

AB URBAN CONDITA

EU urban regeneration programmes in Salerno and Utrecht



May MMI

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'Ex peregrinone patricius, deinde consul fiat, ciuis Romanus si sit ex plebe, praecisa consulatus speserit? utrum tandem non credimus fieri posse, ut uir fortis ac strenuus, pace belloque bonus, ex plebe sit, Numae, L. Tarquinio, Ser. Tullio similis, An, ne si sit quidem, ad gubernacula rei publicae accedere eum patiemur, potiusque decemuiris, taeterrimis mortalium, qui tum omnes ex patribus erant, quam optimis regum, nouis hominibus, similes consules sumus habituri?'

Titus Livius

Ab Urbe Condita, Book IV: The Rising Power of the Plebs, 4.3.1, 15-17

'Shall a man who was an alien become a patrician and afterwards consul, and a Roman citizen, if he belongs to the plebs, be cut off from all hope of the consulship? Do we believe that it is impossible for a plebeian to be brave and energetic and capable both in peace and war, or if there be such a man, are we not to allow him to touch the helm of the State; are we to have, by preference, consuls like the decemvirs, those vilest of mortals-who, nevertheless, were all patricians-rather than men who resemble the best of the kings, new men though they were?'

(Rev. Canon Roberts Translation)

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The cover was drawn by Ko van Velsen and shows the Duomo of Salerno (left) and the Dom of Utrecht

Preface

Livius wrote history from the beginning the city of Rome, *ab urbe condita*. That city has known constant building and rebuilding over many decades. The European Union has been created over the last few decades. European urban policy has only been a thing of the last two decennia.

I have tried to write a exploration of this urban policy. I took two cities in different situations, though comparable and derived the story of European Urban policy through them. I therefore present the reader with a paper, showing this story from the beginning of the Union's urban policy, *ab Urban condita*, and ending with recommendations, hopefully a master thesis worthy.

Dave Eggers ended his preface to what is the best debut novel of 2000 according to the New York Times, '*A heartbreaking story of staggering genius*', with a picture of a stapler. I will do no such thing, as it might be considered inappropriate. I will therefore just leave you with a quotation of George Eliot. She wrote a description of the successful researcher, which might give us all the hope of some breakthrough.

*'Each of the shining ones had to walk on earth among neighbours who perhaps though much more of his gait and his garments than of anything which was to give him a title to everlasting fame; each of them had his little personal history sprinkled with small temptation and sordid cares...'*¹

Amsterdam, May MMI,

Rick Lindeman

¹ G. Eliot (1870), Middlemarch, Chapter XV

Acknowledgements

One should always wonder about the scope of his gratefulness, expressed in a paper. One could extend e.g. his thanks to the inventor of the Apple Macintosh (Steve Jobs) he used or even some form of deity. But as the first would make this paragraph probably too long and the latter has been thanked enough by the average Brazilian striker, I think it would be better to refrain myself.

Therefore I would just like to thank the *egregio* signor Luca Bertolini for his remarkable ability to bring order in my chaotic mind during the writing of this thesis, from its humble beginnings in the Pierson library to the grand finale in the shadows of the Arechi castle. Furthermore I would like to mention my lovely girlfriend Celine and all other friends who supported me in the lonely job of writing a thesis.

The people and institutes who helped me collecting the necessary data deserve a mention as well, as do the interviewees. Ko van Velsen drew the cover and Emanuela Marotta helped with my Italian.

A special notion towards the construction workers who terrorized my house during the last few months: Thank you for waking me up that early so that I had to go to the University to study, much obliged...

RJ

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Chapter I

Introduction

*'Ηροδοτου 'αλικαρνησσεος ηιστοριης αποδεξις ηδε, ης μητε τα γενομενα εξ αντηρηπην τη χηρονηι ε
ξιτηλα γενηται, μητε εργα μεγαλα τε και τημαστα, τα μεν 'ελλησι τα δε βαρβαροισι αποδεχητηεντα,
ακλεα γενηται, τα τε αλλα και δι ην αιτην επολεμησαν αλληλοισι².*

(Herodotus, Histories, I)

The classic writers always first explained why they started to write something and defined the subject. Homer asked the muses to let him show the grudge of Achilles; Herodotus wanted the posterity to remember why the East and the West came into conflict. With this he started scientific publication. Let us now focus on this scientific study. In this chapter is explained that we are going to explore a contrast between the north and the south, although we are more interested in what they have in common.

This study concerns urban renewal programmes in the Netherlands and Italy. As we will see, there is a sharp contrast between the programmes, although they share many aspects as well. The author studied in both countries; therefore the subject is natural to him.

Europe has an urban policy. It did not come into existence as a result of vision, but as a result of political negotiation. Nowadays the European urban policy has outgrown its maternal phase; it has adopted some kind of vision. If this vision is present in the local projects is the question.

Urban policy is essential in all major European cities, which have urban problems. Until a decennium ago, every country defined its own methods to approach these problems. Now there is an additional European strategy, present in the Urban programme. This programme is an attempt at creating a European philosophy in urban renewal. Countries can incorporate this into their own methods or might be able to use the funds in their own way. The question how this mechanism works in reality is the central question in this research.

² These are the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, which he publishes, in the hope of thereby preserving from decay the remembrance of what men have done, and of preventing the great and wonderful actions of the Greeks and the Barbarians from losing their due meed of glory; and withal to put on record what were their grounds of feuds (Rawlinson Translation).

‘What is the European role in the urban renewal programmes in different countries (in casu the Netherlands and Italy), which receive money from the Urban-programme? How do these projects work and how do they fit in the national framework?’

To answer such a question one must consider projects within the Urban programme from many different angles. Furthermore those projects have their aspects on local, national and European levels. We will therefore ask sub questions to explore the theme deeper.

The questions asked on local level concern the actual programs. It is important to discover in which environment the projects operate and what they consist of. To see if a European strategy is useful, the effect of the programme should be investigated as well. Finally, the population of the project plays its role. These considerations result in the following questions:

- What is the status of neighbourhood **(A)**
- What are the characteristics of the program? **(B)**
- How is the program evaluated? **(C)**
- How does the public participate? **(D)**
- Will the next projects be created and facilitated in the same way? **(E)**

In every country, there are a few Urban programmes active. The member states set the legal environment in which the programmes operate. Further more the national government plays its role to coordinate the programs and communicate with Brussels. For our research this leads to the following questions:

- What is the relation between the projects and the normal planning process/culture in these countries? **(F)**
- Is there internal coordination among projects within a country? **(G)**
- Would these projects also have been realised without EU-support? **(H)**

Europe is controlled from the Belgian capital, Brussels. Here legions of civil servants judge and influence projects. Their actions are based on their translation of the political decisions made by the European Council. They try to define the vision and actions based on these decisions. To discover this ‘European Element’ we will have to look at their way of working and to question their actions.

- Is the division between the North and the South of Europe important? **(I)**
- How does Brussels judge and influence projects for the Urban programs? **(J)**
- Would a top-down approach lead to a more efficient allocation of the funds? **(K)**

- Is the EU-element relevant to the public? (L)
- What does the above mean for the future of European Urban Planning? (M)

These are the questions asked in this thesis. They do not answer themselves, regrettably. This is the task set for the researcher. To do this he has to set his task. Now we have set the questions, we will have to develop a method for answering them. This is done in Chapter II. In that chapter there is a reflection on the methodology used in this research. When this methodology is established, we can use it for our research, setting our parameters and processes.

Then we can start to build the basis for the research. This is done in the next two chapters. In Chapter III the development of European urban policy is described. From the first humble beginnings in the treaty of Rome, the city where all European integration started, the research moves on, ending in the current instruments of urban policy. This policy has found its place in a much larger framework of European policies.

After we have looked at the European level, we can start zooming in. The national frameworks are described in Chapter IV. Here we can see in what kind of environment the Urban programmes operate. Every country has created its own tradition on Urban planning and the Urban programmes emerged from both the EU and these traditions.

After Chapter IV we have defined the basis of the research and can start to investigate our cases. The Urban programmes in Utrecht (Chapter V) and Salerno (Chapter VI) will be dissected along the line of the research questions. These chapters show if the programmes are a success and how they operated in their own habitat, paving the path for the next step in the research: a confrontation.

Chapter VII confronts the programmes with each other. By discovering the similarities of the projects and exploring the differences we are able to distillate the European elements in the projects and are capable of judging if these elements had a positive or negative effect on the urban renewal programs in the end.

At the end of this study, as might be expected, we will revisit our conclusions and develop from those conclusions our recommendations in Chapter VIII. For the native readers this thesis includes a summary in their language, as we will see that language is often a hurdle in European cooperation. Let us now look at the methodology and move on to Chapter II

Chapter II

Methodology

*'Erant omnino itinera duo quibus itineribus domo exire possent'*³

Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*

Julius Caesar taught us that there are different ways of doing things. You can return home by crossing a mountain, but also find a way around it. In scientific research there are endless possibilities as well. Not all research methods fit the problem one is investigating though. In this chapter we will show how this study is designed and reflect why it is developed like it is.

Case study has been given its' basis by Yin (1984). Before he wrote his standard work on the design of this research method it was perceived as inferior to more statistical (survey) methods. These were developed in the natural sciences, because social sciences had not yet developed research methods of their own and there are still doubts by some about the scientific value of the method. Yin stated that a choice for case study research should be made based on (a) the research question posed, (b) the control an investigator has on behavioural events and (c) the degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events.

For a case study a question takes the form of a 'how' or 'why' question (Yin, 1984), whereas a survey uses 'who', 'what', 'how many' or 'how much'-questions. In this study, the focus will be on the working of EU projects, 'how' and 'why' they provide the results they do. A case study seems to be in order. This view is reinforced because the research *in casu* doesn't have a control over the events, which are contemporary

Survey	Case study
Large number of units	Small number of units
Labour extensive data generation	Labour intensive approach
Emphasis width rather than depth	Depth instead of width
Random sample survey	Selective sample survey
Quantative data	Qualitative data
Closed observation, on a distance	Open observation on location

A choice for a case study has a great many consequences for the research. Verschuren and Doorewaard (1995) defined the characteristics of the methods (Table 1). There are nuances, naturally but these shape the method and do have their influences on, for example, data collection.

Table 1 Survey methods compared with Case Study (Verschuren and Doorewaard, 1995)

De Lange (1995) writes that the main data collection methods for case study research are: the research of documents, conversations with key

figures (face-to-face, by telephone or by email), observation and the use of secondary sources of research. This does have consequences for the researcher, as Yin (1984) underlines: he has to ask the correct questions, and interpret the answers; he has to open himself for other perceptions, and has to have a feeling for the issues and evidence, which contradicts his own perceptions.

§ 2.1 Case selection

Van Bueren, Jansen en Verbart (1999) show that case study research has often multiple cases ($n > 1$). They underline the importance of selection of the cases. A successful study will have to enclose cases with an equal size and a comparable build-up. This is why two projects of the same size in cities of roughly the same size, Utrecht and Salerno, are chosen. The research on the cases should be designed in the same way, to guarantee comparable results.

To select cases one has to set criteria, which to select by. The projects should not be interfered by other problems, which are specific for that town, region or country. This would lead to diffused results. Additionally, there cannot be a European-wide strategy for local problems. The targeted area should also be located in the city. An isolated area is less a 'true' city area and difficult to compare with areas that are. Furthermore, Europe should have a large proportion in the financing of the project; otherwise the project just gets additional money and is not controlled by Europe.

Criteria
Not many specific 'local' problems
Not an isolated area
Large proportion funded by Urban
Comparable cities

Table 2 Case-selection criteria

A number of cases have been considered to research. The Italian cases were all in the south of Italy, because the cities in the South provide a stronger contrast with Northern Europe than those in the North, which is industrialized and modern, like The Netherlands. Furthermore most projects are in the south, as seen in *figure 1*



Figure 1 Distribution of Urban programmes (the dots) in Italy © planum.net

At this point it might be wise to look at the different Urban projects in the region. Bari for example has an Urban project coming into existence. In Bari, the Urban program is aimed at the historic centre of the city. The 'Urban-Borgo Antico' intervenes in a part of a city with a distinct character, not just by physical appearance, but also by

³ .

me', said Julius Ceasar as he was trying to get his troops back from a battle in Switzerland. It is a quote from his description of the war in Gaul (France)

community sense, lifestyle and the use of the environment (Tedesco, 1999).

The main benefit of the urban program seems to be the ability to see the problems as a whole. The unemployment-rate is the largest problem, but its dependence on other factors is the key to success in fighting it.

The program seems to be capable of stimulating development in other areas of the city. Programs like the Urban program will have to continue to assure a development. Its program is however limited to a very distinct area of the city, not only by physical appearance, but by lifestyle, community sense and the environment as well (Tedesco, 1999). Therefore the project cannot be regarded as representative for a typical Urban-project.

Cagliari on the island of Sardinia is another other Urban project in the *mezzogiorno*⁴. Cagliari has a lot of different problems and in the end a village, Pirri, in the periphery was selected for the Urban program. Its main problem is *abusivismo*, illegal building (Lazzarotti, 1999). Zoppi (1997) describes it in his research on the periphery of Cagliari as a 'logical reaction of the people to a lacking government'. The Urban projects in the Netherlands are urban areas though, and hardly comparable with a peripheral area like Pirri. Furthermore, *abusivismo* is virtually non-existent in the strictly planned meadows of the Netherlands.

The project in Cosenza was targeted at an area, where the main problem was its isolation with the rest of the city. The idea of the project was to make more natural 'economic' connections between the targeted area and the city centre. Although the individual projects are considered a relative success (Soda, 1999) the problem of isolation remained. Isolation is not one of the problems in the Dutch Urban areas, with areas like Rotterdam's Delfshaven and The Hague's Schilderswijk actually situated in the centre. Cosenza is one of the cities where Urban has reached maturity.

Reggio Calabria, the southernmost city of the Italian peninsula, is a whole different story. The Urban program is here used to fulfill the most basic demands and facilities like the paving of roads. A structure is built up to start combatting the problems. When this structure is in place the real work can start, as the *Comitato Interassessorili* defined it '*Quando le opere sono finite, Urban Inizia*'⁵ (Salomone, 1999). A comparable situation in the Dutch cities would be rather difficult to find.

⁴ Mezzogiorno, the popular name for the south of Italy. Special projects regarding this area start just under Rome

⁵ When the works are finished, Urban starts

Palermo, situated on the Isle of Sicily, has its own specific problems as well. Organised crime, the notorious Mafia, will remain an important factor in every urban regeneration plan for some time to come. The municipality struggles in finding an integrated approach of handling the problems. The fact that there are problems is one of the main factors which allow the Mafia to have a hold on society and to unleash the potential for redevelopment more than just a financial intervention will be needed (Marino, 1999).

Salerno resembles in many ways Dutch regeneration projects at the beginning of the 1990s. The project is active in an area, near the historic centre, which many native Salernitanians left. Old buildings are given new functions and there is an emphasis on education (De Notaris, 1999). All problems and solutions which are considered in the Low Countries as well.

In the meantime, there are four Urban projects in the Netherlands, in the four main cities. Amsterdam has elected the Bijlmermeer. It is a very specific area, which was developed in the 1960s with a revolutionary design. In the 1980s the failures of the design showed and in combination with an ethnic development difficulties aroused. The Urban programme is but a small part in the overall regeneration.



Figure 2 The Hague's Schilderswijk

In The Hague the Schilderswijk-area is a very central district, which has been a problem area for years, where unemployment, drugs and urban decay are thriving. The local administration tries to cooperate with other local institutions to revitalise the economy. Urban provides a mere 7% of the funds.

The Rotterdam and Utrecht projects have the most similarities with the Salerno projects, both being situated between the centre and new developments. In both cities the measures focus on education, employment and infrastructure. Utrecht has the largest share of Urban funds (25% of the total investment) and the size of the area is comparable with the quarter in Salerno.

In Table 3 the reader can see that Utrecht and Salerno are the most representative projects, while having a comparable size, for this

City	'Local problems'	Isolation	High Urban Proportion	Comparable City size
Bari	-	+	+	The Hague
Cosenza	+	-	+	Utrecht
Cagliari	-	-	+	The Hague
Palermo	--	+	+	Rotterdam
Reggio	--	+	+	Utrecht
Salerno	+	+	+	Utrecht
The Hague	+	+	-	Bari
Amsterdam	-	-	-	Palermo
Rotterdam	+	+	-	Palermo
Utrecht	+	+	+	Salerno

Table 3 The different considered cities compared, A '+' means the city is representative by this criteria, while a '-' means that it is not.

research. Therefore, in the end, they are selected for this study.

§ 2.2 Challenges

As well as the advantages, Yin (1984) points out the dangers of case studies. Researchers are tempted to apply their results on statistical generalisations, while their sample is minimal.

Although this means that case studies might not be the base to form new theories, they do play their part in scientific progress. In his classic *'Logik der Forschung'* (1968), Karl Popper indicates that science not advances by creating new theories, but by the falsification of the current theories. Therefore, although this study might not produce new paradigms in urban renewal, it could falsify some of the dogmas present in current urban renewal paradigms.

A second danger is discussed by 't Hart (1985). He underlines the power of the researcher in selecting the data for the research, which can result in an illusion of evidence, while contradictory evidence is ignored. The researcher is never completely objective.

A final danger is the contamination of cases (Rosenthal and 't Hart, 1994). One case study, which is near in time or location to another used in the same research, often has an influence on the later case, which clouds the results. Case study research provides a method to research in depth social questions. It comes with its advantages and disadvantages. Johan Cruijff (1997) stated *'ieder nadeel heeft zijn eigen voordeel'*⁶. Let us therefore now focus on the design of such a study, which, while being aware of the risks, can research the questions posed.

Not all the questions posed in this thesis are also applicable to the case study research. There are questions to establish a theoretical framework for the research, there are questions to supply answers for recommendations and there are questions to establish links between the cases. To ask the last to types of questions first the two cases presented have to be investigated in the same way, to establish a comparable image of the case, following the questions asked above and following the data mentioned below.

To make a cross-national comparative study fruitful and rigorous, Khakee *et al.* (1999) state that the analyses of the socio-economic processes and the of policy responses to them, must adhere to a theoretical framework, which, *sine qua non*,

⁶ 'Every disadvantage has its own advantage'

- i) identifies the specific ways in which national differences may introduce the phenomena being studied (and thereby making a cross-national comparison worthwhile)
- ii) allows analyses to get beyond simply noting the inevitable institutional and administrative variety across states, by characterising significant political processes in general terms, and relating them (as necessary) to specific national institutional expression.

In this research we have described these national differences in Chapter IV. To explore these further, as required by condition ii, we have differentiated the different questions by level of government and while investigating the two cases have laid an emphasis on the relation between this case and the normal *modi operandi* in the respective countries.

In case studies, in contrast with other research methods, interviews are used to increase the depth of the research. Yin (1984) distinguishes open-end-interviews, structural interviews and focussed interviews. In this research we will make use of a combination of those. Interviews were structured around the research questions, asked in this study, but with a focus on the subject the interviewed person was specialised in. He of course had the opportunity to speculate further, as urban renewal and European integration are developing material. One should never give too much influence to one interviewee though, because that would result in a coloured and biased research. It is therefore necessary to mix opinions with factual data.

At the beginning of a research one should consider the data, which are important. We will shortly list the important data for this research. In the research I, II, IV, VII, VIII, IX and XI were the most important. For practical reasons more written sources were used in Utrecht and more oral sources in Salerno

I The data on the quarter before the project. Size, Demographic build-up, Nationalities, Income
 These data are important to sketch an image of the area and show what aspects are to be improved. The Sources for these data are the municipalities and the statistical agency of the respective countries (CBS in the Netherlands, Istat in Italy). They concern local questions (A,B)



II The road in becoming an EU project
 This information has been acquired while researching the documents in the respective cities and the EU, and in conversations with key figures. It shows the structure and idea behind the allocation of the Urban money. This helps to answer local questions and provides an insight in the questions on European level. (I,J,K,L,M)

III Relations with other Urban programs

To get to this information, the lines of communication in the civil services of the cities have been studied. The data is be used to develop an insight in the cohesion of the projects. This could enlighten questions on a national level. (F,G)

IV The goals set by the Urban-program

This data is written down in the documents, which form the basis of the projects. The difference between the targets and the results is the basic way to measure the success of an individual project. These data are essential to answer questions (A,B,C) on the effectiveness on a local level.

V The authorities responsible for carrying out the program

To study the structure oif the project it is vital to know who is responsible. The municipalities and other local authorities are one part of the total picture, but the other levels do also play their part.

VI The Non- Urban instruments in aiding the program

Urban can't work alone. It can only be successful if it succeeds in being complementary to existing instruments. Also when measuring success it is important to know which role the program played, both financially and in the process. The measures on a national level (F,G,H) will have their impact on an European-Local program.

VII The involvement of the targeted people

'Don't ask what your country can do for you, but ask what you can do for your country', John F. Kennedy (1961) said. Without the people actually being involved and influencing the project they are merely subjects and the project will have far less impact. This information will have to be acquired both on the side of the municipality as on that of the public. This answers questions on both the local (D) level and the European level (L)

VIII The involvement of NGOs and other Actors

Regeneration is not just a public affair. Local business, and organisation play just as big a part. Have they been given a role in the project? And what is that role? These especially play a role on the local (A,B,C) level.

Questions

Local Level

What is the status of the neighbourhood? **(A)**

What are the characteristics of the Urban-program? **(B)**

How is the program evaluated? **(C)**

How does the public participate? **(D)**

Will the next projects be created and facilitated in the same way? **(E)**

National level

What is the relation between the projects and the normal planning process /culture in these countries? **(F)**

Is there internal coordination among projects within a country? **(G)**

Would these projects also have been realised without EU-support? **(H)**

European level

Is the division between the North and the South of Europe important? **(I)**

How does Brussels judge and influence projects for the Urban programs? **(J)**

Would a top-down approach lead to a more efficient allocation of the funds? **(K)**

Is the EU-element relevant to the public? **(L)**

What does the above mean for the future of European Urban Planning? **(M)**

IX The results vs. the goals.

The basic measurement of success. Have the goals of unemployment, housing, income etc. been reached, and what are unexpected side effects. This plays a role both on a local level (A,B,C), the measurement of the local targets, and the European level.

X The evaluation done in the city itself and in Brussels is an important factor for the future. Will the city monitor the project or is it just a one time affair. And what will Brussels do with the project when a new round of developing projects comes along?

XI The role of the EU during the project

Is the EU merely supplying money or do they have say in the spending after having approved the project. This answers questions on the European level (J,K)

XII The European question

The questions above are inductive questions: their answers are based on research. To answer the final question (M) a more deductive approach is needed, supported by the material collected to answer the other questions.

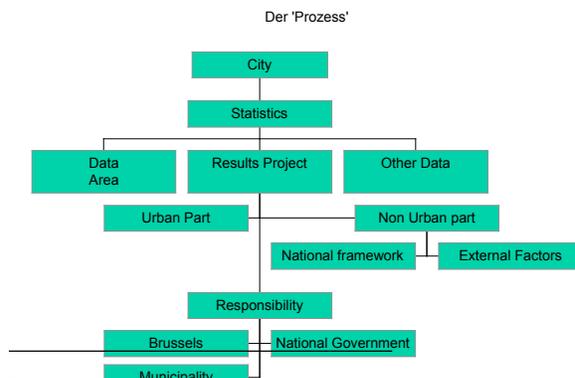
§ 2.3 Der Prozeß

‘Aber an K.s Gurgel legten sich die Hände des einen Herrn, während der andere das Messer ihm tief ins Herz stieß und zweimal dort drehte. Mit brechenden Augen sah noch K., wie die Herren, nahe vor seinem Gesicht, Wange an Wange aneinandergelehnt, die Entscheidung beobachteten. »Wie ein Hund!« sagte er, es war, als sollte die Scham ihn überleben.’⁷

Kafka, Der Prozeß, Zehntes Kapitel



Figure 3 Franz Kafka (Prague, 1883- 1924)



Franz Kafka wrote in his novel ‘The Trial’ (1924) about an unfair trial in which Jozef K. did not know what he was accused of or how his trial would work. In a scientific work such a process is unacceptable. Every step of the way has to be documented and taken account for.

⁷ But on K's throat there were the hands from a man, which wore the knife who he put into his hear and turned twofold. With unclear eyes K. could see how the gentlemen, near his face, cheek-to-cheek, watched the result. ‘Like a dog’, he would have said, when he would have survived.

It is not so easy though, while there is no straight line in obtaining data and processing them. Getting data about statistical elements of the involved area might be easy. Using them towards reaching a conclusion on for example the measurement of the results is a whole different matter. In figure 4 a possible scheme of the relations in the data is drawn. In the research we have used this schedule when evaluating the programmes (C), compared them with the normal process (F) and when we looked how Brussels acted (J)

Utrecht is the first case, which will be studied, in this way. The first thing to do is to acquire the statistical data. While doing this evaluation documents from the municipality will have to be read and processed. At this point the results will have to be discussed with the people responsible in the city for the project in the municipality.

Now we have selected two cases to study we will look at the framework in which they operate. First we will follow the development of a European planning system from the beginning (Chapter III). Then we will zoom in to the national frameworks in which the two cases operate and compare the law systems with each other in Chapter IV.

Chapter III

Urban Planning Policy in Europe

'And they said, let us build a city, a tower, so that we won't be spread over the world. Then the Lord came down and saw what the people created. And the Lord said 'See, what they created as one people'. And so he spread the people and confused their speech, so that they quit building their city. And from there on that is what Babel stands for'

(Genesis, 11:4-9)



The countries in the European Union⁸ are currently developing a new perspective on their long-term goal in cooperation. From federalism, as suggested by Joschka Fisher, German secretary of state, to new forms of confederalism, as supported by French president Jacques Chirac, all models will have to be considered. The Union might not be ready for the accession of new countries, especially when those states have different political and cultural traditions. Furthermore, the role of democracy within a enlarged union and the relation between large and smaller sized countries require consideration (Verheugen, 2000)

The American Philosopher Larry Siedentop, perhaps as an 'outsider' more able to reflect on these matters, tried to re-ignite this discussion in his *'Democracy in Europe'* (2000). The title refers to *'Democracy in America'* by Alexis de Tocqueville (1840) in which the French Aristocrat tried to show his fellow Europeans that the United States represented the hitherto impossible political model being both a large country and a democracy.

Siedentop (2000) shows that the centralist-model that the French imposed on the European Union is efficient but will not give the European citizens enough influence to create support for the Union. Although the French do seem to move into see the direction of decentralisation (Le Nouvel Observateur, 2000) on a national scale, in Europe they still advocate a centralist model.

The French could 'export' their model because the British model is so informal that it can only grow 'naturally'. The German federal model, perhaps better suited to a league of independent nations than the

⁸ As of January 1st, 1995, the members of the European Union were the six founding members (Italy, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Luxembourg, Belgium and the Netherlands), the Irish Republic, the United Kingdom, Denmark (since 1973), Greece (since 1981), Spain, Portugal (since 1986), Finland, Sweden and Austria (since 1995). Estonia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Cyprus (the 'Copenhagen-group') are likely to be the next to be accepted as new members.

centralistic French model, was not exported because the Germans were busy with their own problems after the Second World War.

Europe tried to prepare for the expansion in the Nice-summit of December 2000. National interest and a changed world made it harder. In the end a small step was made, just like the treaty of Amsterdam was a small step



ahead. The governments of the member countries agreed to adapt the number of votes each countries have, but important decisions will still have to be made unanimously. A system, dating from the days of the Coal and Steel community, is not suited for a dynamic and enlarged organisation.



Figure 5 The tower of Babel by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (XVIIth century)

Such a small step ahead seems to be the only way for the Union to evolve. After marathon-sessions common sense prevailed, like El Mundo (2000) wrote: *‘Pero, finalmente, prevaleció el sentido común y los Quince decidieron hacer un esfuerzo final para evitar un fiasco que provocaría un nuevo desplome del euro y obligaría a posponer sine die la ampliación al Este de Europa.’*⁹

In this changing European political arena, Urban Planning is still struggling to find a European scale for its ideas. Different perspectives and concepts, residing in the different countries, hinder it. Williams (1996) outlines the ‘Babylonian’ language problems in the world of European planning. A term like ‘town planning’ translates in French as ‘urbanisme’, but doesn’t have the exact same meaning. Even when all participants use English there are differences to be reckoned with, as English has many different versions, like Euro-English, American-English and British-English.

§ 3.1 History

The treaty of Rome of 1957 was the basis of European cooperation. It included the policy sectors, which were anticipated at that time to play a role in the creation of the common market. In spatial context,

⁹ However, in the end common sense prevailed and the fifteen countries decided to make a final statement to avoid a fiasco, a new fall of the Euro and the obligation to continue without the expansion toward the east of Europe.

important sectors were agriculture and transport. There was no urban or regional policy at the time, although other, social, policies, did have an impact.

When the United Kingdom joined the European Community in 1973, the first traces of regional policies could be discovered. In the Paris Summit of 1972 the UK participated for the first time in European negotiations. For Edward Heath, the British Prime Minister at the time, the creation of a regional fund was a high priority to ensure tangible benefits from EU membership, which he needed to ‘sell’ the accession in his home country, as Britain needed compensation for the European agricultural policy, which would not benefit the country. This ‘bartering’ is typical for the EU, where new policies are often created for a national interest as opposed to a common goal.

Date	Event
1957	Treaty of Rome
1973	Regional Funds, UK Accession, Oil Crisis
1977	Second Environmental Programme
1983	Gendebien Report
1984	Torremolinos Charter
1991	Treaty of Maastricht
1994	Start of Urban Programmes
1997	Treaty of Amsterdam
2000	Nice-summit

Table 4 Chronology Milestones EU Planning

The first environmental policy also dates from the year 1973. The nine heads of government declared that ‘*economic development is not an end in itself*’ and that ‘*attention should be given to environmental protection in order to improve the quality of life*’ (Wurtzel, 1993). In the beginning of the 1970s the impact of this declaration was minimal, due to the 1973 oil crisis. The second environmental programme of 1977 however, signalled the intention to focus on land-use planning, which it identified as *the* policy mechanism by which environmental objectives could be achieved (Macrory, 1983). The 1970s saw the first

measures to support the economy of ‘socially less favoured areas’ as well. The directives allow the member states to introduce a system of aid for specified areas to avert rural depopulation and conserve the countryside through the continuation of farming.

The European Regional Development Funds (ERDF) came into operation in 1975. In its early formulation, a system of national quotas applied for allocation of ERDF funds and the definition of eligible regions was in the hands of member states. Williams (1996) therefore concludes that in the 1970s EU regional policy was little more than the aggregate of national regional policies, with little claim to being an ‘European Policy’, although in 1978 first steps towards ‘Europeanisation’ of the ERDF could be found. A ‘non-quota’ part was created (5% of the total funds), where for the first time projects were judged by European rather than national standards.

To ensure that the ERDF was used in a properly thought-out *European* strategy for regional economic development rather than support an ad-hoc selection of individual projects, more energy was directed toward ‘programme funding’. Three different tactics were used. National Programmes of Community interest (NCPIs) tried to co-ordinate activities of local projects (RTPI, 1994). Integrated Development Operations (IDOs) were designed to use more than one specific EU fund. Finally, Community Programs or Community Initiatives have become one of the key elements in funding programs for specific areas in multi-annual funding programs.

Although a spatial policy framework was beginning to emerge, it was not until the Gendebien Report on European Regional Planning (EP, 1983) that a spatial planning policy was being discussed. The resolution adopted by the European Parliament on the basis of that report stated three objectives: to co-ordinate existing measures; to promote balanced development and to protect European heritage. It argued that a spatial planning policy already existed, albeit implicitly, in the treaty of Rome.

The Council of Europe (CoE) made the next step. Under their auspices the first meetings of the ministers for the environment of the member-states took place since the 1970s. This CEMAT, as the meetings were called, resulted under influence of the Dutch (Rijksplanologische Dienst) and later the Swedes in the Torremolinos Charter of 1984. Williams (1996) remarks that naming the charter after a bathing-resort is symbolic for the value of this Charter.

Nr	Objective
1	Economic adjustment of regions whose development is lagging behind
2	Economic conversion of declining industrial regions
3	Combating long-term un-employment
4	Facilitating adaptation of workers to ind. changes
5a	Adjustment of processing/marketing structures for agriculture and fisheries products
5b	Economic diversification of rural areas
6	Economic adjustment of regions with outstandingly low population density

In 1985 a new directorate-general, DG XXII was set up. This DG is responsible for the co-ordination of the structural funds within the EU. It became responsible for the European Regional Development Funds (ERDF), the European Structural Funds (ESF) and the guidance section of the EAGGF. The commission led by Jacques Delors (1989-1993) was the first to implement these funds, which follow in part the lines set out by the Gendebien report. In 1993 these funds formed a quarter of the total EU budget (Scott, 1993). The operation basis for the funds was set in a framework of five objectives, of

Table 5 Structural fund objectives. The objectives in bold are considered ‘spatial’

which three, objectives 1, 2 and 5(b) are spatial. In this same framework the commission reserved 5% of the total sum to develop ‘community initiatives’. These would result in a number of programs. The Urban

programme is one of them. First as an ‘innovative measure’ or ‘pilot project’. Later it became the programme as it is known as today.

When the Treaty of Maastricht came near signing in the beginning of the 1990s, urban planners focused their attention to Europe as well. The DG XI, which is responsible for Environmental Policy, produced the ‘Green Book’ (Commission, 1990). It had high-ambitions for the alignment of Urban and Environmental policy, but met opposition, even from the countries, which were in favour of the environmental aspects of it. Germany for example not only found the proposals beyond EU competence, but also beyond its own competence, as the *Länder* arranged environmental policy (Kunzman, 1990).



Figure 6 The House of the Province, where the Treaty of Maastricht was signed on February 7th, 1992 © maastricht.nl

In the wake of problems like this, the Treaty of Maastricht devised the principle of *subsidiarity*. The idea behind this principle is to solve problems at the appropriate levels of government. In practice this often means that not only do individual member-states interpret in their own way, it frustrates the decision-making process as well.

In this built-up for the Maastricht treaty the RPD, the Dutch Physical Planning Agency produced ‘Perspectives in Europe’ (RPD, 1991). It proposed to take supra-

Initiative	Billion Euro
Interreg	2,90
Leader	1.40
Regis	0.60
Employment	1.40
Adapt	1.40
Rechar	0.40
Resider	0.50
Konver	0.50
Retex	0.50
Textiles	0.40
SMEs	1.00
Urban	0.60
Pesca	0.25
Reserve	1.60
Total	13.45

Table 7 List of community initiatives in 1994 (Williams, 1996)

national measures.

The focus was on transport measures, being one of the main Dutch economic sectors.

It was timed to influence the negotiations at Maastricht and provided the Benelux as a model for future spatial cooperation.

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In the same period metaphors were created, following the successful Dutch Green Heart metaphor (the area with a relative low density in

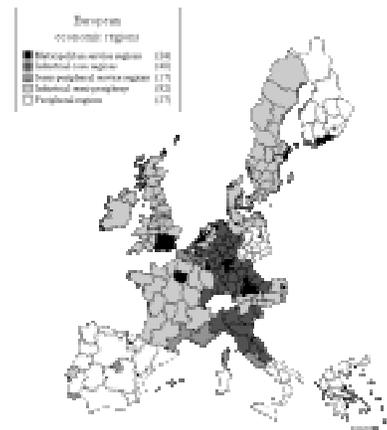


Figure 7 Regions in Europe

the Dutch central metropolitan region). The Blue Banana for example (Brunet, 1989), showed that almost all metropolitan regions were situated in the line London- Munich –Milan. Spatial planning is sensitive however. Heidenreich (1998) notes that countries which are not in the Blue Banana, do not want to work with that concept. The notion, illustrated in *figure 7* that regions are in fact different is difficult to accept.

§ 3.2 The Urban Initiative

As noted before, the Urban initiative is one of the results of the Gendebien-report. As table 7 shows, it is one of the many community initiatives. It was put in to operation under the Commission led by Jacques Santer, ex-prime minister of Luxembourg, after pilot projects were finished. A number of years on from their initial launch in 1994, programmes funded under the Urban Community Initiative are beginning to show significant results. Those programme actions that have had time to develop are now producing visible improvements in the quality of life and habitat in the target areas. These ‘achievements’ (DG XI, 1999) show the value of the integrated approach proposed by Urban to tackle the high concentration of social, environmental and economic problems increasingly present in urban agglomerations.

Poor living conditions aggravate individual problems and distress. In turn, social malaise and the lack of economic opportunity make the individual hostile to his or her environment. This vicious circle is today the cause of growing conflicts and imbalances, particularly evident in the areas where the problems are most acute. The novelty of the approach proposed by Urban is *‘that it tries to break this vicious circle by revalorising the individual through his or her habitat and not in spite of it’* (DG XI, 1999).

Urban targets neighbourhoods in extreme deprivation. It addresses the problems of isolation, poverty and exclusion of their inhabitants through interventions that improve the ensemble of their physical and social entourage. Thus the neighbourhood becomes the milieu that sets the conditions for increasing individual prosperity.

Urban’s integrated approach tries to take into account all dimensions of urban life. It thus applies a package of projects that combine the rehabilitation of obsolete infrastructure with economic and labour market actions. These are complemented by measures to combat the social exclusion inherent in run-down neighbourhoods, and measures to upgrade the quality of the environment.

Evans (1999) notes that Urban is the only community initiative, which targets the urban environment, although in the last few years other measures like the Objective 2-funds have had similar aims. Other initiatives like Leader, Interreg (I+II) and Regis concern more rural and peripheral areas; they also try to find ‘common’ problems in the targeted areas though. For example, Regis supports both a tropical island like

Guadeloupe as the Scottish sub-polar regions. Both are extremely peripheral regions and share problems like isolation and underdevelopment.

During the 1994-99 programming period, URBAN funded programmes in a total of 118 urban areas. The total Community contribution amounted to approximately E 900 million at 1999 prices, which resulted in a total eligible investment of E 1.8 billion and targeted 3.2 million people throughout Europe. URBAN, therefore, succeeded in mobilising significant funds to targeted areas, averaging around EUR 560 per capita (Commission, 2000).

The experience gained from URBAN has fed into the general discussion on urban policy, which has taken place over the last few years. The outcome of this discussion was the Commission communication *'Sustainable urban development in the European Union; a framework for action'* (1998) which set out the Commission's view of how urban action would be developed in the future.

The framework for action recognised the importance of mainstreaming the urban dimension into Community policies, in particular by assistance from the Structural Funds. This requires the introduction of an explicit urban component into regional development programmes. In both Objective 1 regions and Objective 2 areas, this approach means that the various programming documents under the Structural Funds should include integrated packages of operations in the form of integrated urban development measures for the main urban areas in the region.

Before we will research the projects of the Urban project in chapters V and VI in detail we will first look to the National Frameworks. These provide the legal environment in which the projects are able to flourish. However, they also contributed to the problems that the targeted areas experience.

Chapter IV

The National Planning Frameworks

'When Anu the Sublime, King of the Anunaki, and Bel, the lord of Heaven and earth, decreed the fate of the land, they called by name me, Hammurabi. (...) If a builder builds a house for a man and does not make its construction firm and the house which he has built collapses and causes the death of the owner of the house, that builder shall be put to death'



Figure 8 Hammurabi's building instructions in Babylonian

'Urban Planning' law in the Code of Hammurabi (1785 BC, translated by L.W. King)

In this chapter we will look on a more national level. First will be described how the different legal systems were created. When we have crossed this bridge, it is possible to explore the systems in which the Urban-programs operate and which they will have to adapt to.

§ 4.1 Families

Newman and Thornley (1996) describe how Europe can be divided in to numerous 'families' of legal and administrative systems. Although Marcou (1993) states that local government has no tendency to harmonisation, especially within the traditional North-South division, Page and Goldsmith (1987) lay the emphasis on this division, which puts Italy in the opposite corner in this method.

It is this not that simple, as Zweigert and Kötz (1987) explain. The historic development of the legal and administration systems can be used as the basis of classification. The current structures of administration often display their historical roots, for example in the balance between local and central government.



Figure 9 The 'legal-families' in Europe

Italy and the Netherlands have different traditions in Urban Planning. The laws for these traditions are different as well. The basis behind these laws derives from the same tradition however. As we shall see in this chapter this basis is codified about two hundred years ago. Laws, which date back from earlier times, inspire it: Roman law and the Code of

Hammurabi, the first known lawmaker (Horne, 1915).

§ 4.1.1 The Napoleonic Family

When looking from a historical perspective five families of law appear in Europe. After the meadows of Waterloo were fled with blood, all what remained of Napoleon's Empire was his legacy. His *Code Civile* of 1804 still forms the basis of modern law in most countries in Southern and Western Europe.



Figure 10 Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) ©College of Art, Dublin

Napoleonic law differs from the British family in a tendency to use abstract legal norms and a greater theoretical debate than the British style (Newman and Thornley, 1996). Within this system the local government is not simply an agent of the central government, but contains strong local representation. Strong linkages have been established between different layers of government.

Although the Dutch already had a detailed system of law in the Republic of the United Provinces, they embraced the Napoleonic system. Italy built a new system of legal code after Napoleon, but it remained based on the Napoleonic system, although strongly influenced by the Catholic Church. The Netherlands might have acted differently and given a different interpretation of the Napoleonic code, they do share the

basic built-up of common law with Italy. The interpretation of public law shares more with other countries of North-western Europe, as Britain and Germany.



Figure 11 Seal of the States-General of the Dutch Republic © bng.nl

Bennet (1993) points out that although many countries use a Napoleonic system, there are still many differences of orientation in the systems. The Protestant northwest devised a new administrative system based around the nation-state, with a more corporatist and professional structure. In Catholic countries this process occurred much later. Many historical roots of the

Napoleonic system can still be traced back to the early renaissance, feudal and Roman periods.

§ 4.1.2 Other Families

To let the similarities within the Napoleonic family stand out, we make a quick comparison with the other European law families. The British family is grown naturally, without a written constitution, but built up

decision, by decision. Scotland is within this family a notable exception, using its own French-influenced system even after unification in 1707.

In the British system local authorities are seen as providers of services, with their being defined by central government. This is fundamentally different from the rest of Europe, which assumes that local authorities have general power over the affairs of their local community (Newman and Thornley, 1996).

Stoker (1991) states that Britain is moving towards an agency-model, in which local government carries out directives and regulations of a central government. In this model there is little need for local taxation and financial grant are obtained from a central government. The government of Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990) eroded the autonomy of local government, allowing this to happen.

The *Germanic family* is in some ways a branch of the Napoleonic family. It shares the same approach to codification (Watson, 1991). It is however a more abstract and intellectual form. Germany was one of the last countries to be unified. Its law has an emphasis on the constitution and the division of power between the federal level and the Länder¹⁰.

Magnus Lagabøtes created the first Norwegian legal system in 1274. This started Scandinavian law (Lillebakken, 1996). The German Universities and the French Revolution influenced the *Scandinavian family*. It is a hybrid between the different traditions and takes a more pragmatic approach. It follows the agency-model to a point, although local self-government is one of the cornerstones of the Scandinavian constitution.

The final European legal-family is the *East-European family*. German law influenced it traditionally heavily. Communism changed everything. The post-1989 period is still unsure. Some countries have a new constitution based of Western-European principles. Other countries try to adapt the communist constitution.

In this paragraph we have seen that Italy and the Netherlands share the same basic law. In stark contrast to this is the urban planning tradition. The urban planning laws in both countries are radically different and are created in completely different traditions. The Dutch common struggle against the water had a different perspective to the Italians, who lived in small independent communities. In the next two paragraphs we will look at this more closely.

¹⁰ The 'states' that form the Federal Republic of Germany

§ 4.2 Dutch Urban Planning Tradition

Hoogstraten *et. al.* (2000), show that the ‘Southern’ influence on the Dutch is quite relative. In the built-up of the state there were many contacts with the south of Europe and the when the Netherlands were part of Burgundy in the fifteenth century the juridical system was created. They do state that the ‘Mediterranean’ influence on Dutch *culture* was larger than on Dutch *society*.

After the Kingdom of the Netherlands emerged from the French era, it got its first modern constitution in 1848. Thorbecke divided the government in three layers: The state, the province and the government. This constitutional framework still is used in the Netherlands (Kooijmans, 1995).

In 1875 the Vestingwet¹¹ came into operation. It allowed cities to expand beyond their medieval size. Prior to that year, it was not allowed to fill the immediate surroundings of the city walls with stone houses. Cities grew as industrialisation progressed and hygiene problems occurred.



Figure 12 The plan for Amsterdam-South, by Berlage

To tackle this problem the Woningwet¹² was approved in 1901. It made it obligatory for communities to create expansion plans. In this period many beautiful expansion plans were created, like Berlage’s Amsterdam-South. Later survey became an important corner stone of Dutch planning, as in the carefully researched Amsterdam Expansion Plan of 1934 (Faludi and Van der Valk, 1993).

The Second World War created an enormous shortage in housing in the Netherlands. Therefore the plans that were made for the war were speeded up. The planner got more power to built quarters and sometime overestimated himself, creating quarters like the Bijlmermeer, a quarter which has also applied for an Urban-programme.

Urban Planning needed a social context and got it in 1965, when parliament approved the Wet op de Ruimtelijke Ordening (WRO)¹³. It established the procedure municipalities had to follow when wanting

Year	Law
1875	Vestingwet (Stronghold act)
1901	Woningwet (Housing act)
1965	Urban Planning Act (WRO)
1985	Update Urban Planning Act (BRO)

Table 8 the major Urban Planning laws in the Netherlands

¹¹ Strongholdact

¹² Housing act

¹³ Urban Planning act

to build and created legally binding zoning plans in the form of the *Bestemmingsplan*. The WRO was updated with the BRO in 1985 to accommodate the reality of the 1980s

Nationally the government also became active in Urban Planning, designing nationwide Urban Planning schemes in the 'Nota's over the Ruimtelijke Ordening'¹⁴. The different παραδειγματα of the last decennia were written down to inspire the expansion plans of cities and evolved radically every eight to ten years.

In 1960 the people were summoned to spread, but in a balanced way. Eight years later the government changed its mind and new expansions had to be bundled, though de-concentrated (Van der Cammen and De Klerk, 1996). The Third report introduced city renewal plans. As traditional inhabitants had moved to growth-cores like Purmerend, old labour quarters had declined. An Urban Crisis emerged. Schaeffer, housing-secretary in the Den Uyl-administration (1973-1977) subsidised plans to improve neighbourhoods through *stadsvernieuwing*.

In 1972 Amsterdam still wanted to demolish entire quarters and rebuild the areas with more 'efficient' houses. The Riots on the Nieuwmarkt showed that the population did not agree with these methods. Rotterdam was the first to see the light and made decentralised plans to buy up houses, improve them and let people rent them for a lower price than they would have to pay normally.

The Netherlands were changing. The country suddenly discovered that it had become an immigration-country, although only years later it was ready to admit its new condition. The urban-renewal quarters had a new population. Anderiesen and Reijndorp (1990) showed the heterogeneity of the quarters. The pattern of culture, income and employment was diverse. Participation appeared only temporarily.



Figure 13 The Nieuwmarkt in 1892, by Jacob Olie © Gemeentearchief

Adri Duyvestein, alderman of The Hague started a new urban renewal program in 1985. He focussed more on quality than on quantity. He still focussed on physical renewal though; an integrated urban policy still was a long time away. Ten years later the approach did develop into a more integrated approach. The focus of urban planning had shifted in the meanwhile.



In the report, which was influential during the last decennium, the Fourth Report (VROM, 1988-'91), a new appreciation of the compact city and an emphasis on working with private parties was found. A wider program, called *stedelijke vernieuwing*, replaced the classic *stadsvernieuwing*¹⁵. The fifth report has been published in 2001. It tries to establish protect areas around the city and returns power to the municipalities. Some, like the influential professor Priemus state that commercial parties will influence small municipalities too heavily (Snijders, 2001)

Van der Pennen *et al.* (1999) recognise a polarised growth in the Netherlands. On one hand there is optimism about the recent revitalisation of the city and revaluation of Urbanism, as we will notice in Utrecht. On the other had there is pessimism when looked and poverty and decay. The economic revival benefits certain sectors of the economy, while other fall into stagnation and decline. An integrated approach is therefore wanted.

The Netherlands have become the most planned country in Europe (Faludi and Van der Valk, 1993). Every square metre is defined. On the other hand, French style *grand projets*, like Mitterrand's National library don't have a chance of succeeding in the Netherlands. The new expansion areas, the so-called Vinex-quarters, are sober and efficient. As everybody needs to be satisfied in the Dutch consensus politics, nobody is actually entirely satisfied. LaFeber (2000) explained the economic variant of this style of politics. The Netherlands have experienced an enormous economic growth in the 1990s using this model, as stated above.

The money people earned in the last few years, is not only invested in the stock market, but in real estate as well. The Vinex-style house might not satisfy the *nouveau riche*. Dutch egalitarian planning therefore has its advantages and its disadvantages. Italy is a whole different matter, as we will see in the next paragraph.

§ 4.3 Italian Urban Planning Tradition

Unlike many other European countries, the development of a hierarchy in Italian urban centres preceded industrialisation (Gambi, 1975). The modern growth of Italy's cities was somewhat slow. It can be divided in two phases (Calabi, 1984). The first phase began with the unification of Italy in 1861-1870 and ended in World War II. It was marked by a generally uniform growth in urban centres within the regional state system. The post-war era was characterised

¹⁵ Both terms mean urban renewal in English; in Dutch there is a slight nuance between renewal of the city, while the latter is urban renewal more in the line of the EU Urban



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by an emergence of metropolitan centres and an increase in contrast between the cities and the depopulated rural areas.

The cities remained relatively small however, partly because no one city emerged as the country's metropolis. In the North the long established medium sized cities provided a counterweight to the three large *μετροπολι* Milan, Turin and Genoa. In Tuscany industrial cities like Prato and Pistoia grew as large as the traditional capital Firenze. In the centre Rome emerged as the nation's administrative capital. Finally, in the south, Naples was no longer able to dominate the *mezzogiorno* as Bari, Catania and Salerno developed rapid industrialisation.

As well as basic law, Napoleon had other effects on Italy. Newly trained engineers classified the roads in the country and architects like Antolini got the chance to built new 'Fora' and city improvements in cities like Milan (Morachiello, 1980). As Napoleon fell however, Italy was re-divided into eight independent states. Urban planning remained a matter of the cities. These grew in leaps and bounds to accommodate new industries.

The railway system did lead to more cooperation between the cities. It also encouraged industrialisation and haphazard expansion of the cities, while beyond their medieval walls. Like the *Vestingwet* and the *Woningwet* in the Netherlands, something had to be done to combat hygiene and transportation problems, which resulted from this expansion.

Italy introduced two laws in 1865: the National Administration Act and the Expropriation act. Together with the introduction of two new types of plan the *Piani di Ampliamento*¹⁶ and the *Piani Regolatori Edilizi*¹⁷ they reflected the intention of the government to redevelop the country's major cities. Nowhere, however, was reference made to any concepts of comprehensive city planning, nor was land-use zoning introduced (Calabi, 1984).

Many parallels can be drawn between Dutch and Italian thought in this period. Caccia noted in 1915 that the confrontation between blue-print engineers and architects was apparent. In the Netherlands at the same time those two lines of thought were united in one man: Berlage. A more social aspect also arose, when the socialist Schiavi (1911) founded the first *lega inguillini*, not that different from a Dutch *woningbouwvereniging*, although more a tenants' society. He could be described as the Italian Keppler, who explained to tenants from Amsterdam that they should unite.

¹⁶ Expansion plans

¹⁷ Plans for building regulations, in effect slum-clearing plans

In 1922 the fascist government of Mussolini came to power in Italy and remained there until after the outbreak of World War II. This period is a phase that stands apart from the other periods of urban planning (Ciucci, 1970). It was an era in which the emphasis was placed on rural development. Land-

Year	Law
1865	National Administration act Expropriation act
1942	Town-planning act
1971	Housing and Planning act
1977	Regional Government act
1998	Administration Reform act

Table 9 The major Urban Planning laws in Italy

reclamation and redistribution became the focus of urban-planning though. The largest and most costly of those



Figure 16 The Labour-building in the EUR-district of Rome

programmes was the Pontine Marches project in which a hitherto depopulated region 80 km south of Rome became a productive agricultural region in less than 10 years (Mariani, 1976).

Although urban development was not that important, grand projects were. In central Rome large areas of the historic centres were demolished and in other cities like Bologna and Bergamo old town centres were destroyed in a similar way. South of Rome a large new business district was created for the *Esposizione Universale di Roma* (EUR)¹⁸

In 1942 the most important planning act was approved: the town-planning act. It made a provision for a hierarchy of plans at different levels. *Piani Regolatori Intercomunali* (PRI) could be drawn up by ad hoc groups of municipalities acting together as a consortium, while *Piani Regolatori Generali* (PRG) were development plans at municipal level. It was obligatory for the major cities to create those plans and guidelines were set out for the approval of those plans by the regional governments. The 1942 act was qualitatively on a par with most other planning act in Europe, but largely ineffective due to the economic and political forces, which shaped Italy in the 1950s and 1960s, e.g. the powerful constructors (Calabi, 1984).

The main problem with the PRG is that the plan is situated between a more action orientated and detailed plan, like the Dutch Bestemmingsplan, and a more long-term, structure plan. This means that a municipality develops a long-term strategy over a period, while having to implement the day-by-day problems in the same plan as well. This is not beneficial to the effectiveness of the PRG.

¹⁸ The World Exhibition Rome, planned for the 1940s, never opened due to the war.

Migrants from the south flooded into the cities in the first decades after the war. To stem this flow the *Cassa per il mezzogiorno* was created, an organisation to improve life in the south. It concentrated on public service infrastructure, just like early European structural funds. The urban development process in the south's established centres continued apace. The expansion and renewal of the centres was often contradictory to the approved plans. Ironically, some of the worst cases were actually financed by the public authorities and the Cassa (Carabba, 1977).

In the 1970s somewhat more successful attempts to introduce new legislation saw the light. The 1971 Housing and planning act gave the local authorities some more powers to expropriate

sites and in 1977 the regional government law gave some planning powers to the regions. In the same era left-wing parties became more effective and the public became more mobilised. Meanwhile, one third of Rome's population lived in illegal housing (De Lucia *et. al.*, 1973).

Urban Thought might have developed in the universities of Rome (La Sapienza) and Bologna. Urban Legislation has also been approved. In practice however, the thought and the law had little impact on the actual development and in urban areas the results can be seen every day. As Plato said in *the Republic*: 'Το δικαίον ουκ άλλο τι η το του κρειττοπων ζυμφορον¹⁹ There are some hopeful developments though.

In Italy there have been lots of urban renewal projects. Bologna had, under a communist government, most successes (Ricci, 2000). They were even examples to the rest of Europe. The urban renovation programmes concentrated mostly on the centre though. Therefore the spread of suburbia led to segregation between the renovated and increasingly depopulated centres and the poorer surroundings (Somma, 1999)

In the eighties most housing problems were resolved and in the centre of old cities a similar development in urban renewal as in the Netherlands. No longer the cities just wanted to concentrate on *recupero urbano*, they shifted their attention to *riqualificazione urbana*²⁰. This is a similar development as in the Netherlands,

The Results of Abusivismo

Many 'condomini' (apartment complexes) are built illegally. This problem is called in Italy 'Abusivismo'. A result of this could be seen in Foggia (Puglia) on November 11th 1999. More than 60 people were killed when a 'condominio' collapsed. (Latina, 1999)



Figure 17 The collapse in Foggia ©La Repubblica

¹⁹ 'The law is nothing else than what is useful for the strongest.' - Plato, The Republic, 1-12-338C

²⁰ Urban recovery and urban re-qualification

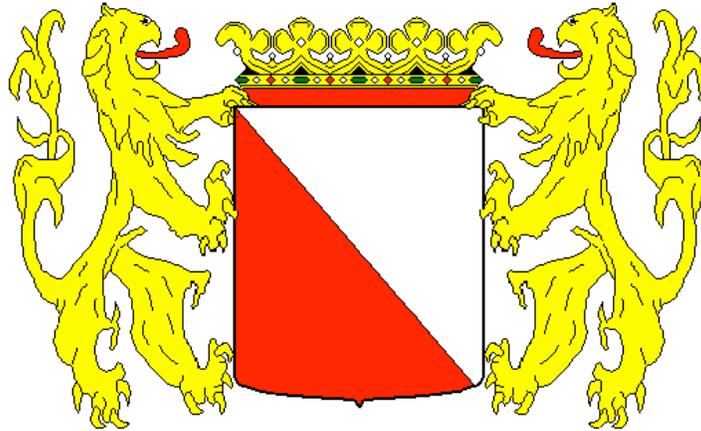
where the policies were adapted in a similar way. Cities discovered that their was more to urban renewal than just improving the physical quality of the city.

In the 1990s Italy realised that their traditional ‘piani’ were not followed that well. The legislator now used the word ‘programme’ to refer to a coherent set of actions. The private sector was involved for the first time as well in these programmes. In 1998 an administration reform let to a centralisation of urban programmes. The ministry of public works could now integrate infrastructure programmes with urban renewal programmes, making them not just urban, but territorial (Ricci, 2000). At present the ministry is setting up a new programme, called Prusst: *Programmi di riqualificazione urbana e di sviluppo sostenibile del territorio*.²¹ This programme has been very useful for the Italian proposal for the structural funds 2000-2006. Italian urban planning strategies have this way become more consistent with the aims of the EU.

Italy and the Netherlands have followed their own course in the last two centuries. They started with the same basic civil and public code, but have created their own tradition and their own urban planning cases. This concept is present in Taoism. Lao Tse (600 BC) wrote that ‘The way, which could be regarded as *the way*, is not an invariable way.’ Although Italy and the Netherlands might have found the same way in the early 1800s, they certainly did not take the same exit. Now is the time to look at our cases in greater detail, and the Urban programmes which they share.

²¹ Programmes for Urban Regeneration and rehabilitation and sustainable development of territory.

Chapter V
Utrecht



De grachten kruipen door de dode stad
als evenvele volgevreten slangen
en de barok verzakte huizen hangen
moe op elkaar, de kelders altijd nat

van grondrig water, bruin en slijmig, dat
de smaak heeft van bedorven minverlangen;
onder de straten lopen lage gangen,
het zwart domein van basilisk en rat.

Want hield een draak niet deze stad in stand,
in 't bannet van zijn ogen ingesloten
(bestaat ze soms alleen nog in zijn blik?)

dan was Utrecht allang slechts puin en zand,
waar ieder fundament op graven stoot en
schedels slingren in het singelslik.²²

²² The canals crawl through the dead city/ as as many stuffed snakes/ and the baroque sunk houses hang/bored on each other, the sellers always wet/of groundlike water, brown and slimy, which/has the taste of decayed desire/under the streets go low courses/the black domain of basilisk and rat/Because if a dragon would not maintain this city/locked in its eyes/(does she exists merely in its view?)/than would Utrecht be sand and thrash/where every foundation would meet graves/and skulls lay around in the mud of the canal.

Theo van Baren (1941)

§ 5.1 Trajectum

The Romans established Utrecht in 47 AD as an outpost on the south bank of the Kromme Rijn at a fordable point (called a Trajectum in Latin). It was one of the forts on the northern borders of the Roman Empire intended to ward off invasions from Germania. This line was called the *limes*²³ (Citypastoraat, 1999)

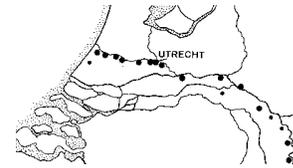


Figure 18 Place of Utrecht on the *limes*

The remains of this fort were discovered during excavations in and around the Dom Square. In the late 7th century, Willibrord, a missionary from the north of England, settled on the site of the ruins. He became the first Bishop of Utrecht. His small church stood on the site of the present-day Dom Square. Following the Viking invasions, the bishop became an influential ruler protected by the German emperor, who exercised secular power over the Northern Netherlands. In the 11th century, one of the manifestations of his power and wealth was the construction of a number of churches, which together form the pattern of a cross spanning the old city, with the cathedral at its centre.



Figure 19 The Dom after the storm of 1674, painted by H. Saffleven (1675)

The population of Utrecht grew in size and prosperity during this period, and Utrecht was enfranchised as early as 1122. In 1127, Bishop Godewald gave permission to establish an annual fair, giving Utrecht the first trade fair in Europe.

Rich merchants and landowners lived in fortified houses on the Oude Gracht, the city's main canal with its unique wharves and canalside paths. Consequently Utrecht developed into the centre of religious and secular power in the Northern Netherlands as Liege was in the Southern Netherlands.

Construction of the Dom church began in the late 13th century. The church displays strong architectural influences from France and Cologne and was completed, together with its 112-metre tower, in the 14th century. (UU, 1999)

The last non-Italian Pope before John Paul II was Adrian Floriszoon of Utrecht, professor at the University of Leuven. Adrian was born in Utrecht in 1469. He was tutor to Erasmus of Rotterdam and to Emperor

²³ border

Charles the Fifth. His papal name was Hadrian VI and he served as Pope between 1522 and 1523. He ordered the construction of the *Paushuize*²⁴ a palace in the centre of Utrecht (Reussens, 1862).



Figure 20 Pope Hadrian VI (1522-1523) on a Flemish commemorative medallion

§ 5.1.1 The Union of Utrecht

In 1579, the famed Union of Utrecht was formed in the large *kapittelzaal*²⁵, which is now the university auditorium. In signing this document, the provinces of the Netherlands, which had rebelled against the rule of Philip II, king of Spain, under the leadership of the brothers William of Orange and John of Nassau of the house of Orange-Nassau, were officially united. This was a preamble to the Placaet van Verlaetinghe, the Northern Provinces' secession from Spanish rule, a few years later and the formation of the powerful Republic of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, the first republic in post-medieval Europe.

From the 16th century onwards the central focus of economic development in the Republic lay in the provinces of Holland and Zeeland. These provinces became the richest and most densely populated in the Republic, with important cities such as Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden, Delft, Rotterdam, Dordrecht and later The Hague. Utrecht remained one of the most important cities in the Republic. (UU, 1999)

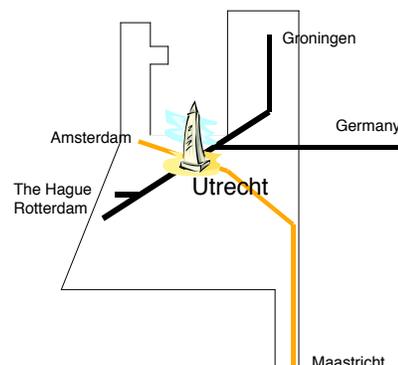


Figure 21 Georg Friedrich Händel (1685-1759), composer

In 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht was signed in the building that today houses the main building of the Faculty of Law of the University in the Janskerkhof. It signified the end of the end of the Spanish War of Succession. Händel composed his famous 'Utrecht Te Deum' for this occasion (Castro, 2000). During the 18th and 19th century Utrecht remained an important city and played an essential role in the economic and cultural development of the Netherlands. It became the central junction in transportation with the nation's largest railway station.

§ 5.1.2 Utrecht in the twentieth century

Utrecht these days, is an important junction in the centre of the Netherlands. The city has both a national as in international



²⁴ Papal residence

²⁵ Chapter House

importance. It connects the Randstad to the rest of the Netherlands, as it is the most eastern of the four major Dutch cities. Therefore most east-west and north-south connexions pass Utrecht, e.g. Rotterdam – Utrecht - Germany/Groningen and Amsterdam– Utrecht – Maastricht /Liège (Figure 22)

After the decline of the metal industry, Utrecht focused on the services, which dominate the post-industrial society. There are 15.000 companies in the city, resulting in a total employment of 150.000 persons. The city has a broadly orientated economy, with many different parts of the tertiary sector present (Figure 23).

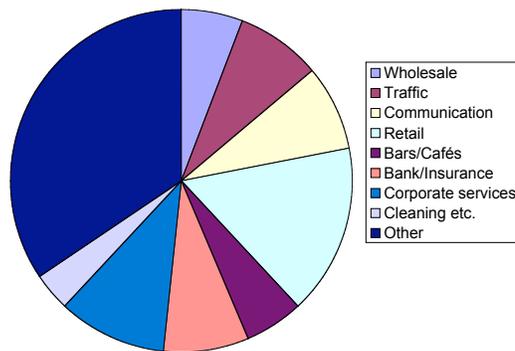


Figure 23 The services sector in Utrecht (MoU, 1996)

Together they have more than 40.000 students. The Jaarbeurs, building on a long tradition of annual fairs, yearly hosts 2.5 million visitors, which visit trade fairs and congresses. Finally, Utrecht is an important tourist centre. After Amsterdam, it has the most monuments in the Netherlands

The largest companies present in the cities are the Dutch Railways, the Rabobank, Sara Lee/DE. Furthermore there are several important national institutes nearby, like the meteorological institute KNMI and the environmental institute RIVM.

Other important sectors are education and the Jaarbeurs. Utrecht has many educational facilities like one of the largest universities and schools for higher professional education

(HBO). Although the economy of the city improved during the last few decades, this development showed paradoxes. Companies were leaner and although has larger profits, did not employ more persons This resulted in unemployment, especially for people without higher education (MoU, 1996). Utrecht has a sharp separation between the western part of the city and the eastern part. The richer quarters of the city are all situated in the east of the city (Figure 24), while the poorer parts are concentrated in the western part (Van Eijk, 1998). The Urban programme, as well as its immediate successors, is therefore directed at the western part of the city. In the west there is a new quarter ,Leidsche Rijn, planned, aimed at people with higher incomes to redress this balance. Van Eijk (1998) states that the best neighbourhoods situated east from the centre are all rather new, while the segregation in the city increases.

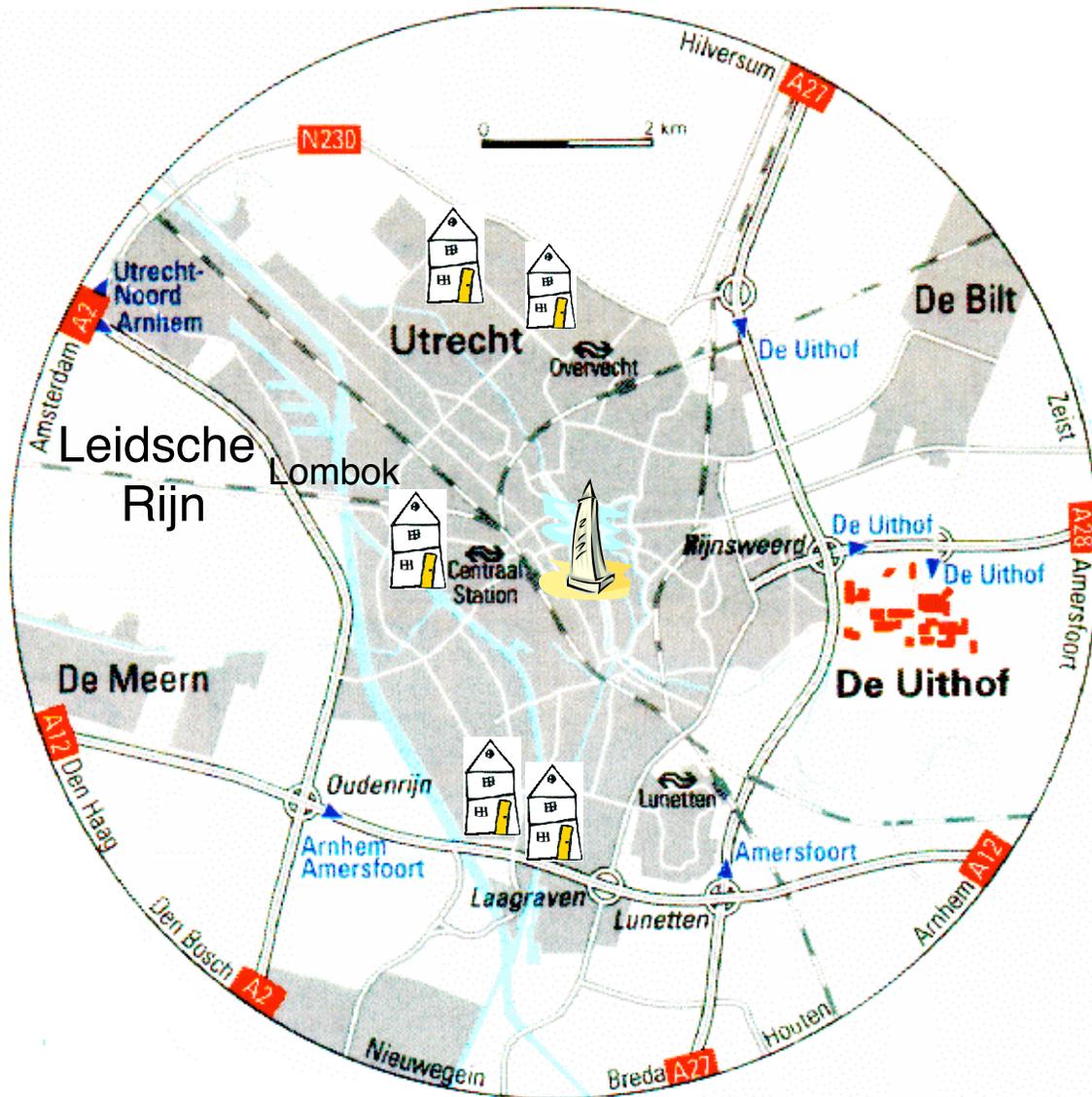


Figure 24 The quarters of Utrecht grouped around the centre, which is a rather good neighbourhood. The 'bad' neighbourhoods are represented by the crooked houses. Van Eijk (1998) made this classification on basis of income, immigrant percentage, unemployment rate and singles.

§ 5.1.3 Lombok

In the end of the nineteenth century, just west of the central railway station, Lombok, named after an island in the Indonesian Archipelago, was built. It was a time when the Dutch East Indies, as they were called then, were supplying sums of money which led to a prosperous age. The Dutch were once again proud of their nation. Many quarters had streets named after the isles in the 'emerald girdle', e.g. the 'Indische Buurt' in Amsterdam. The Indonesian population had less to



Figure 25 Lombok in Indonesia ©Lonely Planet

be happy about, as only a few Dutch noted. Multatuli wrote *'Ik ben daar bitter geworden. Wat zoudt ge denken van iemand die zulke zaken kon neerschrijven zonder bitterheid?'*²⁶

Lombok was meant as a response to the shortage of suitable houses for workers. The quarter was close to many factories and enterprises (Hautvast, 1998). The neighbourhood was known for its social life with many societies. It was a poor neighbourhood, but a decent neighbourhood. The streets were clean and the unity of the inhabitants was important.



Figure 26 A drawing by Collignon, used as campaign material by Leefbaar Utrecht

In the 1960s of this century the city got a whole new centre: Hoog Catherijne. It was meant to be a mix of the traditional functions of a city centre, combined with the central station, concentrated in one complex. It is now regarded as one of the projects which reflect the 'υβρις of Dutch urban planning. In the 1990s the municipal council approved a new plan, the Utrecht City Plan (UCP), for what was now seen as a monster. A local party, Leefbaar Utrecht²⁷, headed by singer/songwriter Henk Westbroek, opposed to this and is now the largest political party in the city.

Meanwhile, just a few hundred metres from Hoog Catherijne, Lombok was in trouble. The quarter remained the same, although its inhabitants changed. The rich moved to the new quarters, built after the war. The open places were felt by students and 'gastarbeiders'²⁸ from Marocco and Turkey. The social cohesion of Lombok was under threat, because the new inhabitants had their own vision on how to live.

The economic crisis of the 1970s added a blow to the neighbourhood. Factories shrank, moved or had to close. The new inhabitants became unemployed and had financial troubles. In these times there was not many money to maintain public space. The municipality thought about demolishing the entire quarter and did not invest in the area (Kopijn, 2000).

In the 1980s the area seemed doomed. There were problems in education, debts, criminality, and the degeneration of public space. There was hope though, new social relations appeared. A mosque was founded in 1979. The population of Utrecht had to get used to the idea of the idea of their new fellow citizens. Although the Dutch tried to help at first, under the influence of the economic crisis of the 1970s, tensions

²⁶ 'I became bitter over there. What would you think of someone who could report over such things without bitterness?' - Multatuli (Eduard Douwes Dekker), *'Max Havelaar'*, Chapter V, 1859, Amsterdam

²⁷ Liveable Utrecht

became clear (Bovenkerk, 1985). They did not see the Islam that much different as Dante did in the fourteenth century. The great poet placed Mosques in the city of Dis in his *Inferno*:

*‘Lo buon maestro disse: “Omai, figliuolo,
s'appressa la città c'ha nome Dite,
coi gravi cittadin, col grande stuolo”.
E io: “Maestro, già le sue meschite
là entro certe ne la valle cerno,
vermiglie come se di foco uscite,
fossero”*²⁹



Figure 27 Dante and Virgil on their way towards the city of Dis, depicted by Gustave Doré

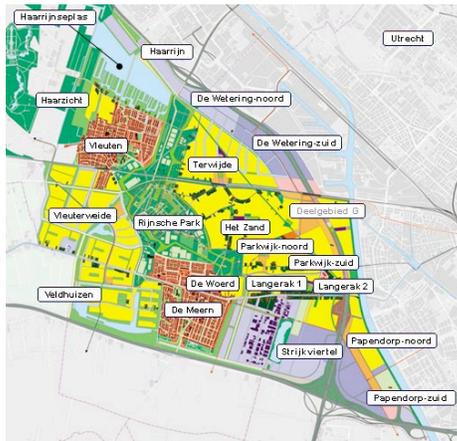


Figure 28 The Leidsche Rijn project © Municipality of Utrecht

The father of Italian poetry didn't know any better. The Utrechters learned fast though when they got to know the new neighbours, although many problems remain to date. Under the tone of the call to prayer new quarter organisations were formed. In 1987 a project manager became responsible for the coordination for the projects in the neighbourhood. A year later he was incorporated into Wijkbureau West, the part of the municipality responsible for this part of town.

In the 1990s a new quarter was planned west of Lombok: Leidsche Rijn. It is the largest project of its kind in the Netherlands. Between Leidsche Rijn and the UCP, Lombok is in the middle of the two most important developments in the city. This was the time to invest in the neighbourhood.

²⁸ Dutch term for workers, who came to work in Holland in the 1960s and 1970s and who were supposed to leave after a few years. The majority remained however.

²⁹ And the good Master said: "Even now, my Son, The city draweth near whose name is Dis, With the grave citizens, with the great throng." And I: "Its mosques already, Master, clearly Within there in the valley I discern Vermilion, as if issuing from the fire, they were" (Dante, La Divina Commedia, Inferno (Hell) VIII, 67-73, Longfellow translation)

§ 5.2 Regeneration and gentrification

In 1997 the Urban programme in Lombok was approved. It targeted the Kanaalstraat, the main street in the axis UCP-Leidsche Rijn. It was selected for the Urban-program, because it was the quarter in the city with the most problems with safety, liveability, safety and unemployment.

Furthermore the quarter already had experience with an integrated approach, as proposed by the Urban programme. The Wijkbureau already tried to cooperate with different actors and stakeholders in the area (Municipality of Utrecht (MoU), 1996).

The neighbourhood will feel the consequences of the Leidsche Rijn and UCP projects. The traffic will flow through the area. Utrecht has the largest housing shortage in the Netherlands (Province of Utrecht, 2000). The property market might become even tighter when the area is in the axis, although higher income families might decide to leave the quarter (MoU, 1996). What happens in the neighbourhood has consequences for the entire city, as it is located so close to the centre of Utrecht. Drugs traffic in the area, for example, will immediately lead to more problems with drugs in the city.

§ 5.2.1 What is the status of the neighbourhood? (A)

Now we have established an image of the neighbourhood, we can begin to answer our questions, set in this research. In case studies it is important to ask the same questions to every case, to be able to compare them (Yin, 1984). We will first answer the local and national questions for each case and then make a comparison.

The Kanaalstraat *and environs* is a ‘dynamic and multi-cultural zone’ (Municipality of Utrecht, 1996) west of the city-centre. It is an urban area with many households of different ethnic origins and students. The district has 19.000 inhabitants (1996) in 6.500 households. Of these households 68% is inhabited consists of only one person. The number of families had decreased in the last few years (Bestuursinformatie, 1996).

Unemployment especially under ethnic minorities has risen sky-high. In 1992 the unemployment

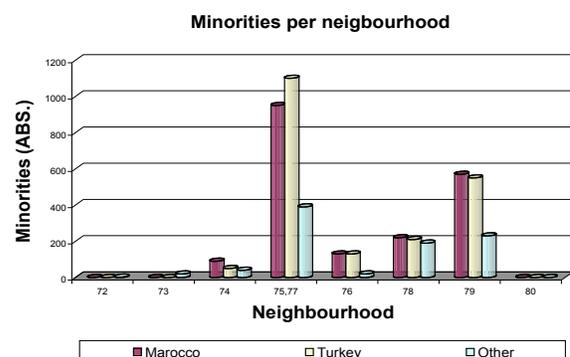


Figure 29 Minorities in the Kanaalstraat e.o. (Quarter 75-79) compared with other Utrecht-quarters (Bestuursinformatie, 1996)

under ethnic minorities was 17,5%, compared to 9,7 under the native population of Utrecht (RBA, 1992). Much of this unemployment is a long-term problem. 57% of the unemployed has been without a job for more than two years. Education is also a large problem. Children of an ethnic minority without opportunities and a backlog in education run a higher risk of slipping down into criminality (Bleich, 2000).

Before the program started criminality was on a par with comparable neighbourhoods in the Netherlands, although the sense of insecurity was much stronger (Municipality of Utrecht, 1996). This was amplified by vandalism and pollution in the quarter.

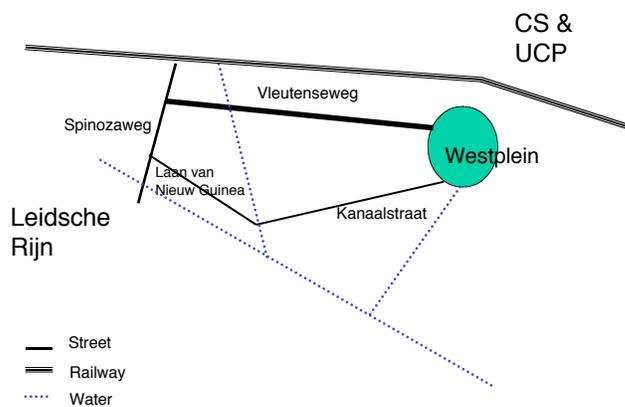


Figure 30 Main infrastructure Lombok

Kanaalstraat and environs is mainly a residential district. The quarter contains both owned and rented houses. The quality of the houses is not that good. City renewal already improved the technical quality of many houses, especially those located in the side streets of the main axis. The economic value of the houses is low, in the cheapest (< E55.000) segment of the market. However, the actual value has increased due to the pressure on the

housing market in Utrecht.

There are a few parks in the area, mainly situated in the north, while there is water in the south. There are a number of facilities in the quarter, both for the quarter itself as for the city as a whole. The retail shops are concentrated along the central axis of the Kanaalstraat - Laan van Nieuw Guinea. There are a number of educational and welfare facilities.

Although from an urbanistic point of view the structure is rather good, with a radial built-up, catering for the connections between the different parts of the quarter, there are not many relations between the different parts. One of the targets of

Theme	Strong	Weak	Opportunities	Threats
Social	Diversity	Social backlog	Multi-cultural structure	Weak band Inhabitants-Qu
Spatial	Main structure	Quarter divided by Vleutense weg	UCP, Leidsche Rijn	Degeneration (character of the quarter)
Technical	Quality foundations	Many low-quality houses	Cooperation Municipality-Inhabitants	
Financial	Many self-owned houses	Not high-market houses	Redevelopment	Not many people able to cover the costs

Table 10 SWOT analysis of the quarter (MoU, 1996)

the Urban-programme is to strengthen those relations.

When applying for the Urban programme the municipality made a analysis of the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) of the area (MoU, 1996). On a social level they saw chances in the multi-cultural society, while seeing the threat that the current inhabitants have little binding with the quarter. The municipality saw an opportunity to cooperate to combat the low quality of many houses. Furthermore, they thought about redeveloping some areas to be more attractive to households with a higher income (Table 10).

§ 5.2.2 What are the characteristics of the Urban-programme? **(B)**

The first thing the municipality had to do was defining the problems. To combat the defined problems an approach was chosen (table 11). To carry out the approaches, objectives were set (table 12). To reach the objectives, measures were taken. (table 13)

Problems	Approach
Employment	Reduction of unemployment: creating an extra 200 jobs. Stimulating small-scale businesses and the retail trade: 250 additional jobs.
Safety	Improving the quality of life and safety in the neighbourhood; reduction of petty crime.
Quality of Life	Improving the infrastructure: at least 3 urban renewal projects aimed at revitalising and upgrading the neighbourhood. Social infrastructure: strengthening the endogenous development potential of the area: increasing the social coherence of the neighbourhood.

Table 11 Problems & Approaches in Utrecht's Urban project (Inforegio, 1999)

The programme revolves around three problems. There are measures to stimulate the employment (table 11). Safety is an important issue as well. Most measures are intended to improve the quality of life, which should also affect the first two problems.

To combat the problems the municipality set a number of objectives, based on the SWOT-analysis. The objectives together try to be an integrated approach to combat the problems. A number of measures to realise the objectives form the actual Urban project. These are the funding of 98 small projects. They are one-time investments, which have to provide structural benefits.

The first objective concerns the liveability (α). Measures should protect and strengthen the residential function of the neighbourhood by both private improvements and building new houses. There should be many different types of household, which choose for a dynamic environment (MoU, 1996). To reach this parts of the quarter have to be restructured and the public space should be enlarged.

The next two objectives aim to improve the sense of security (β) and to improve social circumstances (γ). Petty crime should be reduced. The social cohesion is important for the security as well. Urban has to play the role of a catalyst in the dynamics of quarter-society. Furthermore it has to reduce the leeway of groups without many opportunities.

Employment is one of the largest problems. One of the objectives (δ) targeted the labour market. It wanted to stimulate small-scale companies, which fit into the residential function of the quarter. Those companies had to be located along side the main axis. The retail function also needed stimulation. The objective wanted to jump on the train set in motion by the UCP and Leidsche Rijn. The municipality wanted to start projects in the quarter involving those looking for a job.

The municipality wanted to exploit the potential of locations (ϵ), which are situated on the axis and on the borders of the quarter. This wish is seen as a necessity (MoU, 1996) to reach the objectives of urban development. As well as this exploitation, the local government wanted to improve the residential quality.

The location of the area has its advantages, but also will increase the pressure of traffic in the area. The penultimate objective (ζ) therefore tries to settle this problem by improving the routes and create new methods for the internal circulation in the quarter.

Obj.	To improve
α	Liveability
β	Security
γ	Social Circumstances
δ	Employment
ϵ	Exploitation
ζ	Traffic Pressure
η	Participation

Table 12 Objectives Urban Utrecht

All this has to be done from within the quarter. The final objective of the municipality is therefore to improve the participation (η) of the population. The self-regenerating capabilities have to be stimulated to reach the objectives set by the municipality. The latter has to provide the circumstances for an organic development and the cooperation with the different stakeholders in the neighbourhood.

When comparing these objectives, as listed in table 12, to the objectives set by the European Union (DG XI, 1999) all objectives find their place. Public participation (objective η) is one of the corner stones of the Urban-programme. It might lead to a wider support for the European Union. If this is the case, we will find out when exploring questions (D) and (L) about public participation.

Urban wants to tackle social, environmental and economic problems (DG XI, 1999). Those objectives correspond with the objectives as set by Utrecht. The social factor is present in objective α and γ . The environmental factor is visible in α and ζ , while economic problems are handled in γ , δ and ϵ .

The municipality has selected 98 projects, which had to provide substantial contribution to the main objectives of the Urban projects. The results and effects had to be strengthened by the cohesion of the different projects in the area. The financing was a one-time investment, which had to generate structural benefits. The projects should generate efforts from other parties as well. Those parties should be involved in developing the initiatives, to increase the support under the population.

Ms.	Description	Target
A	Labour-market guidance, job creation	200 jobs in projects and 250 jobs by educating unemployed
B	Small-scale companies	250 jobs
C	Security	Decrease in crime
D	Physical infrastructure	5000 man-years and social return
E	Civil Society	Increase in social cohesion
F	Technical Support	Supporting A, B, C, D, E

Table 13 The measures of Urban Utrecht

The projects are divided into 6 concrete measures, as shown in table 13. Measure A is the guidance to the labour market and the creation of new jobs. In Measure B are projects to stimulate small-scale companies, by providing the conditions for new initiatives and stimulating starting entrepreneurs. The third measure contains projects to improve the social security and liveability in the neighbourhood. It is divided in to three categories: physical adjustments, crime prevention and projects to improve the cooperation between different parties in the neighbourhood.

In the next to measures the target is to improve the liveability in Lombok. Measure D has three major physical projects that will provide both jobs in building them and operating them as a social return to the neighbourhood. Measure E covers the projects, which promote the civil society in the quarter. The last measure is the technical and management support for the other measures.

Source	Money
Municipality	14.9
Region	0
National Government	3.9
Europe (ESF)	0
Europe (ERDF)	6.5
Private investment	0.6
Total	26.9

Table 14 The Urban projects by money source (in million ECU) (DG XI, 1999)

To finance the measures most of the money comes from the municipality itself. (57%). The European Union contributes 25%

Year	Amount
1996	4.0
1997	6.8
1998	9.9
1999	5.8
Total	26.5

Table 15 Cost Urban Utrecht by year (in Mecu) (MoU, 1996)

of the total sum. All money comes from the European Regional Development Fund. Other contributors (see table 14) are the member state (the Netherlands) and private investors. When the municipality applied for European funds it thought that the projects would amount to 26.5

million Ecu³⁰ (MoU, 1996). In the end the cost rose to 26.9 million (DG XI, 1999)

The money had to be spent over the years program ended in that year, although the the end of 2001, and the next urban started in 2000. Most money is spent in costs for technical support are mostly spent program, to set up the organisation (MoU, cost are spread-out by year.

Ms	Description	Amount
A	Labour-market	2.6
B	Small-Scale companies	2.5
C	Security	3.5
D	Liveability	16.4
E	Social Cohesion	1.0
F	Technical Support	0.6
Total		26.5

Table 16 The costs per measure (in Mecu) (MoU, 1996)

Utrecht wanted to spend most on a number directed by Measure D. That measure costs amount (16.7 million ECU). The other costly measures concern labour-market guidance and security, as shown in table 16 (MoU, 1996).

1996-1999. The Urban-projects continue till program (Urban II) 1998, although the in the first year of the 1996). In table 15 the

of major projects, as nearly 60% of the total

There are 98 Urban-projects in Utrecht. Many projects are still too fresh to be evaluated. All kinds of projects now seem to appear from out of nowhere. There is a Museum annex Café. There are many new playgrounds. There have been instruction courses for new entrepreneurs, which have led to many new shops and other small enterprises. There has been support for a company-index for small companies to work together on publicity. Furthermore people are working together to increase the security of the neighbourhood.

We now have answered for Utrecht what the status is of the neighbourhood (Question A) and what measures are taken in the Urban program to improve the neighbourhood and what they cost (Question B). Now is the time to look what happened in this neighbourhood when the programme was active.

§ 5.2.3 How is the programme evaluated? (C)

Jane Jacobs created the concept of the self-regenerating neighbourhood in her classic *'The death and life of great American cities'* (1961). She saw in her native New York how great social projects, which led to demolishing old quarters and building 'new and improved' quarters often led to more problems than they solved.



Figure 31 Mayor La Guardia (1882-1948) led New York through the years of depression. (right) © Corbis.com

³⁰ The European Union decided the value of the Euro (€) in december 1998. This value was equal to the value of Ecu at that point and every amount previously stated in Ecu was stated in Euro starting January 1st, 1999. The amounts were converted on a one-to-one basis.

In New York mayor Fiorello La Guardia had stimulated many of these projects to clear the slums of New York. Many people still lived in ghettos. Jane Jacobs supported small measures and supporting the inhabitants in revitalizing their own neighbourhood. The book came as a shock to the urban planning world in America, which now realized that the new utopias it had built were slowly becoming new ghettos.

Many years later, Peter Hall (1996) revisited the neighbourhoods Jacobs described and noted that the quarters were indeed revitalised. The streets were clean and one could buy a croissant on every corner of the street. The old inhabitants had moved though. He described a process called *gentrification*. This is the development of an old declined quarter into a 'hip' place. Students and people who liked the foreign atmosphere of the neighbourhood move in, the old inhabitants move out.

In the Netherlands the most known example of this process is the Pijp, a nineteenth century quarter, which was poor in the fifties and nearly dead in the eighties. At the Gerard Dou-square the cafés were closed and all that remained were the drug-addicts. In the nineties everything changed (Chorus, 2001). The quarter was modern again and everybody wanted to live cheap, but close to the city centre. HP/De Tijd-magazine (1999) even declared it the *Quartier Latin* of Amsterdam. There do not live many native Amsterdammers anymore though, they all moved to new cities like Almere.

Lombok has seen a similar development. After the improvements made in the last three years the quarter is popular once more. People like shop in the *Souk*³¹ and once again like to live in Lombok. Bolt (2001) states that many of the new Dutch-native inhabitants are young and willing to stay in the neighbourhood. He thinks it is likely that the importance of the area for the Turkish and Moroccan community will decrease.

Massey (1985) describes the *spatial assimilation model*. This model was based on the principles of the Chicago School (Park, 1925). It shows the link between social-economic mobility and assimilation. Immigrants arrive in in the framework chain migration and settle in areas where compatriots are found. Later they move on to more assimilated areas.

In Lombok this process is not (yet) active, mainly because the second generation of immigrants do not as yet play a role on the real estate market (Bolt, 2001). Lombok itself is becoming more assimilated because of the flow of new Dutch inhabitants settling in the quarter. It is therefore these days less an ethnic specific

³¹ Souk means Market in Arabic

area than *ad esempio*, Kanaleneiland-noord, the area were new Turkish and Moroccan immigrants these days are settling, because they cannot afford a house in Lombok anymore.

In Lombok the price of a house increased with 80% in the last the years. In the whole of Utrecht this increase amounted 38%. The average house in Lombok now costs E 100.000. On an average rent-house in Utrecht there are 38 reactions of interested people, in Lombok there are 58 (Chorus, 2001). These are clearly signs of renewed appreciation of the quarter, both under native and immigrant populations. Van Huis *et. al* (2000) conclude that the mobility in all quarters in Utrecht is about the same at this moment, although not every quarter shares the same popularity.



Figure 32 Galatasaray became in 2000 the first Turkish club to win a major European soccer trophy. It beat Arsenal in the UEFA cup final

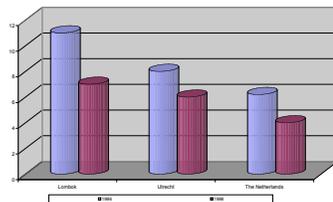


Figure 33 Unemployment in Lombok, Utrecht and the Netherlands in 1996 and 1998(CBS,2000 and Bestuursdienst, 2000)

Although less Turkish and Moroccan people live in Lombok, their heart still is in the quarter. When Galatasaray won the UEFA Cup, there was a traffic jam between Kanaleneiland and the Kanaalstraat (Chorus, 2001). Lombok still is the cultural heart of Utrecht’s Turkish community. The new population threatens the newfound character of the neighbourhood though, as they do like to live

and shop in the area, but do not participate in cultural events.

Undeniably the neighbourhood has improved in the last few years. Many houses have been renovated and rejuvenated. Many new businesses have been set up. In the Utrecht monitor 2000 (Bestuursinformatie, 2000) is written that the backlog has decreased 50% since 1996. The unemployment is down from 11% in 1996 to 7% in 1998. The question is off course how much the influence of Urban on this was. The last few years there was an economic boom with a decrease in unemployment in the whole of the Netherlands. In 1996 6.2% of the population did not have a job, in 1998 this had descended to 4.1% (CBS, 2000). In Utrecht a similar development has taken place. In 1996, 8% was without a job, in 1998 around 6%.



Figure 34 Multi-cultural entrepreneurs in Lombok

All this didn’t happen easily. Halfway through the project Utrecht discovered that half of the projects weren’t applicable for subsidy (Kopijn, 2000). In the Urban programme there are no subsidies for classic urban renewal programs. Only programmes, which increase self-empowerment of the people and stimulate

business, receive a grant from the Union. The main victim of this was the *Kop van Lombok*-project³². This was an investment in the shopping potential in the North of Lombok, with direct investments in the physical condition of a mall.

This meant that the municipality had to look for new projects in cooperation with the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. They looked at it from a new angle. This way projects like a course for new entrepreneurs were created. This wasn't classic urban renewal anymore; this way of working is trying to work with the people on their neighbourhood.

Utrecht is still in the process of evaluation though. Many projects are still running and it is still uncertain which results they will provide. The municipality is the risk-carrying agent. When at the end of 2001 the Union will make their final research in the programme, there is still a possibility that Utrecht will have to repay some of the money they spent.

The quarter now has the highest approval rating of all quarters in the city (Bestuursinformatie, 2000). Although one can doubt that everyone of the targeted population has been able to profit from this new flair, the neighbourhood has improved and Urban can be called a success.

As we have seen in the paragraph on the research process (§ 2.3) we should distinguish the results that are linked to the Urban program and results that have produced by autonomous factors. A part of the decline in unemployment is directly linked to the programme. The new companies created by the projects have a number of people employed. It should be noted that in the whole of the Netherlands unemployment reached the lowest point in many years at the end of the 1990s (CBS, 2000). Cherribi (Interview) mentioned that there weren't even enough 'suitable' unemployed for some projects, but the municipality wasn't allowed to direct funds to other measures.

The physical improvements are relatively directly linked to Urban. The municipality used European money, where allowed to improve streets and buildings. This was a signal, when seen by house owners stimulated them to improve their houses as well.

Lombok is not ready yet. Although it is no longer a problem area it will have to continue developing and evolving. Ten years ago it was the only place where people could buy 'exotic' food in Utrecht. As the Turkish and Moroccan population spread out over Utrecht (Bolt, 2001) the possibilities to buy food and

³² Lombok's Head

other products, originating in these countries have increased at the same speed. This is a potential threat to the entrepreneurs in the Kanaalstraat, the core of the rejuvenated neighbourhood (Figure 35)

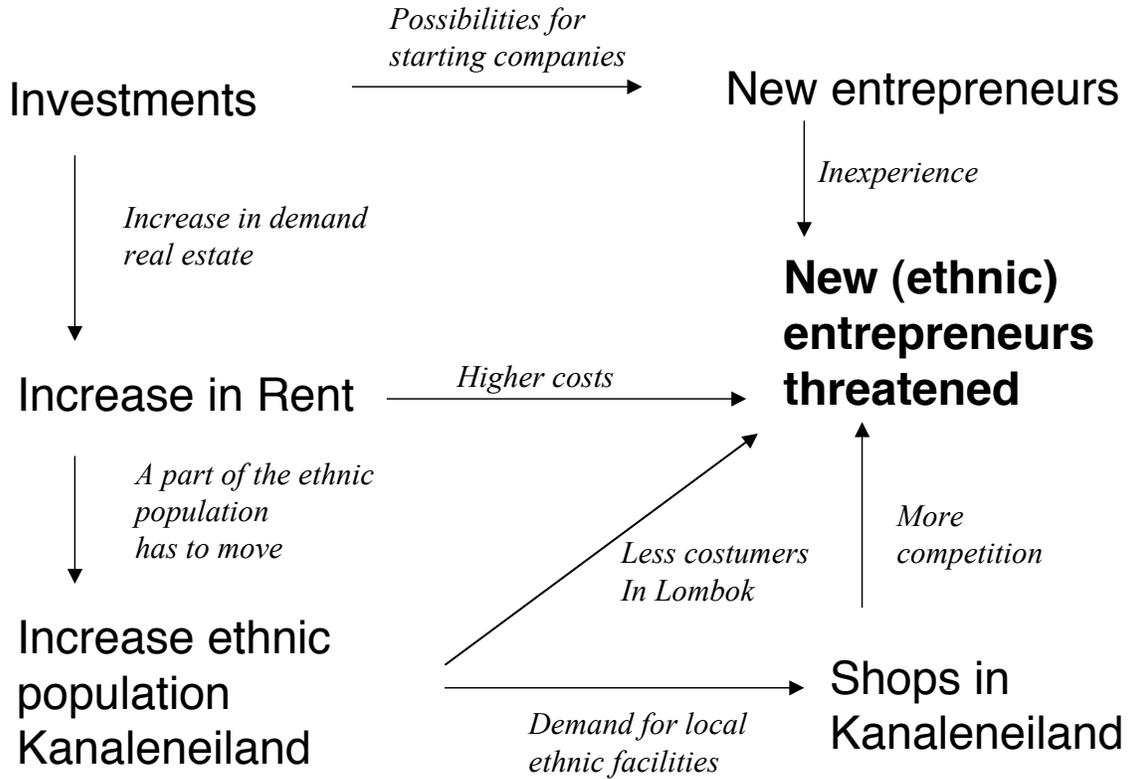


Figure 35 The (potential) threats to new and ethnic entrepreneurs in Lombok

New entrepreneurs will have difficulties to start their companies. After Urban runs out, new funds will have to be found to continue the arrangements made for current entrepreneurs. The price of real estate has risen. This will provide a hurdle for new companies to find their place in the area.



Figure 36 Albert Heijn has 670 stores in the Netherlands and has the largest market share © AH.nl

An example of a small company, which did not make it in a revitalised neighbourhood, can be found in Amsterdam. Grocery Lindeman was for years almost the only grocery in the Jordaan in Amsterdam. Large supermarket chains like Albert Heijn and Laurus watched the area closely and as the quarter improved they tried to get a store in the neighbourhood. It was a symbol of the neighbourhood and came with funny initiatives like ‘dating with your shopping

cart.' It could not compete with the big boys though and it closed in 2000, after generations of existence. It is now an Albert Heijn (Het Parool, 2000).

Many of the new entrepreneurs in Lombok have just started. Van Wissen (2000) compares a company to an organism. Just like small children, companies are most vulnerable when they are young. They work with small margins and it is the question of they will survive an increase in rent when the economy slows. The Kanaalstraat therefore runs the risk of just becoming just another shopping street in the Netherlands with an Etos, a Blokker and an Albert Heijn. They are all useful facilities, but might form a threat to the character of the neighbourhood as they are presented in every quarter in every city. They do have many employees, which might help the unemployment-rate

Concluding, one can say that Urban in Utrecht is a relative success. The unemployment rate is down. Many new companies have started, but are vulnerable. The physical environment has improved. The municipality had to change its plan midway, which had grave consequences for the programme and the involvement of the public. We have seen a process called gentrification in which the old inhabitants of the neighbourhood do not benefit completely. The old dilemma of urban renewal remains: *'do you invest in people or in buildings?'*

§ 5.2.4 How does the public participate? (D)

Public participation is one of the key objectives of the Urban programme (DG XI, 1999). It is also one of the objectives of Utrecht's request for EU support. The Public participation is different in the Urban programme than in the normal Dutch urban planning world.

The WRO requires municipalities to allow people to make suggestions and objectives to plans, before they come into operation³³. Often this is a strictly formal procedure without any consequences for the actual plan (Klaassen, 1994). In Urban this is different, because people had to come up with actual projects to spend the money. A. Cherribi, ex-programme manager of Urban in Utrecht states this was a radically different way of doing things.

Boon (1999) has described some examples of public participation in the neighbourhood. Local initiatives led to a rebuilding of a windmill. The museum-café was an idea of the local population. That population was organised before Urban. Organisations of inhabitants stopped the demolishing plans of the municipality. These organisations still play an active part in the neighbourhood.

³³ Wet op de Ruimtelijk Ordening, Urban Planning Act, Article 11

Not everybody participates though. Boon (1999) quotes a Mrs. Hennevelt: *‘Vroeger was het hier hardstikke gezellig; Alle Nederlandse winkels gaan weg en er komen buitenlandse voor in de plaats, met van die vervelende uitstallingen; als bejaarde struikel je er over’*³⁴. Others see the improvements, according to Boon, and actually participate. Integration has improved because of this as well, as Turkish people tell him.

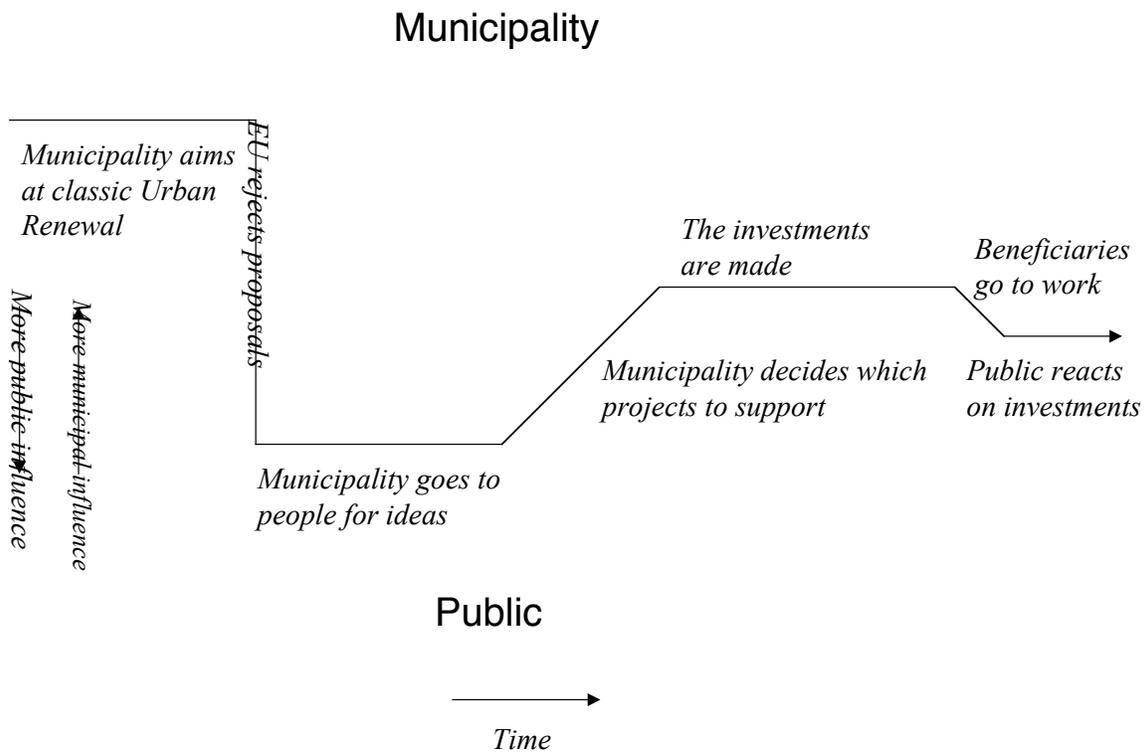


Figure 37 The development of public participation in Utrecht

Figure 37 shows the development of public participation in Utrecht. At first, the municipality wanted to make classic urban renewal projects. It selected sites to improve. Although the public had the right to react on the proposal, it contained the ideas of the municipality. When the EU rejected the proposal made by the municipality, it had to look for new ideas. Those ideas had to come from the public. After the municipalities indexed the ideas, they took part of the initiative when the decisions who to support was made and during the process. When the initial investments had been made, it was the public's to turn to respond on the project, not always as the municipality wanted, as seen in § 5.2.3

§ 5.2.5 How did the programme become a EU project? (E)

³⁴ It used to be very nice and cosy here. All Dutch shops are leaving now and are replaced by foreign shops, with those nasty stalls; as a senior citizen you triple over them.

The current Urban programme was not the first European experience of the city. The city had an Urban pilot project as well. When the city of Utrecht learned that there was more money available for the Urban programme they made a proposal to benefit from the initiative.

In Utrecht there was an Urban Pilot project in the centre of the city. The project aimed to renovate the historical city centre of Utrecht whilst maintaining it as an attractive environment for commercial and industrial investors. The Utrecht Museum Quarter project has tried to develop the city's historic centre



Figure 38 The Museumcafé, one of the local initiatives for

as the heart of the province of Utrecht. With four museums and many monuments of architectural worth, the centre of Utrecht has considerable tourist potential (Inforegio, 1999).

However, this potential had not been fully developed due to the lack of infrastructure, the neglect of public facilities and poor tourist marketing. Companies are moving away from the centre, where traffic problems due to the narrow streets make access difficult for businesses.

After the pilot project the city suddenly got a new opportunity to receive European money to revitalize the city. Lombok was rather late in becoming a EU-project. At first, Amsterdam and The Hague were the only cities to receive money from the funds, but later on, Utrecht was able to catch up. The Netherlands had insisted on becoming less of a net contributor of the Union and to receive more money (Zalm, 1995).

Utrecht made a proposal and sent in to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Kingdom-relations³⁵ (BZK). According to the ministry (Beimers, Interview) it played a coordinating, lobbying, chasing and a developing role. The ministry sent it to Brussels where it had to be judged by the Directorates-General XIV and XXI. All Dutch cities got the same (Dutch) contact person. A guiding group was created to accompany the cities.

As a result of the late admission to the Urban programme; Utrecht was 1,5 year behind the other cities and had to rush to make a plan (Cherribi, Interview). When it later discovered that a lot of projects they had send to the EU were not eligible for the Urban-programme they had to rush even more. When Cherribi entered

³⁵ Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties

the stage as programme-manager on January 1st, 1999 only 20% of the funds were allocated. The EU required cities to have made commitments to spend all the money by December 31st, 1999. In the end they spent nearly the whole sum.

When the basic structure was in place the real road started. Every project had to be judged by Brussels. Even when a project is running; the EU is still able to ask for a refund of the money if the project does not follow the exact guidelines that have been set by the Urban-decisions.

§ 5.2.6 Will the next projects be created and facilitated in the same way? (F)

The Urban programme nears its end. The projects which will come after the Urban programme are already waiting behind the line. As we have seen, the problem area has moved. Furthermore, Europe has started some new programs, like Urban II and Objective 2 (D2) money

As a result of the Urban programme, Utrecht is wiser now. The city will not apply for projects, of which is



Figure 39 The Westflank in Utrecht contains Overvecht, Northwest and South-West (Kanaleneiland) © Doelstelling-2.nl

sure that they are cancelled. They have made contacts is Brussels as well, which should help acquiring funds for new projects. Urban II is now running in Amsterdam en Rotterdam. These projects largely follow the same procedure as the first Urban projects, with new project considered.

One of the main advantages of the Urban projects was that it forced departments of municipalities to work together. Furthermore, municipalities had to strengthen and improve their secretariat to be able

to report in the way the national and European authorities required. (Beimers, Interview). This certainly will have an effect on future urban regeneration programmes.

In Utrecht there are currently no new Urban projects in process, after the current programme ends at the end of 2001. There are in the so-called 'Westflank' currently a few projects running with EU-money. The Westflank is a range of quarters northwest and southwest of Lombok, including Kanaleneiland. This is the next problem area to be improved. Poverty has shifted from the nineteenth century quarters towards the post-war cheaply built quarters (Municipality of Utrecht, 2000).

These projects are paid for with so-called 'D2-money'. Money the EU spends to reach objective 2 of the structural funds. This is the economic conversion of declining industrial regions. In Utrecht € 20,5 million will be spent on a number of projects (Doelstelling-2, 2000). For every Euro the EU spends, the national government spends a Euro as well.

These D2-projects roughly follow the same priorities as Urban set. Priority 1 improves the urban economic environment. Priority 2 tries to stimulate business. Finally priority 3 is meant to strengthen the social-economic potential of the targeted areas.

The differences are on the national level. In D2 the priorities and measures set are with the Ministry of Urban and Integration Policy³⁶ (GSI). This is a new ministry to coordinate city renewal projects. It is supposed to coordinate efforts to improve poor quarters. In the next paragraph we will see what the national role is in the Urban programmes.

Utrecht wants people to learn from their experiences. They have set up a centre where other municipalities can get information about EU subsidies. Finding your way in Europe is one of the key elements in creating a successful project.

§5.3 In a national framework

§ 5.3.1 What is the relation between the projects and the normal planning process/culture in these countries? (G)

All projects have to follow the national law. In the Netherlands the WRO requires a lengthy route before urban planning projects work. The *bestemmingsplan* is an effective, but slow instrument to coordinate the urban environment. The time to appeal is set by law and before a plan is approved it might be years later.

Europe works differently. The plans had to be ready in a tight schedule, as we have seen in § 5.2.5 (E). Procedures had to be quick and there was little room for the WRO to take its course. Other problems also appeared. The EU wanted legal commitments to pay suppliers. Utrecht had trouble making them in a manner that Utrecht could get out of the agreement, as Cherribi (Interview) reported.

³⁶ Ministerie van Grote Steden- en Integratiebeleid

The National framework has helped in other ways though. It provided the instruments to get the projects running and combining the Urban funds with Dutch measures led to the overall result. Job seekers could use the normal channels of finding a job, but could get work in the projects.

The national government has signed covenants with the four major cities (Rijk-G4, 1998). Later on more cities contacted the government and formed the G21. The covenants try to establish a true integrated policy. As we have seen in the evaluation of the Urban programme in Utrecht, Urban covers a many different policy sectors (§ 5.2.5/B). This doesn't make it a integrated policy though as projects were supported by just one measure at the time. Furthermore, it was not allowed to shift money between different measures. Although the measures together formed a comprehensive program for Urban renewal, the measures did not form an integrated financing sum. This was partly because of the structure of European financing, as we will later see in § 5.4.1.

In the covenants the national government tries to bundle all the cash flows towards the cities. The minister for Urban Policy has become partly responsible for the urban cash flows of the ministries of Economic affairs, Education, Infrastructure, Internal affairs, Urban Planning, Agriculture, Justice, Public Health and Social affairs. Although the minister is partly responsible for the budgets, he has not got his own budget, and his compendium of 'his' budget is published as an appendix to the normal budget. The integration in planning now is almost complete, although the individual ministries still control the financial streams.

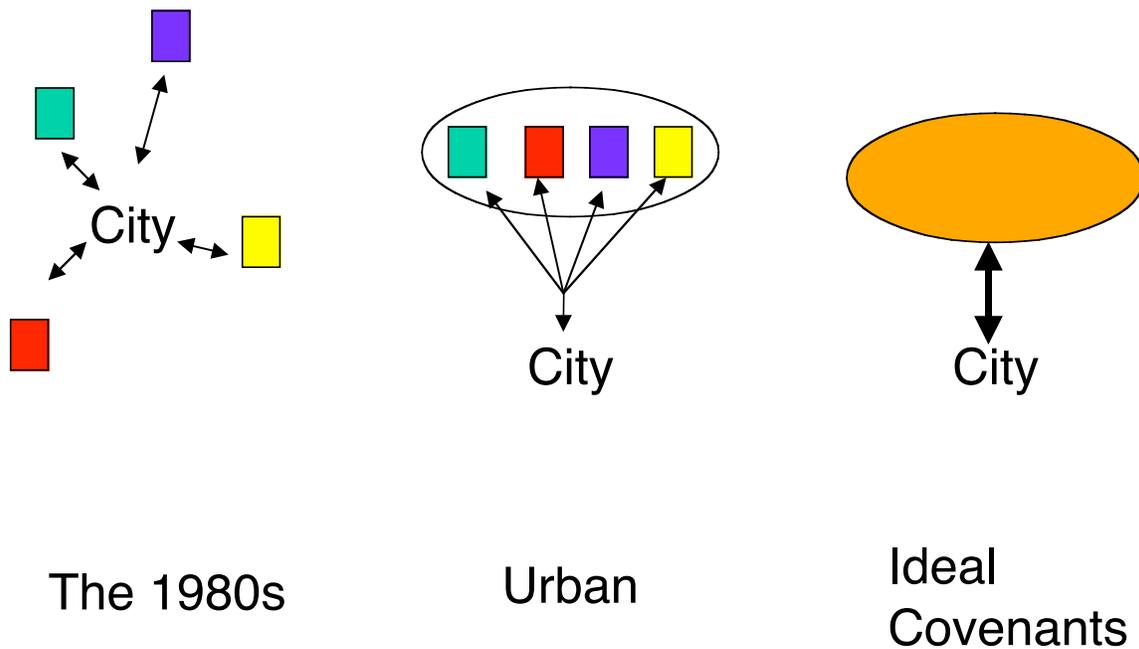


Figure 40 Integration in Dutch urban policy. Cities first had to contact different ministries for different projects. In the Urban programme the authorities presented the projects as one plan, although the projects were still strictly separated by sector. In the covenants a truly integrated cash-flow between the national and local governments is attempted.

We can conclude that we have seen a slow development in urban policy. At first it was project based and cities applied for funds at the individual ministries who controlled the sector of the respective project. In Urban the cash flows for a specific area were set next to each other to form a comprehensive package. Now the ministry is working toward a true integrated policy with only one responsible ministry and cooperating measures. (Beimers)

§ 5.3.2 Is there internal coordination among projects within a country? (H)

There is some form of internal coordination among projects within the Netherlands. The large cities had one contact person in Brussels. Furthermore they reported to the same people in the national government. Every three months there was a meeting between the different programme managers. They could swap experiences and learn from each other.

All cities experienced similar problems with the European Union and could help each other when they did not know whom to turn to. Rotterdam and Utrecht both were on the fast track. They could use the initial work done by Amsterdam and The Hague in Brussels. The first project in the Netherlands, which received money from the European Structural Funds, was in Flevoland (Evans, 1999). The authorities responsible for this projects assisted the cities in communicating with Brussels.

The department of Internal Affairs and Kingdom Relations (BZK) was responsible for the coordination of the Urban projects. After the elections of 1998, one minister (Van Boxtel) became responsible for the urban renewal funds, although the different ministries remained responsible for supplying money for urban renewal projects. Van Boxtel is now responsible for the former urban policy section of the ministry of BZK

In the Urban project the ministry had just the coordinating role. All four cities came with their own annual report. As the national government supplied money for the projects (§ 5.2.2/B) they were obliged to check the expenditures made in the projects by the municipalities. They did this according to the 5%-standard (Beimers). From every project 5% of the outlays were checked if they were spent according to plan.

The National Government will play a significant stronger role in the D2-funds (Doelstelling-2, 2000). The communication in this project will go through the ministry. There will be just one budget instead of four different. All the nine participating municipalities³⁷ will have to present their budget to the ministry. The

³⁷ Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Eindhoven, Utrecht, Nijmegen, Enschede, Arnhem and Maastricht

ministry will collect these budgets and will make a new budget, the accumulation of the nine budgets by measure.

§ 5.3.3 Would the projects also have been realized without EU-support? (I)

In the Netherlands there is a rich tradition in urban renewal. It started forty years ago with the first slum clearing plans and developed into more and more sophisticated urban renewal programs (Faludi and Van der Valk, 1993). There would certainly be an integrated project in Lombok, if there would not have been an Urban programme, but it wouldn't be quite the same.

Cherribi stated that the Urban programme allows municipalities to do what they otherwise would not do. The criteria and objectives of the programme are such that they make a different selection process necessary than other methods of financing as used by municipalities. The investment in people in combination with the neighbourhood was rather new for the Netherlands.

The programs would without EU support reflect many ideas, which are currently found in the EU programme. As mentioned in chapter III, the RPD (1991), the national Dutch physical planning organisation made many suggestions, which in the end formed a part of the urban policy in the treaty of Maastricht. Furthermore, the ministry of Internal Affairs (BZK) organised a conference on Urban Policy in 1997, which shaped helped shape the local Urban initiatives (Beimers)

§5.4 Communicating with Brussels

§5.4.1 How does Brussels judge and influence projects for the Urban programmes? (J)

Urban is not a fund in itself. It is a community initiative, which uses the European Structural Funds (ESF) and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). This means that every project not just has to adhere to the standards of the Urban Programme, but to those of the ESF and ERDF as well.

The ERDF and ESF use very strict boundaries for their projects. This is because they haven't been created for an urban situation, but for individual projects in backlog areas. In Utrecht this meant that some projects, although logically a unit with the other side of the street had to refrain themselves from operating across the street, to be granted money.

One of the reasons that this happened is because Europe is very afraid of fraud. For the Urban programme this meant that every project had to be approved by two directorate-generals. A project needed to be sanctioned on both its contents and its financial status. The first had to be done by DG XIV, the second by DG XXIII. The latter did not look at all at the contents, but solely at the efficacy of the projects and if it would exactly fit into to the original plan. This meant that the municipality of Utrecht could not shift funds from one measure to another. Utrecht was therefore forced to look for projects, which did adhere to the original concept. In Amsterdam there is currently an investigation into fraud with employment projects, partly funded by Urban Money (Van Engelen, 2001).

The financial departments in Brussels might have had a bigger influence on the project than the regional policy department. The regional policy directorate did offer advice on which projects were like to be applicable for subsidy and which they would give the green light. By this they had an influence on the selection of projects and the shaping of projects as well, being able to put a European stamp on the programme. The question remains however, if the decision on individual projects should not be made by one directorate general to increase the effects, and merely the control at the end should be left to the financial department.

As we have seen in §5.3.1/G the Urban programme is not that integrated as it may seem. Although the measures form a comprehensive package, they still are based on projects, which do not cross the border of the limits set by the measures. One of the reasons this has happened could be that the control over strictly defined measures by a department, which does not concern itself with the content of a measure, is far easier than integrated measures. This is because a simple cost-result analysis is sufficient. The structure of the European funds therefore stands in the way of a truly integrated approach.

§ 5.4.2 Would a top-down approach lead to a more efficient allocation of the funds? (K)

Utrecht would have liked more liberty to allocate the funds. This way they would have fewer problems with the European Union in the time frame (as mentioned in § 5.3.2/G) and the selection of projects (as mentioned in §5.4.1/J). This might have led to a more efficient and flexible programme, and to greater results. Autonomous developments could have been incorporated into the programme.

When this line of thought is followed, one should not use a top-down approach. There is however an other side to the story. The aims of the European Union might not always correspond with the aims of the municipality. Although in this programme the municipality in its application quoted the objectives of the Urban programme, it is highly likely that when they would have created there own there would be a nuance

in objectives, even if it was only for the fact that they were looked at from a different perspective. To get the European stamp on the programme, top-down coordination is necessary.

The Urban programme depends on public participation however. The key to this a bottom-up approach to selecting the projects and create projects with the inhabitants. The European Union will have to set the standard, if they want their own urban philosophy to trickle down. More top-down approach might lead to an increase in bureaucracy and a decrease justice. The EU would have to create *generic* regulation to combat *specific* situations, which seems impossible.

Urban might have bottom-up projects; the actual guidelines are set top-down. The individual municipalities do not have an influence on the guidelines of the project and even the influence of the national government on the methods of spending ended after the initial division of the money between the member-states (Beimers, Interview)

The conclusion is therefore that underneath the bottom-up execution of the Urban programme there is a top-down structure. It is difficult to change this; as in Brussels the actual execution of all projects cannot be planned and to ensure the European element top-down guiding is essential. A little less rigid guidelines might improve the efficiency of the programme though.

§ 5.4.3 Is the EU-element relevant to the public? (L)

The Union has a very strict policy on communicating with other parties in the project. These are NGOs, private enterprises and the public. The municipality acted as an agent for the union in carrying out the project. This meant that the municipality had to make clear that a part of the money is coming from the European Regional Development Fund.

Under every letter, on every flyer, on every poster and on every envelope there had to be a logo of the EU, with a supporting text explaining the ERDF. This could of course be seen as an instrument of the Union to increase the support it has under the European population.

In Utrecht the programme management saw this as a good way of communicating. Everybody knew instantly who was responsible for the project. It created a point of reference for the public to contact the organisation, where in the past Urban renewal project were often hampered by a manifold of organisation and people responsible.

It the question if a different logo would not have the same effect as the European logo. The fact remains however that the rigid European guidelines of communication did have a positive influence on the project. There won't be that many people who realised the Urban philosophy though, as just the outside of the European element was visible, while the internal European constellation remained limited to the different layers of government.

§ 5.5 Conclusions

In this chapter we have seen a quarter, which started as a former industrial area with high unemployment (§ 5.2.1/A). It was handled by an Urban programme which tried to influence the labour market, increase the safety of the neighbourhood and improve the quality of life. It did so by setting a number of objectives and defining measures to reach those objectives. Within the framework of these measures a number of projects were selected and created with the people to implement them (§ 5.2.2/B).

The programme has been a relative success until now. The quarter has been revitalised and is now one the most popular quarters of the city of Utrecht. This Urban programme is partly responsible for this success. The municipality had to change its original course though, and had to support different projects that it had originally intended. The economy of the Netherlands has flourished and this can also explain a part of the success of the neighbourhood.

The neighbourhood has also changed. Many of the people the projects were meant for have moved, because they could not pay the increased rent, which has been caused by the popularity of the neighbourhood. New entrepreneurs will have to deal with this increased value of real estate as well (§ 5.2.3/C).

Utrecht has learned from this EU project. Making a project eligible for EU-support (§ 5.2.5/E) will be easier and in future projects will benefit from the experience gained in developing the Urban programme. Utrecht wants to export its knowledge about the project and the thoughts of integration and participation have found their way into the national policy of urban renewal (§ 5.2.6/F). The national ministry of Urban Policy now tries to increase its influence on urban renewal and increase the coordination pioneered by the four cities participating in the Urban project (§ 5.3.2/H). The ministry tries to create true integrated urban policy, as a contrast to the comprehensive, but separated measures of Urban.

The national framework has played an ambiguous role in the Urban programme. On one side it provide the means and the instruments to successfully support the projects. On the other hand Dutch urban planning legislation was rather slow to accommodate the time frame as set in Brussels. The national government did

provide support in coordinating the efforts made by the cities and communicating their wishes to Brussels (§ 5.3.1/G).

The Union did shape the Urban programme in Utrecht. It influenced the selection and the form of the project and made it different from the normal Dutch urban renewal projects, by emphasising on investing in people and in business, rather than just classic city renewal programs and infrastructure (§ 5.4.1/J). It had a profound influence on the structure of the programme as well. Communication had to be European-only and the methods of reporting to the Union were strictly defined as well, although the Union supplies less a third of the total funds involved. Utrecht might have liked greater freedom in allocating the funds (§ 5.4.2/K)

The public was involved in many steps of the way. They had to provide ideas for projects and carry them out as well (§ 5.2.4). They were targeted by all measures in the programme, focussing on their job-situation, their safety and quality of living conditions. They could contact one organisation, which they could identify as 'The European Program' (§ 5.4.3/L). Time will tell if the inhabitants have become greater *tifosi* of the Union.

Lombok has changed dramatically over the last few years. From a quarter close to dieing in the 1980 it has developed in to a spirited and multicultural area. Urban has played a role in this. Some of the inhabitants might not have been able to enjoy the benefits of the programme, the neighbourhood as a whole has improved, partly due to the fact that there now was an European programme helping it.

In the next chapter we will discover if this happened in Salerno as well. We will discover what the same combination of European funds, Municipal ideas and public reached in a different world, the world of the mezzogiorno, where the retrocession of Salernitana, the local football club, to the Serie B was probably felt harder than all problems in the city combined.

Chapter VI
Salerno



*Ein gleicher Umriß ward abends aus den Fenstern von Salern genommen,
welcher mich aller Beschreibung überheben wird, einer ganz einzig lieblichen und fruchtbaren Gegend.
Wer wäre nicht geneigt gewesen,
an diesem Orte zu studieren,
zur schönen Zeit der blühenden hohen Schule?³⁸*

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, 'Italienische Reise'
Naples, March 23rd, 1787

³⁸ Another drawing was made from the window of our Inn in Salerno, which will make any description of this lovely region superfluous. Who would not have felt inclined to study in this place when the university was in its heyday? (Auden Translation)

§ 6.1 Salernum

When the German poet Goethe visited the city of Salerno, the beauty of the city and its bay flabbergasted him, although it experienced a lesser period of its existence. Gone were the days of the city's scientific primacy. A new era was waiting to be explored though. We will first explore the history of the city. Then we will focus on the current situation the history provided. And then we will investigate the possibilities that the Urban programme offered to make the city once again flourish.

§ 6.1.1 A Greek foundation

There is a legend on the foundation of Salerno. A group of 'masters' composed of the Greek Ponto, the Jew Elino, the Latin Salerno and an Arab went on a trip. After a long and difficult journey on their way to a promised land, they finally found it. After two years they mastered the science of Hippocrates and discovered the secret of eternal youth.

Salerno was founded officially 200 years before Christ on a beautiful location on the gulf of the same name at the foot of Mount Bonadies, although a small city already existed under the Greeks. There are a few hypotheses on the name. Some say it was derived from Sern, the son of a famous prince in the area. Other say the city is named after an ancient name for a 'place under the sun'. Other point at the Greek origin of the city and say it is in Greek 'plan (ερνο) made out of the sea (σαλος)'.

The city was part of Magna Graecia, the colonies the Greeks founded in the south of Italy (Microsys, 2000). It was near to Elea, where a famous philosophical school was founded with Zeno and Parmenides as its main authors (Creszenzo, 1978). First the Carthaginians conquered the city and after that it became a Roman colony: Salernum. Nearby there are some famous leftovers of both eras: Paestum and Pompei.

The history of Salerno is filled with foreign conquerors, as is the history of the whole of southern Italy. After the Romans came the Longobardi. They were driven away in the eighth century by Bishop Gaudioso, as he revenged bloodshed, caused by the occupiers. It became part of the empire of Charlemagne shortly after.

The Eleian school of philosophy

In the fifth century B.C. in Elea, in the province of Salerno, Parmenides was the father of one of the most famous schools of Greek philosophy.

Parmenides taught that the world of sense is an illusion because it consists of motion (or change) and plurality (or multiplicity or the many). True Being is absolutely one; there is in it no plurality. True Being is absolutely static and unchangeable. Common sense says there is both motion and plurality.

This is the Pythagorean notion of reality against which Zeno directed his arguments. Zeno showed that the common sense notion of reality leads to consequences at least as paradoxical as his master's. (IEP, 1996)

§ 6.1.2 A medical tradition

In this period many sovereigns and popes contested Italy. Only a few kilometres from Salerno, the republic of Amalfi was the richest part of Campania. The coastal republic remained independent for a few hundred years (Sirocco, 1998). It fought battles with the maritime republics, those of Pisa, Venice and Genoa.



Figure 41 The flag of the *repubblica marinara di Amalfi* ©

Salerno remained small, but Constantine the African founded the Scuola Medica di Salerno, although there are some historians (De Renzi, 1852), who contradict this statement. Salernum kept for centuries alight the lamp of the old learning, and became the centre of medical studies in the Middle Ages; well deserving its name of '*Civitas Hippocratica*.' Salertinian physicians are mentioned as early as the middle of the ninth century, and from this date until the rise of the universities it was not only a great medical school, but a popular resort for the sick and wounded.

There were medical and surgical clinics, founding hospitals, Sisters of Charity, men and women professors and apothecaries. Dissections were carried out, chiefly upon animals, and human subjects were occasionally used. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the school reached its height, and that remarkable genius, Frederick II, laid down regulations for a preliminary study extending over three years, and a course in medicine for five years, including surgery. Fee tables and strict regulations as to practice were made; and it is specifically stated that the masters were to teach in the schools, theoretically and practically, under the authority of Hippocrates and Galen. The literature from the school had a far-reaching influence. One book on the anatomy of the pig illustrates the popular subject for dissection at that time (Osler, 1913)

One work above all others spread the fame of the school--the *Regimen Sanitatis*, or *Flos Medicinæ* as it is sometimes called, a poem on popular medicine. It is dedicated to Robert of Normandy, who had been treated at Salerno, and the lines begin: '*Anglorum regi scripsit schola tota Salerni ...*' It is a hand-book of diet and household medicine, with many shrewd and taking sayings which have passed into popular use, such as '*Joy, temperance and repose Slam the door on the doctor's nose.*' A full account of the work and the various editions of it is given by Sir Alexander Croke (1830).



Figure 42 Piazza Duomo © MoS

Robert of Normandy was not the only Norman present at the city. They conquered Salerno as well, as did the Arabs until they were chased away by crusades in 1016. In this time the Popes used it as a refuge and it got a Duomo, the center of every Italian city.

In 1566 Salerno was one of the main sufferers of the plague, although the presence of the medical school helped the victims. In these days the city became part of the Bourbon monarchy (Microsys, 2000) and it remained under Bourbon control until the nineteenth century, when Italy was finally unified.

§ 6.1.3 An industrial city

Salerno remained second best to Naples all this time. Naples is not as dominant in the south as it was a century ago though. Salerno developed together with Bari and Cosenza a strong industrial sector. Naples was in the fifteenth century the largest city in Western Europe (Friedrichs, 1995) and the only real urban center in the south of Italy. When Italy was unified and people started to move from the rural areas towards the cities. Salerno grew rapidly (Calabi, 1984)

Salerno played a role in the unification as well. The Italian liberator Giuseppe Garibaldi entered the city after local patriots freed it. In the Second World War it became a symbol of freedom too. The Allies placed their invasion of 1943 near the city and Salerno was the first capital of a free Italy.



Figure 43 The viceroy's chalet on the Suez channel. The British wanted to have a direct connection between India and Great-Britain. The canal and the occupation of Cyprus and the Gibraltar Strait brought the route under their control. © corbis.com

In the nineteenth century Salerno industry developed rapidly. It was one of the main beneficiaries of the industrial revolution in Italy. There were two reasons for this. It was liberated rather early in the *Risorgimento*³⁹, and therefore could develop while other cities were still under control of the different enemies of the unified state. The second reason was the opening of the Suez-canal in the 1880s. When traveling from Britain to India, Salerno became a natural point to refill supplies. This resulted in a growth of the port of Salerno. This was a basis for further industrial and popular expansion. It those years the Salerno as known today took shape.

³⁹ The Risorgimento is the process of unification in Italy. Italy was Unified under Vittorio Emanuel of Savoie after years of battle with the Papal States, traditional strong men and Austria-Hungary in 1870. The two most important persons in this process were Garibaldi, a charismatic popular leader and Cavour, an aristocrat and the first minister of the latter king.

Salerno lies beautifully at the gulf of Salerno. It now has 150.000 inhabitants (compared to Naples' 1.000.000+) and is capital of the province in Campania with the same name. For Italian standards it is a low province, situated only 4 metres above sea level. The province has a territory of 59 km².

After the industrial sector declined in the 1980s Salerno had to find new opportunities to create jobs (Microsys, 2000). The tertiary sector now is more important than ever. Many Saleritians now find their jobs in the tourist industry. For the tourist the nearby Pompei and Paestum are highlights and Salerno want to attract those people. Another important new development is the appearance of small technological companies in the city.

Where in the North of Italy there have been successful Urban renewal programs, as we have seen in chapter IV, the South had other priorities and its centres should be upgraded to exploit the tourist potential of the area. For the tourist Italy still ends at Rome and where Goethe still travelled further south to see the wonders of Sicily and Naples, following the old adagium of '*vedi Napoli e poi muori*'⁴⁰, the modern tourist is satisfied with the Chianti of Tuscany and the canals of Venice (ANWB, 2000). In contrast, the south is seen as dangerous and full of *Mafiosi*.



Figure 44 *Il Novecento* (Bertolucci 1976) tells the tale of a farmboy and an aristocrat finding their way in the Italy of the twentieth century
© imdb.com

The south of Italy has known unemployment for a very long time. This is one of the reasons so many people immigrated north, as Bernardo Bertolucci illustrated in his epic film *Il Novecento*⁴¹. The population had no choice but to look to the Church and the Mafia to make some kind of career. This did not help the economy of the south to recover though. And although there have been many attempts to improve the situation, e.g. the *cassa per il mezzogiorno* (described in § 4.3), the south still is known for higher unemployment ratios. The Istat (1999) reports that Italy as a whole has an unemployment ratio of 11.4%, whereas the Mezzogiorno has to deal with 22% of its people unemployed. The targeted area has even larger problems, with 28% percent of the people unemployed (Inforegio, 1999)

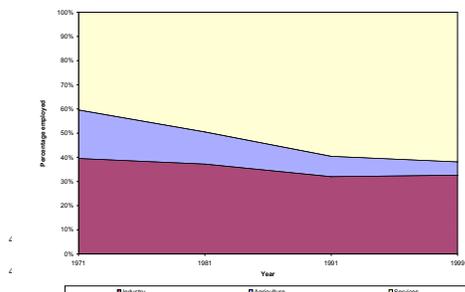


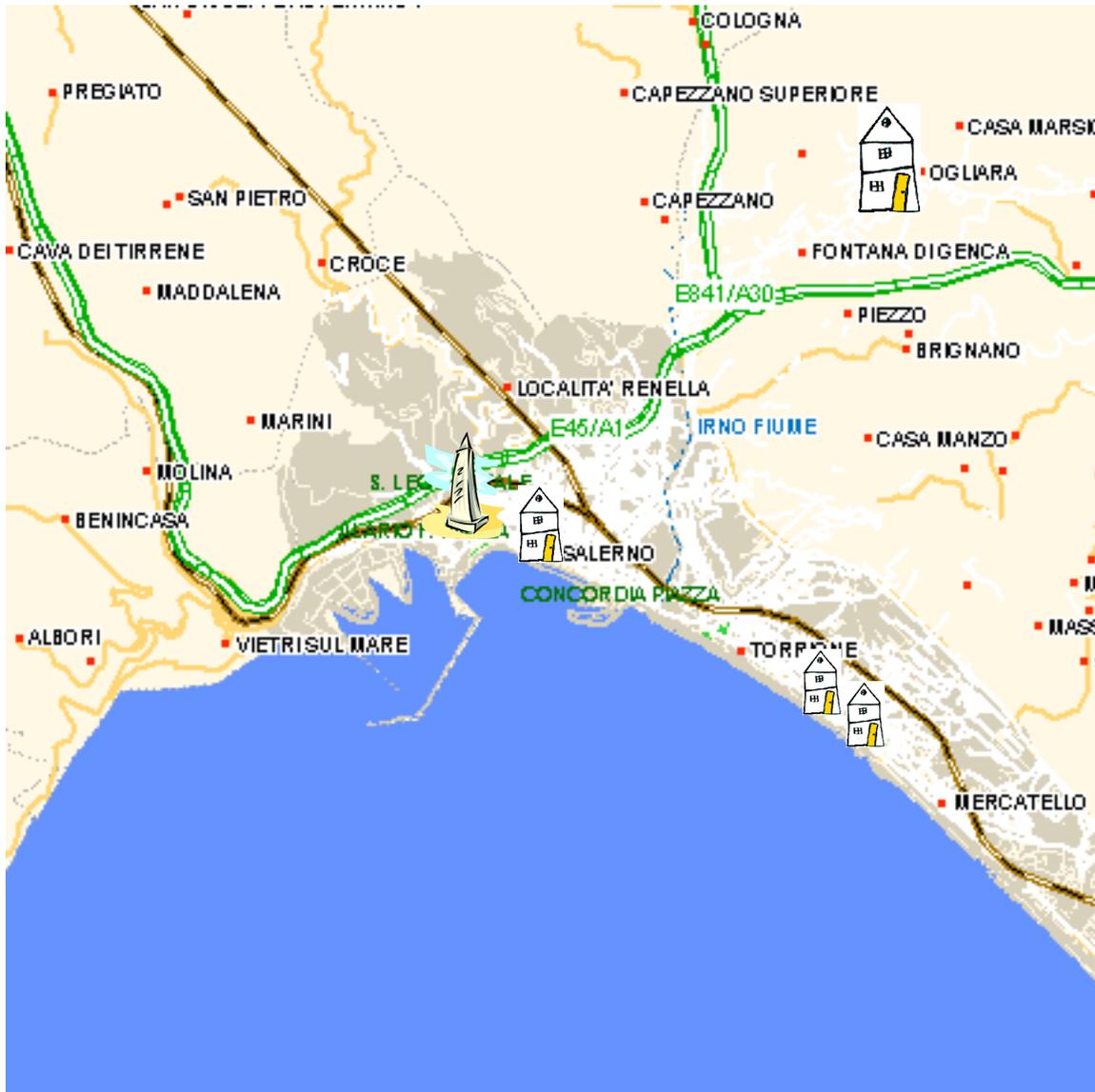
Figure 45 The decline of the secondary sector (bottom layer) in Italy (Istat, 1999)

Salerno is no different and since it has always relied heavily on industry, it has to suffer extra hard, when industry in Western Europe declined in the 1980. Whereas

in 1971 the secondary sector provided for 37.2 percent of Italian jobs, in 1990 only 32.2 percent of the Italians worked in plants and other industrial complexes. (figure 45)

Now the sanitation process of the industrial sector is over, new developments are taking places. The city is building a metropolitan railway system alongside the national railway. This follows the example of Naples, whose first subway line had been built in much the same way. It will provide new opportunities to make the city one.

Figure 46 The city of Salerno. The neighbourhoods with the most problems are accentuated by crooked house. These are the old centre, the Mariconadistrict (near Mercatello) and Ogliara (Map © Virgilio.it)



Furthermore, Salerno will be situated less peripherally when finally the freeway between the city and Reggio Calabria will be completed and improved. At this point, the A3 Na-Sa (Napoli-Salerno) ends after

the city. Created with European funds, the A3 Sa-RC (Salerno-Reggio) will make Salerno a junction in the traffic between the North and the South of the country.

Even with those new opportunities, the city will remain with problem quarters. The centre is not actually the worst neighbourhood. In the periphery there are the worst cases, around the Mariconda district (De Vero, Figure 46). The municipality selected the centre for the Urban project because of its effect on the whole city and perhaps because the municipality was accountable for the results, and the less organized Mariconda district was more difficult to improve, therefore the project could contain increased risk for the persons responsible (Cremaschi, Interview). The district of Ogliara is a more rural quarter, therefore less suited to the Urban project.

§ 6.2 A useful programme

§ 6.2.1 What is the status of the neighbourhood? (A)

The neighbourhood is in the south of the historic centre of Salerno. It has about 10.000 inhabitants. The physical infrastructure has known far better days. The old convents, which were built by the clerical employees of the medical school now are almost unsuitable to live in. The structure is still medieval and the quarter has a density, which might be seen as too high by current standards of hygiene, although sparsely populated in these days.



Figure 47 The targeted neighbourhood © MoS

The centre was historic, but small and the city never could attract enough funds to rebuild its heart and become more attractive. The centre of Salerno therefore needed a boost and the applied for the Urban programme. This might be a way to get the city on the map.

The historical centre of Salerno, and particularly its higher part, covers around 40 ha, which represents almost 7% of the total extension of the city. It is populated by 5% of the urban inhabitants. The area is densely built and over 30% of the buildings are of high architectural value (Inforegio, 1999).

The targeted area is affected by a socio-economic weakness. This is due to decreasing economic activities and lack of social services. Additionally, the quarter has a cultural distress, due to a real loss of cultural identity in the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, there is good potential to achieve in the area the replacement of the core cultural and social activities (Inforegio, 1999).

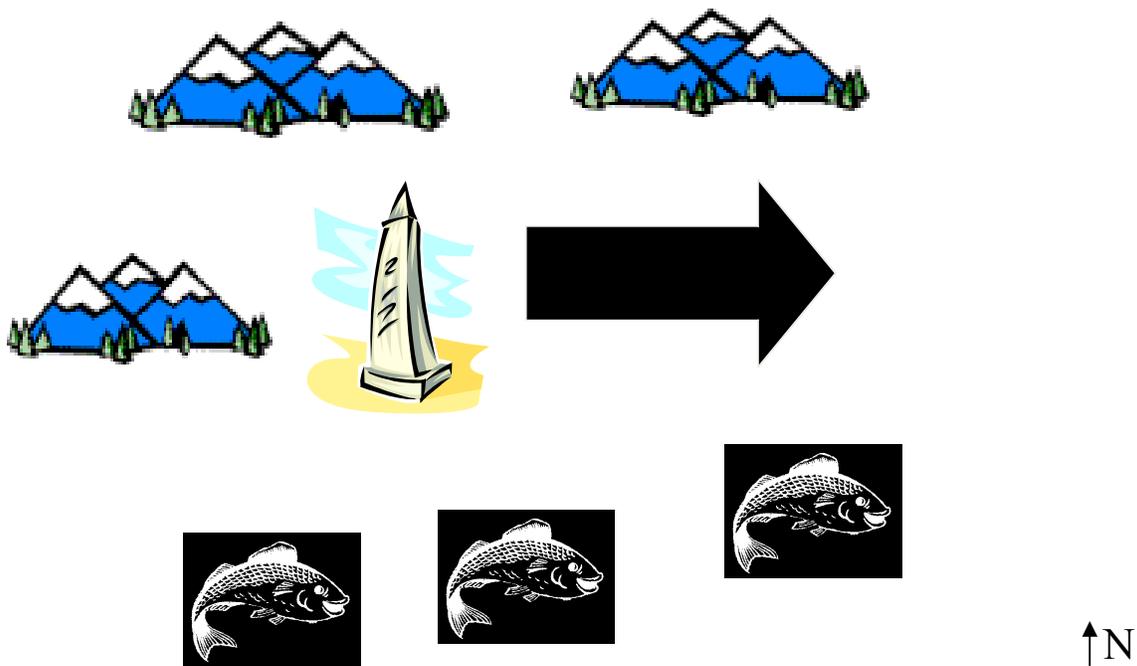


Figure 48 The expansion of the city of Salerno. The centre was encircled on three sides by the sea and the mountains; it could only expand one way.

As the city expanded in the end of the nineteenth century, when the industrial revolution reached Italy, a problem occurred. The city could only expand in one way (*Figure 48*). The mountains and the sea enclosed it. This is the reason most cities, like Amalfi, remained small. Salerno grew however.

The city lost its balance by this development. The old centre appeared suddenly rather peripheral. Population left the area. When in the past the centre contained tens of thousands of people, only ten thousand remained. The streets became empty and the people, who could afford it, left the area.

This development enhanced itself. Functions and services departed making the area even less attractive. Salerno was left without a true 'centro storico'. There were the buildings, but there was no activity. The city park, Villa Comunale turned in to an abandoned area, attractive only to criminals and prostitution.

The final blow was dealt when the University left the old centre for a new campus. Even students did not come into the city anymore. More buildings were left empty. But those same buildings could provide an opportunity for new functions, when stimulated accordingly. This was the point, were Urban stepped in.

The centro storico is divided in three areas (*Figure 49*). The seaside area contains the main axis of the city (Corso Garibaldi). Around the axis there are many bars. These opened in the last few years, as the city tried to promote them. The area is popular at night, but during the day there are only offices and a few shops, as the main shopping area lies east of the historic centre, near the station. Furthermore it does not have many relations with the other parts of the centre, as they are active at other times.

The medium area is filled with old convents and the Duomo. This is the area most activity of the Urban programme takes place. The highest part is strictly a residential area and isolated. The Giardini della Minerva, which lies in this area could be an attraction which would make the area part of the centre again.

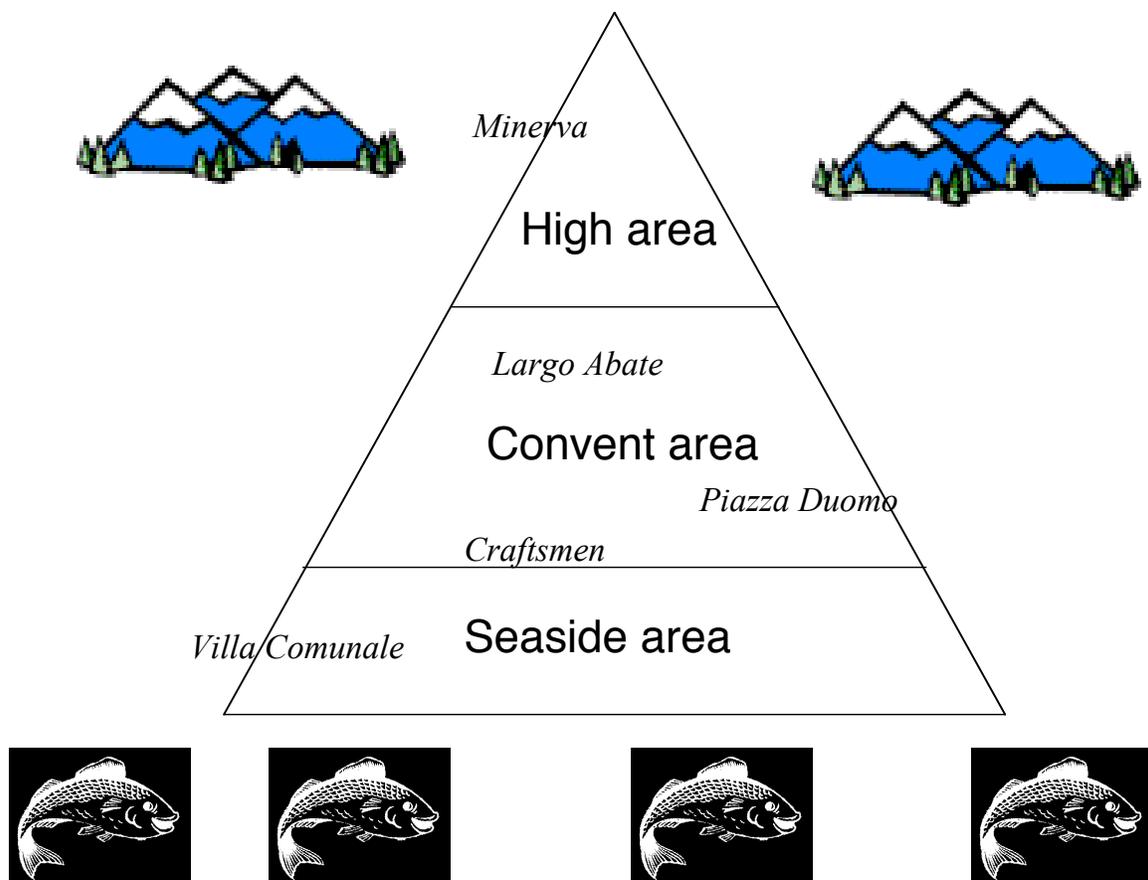


Figure 49 The centre is divided in three areas. The area near the sea around the main axis, an area filled with historic buildings and an higher, more residential area. The Urban projects are mainly in the middle district

§ 6.2.2 What are the characteristics of the Urban-programme? **(B)**

The Urban programme is targeted at the southern part of the centre, just below the historical core of the city. Like the program in Utrecht, it first tries to define the lines of action to combat the problems. As we

have seen in the last paragraph, the area is has seen a decline in the last few years. Many historic buildings have seen better days and unemployment has risen.

The basic lines of actions are more or less the same as in Utrecht, possibly reflecting the strong influence of EU guidelines on the Urban project and the theoretical agreement over the resolution of problems. As we will see later on, the actual implication of the measures is quite different.

Obj.	Actual improvement	Approach
α	40 Companies	Economic stimulation
β	Service centres	Social Cohesion
γ	Space for companies, centres and housing	Physical Upgrading

Table 17 Objectives in Salerno

The municipality of Salerno (MoS) has developed a plan to improve the neighbourhood south of the centre (table 17). It wants to stimulate business (MoS, 2000). Furthermore it tries to improve the level of organisation of the neighbourhood by stimulating education and social events. The final concept used by the municipality is the physical upgrading of the area.

To realize these ideas, the municipality has set actual objectives. The first objective (α) is to create forty new companies by stimulating business. To improve the social cohesion the municipality creates *centri servizi*. These will provide services in education, professional orientation and provide space for local associations. Furthermore they will serve as support to people that have difficulty to find their way in realizing new plans due to bureaucracy.

The physical upgrading will consist of converting old convents to places, which are able to host the new companies and services generated by the first two objectives. They will also serve as new housing for students of the old medical university, which has evolved to a full-blown university.

Objectives need a translation into measures to have any chance of working. Salerno has, like Utrecht developed six measures in its Urban programme. The city wanted to make the old convent of San Michele a location where small business can thrive. The project is meant to support craftsmen, who have small companies with a attraction for terracotta. They might be active in terra cotta or making small statues.



Figure 50 The old convent of San Michele © MoS

Southern Italy is a rather patriarchal society, as described by the poet Alessandro D'Agostini in his *Rivelazione* (1996). The Netherlands, by comparison, are generally known for their emancipation, although

when compared to e.g. Sweden, the Netherlands have far less entrepreneurs than the Scandinavians (Mills and Voerman, 1997).

The Southern Italian patriarchal society is one of the reasons the municipality aims its support mainly at female and young entrepreneurs (figure 51). The measure is part of the translation of objective α and g. The companies will support the economy by creating jobs for the unemployed in the neighbourhood as by creating new opportunities for tourism in the city.

Measure B is directed at the education of the local population. It is therefore connected to objective β (cohesion), although it tries in the end to contribute to objective α (economic stimulation) as well. It tries to educate people to a level at which they are able to contribute to the neighbourhood as well. Fifteen women who have been traditional *cape famiglie*⁴² are finally enabled to get their high school diplomas. Fifteen more people are educated for a job to maintain the physical infrastructure and the gardens of the quarter. Finally, fifteen people will receive a short-master education concerning the management of non-profit organisations.

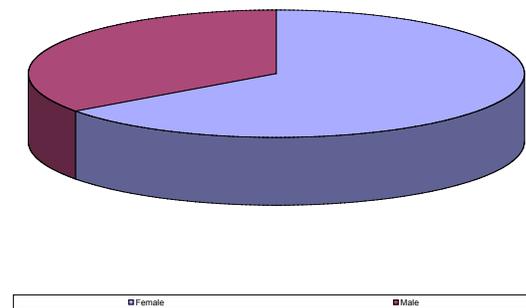


Figure 51 The division by sex of new Salernitanian entrepreneurs (MoS, 2000)

The third measure is a social measure as well, as it tries to improve the health care by creating a centre to support childcare and taking an educational approach. This will relieve families and allow them to concentrate on their new jobs. The centre will be opened in the Palazzo Galdieri.

The fourth measure is financially the largest measure of all, E 11 Million. Measure C concerns the liveability of the quarter. The measure is split up in four different sections. The first tries to improve the infrastructure of the area, giving the neighbourhood artistic pavements and illuminations. Furthermore it concerns the renewal of the *Villa Comunale*⁴³ and the Largo Abate (Figure 52)

⁴² Heads of the family

⁴³ Municipal Park



Figure 52 Largo Abate © MoS

As we have seen when describing the history of Salerno (§6.1) the Medical School always played a large role in Salertinian life. A good medical school needs a good Botanical Garden. The *Orto Botanico* of Salerno, named after the Latin goddess of Wisdom, Minerva, is not what it used to be. The second section of the measure concerning Infrastructure and the environment tries to upgrade the gardens, making it both a suitable botanical garden for the university and a place to recreate for the people of Salerno.

The third part of the measure tries to improve the infrastructure of public places, making them suitable to Objective β . It concerns e.g. the restauration of the Chiesa Addolati, making it an Auditorium. The municipality hopes to make the church into Theatre.

The last part of the fourth measures is a measure to improve the consciousness of the Salertinians and to provide a reference for the exploitation of the historical potential of the city. The historical archive of the city will be improved. The municipal library will coordinate the efforts to make it a true historical centre for the city.

Ms	Description	Target
A	Stimulation of Business	40 companies
B	Education	45 're-building' jobs
C	Health	Relieving families
D	Infrastructure	Tourism Improving liveability
E	Social Cohesion	Location for associations
F	Implication	Technical Support, Public Participation

Table 18 The measures taken in Urban Salerno

The fifth measure tries to increase the social cohesion of the city, by converting the monastery of Santa Sofia into a centre in which local associations can find their place. These associations will cover a wide range of activities. Public participation will be strengthened when representatives of enterprises and inhabitants will have their offices in the convent. It will allow for more though, as creative associations

will be able to rent space too. The municipality will locate its centre which coordinates the Urban program, the Osservatorio, in the convent as well, allowing direct lines between the public and the government.

The sixth measure will support the plans and the public in carrying out the measures. The measure creates a network (Biblionet) in which the inhabitants can check the progress of the measures. The Osservatorio, as mentioned in measure 5, is also funded by this measure. Initiatives to inform the public, as to guarantee a bottom-up approach form a part of this ‘*attuazione*’⁴⁴ of the plan. The technical support is covered by this measure.

The municipality wants to communicate its different departments as one organisation. The sixth measure thus funded a campaign designed around one logo, based on the red and blue colours of the city. It has to unite and reorganise the municipality to truly act as one.



Figure 53 The logo of the Urban programme in Salerno © MoS

Ms	Description	Amount
A	Stimulation of Business	2.7
B	Education	0.5
C	Health	1.5
D	Infrastructure	11
E	Social Cohesion	1.5
F	Effectuation	0.5
Total		22.2

Table 19 The cost of the measures in ME (MoS, 2000)

As said before, the measure targeting the infrastructure (D) requires most funds, as illustrated in Table 19. This is the same as in Utrecht. These measures cost the most money as they are invested in actual buildings. A grant to a starting entrepreneur or the education of people costs less. An investment is a one-time investment though, while education and the economy are a continuing process, which might need additional investments.

In Salerno in Utrecht, funds are 43% money from European (1999) seen, the (MoS, 2000).

Source	Money
Municipality	2.7
Region	0
National Government	6.3
Europe (ESF)	0.5
Europe (ERDF)	8.7
Private investment	0
Total	18.9

Table 20 Urban Salerno by money source (in MEcu) (Inforegio, 1999)

more funds are supplied by the European Union than although the project is slightly smaller. The EU of the total budget. This is because Salerno receives the European Structural Funds as well as the Regional Development Fund. The results Inforegio collected are shown in Table 20, although as we have budget has already increased by over 10% since 1999 There are no private investments and the municipality

⁴⁴ Implementation

contributed significantly less to the project than the municipality of Utrecht did.

We have now looked at the city and the neighbourhood (Question A), and how the municipality tries to work to combat the problems in the area. Now is the time to see if the municipality, supported by the European funds succeeded in improving the area.

§ 6.2.3 How is the programme evaluated? (C)

Although most measures are still in operation, it is possible to say something about the results of the Urban programme. The conversion of the San Michele monastery only started in February 1999. The municipality now has signed a contract with the University about the exploitation of the ex-convent (MoS, 2001).

In the park (Villa Comunale) the first results are visible. It is once again the centre of Salertinian life. The neglect in maintenance has been corrected and the Salertinians can enjoy their new park. More important though, it is now a safe place, closed down at night. This way crime and prostitution are not longer active in the park (Gianitacio, Interview). Where it moves to is yet unknown. The park looks rather beautiful. One could wonder though if the music, audible in the park through speakers in rocks, will not disturb the illusion of being in nature rather than in a busy city.

The illumination in the city is in place as well, which makes the city more beautiful in the evening. The small streets of the high part of the centre were almost without lights in the old days, making them unattractive and at times dangerous to enter. This was an important barrier for using the centre in the old days, and the city hopes that this will pull the centre closer to the seaside.



Figure 54 The Improved Villa Comunale

The Largo Abate is improved as well. The square now is tidy and the Chiesa Addolati is freshly painted (Figure 55 and Figure 56). The old church is used for some social activities now as well, although it has yet to take off. It is used as a small theatre and there are other events planned. It is still in its start up phase though, as it is yet unclear if they will be able to cover (a large part of) the costs. The Giardini della

Minerva is currently under construction and the municipality hopes to finish the project at the end of the year.



Figure 55 The Chiesa Addolati before Urban © MoS

their dwellings, thus creating a spin-off effect of the Urban program.

The social aspect is a different matter. The municipality changed its plans a number of times. The convent of Santa Sofia e.g., meant to host a number of social activities for the inhabitants, will now become a high-tech research centre for the university. This centre has less impact on the city and inhabitants than the original plans, weakening the social aspect of the programme (Gianitacio, Interview).

In operating the physical programme the municipality did not have much difficulty. All targeted buildings were already municipal property. The main problems occurred when the municipality wanted to change the historic buildings in ways the *Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali Architettonici Artistici e Storici* (BAAAS) did not want (De Vero, Interview).

The main physical improvements are now in place, and those tangible results are important for the impact on the public, although in the city they now act like oases in the desert. This means that there are now improved buildings (Chiesa Addolati, Villa Comunale), but the spaces between the different buildings are not that improved. It is as yet too early to conclude if the inhabitants will be inspired to improve



The main reasons for this are that there was no time to implement the changes and that the European Union refused to support some social plans (De Vero, Interview). Furthermore as the municipality never had operated a plan with these kind of social aspects, the municipality simply lacked the people to set up those social aspects, as architects dominated the spectrum.

The newly created enterprises are not yet in safe water as well. The Urban Programme states very clear territorial limits. The municipality therefore had to decide in which zone the new craftsmen would operate. The proprietors of the buildings then raised the rent, as they knew the enterprises would have to settle there, although there is still much free space in the city (Miranda, Interview). The shops received little support after the initial support. They are still largely unknown, and will have to look for new publicity to stay afloat.

Next to the direct results of the programme, the indirect result might be even more important. The municipality set up a special department for the Urban program. This way the organisation could get out of the traditional framework and integrates the policies of the different departments. At first they had to fight against the traditional departments, but later on they were able to act beyond their original capabilities and able to communicate by itself, without going through the traditional channels.

Concluding, the programme is regarded rather positively by everyone involved. The Urban programme provided a mean to implement plans effectively. The actual results are somewhat premature.

The physical results are in place and good. The social aspects have yet to bloom. The new entrepreneurs still face many problems, but are on their way. All difficulties concerning the Urban programme will now be handled by a municipality far more capable of handling such multi-facet questions than before the programme started.

§ 6.2.4 How does the public participate? (D)

François Guizot wrote in his 1846 treat of the history of civilization '*C'est beaucoup que le jugement sur les actions humaines; tôt ou tard il devient efficace.*'⁴⁵ The people of southern Italy judged their rulers as well and decided the administration was of no-effect. In Southern Italy therefore there did not develop a tradition of public participation. The main reason was the incapability of successive administrations, by pope, king and the post-war republic. People did not feel like the government was in control and it was useful to act, when it was not for a direct personal gain.

⁴⁵ 'It is just like the judgement of men on human actions, sooner or later it becomes effective'

In the nineties of the last century things have changed slowly. As public administration improved, public participation increased slightly. People began to discover that the government did have some influence on their habitat and therefore it might be worthwhile to try to influence the municipality

For the municipality it was important that the public participated, as it was required by the Urban programme. They developed communication *to* the public and a means to receive communication *from* the public. The municipality supported an Osservatorio to provide a point where the public could react and act on the programme. Further more, the municipality aims to provide information to the public in *Biblionet*. This will be a system to communicate with the citizens on different subjects.

The Osservatorio came into existence when the Platform for Salertinian Associations '*Salerno per Salerno*' contacted the municipality (Chioffi, Interview). The platform had heard of the Urban program via via. It wanted to play a role in the process. Major De Luca played a strong role in the process and did not want to change the plans. He did see a role for the public though. He developed in cooperation with the platform the Osservatorio, which got a task in research.

The Osservatorio got a limited budget and a limited independence (Figure 57). When it tried to act in sensitive issues, it came into conflict with the municipal government. It tried for example to investigate the problem of waste. The refuse-industry in Southern Italy is in the hands of organized crime and therefore an area in which the government is not that anxious to act, which can lead to crisis (Bertolotto, 2001). The Osservatorio proposed a solution, but the municipality would not take it in consideration.

The municipality remained in control. They appointed the buildings, which had to be acquired and adapted towards their new functions. The municipality created detailed plans for the physical parts of the plan and interfered on the real estate market actively. They also recreated the different parks.

When the physical developments were in place, the public could take over. After all, they had to create the business plans and associations to fill that new physical infrastructure. We can see a shift in the responsibility for the programme, as the projects progressed.

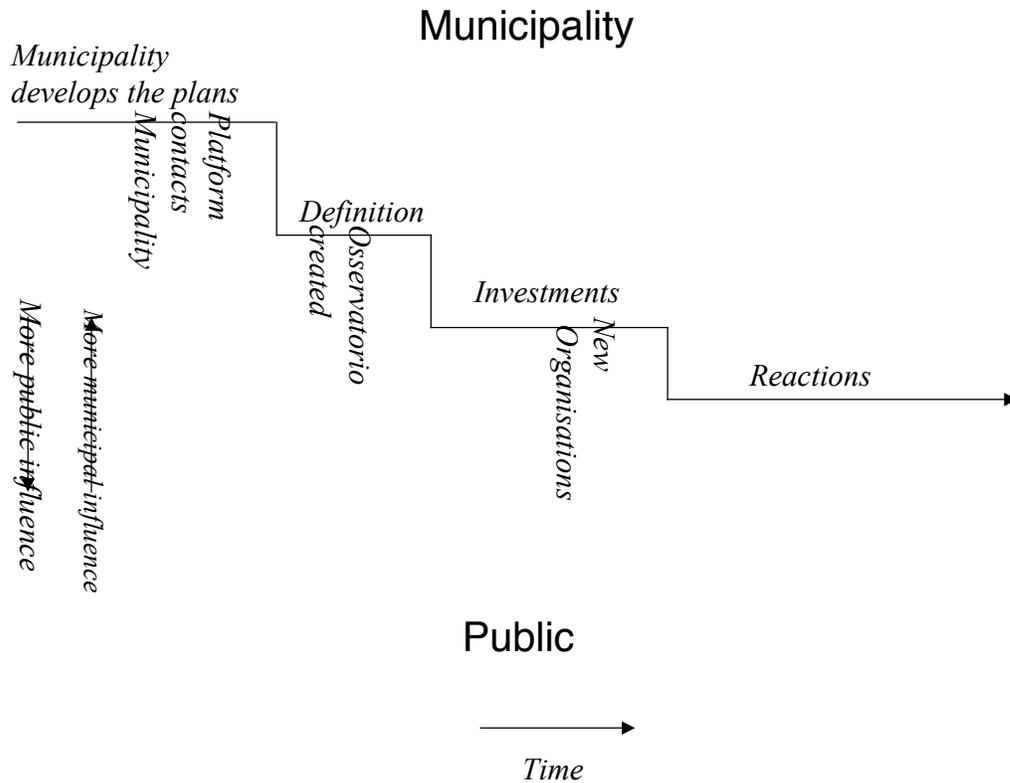


Figure 57 The development of Participation in Salerno

As we have seen, the municipality did not support the new enterprises after they were created. The Osservatorio saw this and tried to help. As one of the problems was the fact that the new enterprises were still largely unknown (Miranda), the Osservatorio found ways to improve the visibility of the different enterprises. They made a guide with the new enterprises (Osservatio, 2001), as indeed was done in Utrecht, and organised events like ‘ *Il Gusto è Giusto; Gusto Sano, Gusto Salertinitano*⁴⁶’ around the enterprises to make them more well known.

The platform, which had initiated the Osservatorio remained active as well. It tried to strengthen the links between the higher part of the centre and the seaside part of the centre and created an association, which united the restaurants in higher part and those at Sea. This was a way to try to incorporate the isolated higher part into the rest of the city (Chioffi).

Concluding we can say, that although the municipality did not intent to have much participation and there was no tradition of participation in the city, there is some participation. It was not so much active in the design of the plans, but it did manage to play a role in the further development of the programme, after the initial investments were made.

⁴⁶ The taste is right; a healthy taste, a Salertinian taste

§6.2.5 The Road towards the Urban Programme

Salerno first experiences with Urban renewal came after the terrible earthquake, which hit the region of Campania on November 23rd, 1980. The damage was enormous. The central government invested billions of lire in the city. The city had to be restored quickly, and there was no time to reflect on side effect or urban quality (Gianitacio).

It was in April or May 1994 when it became clear to the municipality that it would not receive further support from the region or the ministry for urban development. Various encounters with those layers of government had made that clear (Persico, 1997).

Ventitré novembre 1980

Quel tragico ventitré novembre
correndo e scherzando per le strade,
una bella giornata di festa
avvolta dentro un tiepido sole.
Pensavo fra un mese è Natale
e quanti ricordi di amici e miei cari lontani,
vola il mio pensiero tra loro
rincorrendosi con la luce, il mio cuore
palpita e mi dice,
questo giorno non finisce mai.

Vai speranza corri anche tu tra loro
non chiudere mai il tramonto,
e non fermarti a guardare,
fai che la notte non inseguia più il giorno
e fermi il vento che mi porta il pianto,
e le grida di aiuto di quella povera gente.

Michele Bortone

The departments of the municipality had selected the best proposals for new functions in the problem areas. The responsible alderman had compared those with various external proposals. He discussed them with various groups of project developers and stakeholders. They now needed an external financial source.

The informal process for the Urban programme had already started (Cremaschi, Interview). The alderman and everybody involved encouraged the mayor, Vincenzo de Luca, to travel to Brussels. He was no longer just a politician, but a mayor of a city of the mezzogiorno, who wanted to receive the right to have access to the common market, as Persico (1997) described it:

‘Era una giornata di vento fortissimo quando alle 11 Vincenzo entrò in macchina per andare all’aeroporto e partire per Bruxelles. Non confessò a nessuno che era il suo primo viaggio in aereo e che aveva paura. A Bruxelles parlò di Salerno e dei suoi sogni, fu convincente ed affidabile. La sua visita fu una testimonianza istituzionale importante’⁴⁷

Although this anecdote might seem trivial, it is not. It shows how direct the lines of communication between the city and Brussels were. Furthermore it outlines that the region and the state did not play that a strong role in acquiring the money and the opportunity Urban offers to individual municipalities.

⁴⁷ ‘It was a day of enormous winds when Vincenzo entered the car to go to the Airport and leave for Brussels. He didn’t confess to anyone that it was his first plane travel and that he had fear. In Brussels he talked about Salerno and its dreams, convincing and reliable. His visit became a testimony of institutional importance’

After the visit De Luca entered in the informal process. He contacted his friends in the party and on ministries and secured a part of the funds for Salerno. The city could now develop its plans. First it was alone, later it was contacted by the outside world.

§ 6.2.6 Will the next projects be created and facilitated in the same way? (E)

Salerno developed a new plan for Urban II. It was targeted at the Mariconda district in the periphery, one of the worst districts in the city (Figure 46) It was entirely developed by the administrative unit, which was responsible for the Urban Programme. The plan was therefore based on the experience of the first Urban programme.

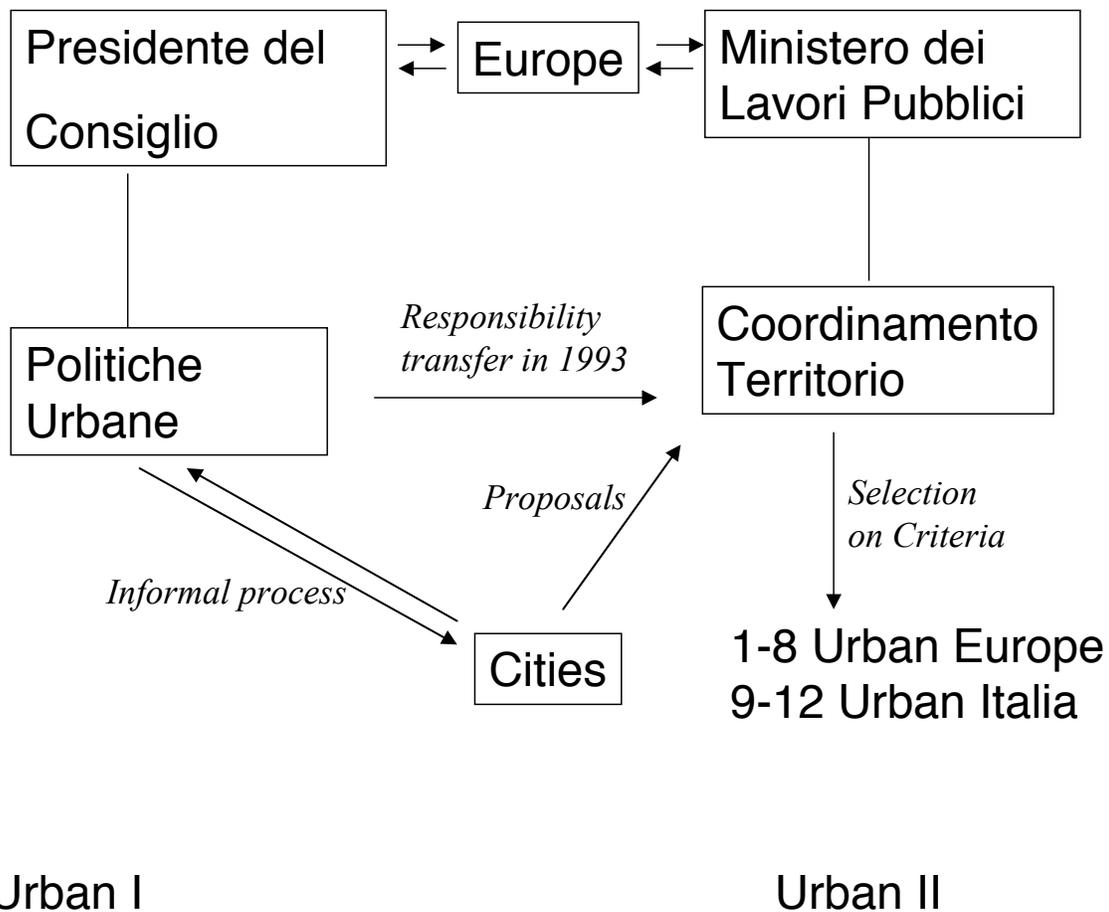


Figure 58 The Italian selection process for Urban I and II

It was rejected however by the Italian government, which now uses a different system to evaluate the proposal, trying to make it less vulnerable to corruption. Whereas previously the programmes were

selected by an informal process (Figure 58), under responsibility of a political department of the ministry of the prime minister, now they are selected differently. A sector ministry (Public Works) selects them on criteria the department of territory coordination decides. It speaks for itself that the definition of those criteria is still a matter of political discussion, which causes flaws in the system (Cremaschi, Interview).

The old system worked for Salerno. In the Campania region there are just two 100.000+ cities: Naples and Salerno. The region does have many inhabitants though. The political process resulted in every southern region having two or three cities participating in Urban I. Therefore Salerno was automatically selected, while comparable cities in the south (Brindisi, Taranto) were looked over.

In the new system Salerno had no such luck. There were eight cities selected for Urban II. The Italian government, content with the result of Urban I, decided to support a further four. Salerno emerged somewhere in the mid-forties. Salerno will use the plans in its future spatial policy though, keeping the organisation intact (De Vero, Interview).



Figure 59 The Campania region © Camozzi.it

Salerno is reshaping its Urban Policy further. The city hired the Spanish Architect Oriol Bohigas to create a new *Piano Regolatore Generale* (PRG). They liked the way he worked in Barcelona improving the coastal region, and making it into the Olympic Village for the summer games of 1992. In Salerno he has recognised the creation of a new plan will take a lot of time. To tackle this problem he invented ‘Action Zones’ which, while the PRG is under construction, will be handled first. These zones include both the centre and the



Figure 60 The region of Barcelona Bohigas worked on © Barcelona-on-line.org

Miraconda district. It is the first time an Italian municipality hires a foreign architect to create a PRG, and although Salerno might not become a second Barcelona, expectations are high. This could recuperate the ‘hitch’ of the place of the PRG between action-orientated and structural, as described in

All future developments are quite insecure at this moment however. The year 2001 is an election year. The mayor of Salerno, De Luca, was a very influential figure in the Urban program, as we have seen (§ 6.2.3). He was re-elected two times with majorities of 70%. He has now decided to move on the national level, as the national elections loomed.

These elections were on May 13th. The centre-right has won, but narrowly. A new government could change Urban renewal. Silvio Berlusconi, the leader of Forza Italia, the main party in the right-wing coalition, has already announced that he wants to cut spending in Urban renewal, as he denounces it as not effective and too bureaucratic.

Salerno found itself, after it woke up, in the morning of May 14th with a new mayor and under a centre-right majority. The consequences of this political change are as yet unknown, but might weaken its potential in Urban Renewal.

§ 6.3 A Regional swamp

§ 6.3.1 What is the relation between the projects and the normal planning process/culture? (F)

Curti (1998) states that the Urban programme promoted a territorial approach to the politicians and technicians. They could now attack the social problems, the unemployment and the physical problems in an area. They did by the insertion of new urban functions and reorganising the city. Although the Urban programme introduced in many cities, Turin's *circonscrizione*⁴⁸ 5 already used this approach already in the beginning of the 1990s

This district in Turin used a program developed by the *Consorzio Intercomunale Torinese*⁴⁹ (CIT). It tried to create a method that could approach quarters in every city and in every quarter by transferring its '*Savoir Faire*', its ability, ideas and competence and by good government (Curti, 1998).

This territorial approach did manage to tune the different projects, which had hitherto sometimes worked against each other. They did not however integrate policy sectors. The Prusst –programme is a descendant from this approach.

Urban did try to make a more comprehensive programme, as we have seen. This resulted in the programme we have seen. The main advantage according to all stakeholders was that the region was not involved. The regions in Italy have become more important over the years, as the country is slowly moving towards federalism. In the North, this usually works well, with strong regions actually improving policies and bringing the government closer to the citizen.

⁴⁸ Borough

⁴⁹ Turin Inter-municipal Consortium

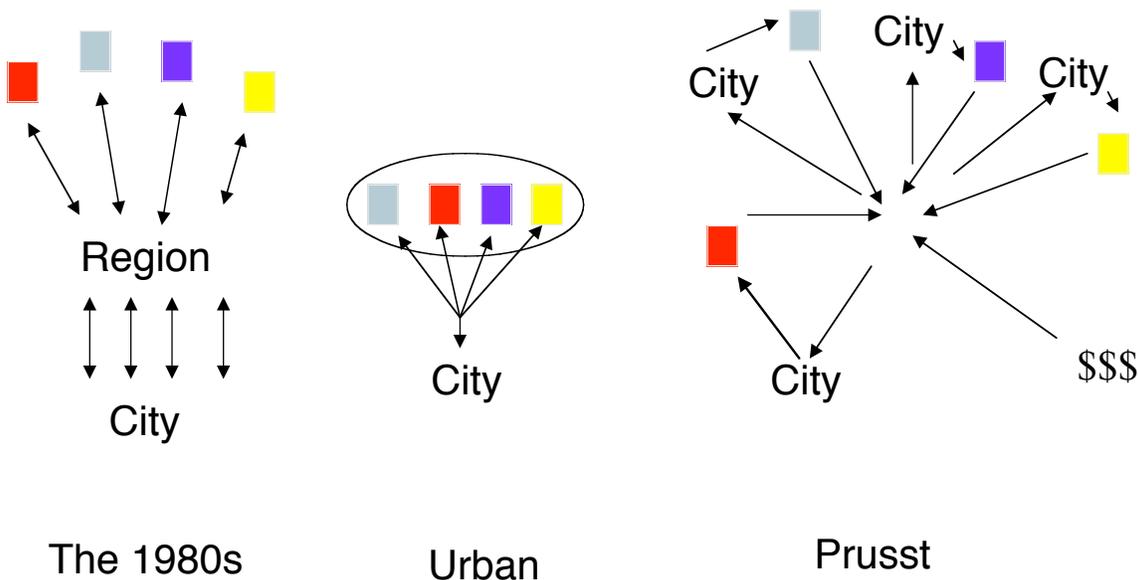


Figure 61 The lines of communication to fund projects. In the old days lots of projects stranded in the region. Urban allowed direct lines of communication between the funds supplier and the municipality. Prusst tries to let municipalities to coordinate projects, although the money is handled in classic fashion

For Salerno the region was always a problem. Many initiatives stranded in the offices of the region in Naples. Even the people who work there admit that they often only stand in the way of effectiveness (Chioffi, Interview). Speed was one of the key issues in the whole process. Normally it takes up to ten years for a program to become active; Urban required only two.

Another major difference was the responsibility of the Municipality. As the communication went directly to the ministry and Brussels, the major became responsible for the

Cosenza

The programme in Cosenza is aimed at the historic centre. It became separated from the rest of the city because of the river Crati and a railway embankment. This caused a decline of the old town. Cosenza's Urban Program restored old buildings and created new productivity centres.

The results are positive. Over 200 new shops are created. The bureaucratic structure of the municipality is improved. Finally, the image of the area has improved. One of the reasons it could be so effective was that the update of the PRG coincided with the Urban programme. (Planum.net, 2001)

results, without being able to shift it towards other layers of government. As it was a rather larger sum for a medium-sized city like Salerno, this meant he had to handle directly. This is one of the reasons Urban has been more effective in cities like Salerno and Cosenza, while in large cities as Rome the results are less visible (Cremaschi).

§ 6.3.2 Is there internal coordination among projects within a country? (G)

The lack of coordination from a regional perspective was as we have seen one of the positive points. The different cities did communicate. Salerno talked with Cosenza and Bari. This was on an informal level. Officially the ministry provided services and coordinated the selection. Furthermore it was sluce in communicating with Brussels.

The Osservatorio also tried to exchange experiences with other cities. They learned especially from Cosenza, which has developed the most sophisticated public participation (Chioffi). The object of that programme is rather similar to that in Salerno as well, as described in the box on the right

The final coordinating aspect came from the B.A.A.A.S. This institute tried to coordinate its judgments on the Urban Program, and in the end proved to be rather slow and hindering the rapid progress of the Urban project in Salerno (De Vero)

§ 6.4 A European occasion

§ 6.4.1 Would these projects also have been realised without EU-support? (H)

In theory, a municipality sets its priorities and carries them out, limited by the available funds. What happens in practice might be more according to the following line: a municipality learns from an opportunity to receive money. Then, and only then, it finds the priorities, which are in line with the opportunity and designs a plan to spend the money. This is what happened in Salerno (Garano)

Next to the financial aspects there would be other problems without EU-support as well. The Italian law provides barriers for the integration on policy. The apparatus is based on control. Therefore it tries to split the different sectors as much as possible to make them easy controllable. Although this happened in the

Urban programme as well, the level of integration was far higher. Italian bureaucracy is very slow as well. Without EU support the projects would not be carried out at this moment.

Persico (1997) describes that to integrate the human capital in Salerno an external force was necessary. To unleash it, the relations between the city and the state had to be changes as well. For the first time the city had to show the ability to make it possible.

§ 6.4.2 How does Brussels judge and influence projects for the Urban programs? (J)

As we have seen, the lines with Brussels are very direct. This meant that the guidelines given by the union were carried out directly by the municipality and it could react rapidly on the wishes of the union. At times the municipality had to change plans.

A number of projects the municipality suggested, especially concerning the social aspects of the plan were rejected. The service centres in the Santa Sofia were not considered suitable for EU funding. The municipality then went to the University to fill up the space (De Vero). The negative side of this was that the new function of the building probably will not have an effect on the neighbourhood as large as the proposed function would have been (Gianitacio).

The main influence of Brussels on the project concerned the speed of the project. Every Euro had to be committed before December 31st, 1999. The municipality had to set aside its normal procedures and invent faster ones.

This had two effects. The organisation of the municipality itself changed. First they created a central info-point for European affairs. This developed into an organisation, which embodied all aspects of Urban renewal in the city and has substantial powers on all policy sectors.

Secondly, the municipality could not do everything it set out to do. Some projects could simply not be created within two years of time. This is the result of both the Italian legislation and physical and organisational obstacles. One could wonder if a more flexible time-scheme would not have been better in the end.

The municipality has now an organisation dedicated to combat large scale complex problems. The question remains if this organisation will still be able to the job without the driving force of the money and the regulations of the Urban programme.

§ 6.4.3 Would a top-down approach lead to a more efficient allocation of the funds? (K)

Salerno did not have a strong competence on social matters before the Urban programme. As a municipality, it simply did not have people working in this area, as the sector has been always organised by different layers of government.

When the city applied for Urban support it was not ready to develop programs to stimulate social centres and functions. It took time to set up a structure to create this competence. In this area of operation more guidance and top-down regulations would have increased the efficiency of the program (De Vero).

On the physical side, the top-down aspect was only hindering the municipality. They had plenty of engineers and architects, who could decide by themselves how to operate and which buildings would have to be renovated. After all, they were the local experts.

In selecting whom to support, the European guidelines made it more difficult to operate as well. Because the programme had to point exactly on beforehand where new entrepreneurs could be located, rent rose and the new entrepreneurs faced higher cost (Miranda).

Concluding we can say that a top-down approach is useful if the municipality is not that strong in carrying out a policy, but a more top-down approach only conflicts with the local expertise if it operates in a sector where the municipality has been traditionally active or when local feed-back is needed.

§ 6.4.3 Is the EU-element relevant to the public? (L)

As we have seen, the Italian government is not renowned for its efficient operation or reliable operation, especially in the South. The public is distrustful about the projects and will look at any initiative with scepticism. The European Union therefore has a rather positive image in the Italian Republic.

If this is rightfully so is another question, but it does have its effect on the Urban Program. All communication about the program is carried out under the same logo and the European *bandiera* hangs from many building. According to the municipality this leads to a better feeling (De Vero) about the programme for the citizen.

Furthermore, the European image is a rather clean one, when compared to the Italian *tangentopoli* of corruption in the construction sector. The fact that the project is European is a 'guarantee' (Chioffi) that the money will arrive where it is aimed, and not in the pockets of politicians. That the programme is actually carried out by the same municipality as national projects, is considered less relevant.

§ 6.5 Conclusions

In this chapter we have seen a quarter, which started as a depopulated historical area with high unemployment (§ 6.2.1/A). It was handled by an Urban programme which tried to stimulate small new companies, improve the physical appearance, increase the safety of the neighbourhood and improve the quality of life. It did so by setting a number of objective and defining measures to reach those objectives. Within the framework of these measures a number of projects were selected and created with the people to make them work (§ 6.2.2/B).

The programme is showing its first results now (§ 6.2.3/C). The quarter has been cleaned up. New small businesses have found their place into the centre. The park looks better. It is too soon to say if the effects of this will have a spin-off in the quarter, making it once again the centre of the city. Support after the programme has been meagre, however.

The municipal organisation had to change dramatically to gain the ability to operate the Urban programme. This side effect of the Urban programme might prove to be longer lasting than the paint on the renovated buildings. Urban showed the incompetence of the regional government by being more effective and faster than traditional programs.

The organisation has developed plans for the future following the experiences of the Urban project. They did not receive money form the follow-up programme to Urban. Now they continue innovate their activities by creating a new form of PRG (§ 6.2.5/E)

The public was not able to take the initiative of the beginning of the project, but as confidence grew (§ 6.4.3/L) they did take their part. Together with the municipality it created an Osservatorio (§ 6.2.4/D). This monitors and researches the program and has taken some initiatives to support the programme. Their power and budget is however rather limited.

The role of Brussels was two-sided. On one hand it allowed the city to carry out the programme, regardless of traditional communication problems. On the other hand Europe was inflexible and orientated on control, rather than guidance, not giving the city space to manoeuvre (§ 6.4.1/J).

Compared to the traditional projects Urban was far faster, as it provided direct communicating lines and required the city to operate. Furthermore it gave a direct responsibility and a relative large amount of money to a medium sized city, which had to move on to make it work.

In the city everybody is enthusiastic about the programme. ‘Finally, a programme that has provided tangible results!’ The non-tangible results might be even greater. If the social parts of the programme will work as well, will have to be seen. Something will have to be done though. As this point the social part has lost some of the elements it had and the new companies will have to be supported. It might be nice to have evolved capable of doing something, it will now be the challenge to maintain and improve the projects.

Now we have investigated both cases thoroughly, it is time to confront them with each other (Chapter VII). This way we can find their parallels and explore their differences. When this hurdle has been taken, we are ready to draw are final conclusions (Chapter VIII)

Confrontation

When confronting two alternatives there are a few areas, which have to be confronted. Some areas will be more comparable than others. This is because some elements have been influenced more by the national situation than others.

Furthermore, as the public is important, its influence has significantly changed the project, therefore making them less alike. At that point, it might be more useful to compare the way the public influenced the programme, than the actual influence itself.

In this chapter we will first put the structures of the programmes side by side. After this we are able to look at differences of the actual implication of the programme structure in the city.

Then we are able to look in more detail at the similarity of different aspects of the programmes. As we have seen in the last two chapters, the programmes of Salerno and Utrecht are rather different. We will look in detail why the objectives, the role of the public, the importance of the national framework and other aspects have turned into more or less other directions.

§ 7.1 The structure

The basic structure of the different Urban programs is rather similar (Question B). The different policy sectors are laid out by the European Union. It therefore represents the view of the union on how to implement a comprehensive (called by the union 'integrated') programme on Urban renewal.

What are the characteristics of the Urban-programmes?
(B)

Both cities therefore have made a plan based on a number of set policy sectors. The implementation of the different policy sectors has been rather different, however. Whereas Utrecht uses mainly the budget for education for creating new companies, Salerno uses the budget for labour-market guidance for the same purpose (*Table 21*).

Ms.	Description	Utrecht	Salerno
A	Labour-market guidance, job creation	200 jobs in projects and 250 jobs by educating unemployed	40 new companies
B	Education	250 jobs	45 're-building jobs'
C	Security/Health	Decrease in crime	Relieving families/Security
D	Physical infrastructure	5000 man-years and social return	Tourism, improving liveability
E	Civil Society	Increase in social cohesion	Location for associations
F	Technical Support	Supporting A, B, C, D, E	Technical Support/Public Participation

Table 21 The measures in Utrecht and Salerno compared

In the end this does not make a lot of difference though, as both cities tried to address the same issues, although their translation might differ. Salerno has invested in physical infrastructure, even when supporting a social goal. This is mainly present in Measure E. Whereas Utrecht actually supported organisations; Salerno wanted to create a building to allow those organisations to prosper. This is a slightly different way of doing things.

The reason for this is that Salerno had little contact with organisations before Urban. Now the project is running, it is the question if the location will be used for civil organisations, as the municipality want to use the Santa Sofia monastery for a research centre of the University (Gianitacio).

Both cities invest the most money in Measure D, the physical component. This is not just because they both were used to urban renewal projects, centred on physical improvements. Those improvements simply cost more money than the other measures when one want to something.

7.2 The national tortoise vs. the European hare

Both cities had to change their policies because of the Urban programme. In both countries the normal urban planning systems were slower than the Urban programme required. In the Netherlands this had to do with objection procedures. In Italy the main reason was bureaucracy, which is present in every layer of government, but the Campania region was the main obstacle for other urban renewal projects.

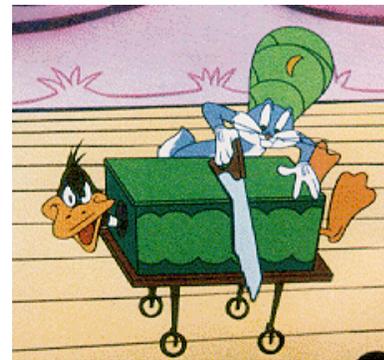


Figure 62 © Warner Bros.

What is the relation between the projects and the normal planning process /culture in these countries?
(F)

Urban required a faster trajectory. Before the end of 1999 all money had to be committed. This required changes in organisation in both cities (Cherribi, De Vero). Both cities had to change their priorities to

projects they could plan in a reasonably short time. If this ‘magic trick’ was a good thing is difficult to say. A large project like ‘De Kop van Lombok’ might have had more results than some of the measures now in action.

Both municipalities had to develop new instruments to accompany the emphasis of the Urban programme on social development. Salerno especially did not have any experience with social policy, as the responsibility of this kind of policy always had been with the Central government. In the Netherlands the municipality has responsibility in this field, but the integration with urban renewal was still in development.

The new Dutch covenants might increase the integration between sectors of government, as the municipality will receive a more integrated sum. In Italy this development is not taking place, as responsibility might be further diffused due to the increased federalism. The European Union might look at this problem and provide support in future programmes.

Both municipalities state that they will use their know-how, acquired in the Urban programme for new projects (Question E). The use of comprehensive policies in other parts of the two cities will certainly increase its effectiveness in theory. A condition for its functioning in practice might be the sack of money, which Urban provided. The organisation is currently still in place in both cities, and as long as the programme is still active, it will remain functioning; in both cities there is hope the organisation will remain intact (Cherribi, De Vero)

Will the next projects be created and facilitated in the same way? (E)

Without the money, and the conditions under which it was provided, the integration might be more difficult. Normally the educational programs, for example will be supported in both countries by the ministry of education. Before they will support other measures in the same area, there will flow many litres of water through the Irno and the Rhine. They have to be coordinated at a municipal level, which will not be responsible for all of the results of the policy.

The different national situation led to many differences as well. The selection in the Netherlands was rather natural. There are four large cities in the country. They were selected for the Urban programme. More and more cities want their share of urban money though. Where there were first four cities united in the ‘G4’ (Big 4), now there are 25 cities negotiating with the ministry.

In Italy the selection was influenced by geographical and political criteria. The largest cities (Turin, Milan, Rome, Naples) were not necessarily the cities with the largest problems. Furthermore, those cities (one to three million) were far larger than the Dutch ‘large’ cities (250 to 750 thousand). There are a number of

cities Italy, *not* considered large, which have the same size, e.g. Genoa, Trieste, Palermo, Bari. A different selection process therefore was needed, an informal one, as we have seen.

In communicating with Brussels both cities had the same problems. The emphasis on accountability of the European bureaucracy meant that the municipalities were not able to adapt their programs to the changing needs of the quarters. The programs would have been more efficient if a bit more flexibility would be available, but the separation between content and finance within the departments of the EU does not allow such a step.

The notion that the projects were European rather than national played but a small role in both cities for the public. The cities used it as ‘banner’ for the project and it therefore made it easier for the public to communicate. The public might have a bit more confidence in Europe than the national government in Italy, but the importance of Urban for the public support for the Union must not be overestimated.

Concluding we can say that Brussels played an important role. Without Europe the programmes would be different might not be at all (H). Europe forced the cities to act fast. A national program would not have allowed such a speed, especially in Italy were the region would have been a problem. This speed had a cost though. It called for inflexibility and the loss of some major projects. More top-down control there is not a good idea, although some guidance in sectors where the municipality does not have much experience, like the social aspects in Salerno might help (K).

Would these projects also have been realised without EU-support? (H)
Would a top-down approach lead to a more efficient allocation? (K)

§ 7.3 The role of the public

In his discourses on the first ten books of Titus Livius, Niccolò Macchiavelli (1504) started chapter LIII with the following sentence *‘Il popolo molte volte disidera la rovina sua, ingannato una falsa spezie di beni; e come le grande speranze e gagliarde promesse facilmente lo muovono’*⁵⁰. This notion shows the dangers of public participation, when the public get control of a project, easy solution might cause self-destruction. He did however see the importance of participation of the public though. In his main work, *‘Il Principe’* (1513), Macchiavelli pleads for a civil militia as the only basis for a true defence. This might be the same case with the Urban programme. Public participation is



Figure 63 Niccolò Macchiavelli (1469-1527)

⁵⁰ The people desires its own destruction many times, stimulated by false images of what is right; like great hopes and noble promises they move them easily.

important, but for the directing role the government is essential.

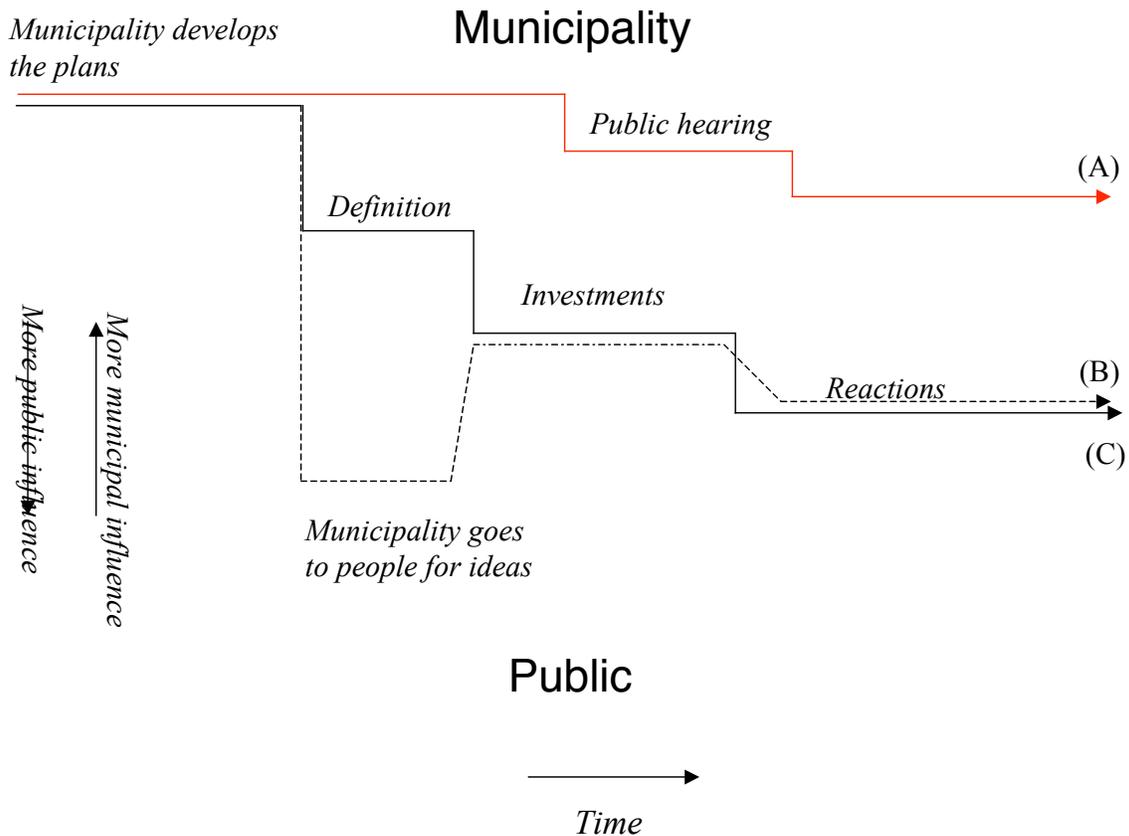


Figure 64 The different development of public participation in Utrecht (dashed line, B) and Salerno (C). The top line is an example of a more classic urban renewal project(A).

As we have discussed in chapter V and VI, Utrecht (§5.2.4) and Salerno (§6.2.4) have taken a different approach in creating an environment for public participation. Both cities kept the initiatives to themselves at the beginning of the process (

Figure 64).

Both cities had to change their point of view during the process. Utrecht noticed that the European Union had the opinion that a large part of the projects the city proposed were non fundable. As it was short of alternatives, the city was forced to let the people take a larger share in the programme than anticipated.

Salerno noticed during the process that they needed participation. This was needed

How does the public participate? (D)

to get support for the projects. Furthermore, the associations in the city, who had learned of the plan, tried to influence it as well. This was a gradual process, more than the radical change in participation in Utrecht.

In the end both cities ended on about the same level of participation. The public had influence on the plans, supplied people to use the plans and the entrepreneurs to form the economic part of the plan. The municipalities coordinated, supplied the money and provided the facilities and communication. Although the route was different, this final level of public participation was forced by Urban. This level was stronger than would have been found in a 'normal' non-Urban project. This answers our question (D).

§ 7.4 The results

If we compare the results of the two programmes, we can be reasonably happy at both results. Salerno has many new small companies and a number of nice updated buildings. Lombok is revitalized. Urban has played a key role in both cities. The evaluation, as discussed in question (C) is therefore rather positive.

The results show the emphasis on different traditions. Where in Utrecht the social aspects are visible first, the physical components are most obvious in the Salertinian programme. On one hand this is easily explainable, as Dutch municipalities always have had a responsibility for education and social support, in contrast to their Italian counterparts. On the other hand, this is rather strange, as Utrecht wanted more physical improvements, but the EU declared those improvements non-fundable.

How is the program evaluated? (C)

Both projects shows that Urban does not work alone. In Lombok the economic development of the country and the state of the real estate market played a role (both positively and negatively) in the quarter. We now see a quarter which is upgraded due to Urban, but a part of the former population has moved, because the rent is too high, creating a new problems quarter, Kanaleneiland (§5.2.3).

In Salerno the results of the projects beyond the physical upgrading have still to show themselves. It is clearly though, that barrier between the lower parts of the city and the higher parts will not be removed, because the centre look nice, but because the centre had things too offer. This might be functions supported by the Urban programme (The theatre in the Chiesa Addolati per example), but as important will be the role of local entrepreneurs, which in contrast to Utrecht, are not located in the centre of the programme (§6.2.3).

Concluding we can say that the results in both quarters are positive, but the quarters still have a way to go. The Urban part of the results is important, but in both cities does not tell the whole story. Any urban policy, perhaps especially long-distance urban policy, will have to be supported by local developments and is dependent on autonomous developments, as stated in § 2.3.

7.5 Conclusions

Now we have compared different aspects of the two different projects we can say something about the entire Urban programme and thereby answer our European questions, which we asked in chapter I, when exploring the central thesis. This were those questions:

- Is the division between the North and the South of Europe important? **(I)**
- How does Brussels judge and influence projects for the Urban programs? **(J)**
- Is the EU-element relevant to the Public **(L)**

We have seen that the differences between the North and South of Europe had influence on the results of the programmes (I). We have seen in chapter IV that one can divide the old continent in different parts and that, although the legal systems in Italy and the Netherlands share their origin, the traditions have developed differently. The Netherlands form part of the ‘protestant-north’ and Italy of the ‘catholic-south’

The differences in culture between the two countries played its role in the selection processes. Furthermore, public participation took a different route. The decision making process, and the effect of a uniform Urban strategy had various effects as well. In the end the results, when looked at through Urban glasses show their differences, caused by different emphasis. These differences are present in organisation, communication, objectives and the selection of projects.

But all those differences are only relative. We have seen two cities that both for the first time took comprehensive measures in one quarter, unified in one programme. There are new entrepreneurs, there has been education and physical upgrading. We can therefore say, that the Sony president’s *adagium* ‘think globally, act locally’ (Dicken, 1999) is in order. A uniform strategy, but formed by local entities.

Brussels has adapted a bureaucracy that, partly forced by its scale, is aimed at controlling rather than guiding. This has meant that the uniform strategy is monitored closely and cannot be flexible. This has resulted in problems for both cities. (J)

The public, in the meanwhile was not that aware of Brussels activities. The union was merely used as a banner to put on the project. In Italy the confidence in Urban might have been a bit larger that it would have been in a normal program, but it is not clear if the use of Urban to increase EU support, an intention stated in the Urban charter, can be regarded as a success.

Now we have answered these analytic questions we can move on to the last chapter, where we revisit our conclusions and try to make recommendations to the different authorities, thus answering our final, deductive question:

What does the above mean for the future of European Urban Planning? (M)

Conclusions & Recommendations

'A true idea must correspond with its ideate or object'

(Spinoza, Ethics, Axiom 6)

A stylized, handwritten signature of the name 'Spinoza' in a cursive script.

The great Dutch philosopher Benedict Spinoza (1632-1677) has a street named after him in Lombok and in Salerno's *Centro Storico*. He wrote, to be true, an idea has to correspond with its object. The Urban idea certainly corresponds when the city is its object. In this chapter we will revisit the consequences of this idea and look what the EU can do to improve the idea and how itself might correspond better with the idea.



Figure 65 The Atomium is Brussels, built for the 1958 World Exhibition, represents Fe-atoms, which cling together in a molecule
© miningco.com

Spinoza (1677) showed us how to build a consistent model of ideas as a framework. He built this framework step by step. The basis was formed by definitions, premises and axioms. When he reached this point he could do propositions, which clang together as the spheres in the Atomium in Brussels. Although we might disagree with his philosophy, the system he created to describe his philosophy is still as beautiful as it was all those years ago.

We have done more or less the same. First we started to describe the different parts of the local, national, European and methodological frameworks. Then we did our propositions, correlated by the questions we asked ourselves in the beginning. Now we are ready to draw conclusions from our system we built in this study. When we are aware of these conclusions we are able to make recommendations to the different players in our Urban world.

§ 8.1 The basis

In Chapter III and IV we have looked at the European and national frameworks. We have seen an European urban planning policy, which has slowly developed into a concrete instrument to use for urban policy, rather than vague ideas.

This European policy began as a result of negotiations, occurring at accession of new states. Every accessing state hoped to gain by entering the union. As one of the means to this, the union developed new spatial instruments, like the Regional Development Fund (ERDF). Those funds have primarily functioned

as a redistribution of funds, rather than a European strategy. The member states paid a member fee for the union and received money to spend on spatial projects.

As time progressed, Europe gained more influence on the projects they funded. The influence established the union as a player in spatial policy. This process started with a non-quota part in the structural funds and flourished in the Urban programme, where the EU could impose strict conditions on the methods of individual cities, surpassing in part the national and regional authorities.

These authorities had of course developed instruments of their own, as we have seen in chapter IV. These instruments developed in different ways during the last 150 years. In the Netherlands the most important direct spatial instrument is the *bestemmingsplan*, supported by the *structuurplan*. The most important Italian instrument is the PRG, which lies between the two mentioned Dutch instruments.

The Urban program had its own conditions, but had to be carried out by the different municipalities, under national law. Furthermore Urban required more than just spatial policy, as it contained measures including many different sectors of urban policy, including social aspects. It was the question how these different conditions would work together.

§ 8.2 Results

The conclusion of the programmes in Utrecht (Chapter V) and Salerno (VI) are rather positive (Conclusion C1, regarding questions A,B,C). Both cities now have a quarter that is undeniably better than it was before. There are new companies, the physical situations have been improved and the social cohesion has been given a boost.

Lombok in Utrecht is now the cities' most popular quarter. The neighbourhood is seen as an example of a working multi-cultural society. In Salerno, the *centro storico* looks better and is safer than it was before, and for the Salernitan municipality it was felt as a relieve to be working without the region. The cities can be satisfied with those results.

Urban played a part in that. It opened doors that would have been closed otherwise (Conclusion C2, Regarding question D,E,F). It obliged the municipalities to handle quickly and gave them responsibility to develop a plan, which collected all funds for urban renewal in the area. Thus the municipalities were able to create a comprehensive plan.

Conclusions

- C1: Both programmes were quite successful
- C2: Urban did play a part in both
- C3: If the national governments leave gaps, the union can step in.
- C4: There are glitches in the structure of the EU, which will have to be corrected

Urban therefore had in both cities an added value on national Urban renewal. Although one might wonder if the gap that Urban filled could not have been filled by national measures. In the new programmes developed after Urban the cities used many of the methodology and philosophy behind Urban, although they did not receive new Urban money.

This might thus be the time that the subsidiarity principle, as laid down in the Treaty of Maastricht comes in to action and in the future urban renewal must return at another level. As long as the national government leaves gaps, there is a role for the union to perform (Conclusion C3, regarding question G,H).

To perform this role however, a number of glitches of the urban program will have to be corrected. The European bureaucracy is too directed at control. Furthermore, Urban is not a fund of its own, therefore had to do with regulations not made for Urban (Conclusion C4, Regarding question I,J,K,L).

As we have drawn these conclusions out of the previous chapters we can now look at the future of European urban (and Urban) renewal.

§ 8.3 Recommendations

§ 8.3.1 Utrecht

One of the revelations of the Utrecht program was the relativity of integration. While Urban pioneered the concept of a comprehensive package, within that package the measures were separated. This was mainly because the EU did not allow funds to be shifted from one measure to another. We have seen that the integrated aspect of the programme improved the results, and further integration might even improve the results further.

Utrecht, and the other three large cities, now have signed a covenant with the ministry of Urban Policy. In this covenant the entire cash flow between the state and the city is arranged. To continue building successful urban policy Utrecht will have to make sure this lump sum, keeps being integrated at the municipal level.

Currently, the municipality is divided in departments and boroughs. The boroughs, which could implement territory-based urban policy, have no power to define policies, although the West-borough implemented the Urban program. When dividing the lump sum the city receives from the ministry the municipality therefore should clearly define the parts they should keep at a central level, spent by the different departments of the municipality and with what amount the municipality defines the policy across the departments on borough

level. The municipality should not first divide the money and then re-integrate the funds (Recommendation U1).

Another problem, which occurred in Utrecht was the process of gentrification. A part of the inhabitants could not pay the increased rents and moved out of the neighbourhood, thereby transporting their problems and endangering new entrepreneurs. It concerned one of the classic urban renewal dilemmas: should one invest in buildings or in people?

Although there is no direct solution for this problem, ways to combat this problem might be found in the integrated approach. There are two sectors the municipality could support this. When people find work in their neighbourhood, due to a programme operating in their neighbourhood, one will have to money and the reasons to stay in the neighbourhood. Preference to inhabitants can be applied when local jobs are in order.

Furthermore, the promotion of self-owned houses as opposed to rented houses increases to commitment to renewed areas and protects the proprietors from increased rent (Recommendation U2). The problem is however that the real estate market in Utrecht is already overheated. A final measure might be in the area of rent subsidies or when allocating houses.

The new entrepreneurs in Lombok are not entirely satisfied. After initial support and education to create their enterprises, they are now left alone. They are faced with increased rent, increased competition and, especially the more special enterprises are not well known. Utrecht should support the enterprises they helped create, to keep their successful program running. The municipality must make them ready to really stand on their own, while remaining careful not to create unfair competitive advantages for the entrepreneurs (Recommendation U3).

§ 8.3.2 Salerno

For Salerno Urban meant a new way of working. The city established a new organisation to be able to implement the Urban programme. For the first time the municipality had a competence beyond its traditional functions, including social policies. Furthermore, different services could be coordinated together. It is essential that this organisation keeps functioning to make progress, especially when creating and implementing the new, 'special' PRG. (Recommendation S1)

In the Urban programme the entrepreneurs had to come forward themselves to have influence on the projects. As one of the main objectives of the programme was to integrate the centre with the rest of the city and let typical functions of the centre return in the centre, it is essential that the entrepreneurs, which

provide many of those functions are consulted and used (Recommendation S2). An example that this works is the new association of restaurants in the centre (Chioffi). This association presents the restaurants as a unity and organises events in the centre.

As in Utrecht, the new Salertinian entrepreneurs and craftsmen in the centre feel left alone. They are generally unknown. Furthermore they are faced with problems, partly created by the Urban programme, e.g. higher rent. The municipality will have to develop a policy to strengthen them, as without that support, they may disappear as quickly as they appeared (Recommendation S3). A first step towards this support is the promotional guide the Osservatorio created.

Urban will clearly not be enough to combat all of the centre's problems. The new urban policy is mainly aimed at the periphery. The centre will have to remain a point of attention. There are now a few new functions and improved liveability. More new functions will have to appear and more people will have to work in the centre to truly make it flourish again (Recommendation S4).

Recommendations
<p>Utrecht U1: Allow boroughs to define integrated policies, using the integrated cash flows resulting from the G4-covenants U2: Allow inhabitants to remain in their improved neighbourhood U3: Provide support after original programs to establish new entrepreneurs run out.</p> <p>Salerno S1: Keep the urban policy agency alive S2: Consult local entrepreneurs. S3: Provide support after original programs to establish new entrepreneurs run out. S4: Develop urban policy beyond urban S5: Improve regional cooperation</p> <p>Europe E1: Make Urban less dependent on other programs E2: Make a connection between the changing content and the financing E3: Give attention to guidance, rather than just control E4: Europe will have to create a new structure and new goals for an enlarged Europe</p>

In Urban Salerno communicated directly with the central state. The lack of a meddling region was one of the most positive 'new' developments from Urban. The problems in the south do face the same problem though. Therefore it is recommended (S5) to develop a forum of the southern cities with the same problems, most notably Cosenza and improve the cooperation with those cities. Furthermore, some of those cities are involved with Urban II, and although Salerno does not receive funds from Urban II, it might benefit from the experiences with that program.

§ 8.3.3 Europe

Urban II is now active. It acknowledges the results of the first Urban programs (Commission,2000). The program has a slightly different definition (Culture

heritage is this time included) . Furthermore it does not support projects concerning housing policy, means have to be provided from local authorities. It uses the wider definition of objective II areas in structural funds adapted after the first Urban programs (Evans, 1999), making it easier to support non-industrial areas.

Let us look at our ultimate question: what do our results mean for the future of European Urban planning. We have seen a European bureaucracy, which aimed at control, rather than guidance. It worked, but made the programs inflexible and hastened.

Urban is still a part of both structural funds and the regional development funds and therefore subject to the regulation of these funds. This means the urban projects had to adhere to the same regulations as, for example, a project in an artic (objective 6) area, without any inhabitants in contrast to the area with high density the urban programme is aimed at.

In Salerno this had direct consequences. The new locations for shops had to be exactly known before financing, therefore causing the rent to rise and endangering the new entrepreneurs supported by the Urban program. It would be therefore advisable if individual funds like Urban, but also Leader of Interreg, would be less dependent on the regulations of each other (Recommendation E1).

The European bureaucracy had more problems. The municipalities could not shift money from one measure to another, because Europe required strict cost-benefit analysis of all measures. This is essentially a good thing, but because different departments judged the content (benefits) and the financing (costs), it made the programs less efficient.

Once the measures were approved on content, the municipalities had to communicate only with the financial departments. This did not care about priorities, which changed during the programme, it just wanted every measure carried out according to plan. Money spent on some employment projects in Utrecht was wasted because of this. It is therefore recommended that the European bureaucracy makes a connection in judging the measures according to the requirements of a developing city, between the changing content and the financing (Recommendation E2).

This is not the only problem with the European Bureaucracy. It is generally based on control, while perhaps guidance and support would be more helpful (Recommendation E3). In some countries municipalities have different competences than in others. Salerno was not experienced in social policy, while the Urban programme required it for its integrated approach, the Union could play its role in developing local social policy.

All these operational improvements are only small decisions compared to the large decision the member states will have to make. As we have seen in chapter III, the EU is about to expand rather rapidly. The new member states all have a GDP far less than the current member states (OECD, 1999).

One can wonder if structural funds do still have a role in this enlarged EU (Atkinson, 1999). The new member state will put a burden on the funds, leaving less money for the current member states. Portugal and Spain already have said that that is not acceptable and they only will agree to an enlargement when they will receive the same amount of money (De Jong, 2001). This would mean an enormous expansion of the European budget and infrastructure.

There is a chance that this expansion will increase the separation between the different policy sectors, concentrating just of cost effectiveness. The bureaucracy in the potential new member states is not that developed as well and therefore may cause an increase of European bureaucracy as well.

Europe should therefore decide what the structure of the EU should be. Will it still carry such large sums over the continent and what kind of procedures will it need? Will this new structure have consequences for smaller member states? Will there still be a place for Urban? The EU will have to decide it in the next few years.

(Recommendation E4)

The structure and the funds will have to be redefined. A reduction of agricultural subsidies, which will be probably too expensive after expansion, can only go hand in hand with a reduction or reallocation of the structural funds as both policies have different beneficiaries. As we have seen in chapter III, the latter were created to compensate for the first.

German chancellor Schröder (Peel, 2001) therefore suggested re-nationalisation of the funds involved. This seems to be the only way to go. This re-nationalisation will have victims though. The newly elected Italian government has already stated (Leijendekker, 2001) that it will not let the expansion of Europe make him give up the funds currently flowing to the mezzogiorno.

All this is a political problem though, as in the end some sort of nationalisation and restructuring will have to take place. The Italian point of view leads to a remarkable paradox, as we see a new government that wants to withdraw itself from strong regulations, but wants to keep the more rigid European regulations, as long as it delivers funds.

The Urban project meanwhile probably cannot survive in its current shape, as the Western countries will not receive as much money as do they now, if expansion goes ahead, while the Eastern countries will have to adapt their bureaucracy strongly, as the Italians and Dutch did, to be able to host such a programme. One can only hope that the countries and cities which have experienced the Urban programme will continue developing their urban policies.

§ 8.4 Suggestions for further research

This research does leave us with a few questions. Three of them leads us to ask for further research. We have looked at two cities, Utrecht and Salerno. These are just a few examples of the Urban programme. Cities in France, Denmark or the United Kingdom might have different experiences with Urban. To say more definitive things on the programme these should be investigated as well.

Next to Urban there are other programmes, as we have seen in chapter III. One wonders if the regions eligible for those programmes, like Interreg and Leader (II) have known the same situations with the European Union as the two investigated cities had.

The two investigated cities will continue to evolve. The effects of the Urban programme are not yet all clear and some of the already established results will probably be threatened. Continued research of the two cities will make the picture clearer.

§ 8.5 Conclusion

We have completed our journey. After we had asked ourselves our questions in the first chapter, we then selected the case study method to explore those questions. We have looked at Utrecht and Salerno, as they were the most interesting cases.

In chapter III we have looked at the instruments Europe has in Urban planning and in chapter IV we have looked at the national frameworks. This was the basis for our research. In chapter V and VI we then could investigate our cases thoroughly.

Utrecht has a quarter called Lombok. It was known for criminality and for its high share of immigrants. It is now a popular quarter. Urban has played a role in this as it helped the quarter to regenerate. Not everything was great though, as not all of the original population could afford the revitalised quarter.

Salerno has a centre, which was more like the periphery than like a real centre. Urban tried to improve buildings and insert new functions. The first results now are visible. It will take more than just the Urban programme to make the centre once again the place to be. At least the city now has the organisation to handle this kind of renewal.

Urban has been a success. The program did make a difference, although it sometimes met the limitations of European bureaucracy. It did show an idea on how to make urban policy work. The future of European urban planning is insecure though (Question M), as new member states will put pressure on all programmes and wider vision, as the Blue Banana, will encounter political barriers.

After this journey we can return home. We can say goodbye to the philosophers, statesmen, writers, shopkeepers, mayors, civil servants, entrepreneurs and inhabitants we met on our travels. As Epicurus declared in his epitaph:

Ἐχαιρετε και μεμνηστε τα δογματα¹⁵¹

Appendix A

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⁵¹ Rejoice and remember the teachings

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Appendix B

Interviews

ABDELLATIF CHERRIBI

Urban Programme Manager Utrecht 1999-2000

January 31st, 2001, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

ELS BEIMERS

Urban policy, Ministry of Internal affairs and Kingdom relations

February 8th, 2001, The Hague, The Netherlands

MAURIZIO GARANO

Department of Urban Planning (DPTU),. University of Rome 'La Sapienza'

March 12th, 2001, Rome, Italy

GIANNI GIANITACIO

City Journalist of 'La Città di Salerno'

March 13th, 2001, Salerno, Italy

GIANLUCA DE VERO

Urban Programme Manager Salerno

March 14th, 2001, Salerno, Italy

MARIA-ANTOINETTA CHIOFFI

Coordinator Associations Platform

March 15th, 2001, Salerno, Italy

PAOLA MIRANDA

Proprietor Urban Supported Shop

March 16th, 2001, Salerno, Italy

MARCO CREMASCHI

External Consultant Formez

March 19th, 2001, Rome, Italy

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

In deze studie hebben we in het begin de volgende vraag gesteld: wat is de Europese rol in het Urban stedelijke vernieuwingsprogramma? Nadat we dat hadden gedaan hebben we in hoofdstuk II de ‘case study’ geselecteerd om deze vragen te onderzoeken. We kozen als ‘cases’, Utrecht en Salerno, omdat deze het beste te vergelijken waren.

In hoofdstuk III hebben we gekeken naar de instrumenten de Europese Unie heeft in de stedelijke planning en in hoofdstuk IV hebben we gekeken naar de nationale stelsels. Dit was de basis voor ons onderzoeken. In hoofdstuk V en VI konden we vervolgens onze cases grondig bekijken.

Utrecht heeft een wijk die Lombok heet. De wijk was bekend om de criminaliteit die er plaatsvond en dat er veel immigranten wonen. Het is nu een populaire wijk. Urban speelde een rol, aangezien het de wijk in staat stelde zichzelf te regenereren. Niet alles was goed; voor een deel van de inwoners werd de wijk te duur.

Salerno heeft een centrum, dat meer een buitenwijk was dan een echt centrum. Urban probeerde dit door gebouwen verbeteren en er nieuwe functies neer te zetten. De eerste resultaten zijn nu zichtbaar. Er zal echter meer nodig zijn dan het Urban programma om er weer een echt centrum van te maken. De stad is nu wel zo georganiseerd dat ze effectief beleid kunnen voeren.

Urban is een succes geweest. Het programma maakte een verschil, hoewel het af en toe de grenzen van de Europese bureaucratie ontmoette. Het was wel een duidelijk idee over hoe stedelijke politiek kan werken. De toekomst van Europese planning is echter onzeker, daar de uitbreiding van de unie druk zal leggen op alle EU-fondsen en ‘visies’, zoals de stedelijke ‘Blauwe Banaan’ vanaf Londen naar Milaan op politieke tegenstand zullen blijven stuiten.

Sommario in Italiano

In questa ricerca abbiamo impostato la seguente domanda: quale è il ruolo dell'Europa nel programma (PIC) Urban? Nel II capitolo abbiamo scelto il metodo 'case study' per analizzare questa domanda e abbiamo trovato che Utrecht e Salerno sono i casi più rappresentativi.

Nel capitolo III abbiamo visto gli strumenti che l'unione Europea ha per la pianificazione urbana e nel capitolo IV abbiamo esaminato il sistema nazionale. Questa era la base per la nostra ricerca. Così possiamo analizzare i nostri casi nei capitoli V e VI.

Utrecht ha un quartiere che si chiama Lombok. Il quartiere aveva molta criminalità e molti immigrati. Adesso il quartiere è vivibile. In questo processo Urban ha giocato un ruolo, e ha permesso al quartiere di rigenerarsi. Non tutto è positivo: adesso abitare in Lombok è troppo caro per molti abitanti.

Salerno ha un centro storico, che è più periferico che centro vero. Urban ha provato a migliorare questo quartiere recuperando palazzi e inserendo funzioni nuove. I primi risultati sono visibili adesso. È necessario lavorare ancora di più per avere un centro vero a Salerno, però adesso la città è organizzata per avere una politica effettiva.

Urban era una cosa buona. Il programma ha fatto la differenza, però a volte ha incontrato i limiti della burocrazia Europea. Era una idea chiara come si fa la politica urbana. Il futuro della pianificazione è incerto però, se la estensione della unione significa peso a tutti i fondi Europei e visione come la banana azzurra da Londra a Milano (Blue Banana) sono troppe per la politica.

Appendix E

About the author

RICK JOZEF LINDEMAN was born on May 14th, 1977 in Amsterdam. His family descended from a German cognac family. Rick went to school at St. Joseph's and received his high school education at the Christian Lyceum of Buitenveldert. Here he developed himself as a true *homo universalis*, taking classical, mathematical and social subjects, while being active in areas as diverse as plays and oriental mind sports.



The author studied urban planning between 1995 and 2001 at the University of Amsterdam. He specialized in traffic, transport and infrastructure, but took many other extra subjects as well, like organisation studies and American urban development. In 1999 he studied for six months at the faculty of Architecture of the Università degli Studi di Roma 'La Sapienza'. Here this thesis was born. In the student-movement he was active as president of the foreign excursion committee. Furthermore, he is president of the Amstelveen Go Association 'De Twee Ogen'

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