The first Spatial Plan was made in 1996 for the period until 2010⁴. It was created in 1968 following the decisions of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, so that the production of this first Spatial Plan of the Republic lasted for almost 30 years. Bi Planning and Construction Law from 2003 Spatial Plan of the Republic was cancelled as a type of planning document, and Strategy of Spatial Development of Serbia was introduced instead. Bi Planning and Construction Law of August 2009 spatial planning as a type of planning document was reintroduced.

5. Transition and planning system

Transition from centralized to a market economy has never been an easy process neither for a government nor for citizens. While other former communist and socialist countries began the process in 1989, Serbia initiated reforms in 2001⁵. Economic, social and institutional conditions as they were in the nineties of the last century, undoubtedly present a more difficult starting point for the process of stabilization and reform than those of other CEE countries in the beginning of their transition⁶ (Zivanovic and Trkulja, 2006, p. 206). Unlike CEE countries, Serbia lost its international market after international economic sanctions⁷.

Planning system in other CEE countries was in process of transformation after the Second World War and after the communist period. After stagnation in the 1980s and collapse in the 1990s and due to isolation, Serbia did not follow European and regional integration processes (Djordjevic and Dabovic, 2009, p. 144). At the beginning of the 21st century there is a huge knowledge deficit in Serbia on contemporary development processes in Europe and worldwide, primarily in the field of spatial planning and development, as in the last two decades there has been a major change in theory, general methodology and practice of planning in the West. The position of Serbia in constellation of European countries, as well as the situation in its spatial development, pointed out the necessity of creating the Spatial Plan of Republic of Serbia.

6. New spatial plan of Serbia

The new plan, which replaced the Spatial Plan of Republic of Serbia from 1996, in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia from 2006 and as stated in Planning and Construction Law from 2009, has several key tasks that should be achieved by the year 2021. According to the draft Spatial Plan of Serbia, the key idea is to develop all areas equally in order to improve quality of life for all citizens.

Spatial Plan establishes a framework for future spatial development of the country aimed at two time horizons. The first, the horizon of real options is seen through institutional, organizational and financial possibilities by 2014, and the second, the horizon of the proposed options is seen through a scenario by which it is expected that Serbia will become an EU member before 2020.

The key feature of the Plan is regionalization and decentralization in Serbia. Regionalization of Serbia can be seen as a form of decentralization, of regions and areas as well as new statistical-planning territorial units

through which the state should direct more successful regional development. Serbian government has established borders of seven regions: Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, City of Belgrade, Eastern Serbia, Western Serbia, Central Serbia, Southern Serbia and Kosovo and Metohija. The plan is a long-term vision of development in Serbia, which has five objectives (Serbian Government, 2010, pp. 25-29):

- 1) greater territorial cohesion in Serbia, and elimination of regional imbalances between developed and underdeveloped parts of Serbia.
- 2) Strengthening competitiveness of regional economic entities.
- 3) Protection, promotion and regulation of environment.
- 4) Protecting cultural heritage which is important for the identity of Serbia and its regional units (Zivanovic and Djordjevic, 2005, p. 54).
- 5) Spatial-functional integration of Serbia with the environment, which implies functional connections between Serbia and the countries that surround it.

Special importance will be given to functional connections to cities of Kosovska Mitrovica and Pristina, regardless of the status of Kosovo. Also, special importance for spatial development will be given to integration of Serbia and its regions and municipalities in the environment. It will be achieved in three levels: cross-border, interregional and between countries. By 2013 cross-border and transnational cooperation will primarily take place within the EU program of space cooperation (INTERREG IV) and CBC programs of cooperation. Serbia economically lags behind most countries in the region⁸ due to high unemployed rate (16,1%), low GDP per person (total annual GDP in 2009, obtained as the sum of four quarters, decreased by 3.0%, when compared with 2008.) and high rate of poverty (7.9%), non-existent competition in the market and uneven regional development as measured by European standards (Republic of Serbia, 2010, pp. 96-114).

7. Conclusions

In recent years the European Union has doubled the number of its inhabitants. Regardless of the fact that the integration process focuses on CEE where former socialist countries brought the problem of poor economic development, there are positive economic performances after the integration of all members of the Union where the budget of the Union by 2013 played an important role in reducing differences between developed countries and the newcomers. Serbia on its path towards EU membership harmonizes its laws with the EU legislation, intensifies cooperation with the tribunal in The Hague, intensifies economic relations with EU member states, even with those that have recognized Kosovo's independence, as well

as with the U.S., while at the same time improves political and economic ties with Russia and China.

The base for further development of the Republic will be the Spatial Plan that needs to be implemented instead of improvisation which is characteristic of Serbian development so far. Regarding Spatial Plan draft, it has three dimensions: technical-scientific, because 150 professional worked on it, administrative-political, as it passed through the filter of all ministries, and democratic, because there was public insight and presentation of the document before being adopted.

Notes

1. The International Tribunal for the prosecution of persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991 is a body of the United Nations established by Resolution 827 of the United Nations Security Council, which was passed on May 25th 1993, as an ad hoc court which is located in The Hague, the Netherlands.

2. The 2008 Kosovo declaration of independence was an act of the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government Assembly of Kosovo, adopted on February 17th 2008 which declared Kosovo to be independent from Serbia. It was the second declaration of independence by Kosovo's Albanian-majority political institutions, the first having been proclaimed on September 7th 1990.

3. On February 18th 2008 the EU presidency announced that member countries were free to decide individually whether to recognize Kosovo's independence. The majority of EU member states have recognized Kosovo, but Cyprus, Greece, Romania, Slovakia and Spain have not. Those countries that have not recognized Kosovo's independence have the same problem with national minorities with separatist intentions.

4. Access to current spatial planning is reflected in numerous limitations and drawbacks, caused by ideological, institutional, methodological, economic and non-economic causes, such as certain closeness in planning for innovative, reformable changes in socio-economic environment, absence of democratically expressed legitimate rights and interests of different actors involved in planning and use of space, centralized decision-making of decisions regarding planning, particularly in domain of large investments in industry, energy, mining and infrastructure and declarative character of planning with no adequate mechanisms for implementation.

5. In the first post-Milosevic parliamentary elections in Serbia, held on December 20th 2000, the Democratic Opposition of Serbia coalition won 64.7% of the popular votes. Zoran Djindjic was designated as a Prime Minister and given the task of forming Serbia's first freely elected post-communist and post-Milosevic Government. P.M. Djindjic was assassinated on March 12th 2003.

6. In case of Serbia, transition process takes place under conditions of prolonged and profound social, economic, political, cultural and national crisis, with the additional handicap that general social consensus on strategic directions for future development was still not established. In Serbia in recent years a great number of international institutions have been present, which help the delayed and specific transition. Ef-

forts have been made, and financial sources included in implementing methodology in Serbia, which were primarily used in other Eastern European countries. Some of institutions that transfer experiences, often as innovative, are: The European Agency for Reconstruction, various agencies of the United Nations (UNDP, UN-HABITAT, UNOPS, etc.), Swiss Development Agency, USAID, all in cooperation with institutions in Serbia.

7. Yugoslav sanctions were imposed by the international community from 1992 to 2006. While being under international sanctions, in Yugoslavia, a major economic crisis happened that brought about hyperinflation recording the issuance of banknotes with denominations of 500 billion dinars, the highest ever in the world. In 1997 international sanctions were re-imposed to Yugoslavia.

8. Serbia shares borders with the following countries: Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. Cooperation with neighboring countries should primarily enable development of underdeveloped parts of the border to Serbia because those are its least developed areas.

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The role of community policies in Galiza: high speed infrastructures

Martín Barreiro Cruz

1. Introduction

Historically, *itineraries structured the interrelationships* between the inhabited spaces (villages or towns), the semi-inhabited areas (fields for agriculture and grazing) and uninhabited ones (natural environment)¹. It can be observed how the centrality changed over time; this fact is retained as a key-concept for the observation of communication networks' evolution and project.

Up to recent times it can be said that communication network and human activities were symbiotically linked showing, contemporarily, a clear difference between inhabited and natural areas². (En este texto se intentara mostrar una nueva tendencia: la relacion existente entre el proyecto de infraestructuras de transporte y el urbanismo difuso basado en el transporte individual privado que podemos observar en la Comunidad Autonoma de Galicia).

The aim is to approximate the problem of diversity conservation regarding spatial planning issues while focusing on the relationship between mobility policies and human asset.

2. The historical evolution of infrastructures over the Galician territory

Using the classification of Dalda (2002), the structural changes seen in the territory of the actual Region of Galicia can be divided in five main stages:

- *Spontaneous connections*: this phase represents the first human colonization of the Galician Territory, finishing with the arrival of the Romans. The NW of the Iberian Peninsula presented a *castrexa* culture with hard cohesion, socially and territorially³. During this period, the places chosen for the villages (called *castros*) were those easily defendable and close to resources. Fig. 1 evidences how the density was higher for settlements – called *castors* – around the most productive areas (rivers and *rias*); every settlement is intrinsically related to the carrying capacity of

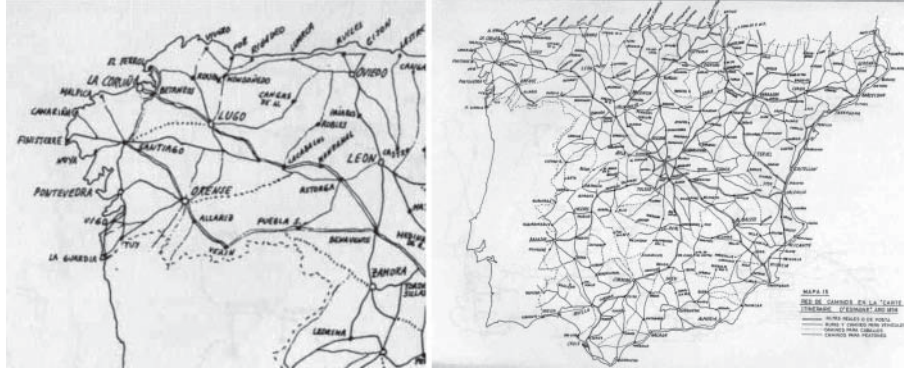
Fig. 1 – Distribution of the Castros in north-west peninsula
Source: Menéndez de Luarca and Osorio, 2000



its surrounding area. Roman arrival (64-70 A.C.) signals the end of this Age. Contemporary, population had risen to 451.000 people.

- *Technological development and first planned connections*: it was during the romanization when a big technological development occurred in Galicia. Remarkable improvements regarding the system of roads, constructed for the first time with engineering and planning holistic principles. The Provinces of Gallaecia, Astorga, Lugo and Braga began to constitute by themselves organization nodes. Those first infrastructures remained untouched for centuries and still now lay under roads and railways. Some examples are the N-550 and AP-9 roads (Pazos Oton, 2005).
- *Middle Age's diffuse towns and radial connections*: beginning with the fall of the Roman Empire, its roads are abandoned. A new and different radial network of roads and trails emerged in relation to the new system of villages, giving to the parish⁴ as administrative unit (Dalda, 2002). The territory was intensively occupied; this phenomenon of diffuse occupation can be identified as a period of *re-ruralization*; many tiny nuclei colonize the whole territory; is the so called *nucleated dispersion*. The *discovery* of the sepulchre of Santiago pushed the creation of a new network of roads, this time in a radial way⁵. At the end of this period a new structuring

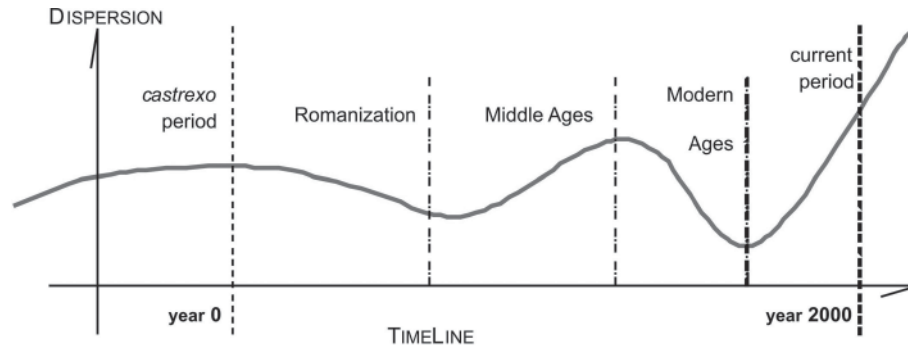
Fig. 2 – Main structuring roads of the Galicia and the Iberian Peninsula (1838)



roads called *Caminos Reales*⁶ will be constructed (XVIIIth century) (fig. 2). These new roads had a radial scheme, with Madrid at the centre for the first time.

- *Industrialization, urbanization and path consolidation*: the actual structure (framework) of Galicia is based on the system of urban nodes, called “urban frame”. The urban system became the main character in the territorial scene during XIXth and XXth centuries; processes such as a growing population or the industrial revolution influenced this new urban hierarchy; in addition, infrastructures were constructed to serve and enable this urban frame.
- *Diffuse urbanization and infrastructure capillarity*: diffuse urbanization is in Galicia a region-scale phenomenon, especially evident around the urban poles. It is mainly constituted by the addition of a vast sprawl layer linked to long-term pre-existent structures (such as paths, trails, old nuclei, etc). This well-known phenomenon has some original features for the specific case of Galicia: “Dispersion” is deeply linked to a mix of peasant identity and a fast process of technological diffusion. In absence of holistic transport policies or planning, individual mobility revolved around people’s localization criteria resulting in chaotic occupation of the territory. Ungers (1978) pointed out that, without car nor television, people would never had return to the suburban perimeter. For the case of Galicia, a big percentage of rural population never *reached* the city; familiar nuclei collapsed resulting on the construction of many houses in the surroundings of the original one. The presence of smallholding carried forward this process.

Fig. 3 – Population distribution



3. Parallel changes in the human asset

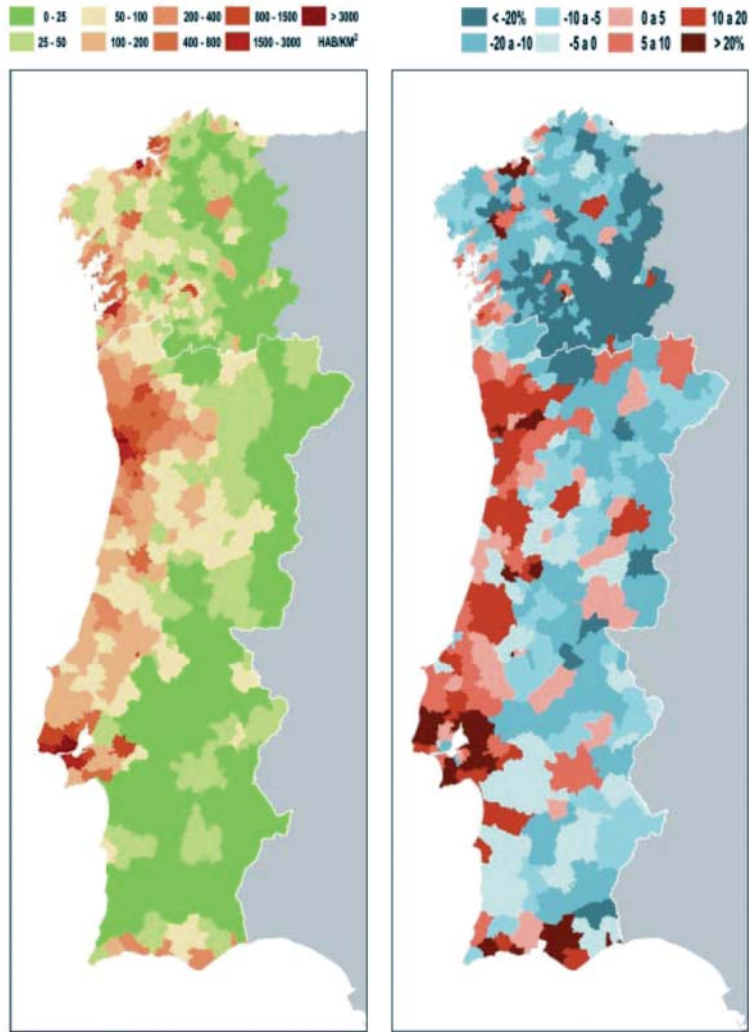
After different migration processes, Galicia shows a big imbalance in the population distribution (fig. 3) compared with historic figures previously commented (see fig. 1)⁷. Inside the Iberian Peninsula, a big axis can be easily individuated according to the population densities. Most populated areas are those which had worked as magnets for the areas which had lost more than the 20% of its population in the period 1986-1998. While small traditional villages are being literally abandoned (Lois González and Pazos Otón, 2006), medium ones retain some of the migrant population inside the same municipalities. These appreciations could be taken in consideration for a deeper study of the conformation of diffuse urbanization.

So, areas such as those of A Coruña, Vigo and Porto have become metropolitan areas, including other towns, villages and entire areas. The case of Vigo is especially visible, it was a town which multiplied its population 17 times in the first half of the XXth century (Pereira 1981); it was the result of the magnet effect of this industrial pole. This growth has been accompanied, during the last decades, by a diffuse urbanization layer and partial emptying of the inner city.

Regarding the dichotomy found in the fig. 4 and comparing that information with the historical evolution allows us to establish a classification:

- a) *Areas which lose population*: the changes in the historic structure are light or inexistent. The areas which fit this description are now-a-days abandoned or occupied by sparse old populations. The network system of villages is losing its function, as well as its meaning and is being abandoned (Fariña Tojo, 1980).

Fig. 4 – Population densities/migration percentage
 Source: Dalda, 2000



b) *Areas which have increased their population.* Show the overlapping of different structures under the diffuse one. The unseen urban *development*⁶ turned the different Plans obsolete too quickly, making difficult the relationship between the town and the surrounding area. Traffic has become insufferable.

4. Actual infrastructure plans and policies

This chapter develops in three points, the first makes reference to the European Union Spatial Policies⁹, the second point focuses on the Regional Government plans and policies and the last point tries to indicate correspondences between them.

The European objectives: cohesion vs. diversity. Economic figures locate Galicia inside periphery region's group¹⁰. Official diagnosis establishes the necessity of actuation: Inequalities, imbalances or differences concerning economic resources are automatically recognized as *weaknesses*. Community funds are mobilized in terms of *development projects*¹¹. In opposition, many authors defend that an endogenous economy based on agriculture, fisheries or forestry do not substantially increase the regional GDP¹² but creates other diffuse benefits which are not measurable, such as the protection of diversity, sustainability or resilience.

The concept of "cohesion" is important if trying to discuss some conflicting policies inside the EU. The triangle of ESDP for the Sustainable Spatial Development settles three main issues whose self-interacting improves: Society, Environment and Economy. «An enhanced sense of belonging to the Union implies more than bringing decision-making closer to the grassroots. It is interrelated with a reduction in the basic economic and social disparities discussed above. The existence of *under-used resources*, in disadvantaged regions or among excluded social groups, serves to fragment European society, apart from being a waste of economic potential»¹³. «[...] questions related to the liberalisation of transport are examined in the section concerning competition policy»¹⁴.

The *Vías rápidas*, are beginning to unfold, just three years after the opening of some of them, as a consequence of the short term planning and uncontrolled territorial imbalances and deformations. «*Commission proposes a gradual and progressive harmonisation of charging principles for commercial transport in all modes. The White Paper also promotes greater use of social cost/benefit analysis, [...] whereby the social, environmental and spatial consequences of investments are considered as an integral part of the investment decision.*»

Within a deterministic logic everything seems measurable but environmental destruction or inexhaustible resources depletion seems to have no economical compensation. Planning strategies should find diversification as the only strategy of competition. Some are aimed to improve local population's *welfare*. Meanwhile both, new highways and high-speed trains offer a questionable utility because they are reachable only for a small percentage of the population.

Diffuse urbanization not only makes difficult cohesion horizons but it increases the gap on service levels to those present in more compact

regions; actual mobility policies illustrate this problematic. Even the EU recognizes that TEN networks have a limited utility: «the continuation of the extension of the TEN-Transport is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for optimal territorial integration».

There is a clear conflict of interest. On the one hand the European objectives, which seek continuous GDP growth based as welfare index; on the other hand, areas which contain high diversity, landscape or cultural values; the territory can already be understood as a mosaic of *common pool resources*. The respect of the diversity can be an institutional development path as EU has already recognized. In this way the «Report on Community Policies and Spatial Planning» explores structural issues.

Among all the documents consulted, this is the closest to the revisionist critique; a more detailed study of this paper and related authors could be advantageous to go further on these issues.

In relation to the policy options of the ESDP, two paragraphs will be quoted:

- a potential difference may exist with the option «*reinforcement of the economy of small towns in rural areas where a solid urban development base is difficult to establish*» and «*support for the development of endogenous potential in these areas*», because improvements in transport can increase the competition on the part of the firms of the more developed regions. However, this conflict may be resolved by complementary efforts to encourage investments in rural areas;
- the policy options of the ESDP are generally neutral in relation to the CTP. Conflicts are however possible between investments in transport infrastructures on the one hand and «*conservation and development of the natural heritage*» and «*conservation of the cultural heritage*» on the other. Environmental impact assessment appears necessary in these areas¹⁵. The environmental impact inserts the variable “compensation” to the cost/benefit procedure. When the result remains positive, the investment remains viable; nevertheless, the theoretical debate between *ecological economics* and *environmental economics* could shed light on the question.

Objectives set by the EU to its member states aims to seek an enlargement on productivity measuring it with different indicators. Galician Regional Government has traditionally relied on the design of large infrastructure plans to reach wealth and employment objectives; especially since the first EU cohesion funds arrived; it can be said that these funds created a sort of dependence in the regional economy. Infrastructures are excellent magnets for community funds and State aid.

Tab. 1 shows the European Objectives established by the ERDF. If the Region has no tools to achieve those figures, a good opportunity can be investing in public works.

Tab. 1 – European objectives established by the ERDF

Source: Programa Operativo FSE de Galicia 2007-2013, p. 24

	SITUACIÓN ACTUAL 2005		OBJETIVOS DE GALICIA 2010 Y 2013		OBJETIVOS DE LISBOA Y PNR A 2010	
	Galicia 2005	España 2005	Objetivo Galicia 2010	Objetivo Galicia 2013	Objetivo Lisboa 2010	PNR de España 2010
EMPLEO						
Tasa de empleo total (%)	61,86	63,30	65	66	70	66
Tasa de empleo femenino (%)	52	51,20	55	57	60	57
Tasa de empleo de trabajadores del grupo 55-64 (%)	45	43,10	46,5	48	50	ND
I+D+i Y SOCIEDAD DEL CONOCIMIENTO						
Gasto total en I+D sobre el PIB (%)	0,89	1,13	1,5	2	3	2
Participación del gasto privado (%)	43,44 (1)	53,93 (1)	50	50	66,6	55
EDUCACIÓN						
Población con estudios de secundaria o superiores (%) (3)	64	62,5(2)	82	85	85	80
Tasa de abandono escolar (%)	22,7	30,8	13	12	10	15
Licenciados en matemáticas ciencias y tecnologías (%)	12	9,6	14	14	Incrementar un 15%	13,5
MEDIO AMBIENTE						
Reducción emisiones gases efecto invernadero (año base 1990=100)		139,4	Pendiente		92	124
Consumo de energías renovables			Pendiente		22%	

The Regional projects: presented are two of the main Plans aimed to develop Galician transport infrastructures currently in phase of implementation. On one hand the High Speed Railways (AVE), on the other the Motor-Ways Plan (Plan director de estradas 2008-2020).

Many municipalities see the new planned infrastructures as opportunities for the development, gazing at the European model regardless the current state of affairs. Galicia is now-a-days one of the most unsustainable regions of Europe according to oil consumption, Co2 emissions or soil consumption. The failure of the mainstream concept of *development* seems clear, meanwhile the Lisbon Treaty established as main objective the economic one: «Europe must be the first world competitor». Consistently every developing project seems suitable to reach this objective; this paper has delved more into the underlying difficulty to reach territorial cohesion without researching diverse ways of *development* which should take into consideration the diversity (priority issue in the new cohesion policy 2007-2013).

5. Conclusions

The main problem regarding the influence of the exposed panorama for Galician mobility and subsequent human asset is related to the recent history. The *state of affairs* demonstrate an extensive substitution of traditional landscape, the related culture and its richness based on the primary sector productivity. If any prospect for the future can be identified, this must take into consideration the adequacy or inadequacy of the new infrastructures to the territorial reality of Galicia.

Two concepts can be underlined: On the one hand the new urban reality, the diffuse urbanization and its mobility requirements are hardly solvable if based on automobile promotion. A second point, the restructuring of the existing railway network as it involves the contempt and abandonment of public transport in order to achieve immediate short-term solutions. Both points renounce holistic territorial projects.

Many tiny, disperse nuclei needs an alternative to private transport if the wide range of population wants to be served. This solution as it seems distant, should widen the whole range of possible paths. The historical inexistence of almost any criticism to diffuse urbanization allowed its consolidation and expansion until present day (with all the external costs that this model represents)¹⁶. The individual household is, without a doubt, the favoured housing typology for the Galician society.

High capacity roads, are supposed to be the way to solve mobility related to areas suffering of extremely diffuse urban patterns.

Those new projects, aimed to improve the short-term mobility between non-planned areas and the main urban centres, coexist with an absolute absence of public debate about the unsustainability associated with them.

Diffuse urbanization has been adopted as part of the Galician idiosyncrasy by the new generations; any Conservation or Improvement Railway Plan aimed to improve that diffuse urbanization layer is out of any range of the institutional choices.

Inside a globalized world it seems appropriate to place Galicia within the international scene trying to imagine new territorial management alternatives. To look for different governmental priorities apart from competition could help social integration or environmental conservation.

Participation requests are already present on social and environmental movement¹⁷, it could be useful to integrate and research on management priorities.

Notes

1. Cfr. Fariña Tojo, 2006, pp. 4-10.
2. Mumford, 1997, p.60.
3. Cfr. Delgado Borrajo and Grande Rodríguez, 2009: «ancient *Gallaecia* had been defined in most of the cases as a homogeneous region relative to population and society».
4. *Parroquia* or *freguesía* are the Galician terms for *parish*.
5. Pazos Otón, 2005.
6. Constructed by Carlos III in the XVIIIth century. See «*Ley de caminos de Carlos III*».
7. Cfr. Pazos Otón, 1999.
8. «...Truman defined roughly this pivotal concept (*development*) – since then never called into question – which encompasses the infinite diversity of ways of life present in the Southern Hemisphere in one single category: *underdevelopment*. Contemporary and for the first time set in the most important political arena a new concept of the world, according to which all peoples of the earth should follow the same line and aiming for a single purpose: *development*» (Sachs, Esteva, 1996).
9. ESDP, ERDF, Cohesion Reports, etc.
10. ESDP, p. 59.
11. Projects such as EGADER, PRODER, URBAN, etc. aimed to develop industry, urban mobility, increase job availability, tourism, transportation, etc.
12. Latouche (2005) analyzes concepts such as the suitability of GDP to measure the *real* development.
13. European Union, «First Cohesion Report», 1996.
14. Lisbon Treaty.
15. «Report on community policies and Spatial Planning» (working document of the Commission services) pag. 23. Full text available at: http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docoffic/official/reports/pdf/coordfon/report_en.pdf.
16. European Environmental Agency, *The Sprawl in Europe: the ignored challenge*, Copenhagen, 2006.
17. Social movements such as: Nunca máis (2001), Galiza non se vende (2007), A Ría Non se Vende (2007) etc derived from social movement and actions such as that actually happening in *Massò*.

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Comparative study of different nature of sprawl in EU and Tehran metropolitan region

Hossein Maroufi

1. Introduction

This work has been divided into two parts. The first part investigates the Sprawl from a European perspective and to sustain the arguments I have used in the reports from European Environmental Agency titled 'Urban Sprawl in Europe – the Ignored Challenges, and EU funded project of URBS PENDANS which deals with cross-European patterns of urban sprawl. The second part of the work, which is the main argument of this paper, investigates the phenomenon of sprawl in the metropolitan area of Tehran, Iran. Through some analysis we notice that the reasons and outcomes of sprawl look quite different in Tehran's case as compared to Europe. There are however some similarities as well. The paper concludes with some good points and lessons that can be extracted from both studies.

2. Urban sprawl, European perspective

2.1. *Gradual landscape changes in urban Europe*

The pattern of settlement in Europe has changed a lot since the second half of 20th century. According to World Urbanization Prospect (2009)¹, since 1950s, more than half of European populations were living in urban areas. This trend has increased to 70% in 2000 and is estimated to be 75% in 2020 and up to 80% in 2050. This rapid urbanization process has changed the traditional landscape of European cities. According to Balducci (2005) today «in Europe the spread of urbanization has caused different urban situation from high-density large city regions (London, Berlin) to low density diffused cities (Veneto regions) and the combination of two models which give rise to mega city regions».

Today, changes in consumption pattern have produced a new lifestyle which is labeled as urban. *«In this modified landscape, a powerful force is at work: cities are spreading, minimizing the time and distances between and in-and-out of the*

cities. This expansion is occurring in a scattered way throughout Europe's countryside: its name is urban sprawl. Furthermore, it is now rightly regarded as one of the major common challenges facing urban Europe today» (EEA, 2006).

2.2. Urban sprawl: definitions, matters and causes

Many studies have been done on defining the phenomenon of “Sprawl” according to different key words. «*Classically, urban sprawl is a US phenomenon associated with the rapid low-density outward expansion of US cities, stemming back to the early part of the 20th century. It was fuelled by the rapid growth of private car ownership and the preference for detached houses with gardens» (EEA, 2006).* Peiser, suggests that «*the term is used variously to mean the gluttonous use of land, uninterrupted monotonous development, leapfrog discontinuous development and inefficient use of lands» (Peiser, 2001, p. 278).* Chin (2002) has reviewed the literature on urban sprawl and identifies «*four types of definition based upon: urban form; land use; impacts and density» (cit. in Couch et al., 2005).*

However we face a different picture in Europe where historical cities and settlements used to form dense urban structures according to precise hierarchy. This picture, however, changed specially after Second World War by expansion of cities outward and at the same time by application of modern transport system. Today, «*urban sprawl is a common phenomenon throughout Europe. The sprawling nature of Europe's cities is critically important because of the major impacts that are evident in increased energy, land and soil consumption. These impacts threaten both the natural and rural environments, raising greenhouse gas emissions that cause climate change and elevated air and noise pollution levels which often exceed the agreed upon human safety limits. Thus, urban sprawl produces many adverse impacts that have direct effects on the quality of life for people living in cities» (EEA, 2006).*

There are several factors that we can mention as the reason for sprawling. These factors are mainly social, economical and demographical in origin:

- *increasing the urban population and urbanization process.* According to World Urbanization Prospect, in 2008 for the first time the urban population was equal to rural population of the world, and from then, the majority of world population became urban. In Europe this case happened in the 1950s and has increased rapidly up to now. Today, the old compact core of cities cannot accommodate all the population; therefore cities are expanding toward suburbs and agricultural lands to meet the population increase.
- *Having less urban tradition.* «*In general cities in northern and Western Europe have less of an urban tradition, and have been more strongly influenced by traditions in which the planning ideal has supported spacious, less compact, garden suburbs» (Hall, 2002).* «*This has resulted in much lower densities and more suburban devel-*

opment, particularly as individual housing preferences in north and west European cities have also favoured semi-detached and detached houses» (EEA, 2006).

- *New lifestyle in suburban environment.* Bookchin argues that urbanization is absorbing both the city and country in an anonymous and homogenized space, subverting their original identities and traditions (1992). What we notice today is the replacement of traditional affinities with the individualization and atomization of society. Furthermore, due to transnational migration of labor and capital, the major cities became the site of inequality and bipolarity. Accordingly people try to form communities with whom they share similar lifestyles and interests. Today we witness the increasing number of gated communities and districts at suburbs of many European cities. At the same time the city centers are becoming more and more congested which makes them less attractive place to live.
- *Improved transportation and personal mobility.* Improvement in transportation technology and private modes of movements have had an important effect in spatial distribution of populations and jobs. According to Wu (2006), households make choices between residential areas taking into account the price of housing and the price of commuting between the work place and home. When travel costs fall below a certain threshold and income reaches a certain level the rate of sprawl quickens, and unsurprisingly sprawl is more common in regions where incomes are high and commuting costs are low (cit. in EEA, 2006).
- *The real-estate market.* Since the cost of living in the city center is higher than the periphery, people are willing to move to suburbs where they can find affordable living place. *«The extremely low price of agricultural land compared to already urbanised land or former industrial sites, is also an important factor underlying urban sprawl. In many development projects, the cost of agricultural land acquisition is relatively low. Thus, it enables greater profits to be made compared to those from already urban land or former industrial waste land, even in cases where no remediation is needed (non-polluted sites)» (EEA, 2006).*

2.3. Consequences of urban sprawl according to EEA and URBS PANDENS²

Identifying and evaluating the consequences of urban sprawl has drawn the attention of many planners, environmentalist, and policy makers. However, major studies on sprawling European cities put focus on three main areas: Environment, society and economy. The table below indicates the consequences of urban sprawl according to EEA report and URBS PANDENS program (tab. 1).

Tab. 1 – Consequences of sprawl according to EEA and URBS PANDENS reports

	EEA	URBS PANDENS
Environmental	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rapid consumption of natural resources - Environmental pollution (CO2 emission) - Degraded ecosystem functions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ecosystem fragmentation - Pollution and energy consumption (land, water, soil, etc.)
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social polarisation (inner city vs. suburbia) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Weak sense of community - Changes in social values - Social conflict between urban and rural residents
Economical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased commuting cost - Additional cost of extension of urban infrastructures and amenities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Higher cost to public and individuals

2.4. In what way have EU policies affected the phenomenon of sprawl?

While some EU policies in origin had a positive perspective toward prosperity of Europe, they also had direct and indirect effects on sprawl. Here we can address cohesion policy and transport policy as the main indicators of urban sprawl. Through the realization of “internal market” Europe’s new prosperity and economic development through EU integration put pressure on cities by way of economic growth, jobs and competitiveness, while also delivering social and environmental goals (European Commission 2005 cit. in EEA, 2006) To this end substantial EU cohesion and Structural Funds budget transfers to Member States provide powerful drivers of macro-economic change to support EU integration while creating unwanted socio-economic effects that have promoted the development of sprawl (EEA, 2006).

Globalisation and EU integration had far-reaching impact on spatial structure of cities and regions by supporting investment in longer distance transport networks to facilitate improved accessibility and mobility between member states. The proposed Trans European Transport Networks (TEN-T) will fully address all possible impacts of the new infrastructure provision on urban sprawl and on the natural environment (EEA, 2006).

2.5. Some principles of good governance through which EU can support initiatives to counter urban sprawl (extracted from EEA 2006 report)

The EU white paper on European governance provides the following framework of principles underpinning good governance that assists in

defining a framework for intervention to counter sprawl at all levels:

Policy coherence: ensuring that policies are coherent and not sector-specific and that decision taken at regional and local levels are coherent with a broader set of principles, EU Cohesion Policy (2007-2013) offers an effective framework to build a coordinated and integrated approach to the sustainable development of urban and rural areas. The approach is essential to ameliorate the impacts of urban sprawl and specific actions include:

- coordination of land use policies, as well as Structural and Cohesion Funds investments between urban areas, rural areas, the regions and the national levels to manage urban sprawl;
- encouragement to Member States to explicitly delegate to cities funds addressing urban issues within Structural Funds operational programmes, with full responsibility throughout the process for the design and implementation of the delegated portion of the programs;
- investments to achieve compliance with EU laws on air quality, wastewater treatment, waste management, water supply and environmental noise. Active management of congestion, transport demand and public transport networks, with a view to improving air quality, reducing noise and encouraging physical activity all of which can assist in addressing the sprawl of cities;
- co-financing of activities under the Structural Funds based on plans that address the key challenges posed by sprawl and the improvement of the overall environmental quality of urban areas.

Responsiveness to local conditions and Cooperation in policy development. The EU Urban Thematic Strategy provides a context in which good practice experiences of cities in combating Urban Sprawl can be applied and developed such as; Brownfield development, partnership between different level (EU, national, regional and local) as well as public-private partnerships, and cooperation and coordination between urban-rural sector.

3. Tehran young and developing metropolis (tracking sprawl in metropolis of Tehran-Iran)

3.1. Introduction

The Iranian capital, Tehran, extends from the southern slopes of the Alborz Mountains into the Dasht-e Kavir desert in the south (fig. 1). Since becoming the capital of Iran 200 years ago, Tehran has grown to be one of the largest cities of the world with the population of more than 7 million within its administrative boundary and 12 million in the larger metropolitan region (Tehran Municipality).

Fig. 1 – The map of Tebran in 1970. The city has expanded in all direction
Source: Madanipour, 1998



Tehran city's phenomenal population growth rate peaked in the 1950s and 1960s, and has slowed down since then to reach an annual 1.4% in the early 1990s within its administrative boundaries. But the slowdown in the growth of population in the city has been paralleled by an explosion of growth in the suburbs. Between 1956 and 1966, two towns and 132 villages were absorbed into the growing metropolis. The suburbs continued to grow at a very high rate to reach a peak of 10.28% annual growth in the decade after the 1976 census (Madanipour, 1999).

Tehran municipality has an area of 700 square kilometres with the density of 146 people per hectare (p/ha) in built up areas. Compared to the built-up density of other cities of the world, this is a rather high-density (Bertaud, 2003). However, Tehran urban region has an area of about 17,000 square kilometers and this is the place which is the subject of study in this paper.

3.2. Reasons for sprawling the city of Tehran

Sprawl and historical growth and expansion of city. Historically we can track the expansion and development of Tehran in 3 periods: 1880s, 1930s, and 1960s. The first stage of city's expansion occurred in 1880s according to decision of the king to accommodate the new growth of population in the form of the city's expansion in all directions by enlarging the old city walls. The second cycle of city transformation occurred in 1930s under the sovereignty of strong central government and led by the government's desire for modernity and investment in large-scale infrastructure. The new proposed grid was imposed over the existing traditional grid in the form of orthogonal network of streets and avenues. this was done for 2 main reasons; First, to ease military movements throughout the city as well as to facilitate the movements of goods and capitals through new transportation system based on trams and later on private cars; second, to support the increasing strength of the central government by making a unified space.

The post-Second World War development of Tehran was very rapid and uncontrolled and it took the form of free expansion of the city into the surrounding land and the growth of suburban villages and satellite towns, which have been gradually integrating into the urban fabric by new waves of expansion and development (Madanipour, 1998). Until 1951, any land on the periphery of the city was considered property of the one who had developed it. Although the legislation in 1951 placed such land under government control but it did not have any significant direction toward controlling the city's expansion on its edges. The 1970s map of Tehran is a picture of city expanded around the 1930s grid in all direction and composed of different districts filled by different social groups (fig. 2). In expansion of Tehran, the interests of land owners were quite clearly privileged and it was they who, especially during the building boom of the post-war period, mostly benefited from the expansion of the city and retained this benefit.

Suburbanization and formation of informal settlements: as mentioned before, Tehran's suburban population rose at an annual peak of 10.28 percent between 1976 and 1986. This is mostly due to immigration from other parts of the country to Tehran province, migration within Tehran metropolitan region and migration from Tehran to other small settlements of the region. The population increase in Tehran Metropolitan region led to production of 2 categories of space: the formal suburban settlements and informal (spontaneous) settlements. The main reasons for the development of suburban settlements are the increasing number of immigrants as well as lower-income families who cannot afford to live in the city. This has resulted in the concentration of new urban development in the existing suburban villages and towns and also formation of new satellite towns around the

Fig. 2 – Density in different districts of Tehran in 1997
 Source: Atlas of Great Tehran

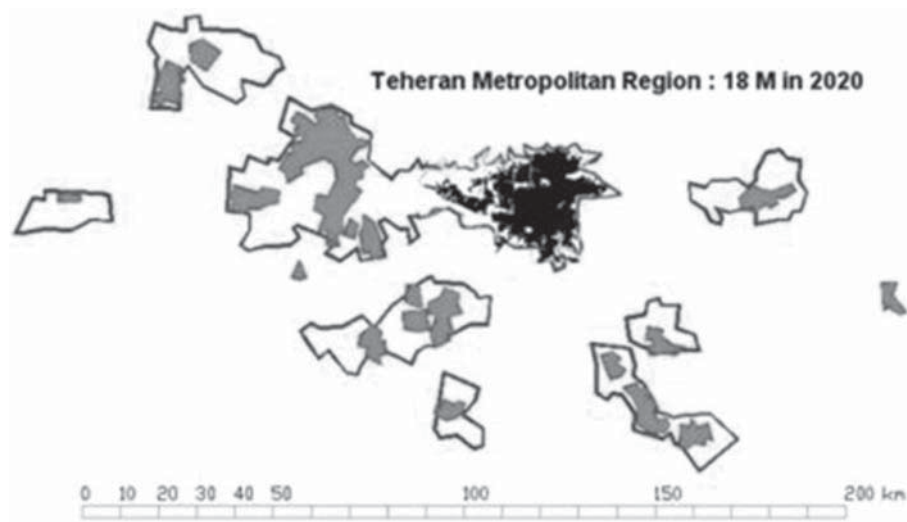


city. Developed by the private sector on a speculative basis, most of the post Second World War suburban developments focused on housing.

The informal settlements are mostly located around Tehran main transportation corridors. A survey by Urban Planning and Architectural Research (UPARC), from 1976 to 1996, found that about 40% of the five million population increase of Tehran Metropolitan Region has resided in informal settlements. Zebardast (2006) argues that the non-consideration of the housing needs of urban poor in housing sector policies, non-consideration of the financial capacities of the urban poor in urban development plans, high land use standards and criteria set in urban development plans, have played an important role in the formation and expansion of the informal settlements in Tehran metropolitan area.

Unequal spatial distribution of population. In general, the unequal spatial distribution of population and activity in Tehran as well as Tehran Metropolitan Region is a result of two interrelated reasons: core-periphery duality and north-south bipolarity (Madanipour, 1998). The former is represented by concentration of business and commercial activities in the centre while pushing other activities, mostly residential, out of the centre to peripheral areas. This fact has been facilitated by municipality land use regulations as well as private real estate developers which had an important role in developing suburban residential housing. Furthermore, as Bertaud's

Fig. 3 – Tehran metropolitan region. First Regional plan of the area for 2020
Source: Bertaud, 2003



(2003) study shows, land prices in Tehran do not follow the pattern of centre-periphery, unlike other large metropolises. He argues that Tehran is possibly the only large city in the world where land in the centre is cheaper than in the periphery. This is also the case in density profile of Tehran which does not meet the conventional centre-periphery dichotomy. The distribution of population in Tehran does not follow the usual pattern with a decreasing density as one gets farther from the city centre. Fig. 3 shows that most high densities are located in the Southern part of the city while lower densities are in the northern part, which, incidentally, has also the highest proportion of high-rise buildings (Bertaud, 2003). In order to understand this fact it is necessary to describe the north-south duality of urban and social structure in Tehran.

Urban society in contemporary Tehran is deeply polarized and divided between north and south. This bipolarity, which started in the second half of 19th century, found a clear spatial manifestation where the north of the city, near Mountain foothills with better climate condition, is the place for rich and upper middle classes and the south, near the desert, inhabited by poor, lower-income workers and immigrants. This north-south bipolarity has impacts on many aspects of social life of the metropolis in terms of access to services and amenities including health, education, recreation etc., households' income, floor space consumption and land price which privilege the north residents in all aspects.

3.3. Initiatives by the government to tackle urban sprawl in Tehran

Planning new suburban towns is regarded as the first response to the problem of population growth and housing shortage of Tehran in the 1950s. These towns – financed by state and developed by the private sector – function mainly to provide housing for different income groups which indeed deepened the spatial segregation. Some of these new towns are already merged into administrative boundary of Tehran. The second category of new towns developed in post-revolutionary period (1979) whose function defined as accommodating the spillover of population in order to reduce the pressure on mother cities and at the same time to provide social and economic opportunities for the new residents. Analysis of new towns in Iran by Ziari (2006) shows that these new towns did not create basic and para-economic activities; they not only did not reduce the burden of their parent cities, but, on the contrary, they have contributed to said burden.

3.4. Consequences of urban sprawl in Tehran

Because of urban sprawl, urban distances have increased, causing more usage of motor vehicles. Indeed and because of the increase of urban sprawl of Tehran, the distance between the place of work and the house of citizens' has increased. According to data from office of deputy of traffic and transportation of Tehran municipality, the mean distance of urban travels in Tehran in 1976 was 2.4 km, while in 2000 it reached 8.7 km (Transportation and Traffic Studies in Municipality of Tehran, 2003 cit. in Roshan *et al.*, 2010). This increase in commuting length causes the increase in consumption of fossil fuel which is the main source of emission of greenhouse gases in the city.

Traffic is another major problem in Tehran. In 1994, it was estimated that there were 11.5 million daily journeys in the city. About 40% of these journeys were by private vehicles and the rest by public transport including buses, minibuses, and collective taxis (Tehran municipality, 1996a, cit. by Madanipour, 1998). The subway of Tehran, operating since 1995 covers just a small portion of the city, however, Buses and collective taxis have been more successful than the subway, but still not enough to serve the entire metropolitan area. According to Bertaud (2003) the polycentric spatial structure of Tehran and dispersion of employment and commerce makes the mass transit network difficult to operate while, at the same time, the high-density area of the centre precludes having individual transport as the dominant form.

The growth of population and sprawl of city toward suburb has brought

substantial pressure on the natural green environment including natural parks and gardens. According to Madanipour (1988) the new residential developments by the private sector, and the sectorial nature of the public sector intervention have undermined green space by giving priority to development projects rather than environmental protection (p. 138).

4. Comparison and conclusion: different nature of sprawl in case of Tehran

Sprawl phenomenon in Tehran has a dual character. It helps the better-offs to find better living conditions away from the congested centre by moving to suburbs of the north which had better climate, better services, lower density and higher land price compared to the centre. At the same time, it also helps poor to find affordable housing in periphery and informal settlement of south and west with lower living standard and higher density and lower land price than the centre. This geographical segregation caused by sprawl is the main base of social polarization in Tehran and, unlike many American and European cases; it does not follow the dichotomy of centre-periphery.

The other factor is that urban sprawl in Europe occurs when the growth of area and particularly physical development is faster than increase in urban population. This fact looks irrelevant in the case of Tehran where population growth in metropolitan area, due to natural growth and immigration, has been in some periods faster than urban expansion.

The extreme primacy of Tehran in the national context will make more people immigrate to the capital in order to access to jobs, better living standards and education. This will increase the demand for housing and at the same time the housing market in Tehran does not meet the financial state of these people therefore most of them have to search for a place outside of Tehran's administrative boundary mostly as squatters. Studies on spontaneous settlement in Tehran metropolitan region by Zebardast (2006) shows that the government has had a weak role in housing provision of lower-income families and most of government policies in land provision and housing, excluded the low income families.

The other fact is that we cannot talk about Tehran without considering its big functional urban region. The Tehran metropolitan region covers an area of 17,000 square kilometers along 200 kilometers and in 2020; it is estimated to accommodate the population of 18 million people. The first regional plan of Tehran was approved in 2004 and is valid till 2020. The plan envisages creating nine high-density urban agglomerations³ separated by green zones to preserve agriculture and the rural character of settle-

ments. Some of larger cities will be equipped with infrastructure funded by the central government to serve as regional centres, which will increasingly perform the functions of capital cities (Betaud, 2003). The point is that Tehran's sprawl should be addressed from the regional perspective and the city region as whole contributes to its management.

Notes

1. [Http://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/index.htm](http://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/index.htm).
2. The EU-funded project URBS PANDENS is concerned with cross-European patterns of urban sprawl. It investigates in the history and stages of urban sprawl, its socio-economic and cultural determinants and its relation to environmental degradation. URBS PANDENS aims at the development of robust strategies for a transition towards a sustainable development of urban regions. The project team comprises eight European partners and is steered by Potsdam Institute for Climate Research (ref. <http://www.ufz.de/index.php?en=14356>).
3. The nine urban unities are either already existing towns or suburbs, or are going to be developed as new towns.

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Rehabilitation of urban heritage: Mediterranean experiences

Haysam Nour

1. Introduction

During the last few decades, strategies for rehabilitation of urban heritage have grabbed the attention of urban planners, economists and international institutions. However, the definition of the fields of intervention has passed through different phases of evolution in order to reach sustainable results. This paper discusses two of the first responses, that took place on both sides of the Mediterranean, to this international debate. The first is the URBAN Community Initiative program launched by the European Commission that took place in Palermo, Italy. The second is the project of rehabilitation of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar district in historic Cairo launched by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture. Each case will be analyzed separately according to the integrated approach then a concluding framework will list similarities and differences in the understanding of this approach in each case.

2. Rehabilitation of urban heritage: towards an integrated approach

The integrated approach deals with the complexity of urban rehabilitation, in a comprehensive cultural, social, technical, economic and institutional task that calls for equally wide ranging measures which need to be applied in a sensitive way and to respect the delicate nature of the physical and social fabrics of historic cities. It's quite different than the traditional one that had been adopted for decades which had favored the physical aspects only and considered it the main field of intervention (Nour, 2009).

On the operational level, effective and useful programs in the rehabilitation of urban heritage must not only rehabilitate the physical aspects, but also reintroduce the socio-economic practices that can make efficient use of the stock of buildings and infrastructure and maintain them properly (Rojas & Castro, 1999). Accordingly, to reverse the cycle of degradation in historic cities, a process of rebuilding communities able to protect their heritage is needed. This process requires diversity and inclusion so that a

consistent mix of socio-economic groups can be reestablished (Serageldin, 2000, p. 56). Finally, programs without adequate scope cannot produce a significant and sustainable change. Thus, it is necessary to define an intervention that is large enough to effect change and yet not so large that it cannot be viable (Fox, 2005, p. 30).

To sum up, an integrated approach for the rehabilitation of historic areas might consist of three parallel dimensions working simultaneously under the umbrella of environmentally friendly techniques and actions. These three dimensions are: physical, economic and social ones.

2.1. Physical dimension

This dimension adopts the classic approach of the rehabilitation of urban heritage. It deals with the physical aspects of the whole urban fabric within the historic area. For instance, it combines the restoration with an appropriate type of adaptive reuse which is relevant to the community and generates an income to ensure the long-term maintenance of restored buildings. Additionally, the physical interventions in the improvement of the non-listed housing stock, public spaces and infrastructure provide important leverage for motivating neighboring home owners or tenants to upgrade their own properties (Bianca, 2004, pp. 73-75).

2.2. Economic dimension

In the today's capitalist world, the economic impact of the rehabilitation of urban heritage might fall upon the core interest of developers. Being measurable through some clear indicators such as the increase in jobs offered and household income; number of tourists; property values; and finally, small business incubation might seem attractive (Rypkema, 2008). However, the economic dimension within the integrated approach focuses mainly on the support of local economy trying to strengthen it to resist the wave of globalization. Local economies in historic areas have faced dramatic losses due to many reasons such as the mechanization of systems of artisan production, mass tourism that look mainly for the cheapest items and don't care about the authenticity of the product and the high cost for the transport of the materials within the traditional fabric compared to more locations accessible to vehicular traffic (Serageldin, 2000, p. 53).

2.3. *Social dimension*

Investing in people is the backbone of this dimension since it works with the abilities and skills of the local communities to make them qualified for any kind of activities. Training opportunities, education and cultural events could lead to the encouragement of residents' participation which is an essential aspect of the rehabilitation process, and would result in increased community pride and commitment (Bianca, 2004, p. 80).

On the other hand, economically, the theory of human capital, developed in the 1960's, is based on the proposition that the capacities and skills of human beings comprises a form of capital that is almost as productive as the physical one in generating economic output. It followed that if people's brainpower were a capital asset, education could be considered an investment (Thorsby, 2006).

3. URBAN I in Palermo

In 1994 the European Commission launched the Community Initiative URBAN dedicated to urban regeneration and cohesion. The first version URBAN I tackled poverty, isolation and exclusion in extremely deteriorated neighborhoods through interventions seeking a better physical and social environment¹.

The URBAN program had three main objectives; however, the one for the city of Palermo fell into the first objective that focused on providing areas with the basic infrastructure they lack in terms of transport, telecommunications, training, education, health, water supply, energy and waste treatment and encouraging investment in business and economic activity. Additionally, the program came as a kickoff of a wider program of action, launched by the local authority, which had seen the improvement in the old town as an important element in the regeneration of the whole city.

The identification of clear quarters of the historic center of Palermo was originated in 1600 A.D., when a radical urban renewal was implemented with the realization of *Via Maqueda*, perpendicular to the oldest road of *Cassaro*. Thus, the Old Town was divided into four quarters: *Monte di Pietà*, *Palazzo Reale*, *Castellammare* and *Tribunali*. However, URBAN I took place within the last two quarters only (fig. 1) (Nour, 2008, pp. 29-30).

Fig. 1 – Palermo's historic center showing the area of URBAN I, Tribunali-Castellamare
Source: Nour, 2008, p. 30



3.1. Strategy adopted

In the official documents, the program had five main aspects with specific actions and projects within each of them (tab. 1). However, in this paper the program will be analyzed according to the dimensions of the integrated approach discussed in the previous section.

3.2. Physical dimension

This dimension used the biggest portion of the budget in the whole program which was 54%. On the one hand, this amount might give an idea about the level of decay in the area. On the other hand, it shows that the

Tab. 1 – Different aspects of the program and the budget dedicated for each according to the official documents
Source: Di Noto, 2008

Aspects	Budget (in € millions)	%
Aspect I: Support for Existing Small and Medium Local Enterprises and Encouraging the Emergence of New Businesses	2.900	14
Aspect II: Promotion of Employment and Training at Local Level	1.535	7
Aspect III: Strengthening and Adjustment of Social Services	6.187	22
Aspect IV: Improvement of Infrastructure and Environment	10.382	54
Aspect V: Promotion and dissemination of Results	0.419	3
Total	21.420	100

intervention for the improvement of infrastructure and public spaces was the vital starting point for an efficient urban policy within this area.

Improvement of infrastructure and environment. This aspect was directed to improve the living conditions and the attractiveness of the area. Furthermore, this aspect covered two main fields of physical intervention in urban development projects: the restoration of some historic buildings and the infrastructure which was achieved by improving the different kinds of services such as water services and lightning systems. It also assisted the implementation of supplementary actions, even in experimental form, to facilitate mobility and energy saving (Nour, 2008, pp. 33-34).

3.3. Economic dimension

Although the historic environment might offer high economic potential, the unemployment rate stood at about 35% of the population. Additionally, the migration from the historic center caused a substitution of the traditional economic activities like handicrafts to new modern activities (Nour, 2008, p. 31). Accordingly, the program dedicated 14% of the budget to support the local economy.

- *Support for existing small and medium local enterprises and encouraging the emergence of new businesses.* One aspect aimed to support the existent small and medium local businesses and encouraging the generation of new businesses that tend to recover the shortcomings of local productive

fabric that is certainly one of the factors of social disadvantage of the area (Vinci, 2003). The action to initiate and support economic activities was therefore directed not only to support the local economy in the area, but also the creation of new economic activities through technology transfer and the promotion of forms of public-private partnerships. Within this aspect many actions took place such as promoting carriages as a traditional and neat mean of transportation within the historic center, however mainly for touristic purposes. Additionally, the conservation and improvement of traditional handicrafts to be included in the economic and productive fabric of the city was sought by providing financial support, up to 80% of the investment, to small crafts workshops under development or already established (Nour, 2008, pp. 36-37).

- *Promotion of employment and training at a local level.* This aspect used 7% of the total budget. It had as its goal building the capacity of local residents through training and upgrading the labor supply specialized in different fields. For instance, there had been some advanced courses in the protection, conservation and construction recuperation of historic buildings that aimed to train professionals in the theory of restoration acquired through technical and operational procedures and supported by the town's cultural traditions. Another vocational training course sought to create experienced figures in the tourism sector. This is achieved through establishing strong links between the operators of tourism and the territory in which it operated through specific knowledge of art, culture and architecture of the historic center of Palermo (Nour, 2008, pp. 38-40).

3.4. Social dimension

This dimension grabbed the second biggest portion of the budget with almost 30%. It included two of the five main aspects of the project. The area was facing the typical middle class migration from the historic centre towards new neighborhoods. Consequently, the area was gentrified by new and marginal groups, especially immigrants from different regions (Nour, 2008, p. 31).

Strengthening and adjustment of social services. This aspect used 22% of the total budget of the project. It aimed not only to solve emergencies of a social nature, but also to adopt appropriate means of intervention adequate to the socio-territorial context. In implementing these actions, non-profit associations had played a key role. The use of innovative techniques of involvement of socially marginalized groups, in particular of children at risk, had consolidated human relationships and had facilitated the training and social integration. The public safety, prevention of crime and better

living conditions in the area, utilization and enhancement of parts of the old city, were all targets of this aspect. In particular, this aspect provided assistance to social exclusion such as the project “*Falastin*” which aimed to facilitate the integration of immigrants especially from Arab-Muslim countries living in Palermo whom are mostly residents of the historic center. It started a process of collaboration for the creation of a multiethnic and intercultural community, through cultural activities, of social cohesion and recreational facilities (Nour, 2008, pp. 41-43).

3.5. Reflections

URBAN I in Palermo might represent a pilot example of balanced integrated approach for the rehabilitation of urban heritage. The strategy adopted divided the budget almost evenly between the physical dimension on the one hand and the social and economic ones on the other. Additionally, the local authorities in Palermo directed the general goals of the European Commission to serve and solve the very specific problems within the historic center of the city. Moreover actions within each dimension had been designed in quite a realistic way. Planners understood that globalization is inevitable, so they tried to use the global trends, especially tourism, to serve the local goals. For instance, they used tourism to revitalize some economic activities and means of transportations instead of replacing them with modern ones. Such an approach should afford a kind of protection for the historic center from the outsiders’ economic invasion which helped the local “*Palermitan*” atmosphere to prevent the phenomena of “*Museification*” of the historic center.

On the other hand, most of the shortcomings within the program took place on either the operational level or the administrative one. For instance, the physical dimension focused on listed buildings, public spaces and infrastructure. It defined neither clear actions nor broad guidelines for the improvement of the non listed housing stock within the center. Another shortcoming is the absence of a strong process of monitoring and evaluation. Only 3% of the whole budget was dedicated to both marketing and monitoring of the results. Consequently, both fields achieved very weak results. Today, 10 years after the end of the project, it’s not easy to find accurate data about the accumulative impact of the project on the historic center.

Finally, the cooperation between local authorities, private operators and non-governmental organizations in the different actions was obvious. However, it could be considered a form of outsourcing or participation more than a real partnership. This is obvious in the different investments

by each sector in the program. For instance, the central government and the municipality had afforded most of the share of Italy while the overall private investments didn't exceed 5% of the same share².

4. Rehabilitation of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar district in Cairo

Al-Darb Al-Ahmar district is located at the south end of historic Cairo³; it includes 65 monuments registered by the Egyptian authorities as well as hundreds of unregistered buildings with special architectural and aesthetic characteristics (fig. 2). The astonishing fact about the rehabilitation of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar district is that neither the Egyptian authorities nor the Aga Khan Trust for Culture was planning to develop such a project of this kind in that area. The idea came up in 1984 with a donation from the Aga Khan to Cairo's citizens to construct a park in the city. However, the project was delayed for more than ten years. Then, the selection of the site of the park had inspired the HCSP⁴ in 1996 to develop an urban rehabilitation project in the adjacent part of the park in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar district (Bianca, 2001, pp. 7-10).

4.1. Strategy adopted

Up till now and after almost 15 years since the kick off of this project, the strategy adopted in this project may be considered one of the rare examples of adopting an integrated approach in the rehabilitation of historic districts not only in Egypt but in all the southern Mediterranean countries as well. The strategy adopted will be analyzed according to our three dimensions of the integrated approach.

4.2. Physical dimension

The physical dimension covers most of the main fields of intervention, however, in this section a light will be shed only on two of those fields:

- *reuse of historic buildings*. This part is the most common in all rehabilitation projects; however the reuse is always accompanied by bureaucratic problems that lead to abandon the buildings after restoration. Accordingly, the project intended to start with the reuse of a limited number of buildings. For instance, *Khayerbek Complex* which is a late Mamluk and early Ottoman complex and which includes a Palace, Mosque, Sabil⁵ and Kuttab⁶ and the surrounding open space, hosts offices for planning and vocational training units of the management company. Another example

Fig. 2 – *Al-Darb Al-Ahmar District within historic Cairo and intervention areas*
 Source: AKTC, 2005, p. 5



is the *Darb Shoghlan School*, which is an early 20th century building, is currently used as the headquarters of the Al-Darb Al-Ahmar Community Development Company (Sivaro, 2001, p. 42) (fig. 3).

- *Improvement of housing stock.* Housing stock in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar represented a paradox. On the one hand, about 30% of the historic fabric was subject to demolition decisions from the municipality. On the other hand, 16% of the area properties were vacant ruins and unimproved plots. Accordingly, a dual strategy was needed to facilitate the gradual rehabilitation of existing residential units on one hand, and to promote the redevelopment of ruined buildings as well as vacant plots. Additionally, pilot studies had shown that local residents do not only intend to stay in the area but they also have a willingness to pay, which facilitated the process (Sivaro, 2004, pp. 183-185).

4.3. Economic dimension

This dimension may represent the real difference between this project and all the previous projects that took place in Cairo. Again, it has different fields of intervention; however, only two of them will be discussed.

- *Tackling Unemployment.* In the baseline study, which was held by the project in 2003, the unemployment rate was 10% of the total population of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar (Annual report, 2006) accordingly, generating employment was the main reaction to solve this problem. It took place through two simultaneous mechanisms. On the one hand, a lack of coordination was taking place between both sides of labor market; accordingly, a counseling unit was set up to guide job seekers for available opportunities. On the other hand, increasing the employability of the residents and especially young people by offering training opportunities in the different workshops had led to long-term employment in many of the cases (Sivaro, 2004, p. 180).
- *Microcredit.* Microcredit is another mechanism to support economic development; however, it was not quite successful in the beginning because of the modest working capital and limited need for equipment especially for handcrafts and retail operations. However, after the increase in housing rehabilitation, there was an increased need for new business in some sectors such as construction and tourism (AKTC, 2005, p. 9) For instance, in 2003, only 376 loans have been disbursed for income generating activities. In 2006 it reached its peak with almost 2088 loans, however, in 2008, this number decreased to reach 1600 loans. Nevertheless, this decrease may be referred to the global economic recession that started in 2008 (Annual reports, 2003, 2006, 2008). On the gender level, in 2004, 25% of loans were dedicated for females, in 2006, this percentage grew to reach 40% and reached its peak in 2008 at 49.9 % (AKTC, 2005, p. 9; Annual reports, 2006, 2008).

4.4. Social dimension

Affording the basic social services falls within the core of the social dimension in this project. In turn two of aspects within this dimension are discussed:

- *health activities.* Services in the health sector were introduced through the Family Health Development Center established to facilitate the access for healthcare facilities through physical examination and limited clinical care. Additionally, this center runs two other programmes. The first deals with reproductive and sexual health while the other deals with handicapped and aged people (AKTC, 2005, p. 11);

- *education* in this project had a broad meaning. It had several programmes for early childhood development, vocational and administrative trainings and adult literacy (AKTC, 2005, pp. 11-12). However, one of the most important programmes is the building capacity of the local NGO's through institutional support so that they can be involved in diffusing awareness among the local residents (Sivaro, 2004, p. 181).

4.5. Reflections

As mentioned above, this project is a pioneer example for adopting an integrated approach for the rehabilitation of urban heritage in Egypt as well as in the Southern Mediterranean countries. It's not a project, however, it's an ongoing process that is flexible enough to develop and include more actions. The foundation of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar Community Development Company in 2004 that should work as a self-sustained private sector initiative working mainly, on mobilizing resources within the locally identified needs is evidence of this flexibility. This company should be responsible for setting its own strategies, fund raising and inviting new public and private stakeholders.

Generally, there are many points of strength within this project; however, I'll focus on one from each dimension. On the physical level, an important aspect was the deep focus on the housing stock in general and not only listed buildings. This is a major difference between this project and the one discussed previously in Palermo. On the economic level, the project has a broad vision concerning economic development. This vision, which is mainly based on the support of the local economy and traditional handicrafts, is radically different than the one adopted by the Egyptian central and local authorities which considers tourism the main goal of any development in historic Cairo. Finally, on the social level, a key issue in the project, besides the different social services, is the introduction of the concept of community participation in the rehabilitation process. This concept, although uncommon in similar projects in Egypt, helped in building trust between the Management Company and local residents.

On the other hand, there are some shortcomings on strategic and operational levels; however, I would like to focus on two main points. On the one hand, similar to the comment made about Palermo, comprehensive monitoring and evaluation procedures do not have enough consideration within the structure of the project. On the other hand, detailed data about expenditure is not easily achieved. This could be attributed to the variety of financial resources to support the different actions. However, data about anything related to finance in Egypt is always considered something of

high confidentiality even if it is not run by public authorities, probably it's a cultural barrier.

5. Concluding framework

Generally, both cases represent a deep understanding of the integrated approach for the rehabilitation of urban heritage. Most of the dimensions have been tackled equally without a clear domination of one dimension over the other. Furthermore, on the operational level, lots of similar actions took place in both projects such as the reuse of historic buildings, the support of local economies and the improvement of social services.

However, there is a fundamental difference between both projects. In Palermo, the state, at both regional and local levels, was the driving force of the project. The different responsibilities were set from the beginning and the management of the project was delivered to the relevant official structure. This institutional dimension affords a kind of stability for the project even if the role of these officials is only to coordinate between different stakeholders. Additionally, it works as a guide to prevent any kind of deviation. On the other hand, in Cairo, no clear role was dedicated to the state. Accordingly, we are facing a case of isolation in which the management unit was introduced as an independent body related with none of the official structures. This flexibility in the behavior of the Egyptian authorities, which is quite centralized and which has a very long history in adopting top-down approaches, is mainly thanks to the political relations with the Aga Khan. However, this absence of a clear role for the state may threaten the future of the project when the Aga Khan Trust for Culture decides to leave, especially because the Community Development Company established in 2004, till the moment, is mainly supported by the AKTC.

Notes

1. Detailed information about the URBAN Community Initiative, are available on the EC website: http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/urban2/urban/initiative/src/frame1.htm.

2. *Ibidem*.

3. Historic Cairo has been listed in the Unesco's World Heritage List since 1980.

4. Historic Cities Support Programme which is responsible for urban rehabilitation in the Aga Khan Trust for Culture.

5. Public water fountain.

6. Quran school for children.

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Contributors

Alessandro Balducci, is an urban planner, Vice Rector of the Politecnico di Milano, professor of planning and urban policies and coordinator of the Doctoral Program in Spatial Planning and Urban Development at the Politecnico di Milano. He is also the National Secretary of the Italian Society of Urbanists, president of the Association of the European Schools of Planning and founding member of the European Urban Research Association. As an academic planner he has been responsible for the strategic plan of the Province of Milan and has also been involved in advising for plans and urban projects in Italy, Dubai, Abu Dhabi, and Shanghai. He has been a visiting scholar at University of California–Berkeley, University of Reims, Helsinki University of Technology and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Balducci has authored numerous books, articles, and essays.

Martín Barreiro Cruz, he studied architecture at the *Escola Superior Gallega* (Extraordinary Award of Bachelor). A period at the «Università degli Studi di Cagliari» approached him to urban planning. Graduated with an architectural-urbanistic project in the historical center of the city of Vigo. Got in touch with Spatial Planning because of the numerous conflicts in Galicia. In 2008 he moved to the Politecnico di Milano to develop a PhD in «Governance e Progettazione del Territorio».

Roberto Camagni, Professor of Urban Economics at the Politecnico di Milano and Director of the Research Group on Regional and Urban Economics. He worked as Head of the Urban Affairs Department at the Presidency of Council of Ministers in Rome during the Prodi Government, 1997-98 and Vice President of the Urban Development Committee at OECD, Paris, 1998. He is an expert in urban and regional development, economic assessment of urban transformation processes and spatial diffusion of technology and innovation. In these fields, Camagni has carried out research for the European Union, the ESPON Project of the EU, the OECD, the French Ministère de l'Équipement, the Italian Ministry for Infrastructure and Public Works and numerous regional and local authorities in Italy and Europe. He is the author of about 150 international scientific publications and of a handbook of Urban Economics, translated into French and Spanish.

Francesco Curci, is a PhD candidate in *Spatial Planning and Urban Development* at Politecnico di Milano where in 2008 he earned a Master of Science degree in *Urban Planning and Policy Design*. In 2005 he obtained Bachelor's degree in *Architectural Sciences* at IUAV of Venice. His current field of research concerns illicitly built second homes around Mediterranean littorals.

Maddalena Falletti, graduated in Architecture at Politecnico di Milano, where she is currently attending a PhD Program in Territorial Government and Design. Her work of research matches an investigation into the capacity of urban and periurban open spaces to infrastructure the territory with a reflection on productive landscape and urban agriculture as options for their design.

Ángel L. Gonzáles Morales, Architect for the Technical Top School of Architecture of Seville in May, 2002, Master in «Architecture and Sustainable City» in 2009. Currently, he is enrolled with the doctoral program in «Architectural and Urban Design» at Politecnico di Milano. Angel Gonzalez's main interest and field of study is to seek evidence of the importance that some rural and natural areas possess for the recovery of the “local character” and the own identity of a certain place and for the regeneration and reactivation of the territory that surrounds them.

Ilija Gubic, is a PhD Candidate in the Department of Architecture and Planning at Politecnico di Milano, Italy and is an intern at United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific in Bangkok, Thailand. He was visiting scholar in the Department of Sociology at the Columbia University in the City of New York, Usa. He holds Master in Architecture degree from the University of Novi Sad, Serbia. He has won several prestigious scholarships including scholarship awarded by the Open Society Foundation.

Haysam Nour, is an Egyptian architect graduated from Cairo University in 2003. He worked as a teaching assistant in a private university in Cairo till he got the Master of Science from Cairo University in 2007. Then he traveled to Italy for another master in Economics and Administration of Cultural Heritage from the University of Catania. Currently, he is a PhD Candidate in «Spatial Planning and Urban Development» in the Polytechnic of Milan in Italy.

Maria Chiara Pastore, is a PhD candidate in Spatial Planning and Urban Development at the Politecnico di Milano. She is an architect and she studied at Politecnico di Milano and Bartlett School of Planning. She worked

for five years as Urban Designer in Milan (Boeri Studio). Her research is about the role of water in strategic spatial planning, particularly regarding the impacts of water management on the city's urban development in emerging cities. She is visiting research student at UCL Environment Institute

Luisa Pedrazzini, is architect and urban planner, Jean Monnet professor at Politecnico di Milano, teaching European Spatial Planning at Department of Architecture and Planning - Doctoral Programme in Spatial Planning and Urban Development ; She is involved in many European Union projects (INTERREG III, IVB, IIIC) and she is project manager of transnational projects in the field of town and country planning, involved in many international working groups and committee on spatial planning (Metrex, ARC, ESPON). She has a wide experience in territorial and spatial planning at regional and transnational levels. She has many italian and international scientific publications. At present she is manager at Regione Lombardia office Landscape planning.

Nausica Pezzoni, is a PhD candidate in Territorial Design and Government at Politecnico of Milano. She has worked as an urban planner in Public Administrations (Regione Lombardia and Provincia of Milano). She has worked and published several articles in the architecture, landscape art and social fields. Her current research focuses on territorial transformations in the contemporary world due to the new migratory flows towards Europe.

Laura Pierantoni, is a PhD candidate in Spatial Planning and Urban Development at the Politecnico di Milano . Her background is in Economics of Arts (2003, Cà Foscari University - Venice) and holds a MA in Arts Management (2006, City University of London). In 2007 she was awarded together with Margaret Tali the scholarship in Economics of Art by Giovanni Agnelli Foundation in Italy. Laura has worked and published several articles in the architecture, economics of art and cultural policy fields. Her main interest lies on the investigation of the relationship between culture and territories.

Renata Satiko Akiyama, is a Brazilian architect with experience in urban planning and design in cities of Brazil and Mozambique. She is specialized in sustainable urban planning and in Brazilian environmental law. Since 2002 she has been working with the elaboration of urban projects and master plans with emphasis on community participation. Currently Renata is enrolled in the PhD Program of Architectural and Urban Design at Polytechnic of Milan where she collaborates with the laboratory of urban design. Her research interests are related to cultural identity, slum upgrading programs and urban development in developing countries.

Jan van der Borg, is professor in Applied Economics, with specializations in Cultural Economics, Tourism Economics and Regional Economics, at the Faculty of Economics of the University of Venice and Senior Lecturer at the Department of Regional and Transport Economics of the University of Rotterdam. He currently is President of the Bachelor and Master course in Tourism of the University of Venice and is a member of the Scientific Committee of advanced School on Climate Change of the University of Venice. Furthermore, he is member of the Board of the European Institute for Comparative Urban Research (EURICUR) of the University of Rotterdam and has been a consultant for various public and private (international) institutions, among which are the Council of Europe, the European Commission and the UNESCO Venice Office.



The book «From territorial cohesion to the new regionalized Europe» is the result of a year of discussion and reflection promoted by Luisa Pedrazzini during the course «European Spatial Planning and Policies», held in the PhD program Spatial Planning and Urban Development at the Politecnico di Milano in 2009-2010 and offered to all of Athenaeum's PhD courses. This volume collects the contributions from key opinion leaders in European spatial policies and selected research papers from PhD students.

The common thread that connects all the contributions presented in the following pages regards the concept of Territorial Cohesion as a fundamental issue for promoting a harmonious development of the European territory, applied through the very different subjects threaded by the authors. Further, reflections refer to the new configuration that seems assuming Europe, where new macro regions, aggregated on the basis of their character and common problems overdriving administrative borders, are emerging. In this framework, the importance of regional and local govern role is rising to contribute with more effectiveness to an integrated Europe together with the influence of European Union's (EU) sectoral policies on European spatial configuration that has been growing for more than twenty years, so that in the European Treaty the term 'territorial cohesion', along with those related to economic and social issues, has become a concurrent matter between EU and Member States and represents.

Luisa Pedrazzini, is architect and urban planner, Jean Monnet professor at Politecnico di Milano, teaching European Spatial Planning at Department of Architecture and Planning - Doctoral Programme in Spatial Planning and Urban Development ; She is involved in many European Union projects (INTERREG III, IVB, IIIIC) and she is project manager of transnational projects in the field of town and country planning, involved in many international working groups and committee on spatial planning (Metrex, ARC, ESPON). She has a wide experience in territorial and spatial planning at regional and transnational levels. She has many Italian and international scientific publications. At present she is manager at Regione Lombardia office Landscape planning.

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