

EU Approaches to Urban and Territorial Development in Times of Slow Growth: Case Studies from South East Europe.

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Key words: territorial cohesion, urban policy frameworks

The Lisbon Agenda and its pounding reminder on making Europe the most competitive economy in 2010 landed in the port of the financial crisis. Most of Urban contexts in Europe are not hyperdynamic, especially from the viewpoint of economic growth. The gap of wealth between EU member states is widening, that is unofficially sanctioning the limits of EU social and territorial cohesion policies. The current programming period (2007-2013) proposes to mainstream into the Operational Programmes the investment for the cities. This choice poses some questions about effectiveness of cohesion policies in Europe; it can enlarge the development gap between most advanced and less developed member states. In fact, States having an advanced and organized territorial governance system (both vertical and horizontal) could benefit of the mainstreaming, as they have the policy framework capable to effectively canalize the EU funds into the suitable places with appropriate methodologies (strategic territorial agendas, local urban policies...). Other States, especially the recent post socialist ones, do have neither a relevant planning tradition in designing urban tools (old-fashioned planning systems run) nor a developed governance framework to manage the mainstreaming of the structural funds. Authors will present case studies from Romania and Italy proposing a comparative overview on instruments linked to use of EU funds in urban and metropolitan contexts: Practices are going to be analysed in convergence and competitiveness areas. Furthermore, a specific attention is going to be paid to new inputs of the 2014-2020 policies for territorial cohesion, where is considered the idea of proposing *place based policies*. Finally, the paper faces the questions of what to take into considerations in designing new instruments for EU funds in cities: how to adapt urban policies tools to the paradigm shift introduced (places matters) for counteracting the effects of economic and financial crisis.

EU Cities and Territorial Cohesion: Managing Transitional Phases with a Renewed “Box of Tools.”

Territorial Cohesion for many practitioners, researchers, city managers, politicians is still something insubstantial and slippery, but they have the need of packaging this concept. From the Urban pilot projects (1995), through the Urban I and II experiences (from 1994 to 2006), considering the ESDP (1999), until the Leipzig Charter (2007), taking into account the Green paper on Territorial Cohesion (2008) and concluding with the last Territorial Agenda of the European Union 2020 (2011), we can notice that the Europeanisation of regional and urban policy still remains in a spin! The question remains that the Europeanisation of territorial policies has not bred into a precise relationship between territories (cities, towns, metropolitan areas, regions (elected/functional) needs and EU promoted urban policies.¹

“With the emergence, in 2010, of the new European Strategy for the European Union – Europe 2020 – arises once again the issue of the urban factor. One cannot hide, when analysing the EU’s growth strategy for the coming decade, the fact that the urban dimension is quasi absent from the description of the three priorities and five objectives set by the proposal for cohesion policy from 2013 onwards. The Commission’s initiative runs therefore, and once more, the risk of being disconnected from a blunt economic and geographic reality: European cities are the most important sources of job creation, economic growth and social and technological innovation. Cities also concentrate major social issues and environmental challenges (M. Van Cutsem, 2010)” A *leitmotiv* of many documents related to EU policies for

socio-economic and territorial cohesion define cities as engines of development in the EU. In Europe, few cities continuously plan about their future and their strategic positioning with respect to changing markets and changing geo-political balances. Many cities, on the other hand, react only when the social and economic problems are so obvious and visible (e.g. urban riots, demonstrations, evident phenomenon of urban poverty). The latter, the majority of cases, are forced to respond in an emergency situation, with the effects of the crisis and the social and economic changes already underway.ⁱⁱ The dynamics of European cities nevertheless remain accelerated, but these constant transformations do not cause in many cases developmental pathways, and often changes in demographic financial, economic, environmental, migration parameters, put in evidence regressive phenomena. Open questions are: “fast forward towards what kind of city model?” The cities 'winners' in economic terms really have a quality of life syntonic to their macro-economic parameters?ⁱⁱⁱ How convenient to be successful in a context of continental crisis? In other words, what good is going fast forward though all around you are surrounded by slow or even subsistence economies? These considerations make evident that there is the need of renewing and integrating the “box of tools” needed to cope with the high speed urban transformation. Tools to be renewed under the different aspects of planning systems, policy schemes and new ideas for urban design. In other words, an adaptation of systems, tools and design concepts to the rapidity of current transformations, but a conceptual reworking that could get the sense of cities current transitional phases: tools and perspective/s! Many cities in EU member states and neighbouring countries (especially in Balkan and Mediterranean areas) have a significant urban development deficit in terms of integrated strategies, capacity and urban implementation tools. Tackling the problem of incoherent urban and regional development is a challenge of present days. So, furthermore, in Europe, we experience in different cities diverse transitional phases; it means that very flexible and adaptable tools should be proposed, and all new propositions should be thought taking into account the fact to let to local levels a broad possibility of experimentation, that is moderating both simplistic and centralistic -usually too top down structures- and extremely articulated governance schemes. Cities are not built to fit a form of production, instead they are progressively restructured to match an ever evolving one (M.Cremaschi). Often cities, given this high speed urban change seek to identify new development paths, new identities. This is a necessary exercise, but it can be delicate and not without its dangers. In fact, the search for new paths of development often does not take into account the effective local capabilities, not part of the consolidated know-how, ignores local knowledge and tries to follow global resonant trends: there are, finally, no unique recipes and best practices often have low grades of transferability.

There are some major and minor mismatches in this process of proposing Urban Policies for territorial cohesion. There are three main categories of still open questions, which are containing and raising many other related and inter-connected problems:

1. EU investments in territorial cooperation (where it is possible to experiment real integration), in the current programming period, are minor when compared with those directed to competitiveness and convergence objectives (2,5 % of total investment operated through structural funds)^{iv}
2. The EU remains not responsible for urban policies.^v
3. Even if clearly stated that sustainable town planning is rooted locally (it is always worth to remember the fundamental and effective RIO 92 slogan “think global act local”)^{vi} , central ministries or powerful regions tend to keep the control over what could happen/ is happening in cities (this last point raises basic questions about the enforcement of the subsidiarity principle in the EU)^{vii}.

The unstable and moody condition of EU promoted urban policies/initiatives creates continuous doubts about what territorial cohesion should mean in practical terms for cities. This generates confusion and pushes people to ask for a precise definition ...but to formalise the concept of territorial cohesion into a set of allowed or not allowed initiatives is not the way to let this concept evolve.

Comparing Cases: Looking for “Policy Review”/Perspectives from Practices

In this section we compare two approaches to the use of Structural Funds (particularly ERDF) in urban areas: the Romanian and the Italian cases. We compare two different ways to structure urban policies in EU member states generated by the strategic directives of the Community (EU) level: two different ways of shaping initiatives for territorial cohesion. The Romanian case illustrates a centralized approach that aims to leave little room for local action, the Italian who, in contrast, delegates to the regional level, the definition of actions for development and urban regeneration. Urban issues are usually practiced, in the Romanian case, within a command and control system, while the Italian one alternates to the ongoing regionally and municipal driven system national initiatives, especially in period of economic crises. With proper precautions, this comparison between Italian and Romanian urban policies may roughly illustrate two trends in Europe between founder member states (with complex governance systems in where cities have enough ample room to define their strategies) and new EU member states, in which the urban realities are suppressed not only by poor and outdated instrumental knowledge at local scale , but even by a strong management of national government levels.

The Romanian case

The accession of Romania to the European Union (2007) has introduced and reinforced in Romanian town planning discussions a specific language based on the following key concepts: *territorial cohesion, integration (integrated territorial approach), strategy, communication, information, participation, regeneration, renewal, landscape* and so on. This “new” language of/for Europeanization penetrated the static local planning systems triggering new opportunities for its updating, but, at the same time, created a number of misunderstandings that risk to drive it into *cul de sac*. In other words, the integrate territorial approach, promoted in many European documents, from ESDP (European Spatial Development Perspective, Potsdam 1999) to the newest Territorial Agenda of the EU (Leipzig, 2007), does not find in the Romanian planning context a “rich soil”. However, things are happening in Romania and urban transformations are visible. The problem is that these “mutations” do not respond to a well-established perspective: cities strategies are often unclear and propose occasional planning solutions. There is no real strategic thinking, visioning and planning (Pascariu, S. 2008).” There are a number of major problems in urban areas, among these it is worth remembering the high number of abandoned industrial areas (high degree of pollution in ground and water), the uncontrolled and unmanaged sanitary landfills, the diffuse distribution of slums mostly inhabited by Roma people all along the urban fringes, a great amount of rural villages without essential services and facilities, and, lastly, forgotten historical centre with high value buildings and so on. More explicitly, beyond evident territorial disasters, it is to notice:

1. A weak planning system with an urgent need of innovative planning instruments (lack of suitable planning tool for managing urban transformations).
2. Political Agendas (at central and local level) that don't consider as crucial the urban questions.
3. A rare diffusion of strategic visioning among politicians and professionals in municipalities
4. Local government reforms in the country (decentralisation, devolution of power, and privatisation) not well defined and often in deadlocks.

A scarce effort in introducing more local autonomy, citizen participation and rebalancing of public and private sector roles. The EU enters with its indications in this very compromised situation. The EU, as usual, has the need to spend money, and set its set of rules in order to start the “stream” of structural funds investments. As a first general consideration it is to notice how: The EU actor^{viii} pushed in order to spend money and launching the first contracts

in order to move things in the use of ERDF. The key concepts characterizing the EU investment in the cities can be so shortened:

- a) giving emphasis (and decision making powers) to the local dimension,
- b) not having redistributive purposes (but investing on growth poles),
- c) pursuing bottom up logics in its implementation,
- d) designing the Urban development plans an integrated territorial approach,
- e) to define urban action zones where to initiate urban regeneration processes.

This come upon demands and needs have found a very peculiar solution in Romania, and the negotiation between the EU actor and the Romanian Institutions led to a completely different situation. The major effort of Romanian political parties has been those of finding the perfect solution in order to make everyone (everyone mainly means: politicians, civil servants, several technicians, consultants and building constructors) happy with the EU money and, at the end of the day, they succeeded in imposing a pure redistributive solution. There has been a funny oscillation in the number of the growth poles, from a minimum of 7 until a maximum of 12^{ix}. No relevant sign of real bottom up involvement, participation^x of stakeholders and grassroots is practically non influential of the PIDU's decision making processes. These political choices partially explain the nature of the mismatch.

Urban areas have been divided in three types of urban growth poles:

1. Growth poles - 7 large urban centers and their hinterland, designated by Government Decision: Iasi, Constanța, Ploiești, Craiova, Timișoara, Cluj-Napoca and Brașov;
2. Urban development poles – 13 cities, designated by Government Decision: Suceava, Bacău, Brăila, Galați, Pitești, Râmnicu Vâlcea, Arad, Deva, Satu Mare, Baia Mare, Oradea, Sibiu and Târgu Mureș;
3. Urban centres - towns over 10.000 inhabitants, other than growth poles and urban development poles.

The major mistake has been in allocating money without asking to cities to present ideas about how to spend these EU public investments. No form of local competition has been launched among Romanian cities. It is truth that also other European Nations have often centrally driven the establishment of where to invest EU money, but at least has been operated a selection after receiving a number of local proposals (programmes, plans) by interested cities.

There is no sign of comprehensive plans or simply integrated plans among the 7 growth poles and the 13 development poles. Moreover, it is extremely curious as very important methodological questions have been interpreted! The need to intervene on a specific urban action area, as an example, connected to the need of concentrating the urban policies actions in a precise part of the city (based on the consolidated experiences of the ABIs – Area Based Initiatives) has been let as a prerogative just of minor centers (they normally are so small cities that this request becomes totally inefficient and without any logical sense). What are the advantages for the general interest and for the involved cities? The results of these methodological mistakes are that cities are presenting uncoordinated, non synergic, absolutely unintegrated, from different viewpoints, and dispersed projects. The main issue is that most of Integrated Plans (PIDU) just hold together lists of projects which do not define forms of integration. Is it possible to invest millions of Euros in cities without asking “something that we call an urban plan?”

It is not important to know, in order to play this game/to design this plan, if the objective are suitable for local contexts, and/or if they are shared by inhabitants or groups of interests, or if they are coherent with environmental or landscape requirements/plans. In the Sudoku Town Planning is just important to let collimate invented objectives, individual projects (normally having wrong and incomplete feasibility studies) and the amount of received redistributive share: territory, cities, but above all citizens and possibility of improving quality of life do not matter. Moreover, to find a sufficient number of projects with sound feasibility study has

proved to be a difficult task. This situation results of a paradox: a need of an urgent intervention on the urban areas, a good number of structure funds available for cities and the absence of capability in linking the opportunities and the needs.

The Italian case

In the last 20 years a set of pioneering planning tools has been introduced in Italy. They have changed the approach to face development issues and have defined a new role for local initiatives and partnerships. They have become the tools to manage the “transit” from a reductive idea of development - based on the assumption that huge industrial plants (that have been “top-down” introduced and whose territorial specific features have been considered almost neutral) and new infrastructures create development – to another where “territory matters”.

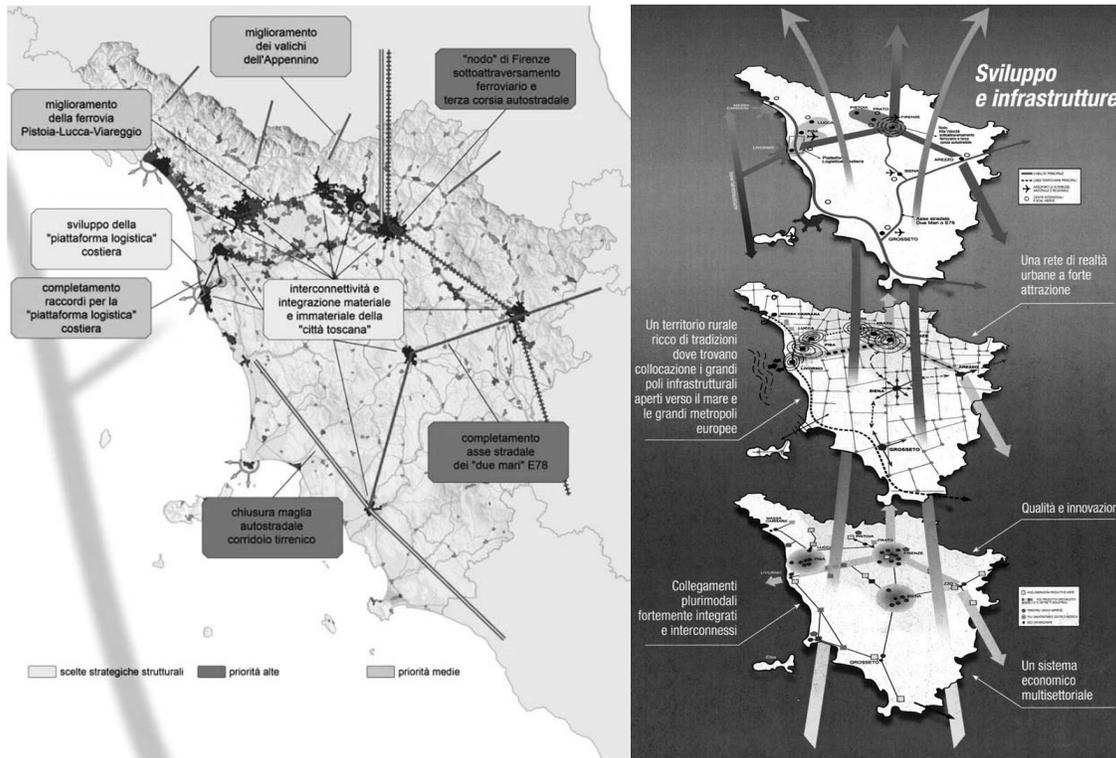
Moreover, they opened new perspectives and launched a period of reforms of the Italian planning system, that until that point, the beginning of 90's, was mainly based on a rational-comprehensive model of overlapped plans (from the detail until the territorial scale), a sort of Chinese boxes system where each level provided a set of normative rules for the respective scale of action/planning (very similar to the contemporary Romanian one). Currently this system is still the base of the Italian urban and territorial development, but it has been enriched by a number of new instruments and policies that permitted to facilitate the management of urban issues (e.g. the enablement of public private partnerships, or the so called actions for the *perequazione urbanistica*).

These tools worked at different levels. Some of these, like the *Patti Territoriali (1994-1997)*, *Progetti Integrati Territoriali (PIT-2000-2006)* and *Programmi di Riqualificazione Urbana Sviluppo Sostenibile (PRUSST-1998)* work out strategies at a subregional level. Other planning tools, such as *Programmi di Recupero Urbano (PRU- 1993)*, *Programmi di Riqualificazione Urbana (PRIU -1992)* and *Contratti di Quartiere (CdQ – 1996)*, have been applied to tackle urban and neighbourhood scale questions. At the same time, we have to take into consideration also other tools, designed and backed by the EU (e.g. Urban I and II), that have played a significant role in Italy and above all in the, so named at that time, Ob.1 regions, now convergence (we are speaking of the so called *Mezzogiorno*). The progressive process of decentralization of the Italian governance/administrative system identifies, for instance, several political and economic main causes.^{xi} During this period, the decentralization process in Italy has received a boost and has directed towards forms of federalism. This structural change has lead Italian cities to improve their local development strategies and consequently to set out new strategies for territorial competitiveness. In a way, all these new tools could be seen as a result of the attempt to work out the conflict between central and local powers, that is to say a redefinition of the governance roles. Italy has never had a centralistic tradition neither in history, nor in economy or in the industrial production, but it always showed to be strongly interested in managing and controlling everything from the main centres: Rome controlling politics, Milan controlling economy. The Italian national planning system, after generating innovative interesting tools, especially since the early 90 'until 2000, has no more produced over the last decade (2000 -2010) relevant urban policies comparable for quality, efficiency and effectiveness to those of the previous period.

"The radical change in the dynamics of urban growth has resulted in a more contained evolution of Italian cities from demographic point of view, although the processes of urbanization and soils consumption have not been arrested, while economic transformations produced many "urban voids" within the existing urban fabric and forms of physical degradation increasingly extended.

The housing market and real estate demands focused on countryside (triggering serious phenomena of urban sprawl). Planning mistakes and scarce implementations in past years, narrow-minded policies and administrative delays have undoubtedly helped to create in many ways an sub-standard cities, thus emerge in infrastructural deficiencies and not

adequate services, amenities and facilities (Formez, 2006).” What happens interesting, in recent years in Italy, is linked to the regional protagonism. The regions properly generate tools to manage the mainstreaming of urban policies financed through the ERDF. A very interesting example is that of PIUSS in Tuscany. PIUSS is an acronym for (Integrated Sustainable Urban Development Plans). The PIUSS have reached an important result: proposed projects for a request of contributions equal to two and a half times the available resources: an investment value accounting around 600 millions of Euros (C. Martini, 2009). ”



Strategic schemes of the PIUSS in Tuscany, Urbanistica dossier no.113, INU (2009).

The strategy of Tuscany was to focus on medium-sized cities and help them through the proposed urban instruments, to pursue the common goal of creating a system among them, and entrusting them to improve their capability to act synergistically in a network, that is establishing a virtuous circle between production of knowledge, tradition, local identities and innovative industrial production activities: combining welfare and ability in order to produce and compete in national and global markets. The PIUSS make it through an interesting mix of integrated planning and urban design, qualified by the participatory processes that have accompanied the entire process of construction of the PIUSS, and that always bring added value to the choices of a community: The city as a laboratory for development policies that will naturally amplify the impacts and effects.

Finally, an interesting moment of revival of Italian urban policies could be linked to the *piano città*, a plan that is part of the *Decreto Crescita e Sviluppo* issued by the Monti Government (June, 2012). The objective of the piano città is to achieve 100 thousand jobs within the next three years, through the redevelopment/renewal of depressed urban areas. The idea is to adopt a simplified procedure, giving priority to urban projects already underway or city plans that have the characteristics to be integrated in projects already in progress on social housing or schools renewal. The value of this policy is around 225 million euros: it is still early to judge this initiative addressed to cities, positive is the fact that the government has taken the opportunity to use the urban areas such as laboratories (social, economic,

environmental, cultural ...) to initiate some actions for growth and development ... or maybe this is an effective way towards the sustainable growth!? However, in times of crisis, cities are one important opportunity to consider.

Final Remarks

Giving centrality to urban and territorial policies could help to define a set of solutions that may alleviate the non-simple moment of economic crisis in Europe, but particularly at defining methodologies for urban transformations processes that are related to the ability of local contexts. Many cities in the Mediterranean and the Balkans are far from logics of strategic planning, but have developed the ability to maximize the opportunities related to policies defined in the context of non-local programming, such as European funds, which are dealt with regional or national , or national funds, which necessarily reflect centralist and dirigiste tendencies that activate top-down dynamic not always respectful of the interests of local communities. It often happens that cities tend to use and adapt suggestions generated in other contexts, or imposed/suggested by national or continental scale policies, but have neither knowledge, nor the facilities to support too complex strategies, or development pathways not proper to their rooted know-how.

As mentioned in the course of this paper, the cases of Italy and Romania, exemplify two ways to do urban policies in Europe in a period of strong financial, economic and socio-cultural crisis. Italy, a country with high risk of financial default, but founder member, among the top world economies with a significant urban tradition. Romania, a country that represents the new Europe, generated by the disintegration of the real socialism block, but it still has no major economic force in terms of absolute values and, especially, continues to carry around centralist temptations and inability, or lack of political will, to delegate decision-making powers to local levels.

Italy and Romania as paradigms in Europe of the old that struggles to renew itself and to find innovative content for territorial and urban policies and seeks to protect outdated and no longer competitive "state of things", instead of liberating the opportunities related to their human, urban and territorial potential.

In our opinion, the conclusions valid for these case studies are valuable for interpreting what is happening in other European territories. Urban transformations go fast, but not always forward, or forward is not meaning always the best option for a balanced and satisfactory level of regional/urban development. Many inertia still characterizes the current urban transitional phases in European urban contexts.

Concluding, the current programming period, in spite of the definition of a proper objective for territorial cooperation, does not exploit well what has been done at EU level, in terms of urban/territorial policies during the 90's until 2006. In general, key EU policy should be more oriented towards more comprehensive/holistic policy design and not selective orientated technical solutions (ICT smart stuff, geo-data harmonisation, energy efficiency,...) with the hope that these could generate employment, sustainable/resilient development. We need policies in the 2014-2020 programming period that give emphasis to values connected to places (from very urban places to regional development strategies): less technicalities and more community/participatory planning at various scales: more attention to territorial/social/intellectual capital of places. Some key issues, linked to urban issues encountered on field work, should be taken into account:

- defining instruments (especially in new member states) based on more articulated **governance mechanisms** (designing and disseminating models for vertical and

horizontal governance looking for high grades of effectiveness): **holistic models of sustainable/democratic urban development.**

- Providing solutions for a “europe in movement”, that is **im-em-in-migration questions** in relation to urban changes (sprawl, shrinking cities, abandoned public spaces in city centers...)
- **proper urban regeneration**, especially in times of economic/financial crisis is still a key issue for europe (social exclusion, housing, social polarisation, spatialegregation, urban micro-economies, **economic exploitation of public spaces...**).
- To look for new pacts between urban and rural development: more instruments and knowlege to plan for **rurban areas**. promoting rural development as catalyzer of a sustainable polycentric development.
- **Rethinking the ways (even in governance terms) of producing renewable energy at urban and rural scale**...current development/implementation mechanisms are not in favour of citizens, but of usual and well-known supplier/distributors: europe is missing the opportunity of linking opportunities connected to new technologies (that could work a local-small scales) with the creation of a real new way of living based on real independency from non-renewable sources and energy multinationals.

Endnote

ⁱ We all know that the EU is not responsible for urban policies, but we even know as it has been one of the major protagonist in proposing innovative tools for urban renewal/regeneration (especially in the second half of the 90's).

ⁱⁱ According to <http://247wallst.com/> data, most affected cities by economic recession in Europe are Athens (Change in employment (2010 – 2011): -3.5% Change in income (2010 – 2011): -4.8%), Lisbon (Change in employment (2010 – 2011): -2.4% Change in income (2010 – 2011): -2.8%), Dublin (Change in employment (2010 – 2011): -3% Change in income (2010 – 2011): -0.3%), Seville (Change in income (2010 – 2011): -0.3% Population: 1.86 million), Madrid (Change in employment (2010 – 2011): -1.4% Change in income (2010 – 2011): +0.1%).

ⁱⁱⁱ According to www.citymayors.com, these is the top ten of cities in Europe, that is those cities having god economic growth performances: 1) Munich, 2) Paris, 3) Stockholm, 4) Oslo, 5) Luxembourg, 6) Moscow, 7) Helsinki, 8) London, 9) Stuttgart, 10) Gothenburg. It is interesting to notice that, according to mercer.com city ranking, EU cities in the top ten of the “quality of living survey” (e.g. Vienna, Zurich, Amsterdam, Hamburg...) are not the best in terms of economic growth parameters.

^{iv} [...] *the greatest investment ever made by the EU through cohesion instruments will be worth € 308 billion (in 2004 prices) to support regional growth agendas and to stimulate job creation. 82% of the total amount will be concentrated on the “Convergence” objective, under which the poorest Member States and regions are eligible. In the remaining regions, about 16% of the Structural Funds will be concentrated to support innovation, sustainable development, better accessibility and training projects under the “Regional Competitiveness and Employment” objective. Another 2.5% finally are available for cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation under the “European Territorial Cooperation” objective[...].* Inforegio - http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docoffic/official/regulation/newregl0713_en.htm

^v *The precise status of urban policy in the EU [...]has always reflected the balance of forces inside and outside the Commission between those who want to promote the urban agenda and those concerned to limit its significance. The essential story of urban policy in the EU is one of a gradual increased recognition of the importance of cities – but always under the umbrella of regional policy. There have been key moments when the issue was pushed up the agenda – for example with the creation of the URBAN Community initiative in 1994 or the Urban Forum in 1998. But periods of advance have often been followed by periods of retrenchment - if not retreat.* (Parkinson, M., 2005).

^{vi} The original phrase "Think global, act local" has been attributed to Scots town planner and social activist Patrick Geddes. Although the exact phrase does not appear in Geddes' 1915 book "Cities in Evolution," the idea (as applied to city planning) is clearly evident: " 'Local character' is thus no mere accidental old-world quaintness, as its mimics think and say. It is attained only in course of adequate grasp and treatment of the whole environment, and in active sympathy with the essential and characteristic life of the place concerned." (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Think_globally_act_locally#cite_note-2)

^{vii} The subsidiarity principle is one of the central principles in the EU context, laying down that political decisions in the EU must always be taken at the lowest possible administrative and political level, and as close to the citizens as possible.

^{viii} Specifically, the General Directorate for Regional Policies of the European Commission.

^{ix} HotNews.ro Joi, 31 ianuarie 2008, 17:06, Ultima ora Bucuresti: Bacau, Brasov, Braila, Galati, Cluj-Napoca, Constanta, Craiova, Iasi, Oradea, Ploiesti, Timisoara au primit statutul de "poli de crestere" economica, printr-un Memorandum adoptat in sedinta de Guvern.

<http://www.administratie.ro/articol.php?id=17374> 12 orase vor deveni "poli de crestere economica" Portalul National de administratie publica

^x In the PIDU's guidelines is possible to find just recommendations in order to inform the citizens and not to actively involve them in decision making through participated planning initiatives.

^{xi} it is worth remembering two important laws that have definitively moved the system through decentralization: L.142/90 (it has given new territorial authorities to municipalities, provinces and regions) and L. 127/90 or Legge Bassanini.

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