Changes in the City

Young Scholars Book • 2
Geography

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Bucharest: The public space in the residential areas.

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Abstract:

Used inevitable every single day, by all people, despite the age, social class, economic status of ethnicity, public space represents a great deal in our wellbeing and in the image of the city. In particularly, residential public spaces do have a high economic, social and emotional importance. The present empirical study aims to highlight the first step in a complex process of planning. The observation of the most important issues of the residential public spaces in Bucharest represents the foundation of future researches themes like urban planning, social wellbeing and segregation, urban image and urban identity. Considering the recent history of the city the main focus is set on the elementary challenge to adapt the democratic modern life style and expectation to a predominantly socialist urban structure.

Key words: public space, Bucharest

Introduction

The public space in the residential areas is of great importance out of economic, social and emotional point of view. More than that, it represents the mirror of the people living in a specific area. Of course, a great responsibility lies on the local authorities and the urban planners sholder within this areas. Over the time the public space caught the attention of sociologist, planners, economists or geographer. From the simple definition, as an area accessible for everyone at anytime (DEX), it revealed a complexity of issues concerning the property, use and design of those spaces. Consequently, R. Sennett (1983) is talking about the fall and the end of the public space, while Carr S. (1992) is looking for a new form and describes it as a scene where the drama of the common life takes place. A detailed study on the public space "between buildings" is made by Gehl J. (1986). The urban designer, recognized about 30 years ago the importance of the relations between the environment and the activities in the public urban space. Based on former studies we can say that every public space has the same pattern, but still there are considerable differences stressed out by historical, cultural, ethnical and social singularities.

Public spaces, generally speaking, do represent an important component of the perception of urban image and further more of the urban identity. It can be in the same time of high influence in the potential and competitiveness of a city, especially considering the more globalised tendency of development. R. Comfort (2011) stresses out the economic impact in the identity creation of a city, by using visual elements to increase competitiveness. At the bottom of the visual elements that has as purpose to increase its attractiveness lies the public space.

The study is based on a long term critical observation of the different residential areas (highly dependent on the morphology and structure of each neighbourhood), a subdivision and typology of the public spaces in cities, with a focus on those located in the residential areas and an interactive communication with citizens and visitors on the image of the capital neighbourhoods. The following paper examines the public open space in the residential area of Bucharest using the above presented study methods and zooming in on the challenges of the new modern era trying to adapt to out-

dated planning structures of the past. The aim of the paper is to point out in a critical view the main issues of the open public space in Bucharest. It is so for the reason that before taking any action in overcome planning and social difficulties it is first of all important to identify the problem as a hole. Therefore the approach is rather descriptive than analytical.

Historical framework

As most of the old cities, Bucharest was strongly influenced by its historical past, leaving behind visible evidences. In its morphology and structure harsh disruption are distinguishable, especially between the areas dominated by single houses and those marked by narrow block of flats. These fractures were caused by the power takeover in 1947 by the socialist regime, a fact that lead to a complete change of the original pathway development of the city. The new policy, or rather the new ideology, brings fundamental changes on the political, economical and social level. (Giurescu C. G., 2009) The main focus was set on the enforced industrialization and so the urban areas. The urban industrial boom of that period and the migration flow from the rural to the urban areas brought with it duplication in time of Bucharest residence from 992.536 people in 1941 to 2.036.894 in 1989. (INSS) To support the newcomers, workers in the new built factories and plants entire districts rose from the scratch at the periphery of the capital city. In the same time through a embedment of surrounding localities and the creation of new neighbourhoods the total surface of Bucharest from 6.800 ha in 1935 to over 25.600 ha in 1951 (Ionaşcu I. at. al., 1961; Parusi GH., 2005a).

Different than before, when private constructions were built without a proper urban planning and when the private interest prevails over the collective, in the socialist era the housing assembles had a very clear structure (see Figure 1). The smallest administrative unit, between 2 and 8 ha, is designed for to serve 400 to 2.500 inhabitants. The access to the so called *group of dwellings* is made through local streets or dead end streets and has daily facility units (play grounds, rest areas, parks, and basic products and services units). The *micro-districts* ("microraioane") are composed of several groups of dwellings serving 3.000 to 12.000 inhabitants

and covering between 15 to 45 ha. These units are bounded by collector streets and equipped with daily and periodical units to serve the population, respectively sport, recreation and leisure facilities, library, sanitation and maintenance centres, parking lots and garages. The more complex *neighbourhoods,* bounded by large roads, include occasional service units (mail office, police, polyclinic, cinema, market and shopping centres). And finally, the district considered by the planners a local administrative unit designed for cities of over 200.000 inhabitants and includes in its structure city halls, parks, schools, etc. (Radu L., 1965; Stoian D. 2011)
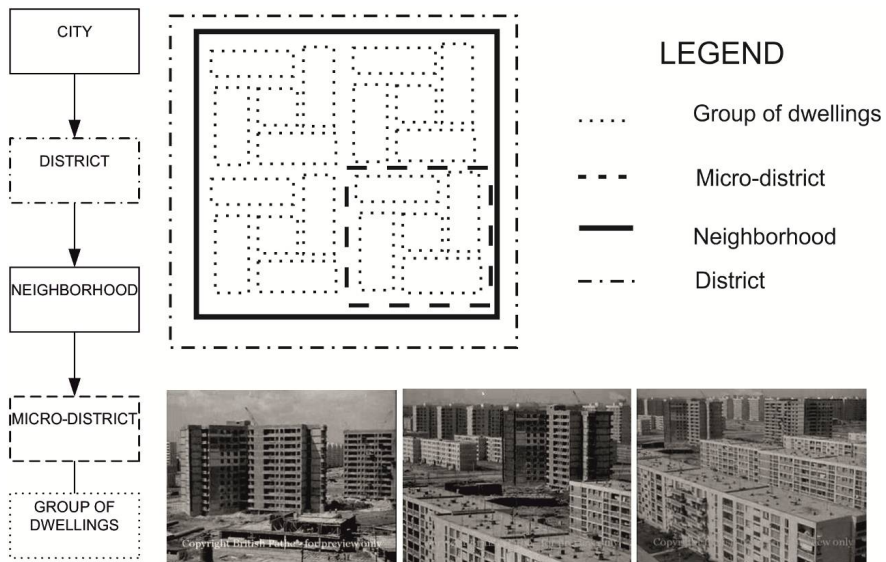
Fig. 1 Territorial-administrative organization in socialist Bucharest.
(Source of images: *www.britishpathe.com*)

Public space in residential areas

Public spaces are used every single day by a wide range of people. But in time the reason of using those spaces changed once the society developed. If in former times the main reason for using public spaces was to socialize, to meet other people, it is now rather an act of necessity. Therefore J. Gehl (1986) divides the urban public spaces in three types of activities: necessary, optional activates, and social activities. Schneider B. (2000) classifies public

spaces using criteria as: accessibility, permeability, orientation, cohesion, proportionality, and attractively. A third method to classify those spaces is by taking in consideration the level of usage (see figure bellow).
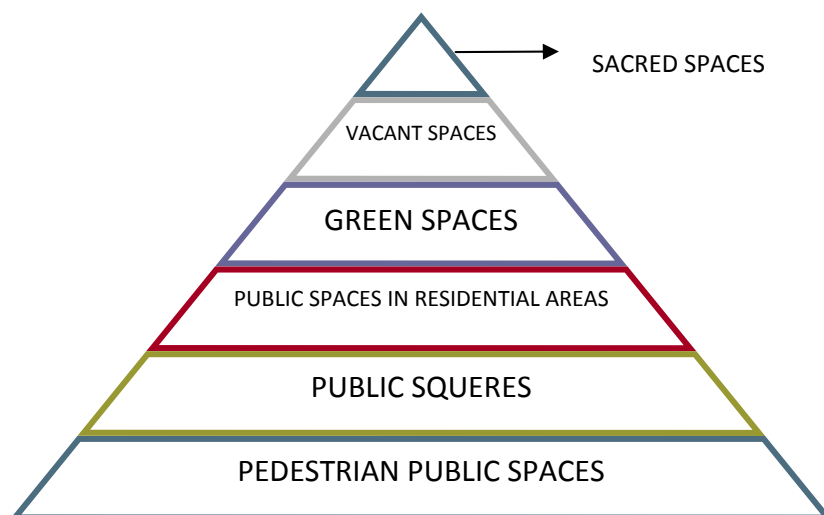
Fig. 2 Pyramid of public spaces after the level of usage

The public spaces in the residential areas in Bucharest are very complex. As mentioned before, this complexity is based on the varied typology of residential areas, depending on the structure of the housing assemblies: single family or collective housing, property value, the ethnic composition and the degree of modernization. To this we need to add the political and administrative factors/division, most of all a good management of the responsible institutions and a good legislation on the use of areas of common interest. Starting again from the classification made by J. Gehl (1986) we can dived the residential public spaces in three categories: necessary spaces including parking lots and garbage disposals), leisure and socialization area (playgrounds for children of different age, meeting points for young and old people) and aesthetic and well being elements (image of the neighbourhood, cleanness, safety).

Considering the historical background of the Romanian capital city functional and structural challenges are to be recognised. The strongest issues of the urban public spaces in Bucharest are concerning the parking lots, the playgrounds, green spaces and leisure places, safety, cleanness or aesthetics. For a better understanding of the current situation, and as a first step in finding solutions, this challenges as in an empirical way analysed bellow.

Parking spaces

The number of cars compared with that of the residential parking spaces is overwhelming. According to the Direction of Driving Licenses and Vehicle Registration in 2006 almost one million personal cares were registered in Bucharest and it is estimated to reach 1.6 million by the end of 2012 (www.wall-street.ro). This is the main cause of the overcrowded public spaces in the residential areas, especially the sidewalks and green areas, provided actually to serve other activities and limiting the space of pedestrians (see Fig. 1). While in some districts authorities try to find solutions and to plan parking spaces (see Fig. 2), others give proof of indifference by neglecting useful space (see Fig. 3). Another issue in relation with the "asphyxiation" of the residential public spaces by cars is the unauthorized constructions of car sheds in some districts (see Fig. 4). Not only that they occupy public property in personal interest but the overall image of those constructions is negatively influencing.

Fig. 3 Overcrowded residential street (Drumul Taberei Neighbourhood, 2011)

Fig. 4 Parking spaces in Aviatorilor Neighbourhood, 2011)
Fig. 5 Neglected parching space in Militari Neighbourhood, 2011)

Fig. 6 Unauthorised cars sheds in Ferentari Neighbourhood, 2011

The issues raised by the deficient parking spaces to serve the population is caused by a defective planning in the socialist area, where only few people could afford to own a car compared with today's state of arts. It is in the same time a question of mentality since the ownership of a car is a social status indicator for Romania. This is why the solution to these problems lies in the residence of Bucharest much more than in the planning capacities of the authorities.

Green spaces

The green spaces in the residential areas represent an extremely important factor in the wellbeing of the residence. The distribution and the biodiversity are as important as the care with which it is organized. If the main issue of the parking spaces is the insufficient number for the constantly increasing personal cars, in the case of the green spaces the main concern is the neglect to care for those spaces. It is common seen that large green areas around buildings are covered with wildly grown weeds affecting the image of the place (see Fig. 5).

The design and care of the public space is a direct responsibility of the each district hall and its close cooperation with the Organisation of the public and private domain. An example of good practice was shown in recent years by the 4th district of Bucharest. In a very short time most of the green spaces had been taken care of, a fact highly appreciated by the local population.

It is known that one of the main activities in residential areas is that of socializing. The socialization takes place in this environment for all age groups (children playing around, teenagers meeting and spending time together, adults who meet up, or elderly joining in there lowliness). The observations made by the authors of this paper reviled that the more an environment is visually attractive and planed in supporting social activities the more people participate. As a result this rules out in some way the statement of Ioan A. (2007) that for having public life there is no need to have a special planed area.

Fig. 7 Neglected green space in Drumul Taberei Neighbourhood, 2011

Free time / Playgrounds

Closely related to the green spaces are the "free time" spaces and the playgrounds. Even in the modern society, where the virtual world took over our lives, open public spaces are sought. Especially young children and elderly use on a constant basis these meeting environments. More than that, the modern society understood the advantages of a well planned playground by its educational and social role. Playgrounds stimulate creativity, forms aptitudes as communication, team play, self confidence or emotional intelligence. For the children's pleasure but most of all for their safety, playgrounds need to follow strict rules. In case of Bucharest playgrounds in most of the neighbourhoods need improvement. Insecurity and neglected is a characteristic for some, congestion for others.

Fig. 8 Playgrounds in Ferentari (left) and Militari (right) Neigbourhood, 2011

Safety and cleanness

Safety in open public space is another important issue to be discussed. And it is not about the criminality rate, but the huge number of stray dogs that become a widely problem as well for the residence as for the animal lovers. According to the Authority for Animal Supervision and Protection, Bucharest hosts more than 40 000 stray dogs. Numerous attempts were made to find a solution, but with low success.

Unresolved are in many places cleanness of the public spaces. A practical example lie in the garbage bins of the common dwellings (see figure 9). As you will see bellow the cleanness represents for the residential population an important fact in the perception of the urban image.

Figure 9 Garbage bins in Berceni (left) and Ferentari (right) Neighbourhood

Image and perception of selected districts in Bucharest

In former researches the image of Bucharest city was analysed by involving as much as possible the residential as well as the visiting population of the capital. Yet unpublished results show interesting opinion in the population's perception of the urban image. Using questionnaires we could obtain results on the urban perception, image and satisfaction of the local population, but also the main causes of dissatisfaction. In relation to the current paper we selected two analysed aspects. First of all we asked what are the features that a neighbourhood needs for a favourable urban image and second the main factor of dissatisfaction in the residential neighbourhood of the interrogated individual. As we can observe in figure

10 to 14 it is clear that the main factors of dissatisfaction lie among the main issues of the open public space.
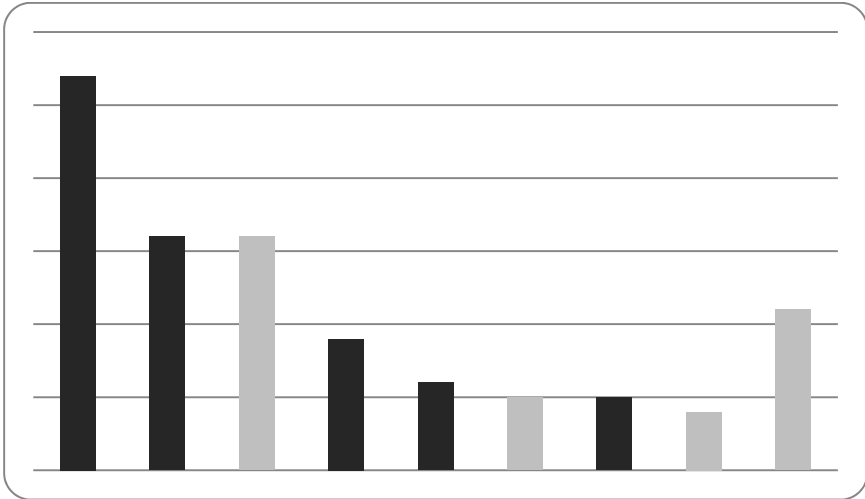
Fig. 10 Main feature lieng on the basics that favours urban image, 2006
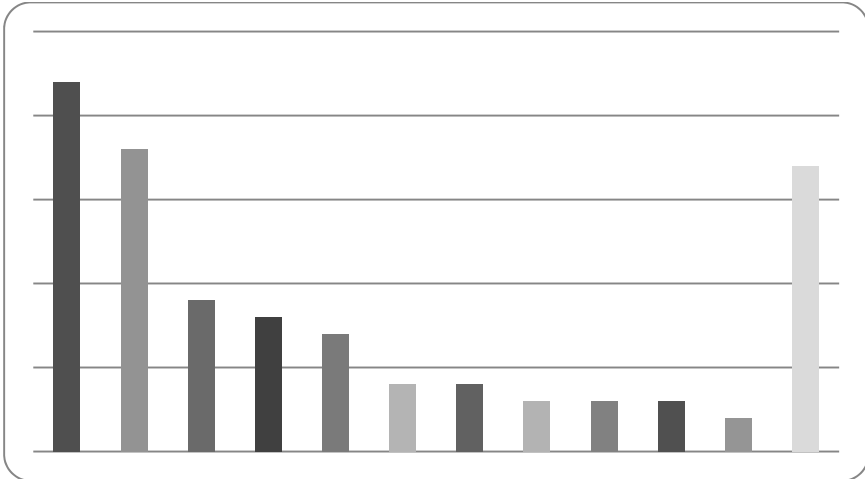
Fig. 11 Main factors of dissatisfaction towerd the residential area, 2006
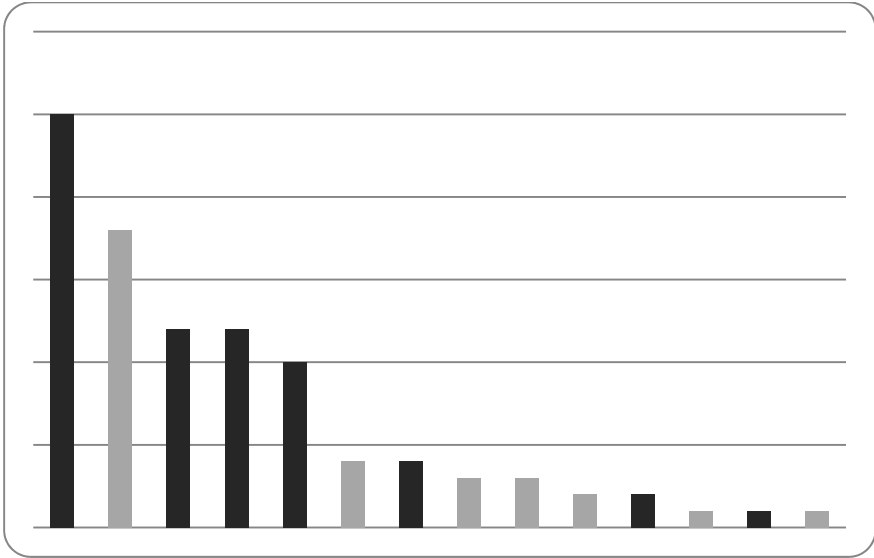
Fig. 12 Main feature lieng on the basics that favours urban image, 2008
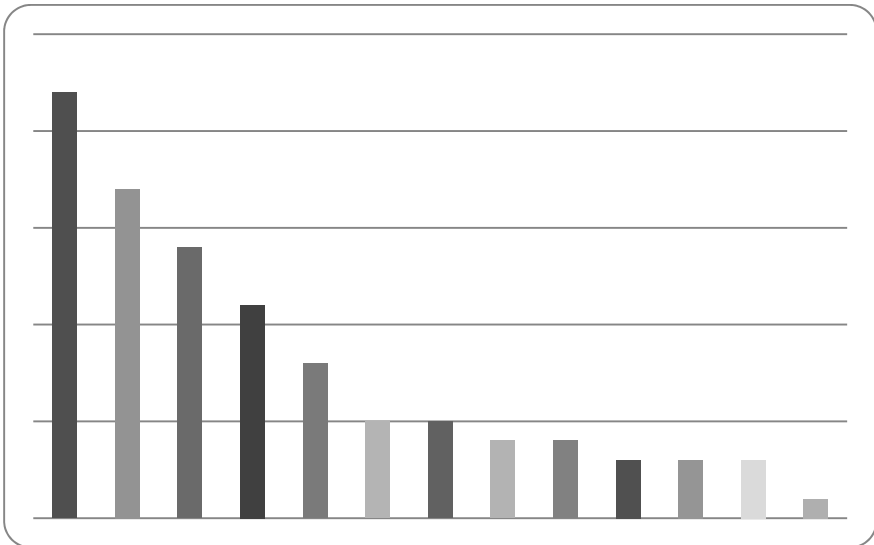
Fig. 13 Main factors of dissatisfaction towerd the residential area, 2008

Conclusion

It is easy to conclude that the main planning and social issues detected among the public urban spaces in the residential area of Bucharest are in accordance with the basic elements in the populations need for a ideal neighbourhood and represent in the same time the main elements of dissatisfaction toward the residential area in which they live.

Secondly, it is clear that even an up in detailed planned urban structure will sooner or later obsolete, needing works of adaptation to a new society that has other expectances and aspirations. As a result the socialist regime did not planed the micro-districts having in mined such a huge number of cars. On the other hand the possession of a car nowadays represents for many Romanian people a mark of the social status. The green spaces, playgrounds, garbage bens or the safety requires more attention from the local authorities as well from the owners association. The question of the ownership and the actual responsibility for these spaces prevented from a good planning and management.

Finally, closely related to the problem of ownership is the question: "if the public space belongs to anyone, than who takes relay care for it" and then the attitude "if it doesn't belong to me, than why should I care".

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Changes in the Condominium Market in Japan after the 1990s

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Abstract:

This study's goal is to clarify the correlation between the transformation of the urban housing market and the diversification of the household structure in Japan, with an in-depth focus on increased condominium supply and homeownership by single-person households. Single-person households, particularly single women, have long been marginalized in the Japanese housing market. Therefore, there were limited possibilities for women to purchase houses that suited their housing needs.

Key words: condominium supply, homeownership, single-person household, housing, Tokyo

Introduction

Background of the study

Owner-occupation of condominiums is an important form of housing today. Homeownership is a significant event in an individual's residential experience, homeownership and life satisfaction are strongly related (Elsinga and Hoekstra 2005), and there is a close connection between homeownership and an individual's welfare and pleasure (Morrow-Jones 1988). People tend to purchase housing as part of the expansion of their household. Moreover, homeownership is strengthened by prevailing social norms (Michelson 1977).

Some of Japan's housing legislations, which remain central to Japanese housing policies in recent years, were approved after the Second World War (Japan Federation of Housing Organizations 2002). These laws caused the middle-class to flock to suburban areas for homeownership. The migration from non-metropolitan areas to metropolitan areas led to the suburbanization of Japan (Tani 1997). Until the beginning of the 1980s there was a strong tendency towards purchasing detached houses, while condominiums were regarded as a temporary form of residence. However, the large supply of apartment buildings provided by the Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDC) has promoted a rather new lifestyle revolving around condominiums or apartments. Therefore, condominiums today play an important role as an owner-occupied form of housing in the Japanese market.

Preston (1986, 1991) reported that the form and price of condominiums in central areas were quite different from those of suburban condominiums. Through market forces, the residents of condominiums can dictate the size and location of condominiums within the cities in which they are built. Condominium supply and the characteristics of the residents differ by their size and location within the city. Therefore, condominiums may be studied as geographical objects.

Indeed, the diversification of household structures and life stages has led to a transformation in the characteristic of homeowners, thus strengthening the demand for owner-occupied condominiums. According to a case study conducted in Canada, elderly and young household members prefer condominiums because of their affordability and security (Skaburskis 1988).

In Japan, non-nuclear families, such as single women and Double Income No Kids Yet couples (DINKYs), often purchase condominiums (Yui 2000; Hirayama and Izuhara 2008).

Since the late 1990s, there has been a rapid increase in condominium development in Japan. This development has led to dramatic changes in urban land use and residential transformation in Japanese cities (Yabe 2003; Miyazawa and Abe 2005). Many articles have dealt with population growth in urban areas and the characteristics of condominium residents. As the condominium supply increased in central areas after the late 1990s, Japan's urban landscape and land use patterns changed dramatically. In addition, as central areas of many cities were transformed into residential areas by the construction of new condominiums, commuting areas became closer to the city centers, which led to the transformation of the residential structure of Japanese cities.

Purpose of the study

In order to understand this phenomenon, it is highly important to examine the growth of condominiums, the development of which has transformed the landscape and land use of Japanese cities. In addition, since the value of homeownership and behavior of homeowners have changed and household structures and life-stages have diversified, the reasons why condominiums are built and the areas in which they are built can be evaluated, as the growth of new permanent residential areas are a significant urban issue.

The aim of this study was to clarify the correlation between the transformation of the urban housing market and the diversification of the household structure in Japan, with an in-depth focus on increased condominium supply and homeownership by single-person households. First of all, socioeconomic changes that strengthen supply and demand for condominiums are explained. Secondly, changes in the household structure and features of homeowners, as well as homeownership by single-person households in Tokyo, were studied. Finally, the features of the condominium market, which reflect the diversification of the household structure and the increasing desire for condominiums among single-person households in the central area of Tokyo, were examined.

Changes in the Japanese Housing Market

Changes in socioeconomic situation and housing demand

Japan has a long history of amply providing housing supply for familes, leading to marginalization of non-nuclear households in the owner-occupied market in Japan. Therefore, housing purchases by single or elderly households were fewer than in Western countries (Kageyama 2004; Tahara et al. 2003). Details are examined in the following part of this paper.

Figure 1 illustrates the period when existing housing was constructed in Japan. The volume of housing construction increased rapidly from 1970 to 1995 during major suburbanization as part of an economic bubble. In this period, the supply of detached houses was dominant, followed by rented apartments. During the 1980s, there was remarkable migration of young people from rural to metropolitan areas. They tended to move into rented apartments first. As they got married or had children, they moved to suburban detached houses (Kawaguchi 1997). These mobility trends were supported by government policies. The Japanese housing policies have mainly supported owner-occupation for middle class families after the Second World War (Kubo and Yui 2011c). Therefore, owned detached houses have dominated the housing supply for decades (Fig. 2). However, as many people have experienced living in apartment houses from the 1960s, the percentage of owned apartments (condominiums) have increased steadily.

In addition, diversification of household structure has also supported the increasing condominium-lifestyles in Japan. Non-nuclear households fit into condominiums more easily. Owner-occupied condominiums play an important role in this social diversification. Figure 3 shows the number of households by household types from 1985 to 2005 in Japan. Among nuclear families, married couples with children are decreasing gradually. On the other hand, married couples and single households are increasing in a rapid pace. In these decades, diversification of households occurred, especially increasing in small households such as single and married couple households. When it comes to large cities like Tokyo, a rapid increase of small-size households is very apparent. Statistics Bureau of Japan (2010) reported that the number of single-person households in central Tokyo

(23wards of Tokyo) in 2010 was 2,223,510, 49.06% of all households in central Tokyo.

Small households, which do not require large living space and gardens for childrearing, have increased during the decadesand under these circumstances, condominium demand has expanded gradually. Finally, one more important factor that affected the increase of condominium developments was prolonged economic recession in Japan.

Housing development after the 1990s

Japanese land prices fell after the collapse of the "bubble economy" in 1992. Consequently, large areas of land originally used for company housing or factories were sold and purchased by urban developers including condominium suppliers. The condominium supply increased in metropolitan centers, in most of the central areas of local cities, and in the suburbs, leading to a sudden change in land use in these areas. The government adopted policies designed to promote housing construction in order to soften the effects of a prolonged recession (e.g., low interest rate). In addition, liberalized housing loans and lowered housing taxes helped prospective home buyers afford their properties (Nakazawa 2006). Private real estate suppliers preferred to oversee a healthy supply of condominiums rather than one of housing estates (consisting mostly of detached houses) because land in city centers was in good supply during this period. This supply was triggered by redevelopment projects around the core stations and the on-site development of factories, commercial areas, and leisure centers (Real Estate Economic Institute 2002).

This type of urban development, focused on new condominiums, has had both attractive and unattractive dimensions (Hirayama 2005). The attractive residential areas were concentrated in metropolitan centers, the central areas of local cities, and the suburban cores. Attractive residential areas tended to cluster where the condominium supply was highest after the late 1990s.

Changing housing-purchasing behavior in Japan

In 2008, more than 50% of home owners obtained their residences by building new houses or purchasing newly built houses in Japan (Statistics Bureau of Japan 2008). It is often said that the Japanese housing stock is increased by demolishing old houses and building new ones. Therefore, the second-hand housing market in Japan as a whole is fragile and limited to highly populated areas such as Tokyo and Osaka.

As Figure 4 shows, the first peak of home-ownership occurs when people are 30- 50 years of age. This is the age at which a large number of middle-class people get married and become parents and are thereby prompted to purchase their own houses. In addition, the households that purchase housing using mortgages have to make decisions to purchase housing before they are 40 years old, because a large majority of them have to pay for the mortgage for more than 20 years until their retirement. The second peak is seen in people between 50 and 60 years of age. It should be mentioned that these individuals' previous residences are typically owner-occupations; however, this is the age at which they need to rebuild their houses in order to live together with their children and their families. It should be noted that this group includes people who obtained new houses to reflect the decrease in family size owing to their children's independence. The value of real property tends to decrease gradually in the Japanese housing market. Therefore, the introduction of reverse mortgages did not make significant inroads in the market, and the mobility of middle-aged people and the elderly is not as much as that of their counterparts in Western countries (Tahara et al. 2003).

Both the super-low fertility and increasing single-lifestyles made the transformation of the owner-occupied market in Japan, especially in Tokyo, inevitable. The total fertility rate of Japan was 1.57 in 1980 but this has declined dramatically to 1.39 in 2010. Shrinking household-size has affected the owner-occupied market. Under the condition that the second–hand housing market is too fragile, the housing developers had to regard small-size households as potential homeowners in order to maintain the number of new housing sales. At the same time, single-persons also wished to improve their housing prospects: most rental apartments did not satisfy their housing

needs at all (Kamiya et al. 2002). Owner-occupation of condominiums was expected to answer the needs of both housing developers and single-persons.

Now, single-persons in the age of home-ownership "must" enter the owner-occupation market. In central Tokyo, the number of housing units in owned-condominiums was 841300, 47.6% of all owned houses in central Tokyo in 2008 (Statistics Bureau of Japan 2008). Increasingly single-persons have started to purchase condominiums. In the following section, we will specifically examine this phenomenon in Tokyo.

Changes in Condominium Supply in Tokyo

Population recovery and changing household structure

Since the late 1990s, residential land use has increased in inner Tokyo, and population recovery has occurred (Tomita 2004). Supplies of both condominiums and public housing contributed to the population recovery (Yabe 2003). For instance, the project for rebuilding public housing led to the movement of elderly households into Tokyo's central Minato Ward, and the increasing condominium supply led to the movement of single and DINKY households. Condominium supply is mostly limited to the central locations of the Tokyo area, local areas, and suburban cores. Basically, condominiums are preferred by small-size households in Japan (e.g., single-person households, married couples without children, and elderly couples) (Sakakibara et al. 2003; Hirose 2000; Otsuka 2005; Kagawa 2007; Kubo 2008). With the diversification of household structure and lifestyles in Japan (Aero 2006), the role of the condominium is becoming increasingly important in the Japanese housing market.

From 1985 to 2005, the Japanese household structure underwent change. Surveys conducted by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (2001 and 2003) relating to condominium residents in central Tokyo revealed the following statistics related to the household structure of residents: married couples without children (33.4%), nuclear families with school-age children (20.0%), and single women (19.5%). According to the same survey, the previous residences of condominium owners were primarily located in either the same ward as their current

residences at the time of the survey (32.2%) or in the peripheral wards of Tokyo (31.3%).

Since the beginning of the 2000s, households comprising single people in their late 20s and 30s began moving into central Tokyo. From 2000 to 2005, there was a dramatic increase in the number of single women in their 30s and early 40s who bought homes (Kubo and Yui 2011a). Although single men in the same age group and same time period also showed a marked increase in such activity, the volume was not as high as that in the single-women category.

The large number of single-person and nuclear households in five core Tokyo wards (Chuo, Chiyoda, Minato, Shinjuku, and Shibuya wards) in 2000 and 2005 indicated a clear population increase in all core wards, as well as a dramatic increase of single-person households in Shinjuku, Minato, and Chuo wards. With regard to the condominium supply in this period, Fig.5 provides an important correlation between increasing population and condominium supply. Shortly after the collapse of "the bubble economy," the supply of condominiums decreased. From 1999 to 2005, when young single-person households in their home-purchasing phase increased in central Tokyo, condominium supply also increased dramatically; a portion of this single-person group is believed to have purchased condominiums. During this period, the average price per square meter fell, but the condominium supply in the five core wards increased; thus, it may be inferred that affordable condominiums in convenient locations were coming to the market.

Supply of Compact condominiums and condominium purchase by single-person households

Since the late 1990s, and corresponding to the diversification of household structure in central Tokyo, various types of condominiums have been supplied. In particular, the supply of "compact" condominiums—comprising small-size living spaces, such as studio and/or small-sized, owner-occupied household—has increased (Fig. 6).

Originally, compact condominiums were supplied for single women in their 30s or 40s, who had been marginalized in the housing market in Japan.

Since the late 1990s, studio-type condominiums were sold by middle-sized condominium suppliers for single-person households, and approximately 70% of them were purchased by single women (Yui 2000). Single women who purchased the condominiums were not necessarily rich and professional workers. They chose owner-occupied residences because the monthly rent of their previous residences was so high that occasionally the monthly mortgage payment was less than, or equal to, the rent. Thus, they wanted to improve their living conditions by purchasing their own home. Moreover, they must have also evaluated the facilities available in condominiums as compared to those of rental apartments (Yui 2003), and concluded that condominiums had better provisions.

In Japan, there have been a limited number of residences suitable for the housing needs of single-person households since the 1950s onwards; therefore, condominiums tended to better fulfill their needs for security and ease of commuting (Kamiya et al. 2002). Wakabayashi et al. (2002) considered the residential choices of single women in their 30s in the Tokyo metropolitan area and found that they purchased condominiums for the purpose of asset formation and retirement preparation.

Single-women who purchased condominiums were mainly in their 30s, and that their annual income ranged from five to seven million yen (Yui, 2003). They saved approximately 20% of their income for purchasing houses, and this enabled them to make a decision to purchase condominiums, and their monthly loan repayment was as much as the rent for their previous residences (Kubo and Yui 2011a). High rent in central Tokyo also stimulated homeownership by single women in their 30s or 40s.

According to the interview surveys for condominium developers in Tokyo, the following aspects were preferred by single women: (1) protection of their privacy during their house-hunting tours, or when they finalized their purchase; and (2) acceptance of and adherence to their housing requirements, and modification of the details of their respective housing units accordingly (Kubo and Yui 2011c).

Supply strategies adopted by major developers in Tokyo

As condominium purchases by single women became extraordinary significant phenomenon, major condominium suppliers also began to sell compact condominiums in central Tokyo. The major developers in Tokyo adopted three types of supply strategies, and condominium supply in Tokyo diversified in terms of prices and location (Kubo and Yui 2011c).

First, some suppliers, who mainly sold luxurious condominiums in central Tokyo, developed a special brand of luxurious compact condominiums. Single women, rich and professional workers, purchased them to enjoy cultural lifestyle and reduce commute time.

Secondly, some developers started to supply affordable compact condominiums in Tokyo's peripheral wards. These condominiums were purchased by lower middle-class, single people who lived on the outskirts of Tokyo. Finally, the sale of tower-type condominiums began in the 2000s, and continues to date. These condominiums comprise large and small housing units, as well as luxurious penthouse suites. The suppliers sell a variety of housing types in one tower, with single-person household opportunities as well.

Compact condominiums were originally sold to single women; however, gradually major developers attracted residents of many types in terms of household structure, life-stage status, income, and/or location. Each company had different goals and strategies that fit their individual identity and goals; hence, each selected the most appropriate strategy in implementing their respective objectives. Ultimately, major developers were able to supply a multitude of different types of compact condominiums in central Tokyo.

Diversification of the supply strategies of major developers has directly contributed to the positive transformation of Tokyo's condominium market and this has led to the metamorphosis of the residential structure in central Tokyo.

Conclusion

Single-person households, particularly single women, have long been marginalized in the Japanese housing market. Therefore, there were limited possibilities for women to purchase houses that suited their housing needs. The results from this study indicate that major housing developers attempted to conform to the needs of small-sized household, including single women, thereby providing single-person households with the opportunity to satisfy their individual ideal housing needs in central Tokyo.

Ultimately, it is important to note that Tokyo is a unique global city. In other metropolitan areas in Japan, the supply of compact condominiums is limited; conversely, Tokyo offers ample job opportunities and accepts diversity of lifestyle (Kubo and Yui 2011b). In addition, the transformation of the urban residential structure in Tokyo differs from that which has occurred in many Western cities. Central areas are evaluated in Western countries, and the discussion of gentrification, or "livable city," is increasing in importance (Ley 1996; Lees 2008). When wealthier, in other words gentry, people move into low-income and working class communities, gentrification occurs in the Western countries. Compared to Western countries, the residents of compact condominiums in Tokyo are not always wealthy or professional workers.

Due to the diversification of supply strategies by major housing suppliers, the housing markets in central Tokyo have been transformed, thereby resulting in a wide range of alternatives for owner-occupied housing in central Tokyo that fully meet homeowners' needs, demands, and expectations. Basically, the housing real estate market in Tokyo is characterized by a weak, second-hand market—less mobility after purchasing the house and less diversity of ethnicity or class. In addition, housing customs, based on the traditional patriarchal family system, still affect the decision to purchase housing in many local cities. A future study is planned for examining and fully addressing these remaining issues.

Acknowledgments

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*(J) donates that the article is written in Japanese

CHILDREN'S INDEPENDENT MOBILITY IN GERMANY: WHERE IS GERMANY HEADING?

BJÖRN FRAUENDIENST, ANDREAS REDECKER

Children's independent mobility in Germany: Where is Germany heading?

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Abstract:

A follow-up research based on the 'One False Move' study conducted by Mayer Hillman in 1990 has shown that independent mobility amongst children in Germany has decreased over the last 20 years. The travel behaviour of German primary school children has turned to a much lower level of independent mobility.

Key words: children's independent mobility, One False Move, Germany, road safety

Introduction

How safe are children in today's traffic? Looking at the long term development of German road safety statistics there is reason for optimism. Since the 1970s the numbers of children killed or injured in traffic incidents has consistently dropped among children aged 15 years and younger, with a short period of increasing numbers after the German reunion. This development can be noticed in statistics published by the Federal Statistical Office (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2010) or the German Social Accident Insurance (Deutsche Gesetzliche Unfallversicherung, 2010). But do these numbers really mean that German roads have become safer for children?

This question was asked by the British researchers Mayer Hillman, John Whitelegg and John Adams (1990) in their study *One False Move – A Study of Children's Independent Mobility* from 1990, which is frequently quoted today. Their research interest was triggered by a campaign by the UK Department for Transport illustrated in Figure 1. While reductions in the numbers of children killed or injured in traffic were praised as the result of road safety measures, the campaign illustrated another view on road safety
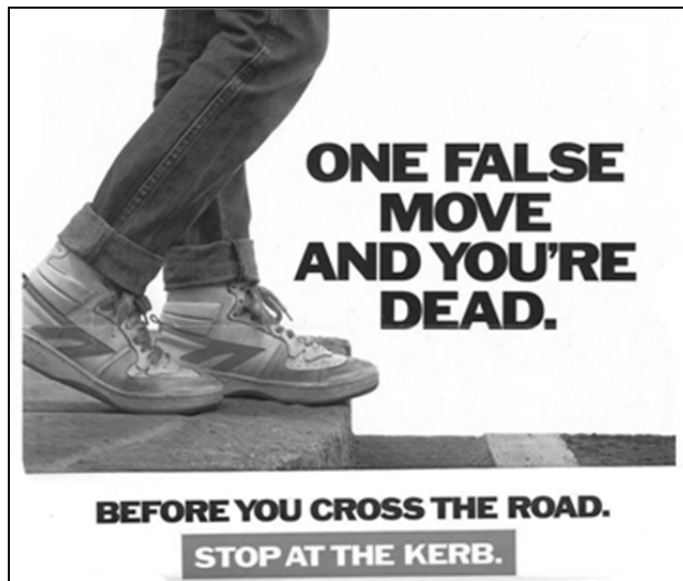

Fig. 1 Poster from the One False Move Campaign, Department for Transport, ca. 1989.

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The campaign *One False Move* showed in a very dramatic way how dangerous it was to participate in traffic as a pedestrian. For Hillman, Whitelegg and Adams (1990) this fact sent mixed messages. On the one hand, there was the message that roads had become safer because of fewer accidents, and, on the other hand, such frightening campaigns as the *One False Move* campaign were launched. Therefore the authors came up with the thesis that dropping numbers of children killed or injured in road accidents could not be the only indicator for safe roads.

In previous studies in the 1970s Hillman had already noticed an increasing number of children taken to school by their parents, either walking or using the car. Hillman combined this observation with the above mentioned paradox to put forward the thesis that there are less road victims because there are less children travelling on their own and because of that are confronted with less risk while travelling. Therefore road safety statistics had been highly influenced by changes in the modal split on the way to school or by an increasing amount of parental supervision.

With the aim to have comparable figures on this so called children's independent mobility the results from research with children aged 7 to 15 were used in the *One False Move* study from 1990 to show at which costs - assuming that non independent travel has a negative impact on the growing up process of children - the reduced numbers of road accidents had been bought.

The term *children's independent mobility* was not explicitly defined in the 1990 report and even today a clear definition is still missing (Mikkelsen & Christensen, 2009).. However, in common with the understanding of mobility as the capability of a single person for (spatial) movement and traffic as the sum of people moving from point A to point B (Gather, Kagemeier, & Lanzendorf, 2008); Nuhn & Hesse, 2006) the concept of the so called *six licenses* was employed to measure children's independent mobility. Using these six licenses the authors assumed that a maximum of independent mobility was reached by the child that had fewer restrictions for choosing, for example, the mode of transport. These six licenses were:

- crossing main roads,
- going alone to leisure activities,

- coming home from school alone,

- cycling on main roads,

- using public transport,

- being outside alone after dark (Hillman, Adams& Whitelegg, 1990)

The results from the 1990 study supported their thesis, as the amount of children with a high level of independent mobility had dropped significantly since 1970. In addition to this temporal comparison in England, the study was conducted in Germany in the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia at five primary and five secondary schools with comparable urban characteristics to those ten schools surveyed in England. The results showed differences between English and German children. As presented in Figure 2, about eight times more German primary school children aged 7 years were permitted to come home from school alone than their English counterparts. In all age groups more German children were allowed to come home from school without supervision. However, these differences between both countries could not be explained in a satisfying way.
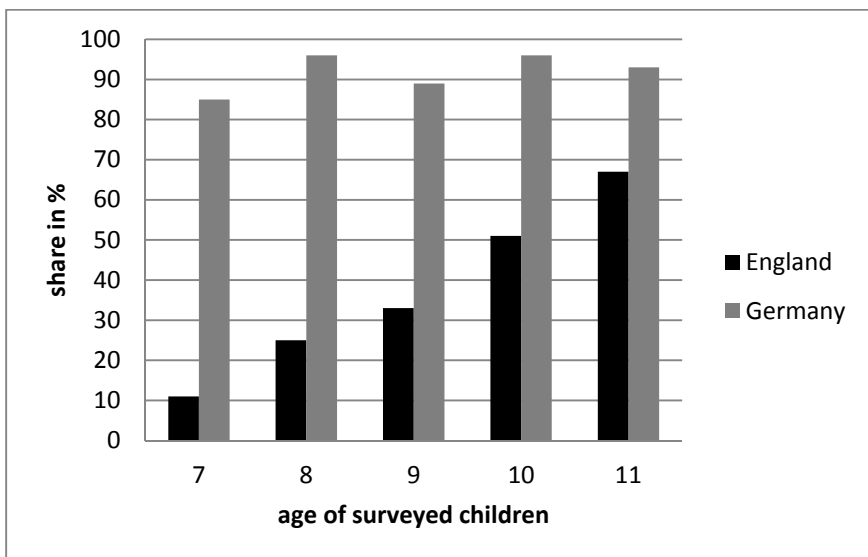
Fig. 2 License to come home from school alone among German and English primary school children in 1990. Adapted from: Hillman et al. 1990: 131

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The 2010 study – Cause and methodology

With the financial support of the German Road Safety Council (Deutscher Verkehrssicherheitsrat) it was possible to conduct a follow up study in 2010 in order to monitor changes of children's independent mobility at those schools that had already participated in 1990. From today's view a change in children's independent mobility was expected because of the following facts:

- By comparing the results of KONTIV 1982 and MiD 2008, both mobility and travel studies with a comparable methodology, we can conclude that there has been an increased car use from 1990 to 2010(Infas & DLR, 2010). .

- In the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia fixed catchment areas for primary schools have been dissolved with the result that children may attend a primary school of their parents' choice, which is not necessarily the nearest school to their home. In addition to that, parent-child time relations have been changed because of the introduction of all day-school in German primary schools.

- Since 1990 there have been less road accidents with children involved (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2010)

Bassed on the research interest of the 1990-study and the above mentioned possible influencing factors on children's independent mobility, this study aimed to

- illustrate possible changes in children's independent mobility at the ten schools surveyed in 1990,

- identify influencing factors that may have affected children's independent mobility

- show a possible connection between today's level of children's independent mobility and the noticeable decline in road casualties.

The survey was conducted at five primary schools and five secondary schools in North Rhine-Westphalia. For a reliable comparison those schools from the 1990 study in Bochum, Köln-Mitte, Köln-Chorweiler, Witten and Wuppertal were contacted and asked to participate again to minimise

influences by different spatial circumstances. All primary schools from the 1990 study agreed to participate again, for three secondary schools a replacement school with a comparable situation had to be found.

A similar methodology and questionnaire were kept for the 2010 study and the surveys were conducted on the same Monday in February. This time of the year was chosen on purpose in 1990 to gain a picture of children's mobility at the time of the year when more parental restrictions had to be expected. A Monday was chosen so that the children questioned would have a fresh memory of their weekend activity.

In total 801 children aged 7 to 15 were surveyed during the study. Children in 2nd to 4th grade (primary school) and 5th to 9th grade (secondary school) were asked to fill out identical questionnaires during a regular school lesson. In primary school the questionnaires were read out loud so that the children were able to follow the questioning process. In addition, every child received an envelope that contained a questionnaire for their parents. This was coded identically to the questionnaire that had been filled out by the child so that the children's answers could be analysed against their parents' answers. In total 579 parents were surveyed; the return rate was 89% in the primary schools and 62% in the secondary schools.

The focus of the questions was different in the children's and the parents' questionnaire. The children were primarily asked about their behaviour in traffic, especially about their traffic-related action on the day of the survey and the previous weekend. The parents were asked about the permission they grant their children regarding their mobility, about their general attitudes and statistical facts concerning their household.

Key results: Less mobility, more inactive travel

The main results can be summed up in two conclusions:

- The mobility of primary school children in 2010 is much more restricted than in 1990.

- The restricted mobility leads to locally differing travel patterns of children and parents.

Among the secondary school children no distinctive changes could be observed regarding their mobility. In contrast to that, the mobility and travel patterns of primary school children have changed a lot. They are granted all six licenses or permissions much later than in 1990. This delayed granting of licenses is illustrated in Figure 3, with reference to public transport use.
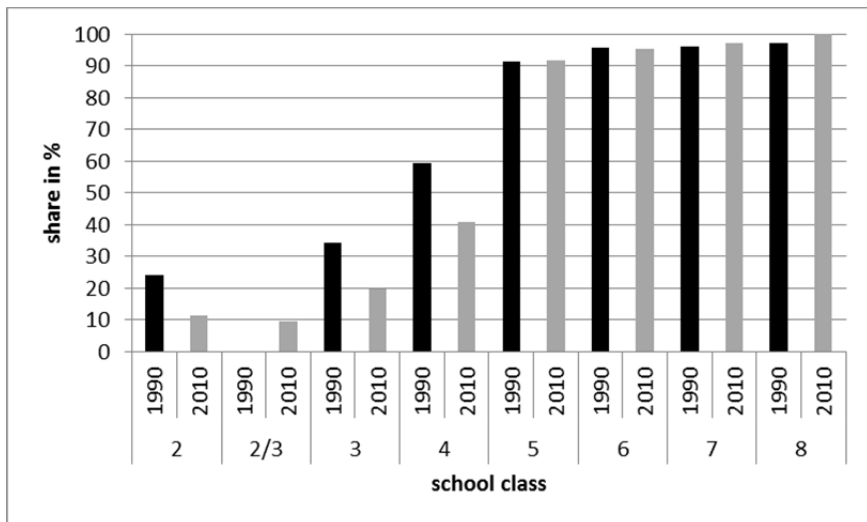
Fig. 3 License to use public transport without adult supervision, 2/3 = combined class at one primary school

These observed restrictions mean a decline in independent mobility of primary school children. They are restricted in their options for participating in traffic because they are, for example, not allowed to come home from school without adult supervision or to cross main roads. There is also a noticeable change in the chosen modes of transport or parental escorting behaviour. Especially the primary school in Witten and the one in Köln-Mitte have developed two distinctive travel patterns.

As shown in Figure 4, the primary school in Witten has developed from a nearly pure *walking school* (95% walking in 1990) to a very car dependent school with 45% of the pupils collected from school by car. A different development took place at the primary school in Köln-Mitte. There the car only plays a minor role in the modal split. However, in contrast to 1990, when 95% of the pupils were allowed to come home from school alone,

today only 65% are allowed to do so. This means that an increasing number of children are accompanied by adults.
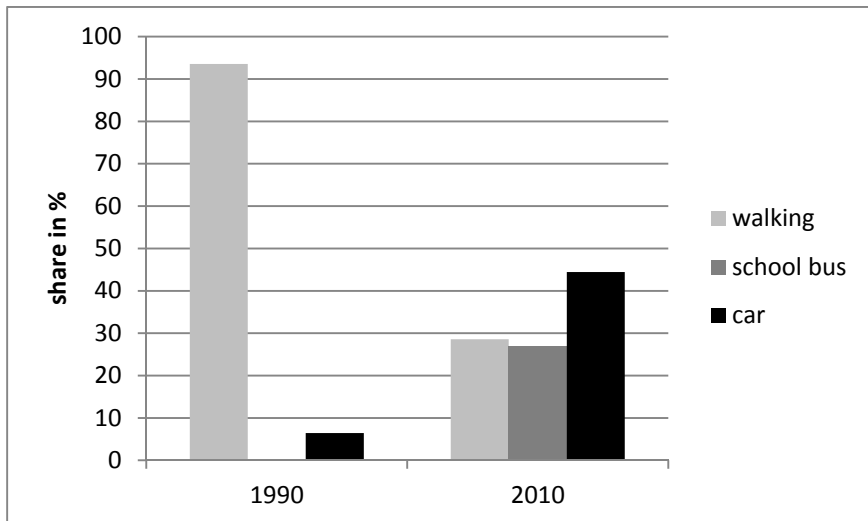
Fig. 4: Modal split of surveyed children at the primary school in Witten on the way home

The quantitative research was able to identify some possible explanations for the observed changes and have been complemented by qualitative interviews with representatives of the school's administration, parent councils and local police. This combined methodology of quantitative and qualitative elements allows a deeper insight into the situation at those two schools with the largest changes in children's independent mobility and participation in traffic. In the end three major influencing factors can be identified:

- Children not visiting the nearest school to their home tend to be driven by car.

- The parental perception of the risks to participate in traffic has risen.

- The introduction of the so called "Offene Ganztagsschule (OGS)", an optional all-day school for primary school children which did not exist in Germany before.

The distance to school plays an important role at the primary school in Witten as about half of the pupils do not attend the nearest school they could.

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This is a result of the closure of another school near to the surveyed school and the good reputation this school has within the city of Witten (interview school administration and parent council). The influence of not attending the nearest school applies to all primary schools in the study. 80% of all children not attending the nearest school to their home are being escorted by their parents and in 42% of all cases this escorted trip is done by car. While among the two schools covered here this aspect influences the primary school in Witten much more than the school in Köln, the effect of parental fears concerning the dangers of unescorted trips have risen at both schools. These fears include the risk of the child being injured in traffic or that children might be attacked by other adults or children. Seen from the outside these rising fears seem without any reason as there have been no injured or killed children in traffic at both school for at least the last 20 years and there have not been acts of violence tracked by the police (interviews with all expert groups at both schools). A reason for the increasing amount of parents picking up their children from school seems to come from the changed time structures in the families because of the introduction of OGS. Parents seem to have the feeling that they spent less time with their children because of the all day school; 50% of the pupils in Witten and about 95% of the children in Köln-Mitte attend. Therefore they take the opportunity to pick up their children from school because school and workdays end at about the same time. This effect is therefore not necessarily connected with fear about road safety (interviews parent councils).

Relevance of the results for road safety and children's development

The results of the 2010 survey and the identified changes in children's independent mobility give enough evidence to think about the implications these results have for interpreting road safety statistics, and to consider accident prevention and urban structure. The thesis set up by the authors of the *One False Move* study from 1990 still seems to be valid. The current survey identified a decline of children's independent mobility in Germany, although the level of independence varies largely between different locations as shown above. This decline goes along with a change in the modal split

and the numbers of children escorted to school. Therefore it is more likely that the falling numbers of children injured or killed in traffic can be highly modified by the outcome of a declining independent mobility. If for example the amount of children walking to school has fallen from 95% to about 30% (primary school Witten), and the amount of parents escorting their children has risen as well, participating in traffic as a pedestrian may absolutely have become statistically safer, but may have risen relatively. This means that the traffic conditions have not become safer. Children are now only less exposed to traffic dangers. These findings make the demand by Hillman, Whitelegg and Adams (1990) to use the level of children's independent mobility as an indicator for (perceived) road safety in Germany now more relevant than ever. Our survey suggests that the level of independent mobility may at least be a hint that parents perceive dangers in their living environment that cannot be shown by statistics on road accidents.

In order to achieve a maximum level of road safety it can of course be challenged whether a declining independent mobility is necessarily a negative fact. If reducing our children's independent mobility is the price we have to pay for a *vision zero,* it is morally hard to disagree with it. However, this argument leaves out how important independent and active travel is for children's development. Independent movement in public space not only gives them the chance to exercise (Unfallkasse Nordrhein-Westfalen, 2010), but it is also an essential chance to develop a continuous cognitive map of their living environment (Ulfert, 1990) as well as to build up motor skills. If children are driven to all their activities, the results may be a bad physical condition and attention-deficit. . Furthermore, they do not get the chance to learn appropriate behaviour in traffic (Unfallkasse Nordrhein-Westfalen, 2010).

Summary and perspectives - Where is Germany heading?

The follow-up research based on the *One False Move* study from 1990 shows that children's independent mobility has dropped overall at the primary schools surveyed and that two of the five schools show changes in what children are allowed to do regarding their participation in traffic. These

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two distinctive patterns, that can be called a *car school* and an *escort school,* show different circumstances that contribute to parental behaviour.

The results also show that the ratings of road safety statistics need to be analysed on a larger geographical scale normalised by the amount of children traveling independently. In addition to this analytical problem, there are a couple of issues that should be addressed in future research and in the work of shareholders and stakeholders interested in road safety in Germany. There is definitely a question relating to how many restrictions are needed and how we can support children growing up to their full potential as well as having a safe environment for them to do so.

The results from the recent analysis showthat we might face an increasing amount of children not prepared for independent travel and that they may suffer from the negative results outlined above. Therefore an integrated approach is needed that combines the potential of research, local councils, schools, parents, police and road safety organisations to developsafer built environments but also to address parental fears and develop smart measures like school travel plans or walking buses.

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Urban regeneration in Porto.
Reflections on a fragmented sub-regional space, without institutional powers and "lost" between central government and local authorities[1]

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Abstract:

Recent research on cities and urban systems has recognised the fundamental importance of analysing scalar articulations and networks and the relations established among actors and spaces at all levels. In this context, the principles associated with the regeneration of urban spaces,

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[1] Uses, with changes, part of the paper that, under the title "Urban regeneration and new ways of governing the city: reflections on the Greater Porto," waits for publication in the Proceedings of the XXI Iberian Geography Colloquium

collaborative planning and governance emerge as crucial, related to strategic, systemic and integrated approaches to urban development, undertaken by public and/or private and/or other actors in a certain area.

In Portugal, and specifically in Porto, important urban regeneration projects are ongoing, but they still reflect an individualist view (each municipality for itself) and a top-down approach (the state decides, the others comply), showing a clear lack of cooperation and institutional articulation (governance is essentially rhetoric) in the context of virtually nonexistent metropolitan planning. This article aims to reflect on the ongoing urban projects in the municipalities of Porto and Vila Nova de Gaia within the framework of city-regions, governance and urban regeneration, taking into consideration information collected from projects and applications to national EU-funded programmes and from interviews with agents in charge of regeneration and revitalisation in these municipalities.

Keywords: city-region; collaborative planning; governance; public policies; urban regeneration

Introduction

In the mid-19th century, 30% of people lived in urban areas. Since then, the world population has rapidly expanded, to gradually slow down in the 1990s. The spatial concentration of people, however, continues to grow, and it is currently estimated that over half the world's population lives in urban areas (UN, 2007). Estimates by the United Nations also highlight the growing importance of urban areas: by 2030, every region on the planet will have a higher proportion of urban population than rural, and by 2050, every region shall be predominantly urban, in terms of functional characteristics (UN-Habitat, 2008).

The attraction of cities results from the concentration of resources and opportunities, which means that they are regarded as the main hubs of economic and social development (Sassen, 2006), the driving force for spatially-based development. Indeed, cities accrue agents and resources, offering people the possibility for social and cultural participation and improvement. They promote forms of management and governance that

encourage greater economic dynamism, providing conditions that favour investment and the production of wealth, and enable access to goods and services, contributing to higher quality of life and well-being indices.

For these reasons, and also for the role they play in establishing functional relations among territories (namely in promoting and configuring poly-nuclear and poly-centric systems) and for concentrating problems of an economic, social and environmental nature (Chamusca, 2009), political, technical and scientific discourse has paid cities special attention. Particularly, focus has been brought to the need to structure more efficient urban policies, able to combine multidimensional interventions and promote new (more integrated, collaborative and strategic) forms of planning and management (Fernandes & Chamusca, 2009; Sassen, 2006).

In this context, there is a need for a new urban model, paying particular attention to the distinctive details and forms of cities (particularly with regard to their consolidated fabric) and concern with citizens' new needs, clearly bringing planning and the city closer once more. Thus, there is rising interest in the diversity of identities, cultures and forms of expression in cities (Hillier & Healey, 2008), questioning the technical or scientific superiority of planning and its ability to respond to an ever more complex and fragmented reality. Throughout Europe, a new attitude is gradually developing allying learning with practice (Fernandes, 2010).

However, the doubts and uncertainties with which urban planning continues to struggle, associated with the difficulty of anticipating the future and making choices collides with the need to act and intervene in the territory (Fernandes, 2010). Planning thus remains oriented towards the present (Connell, 2009), driven by the need to juggle and consider individual interests (Hall, 1992; Soja, 2009). It is incapable of promoting and reconciling the short, medium and long term and developing integrated, collective strategies., lLikewise a growing inability on the part of public authorities to govern cities is revealed, since they represent only one part of the agents involved in the process of managing and transforming territories.

Urban regeneration and new ways to govern the city

Changes in the field of spatial planning and governance are also associated with the growing value of knowledge that some authors have related to the cultural turn in economic geography (Barnes, 2001; Fernandes, 2010). Thus, the city is seen as a collective resource (Healey, 2002) and its older fabric regarded as particularly valuable. Thispromotes a new localism (Amin & Thrift, 2002) full of opportunities, in which other activities in the urban and regional economies gain greater relevance.

These changes have led to the emergence and consolidation of concepts (some of which have become goals), such as governance, urban regeneration, and collaborative planning. Given that the State no longer represents the only (and often the most important) field of collective action, a new culture of participation surfaces, leading to the progressive transition from a traditional model, based on the conventional principles of "Government" or "Administration", to a model of "Governance", closely linked to rationales of collaborative planning. Here, importance is given to participatory processes, which are understood and accepted by a wide range of individuals who inhabit, use and visit these areas.

Collaborative planning, which integrates themes and intersects agents and scales on a restricted spatial basis, takes on a multiplicity of forms and encouraging the involvement of several types of agents, with a view to reconciling interests in the development of a collective future. The process of governance becomes guided by a rationale of networked compromise and linkage, where the State plays an increasingly more secondary role as mediator of the development process (Fernandes & Chamusca, 2009), thus favouring decentralisation and fostering hybrid and innovative solutions (Atkinson, 1998; Coaffee & Healey, 2003).

It is in this rationale of linkages and hybridism that the concept of regeneration is anchored and gains force. The appearance of new urban governance models and a culture of participation, as well as the consolidation of more strategic, collaborative planning principles, lead to new opportunities to "restore to life", "reorganise", "renew", "enhance" and/or "improve" urban territories, especially the central areas of large cities. Consequently, the essence of intervention in the city centre shifts from

considering only the principles of urban renewal, in which coordinated intervention on a set of elements within the urban fabric (public areas, infrastructure, buildings) is favoured, towards a broader view of urban regeneration (or revitalisation), understood as an operation of renovation, guided by strategic objectives of urban development. Here, actions of a material nature follow an integrated design, and are actively combined with interventions of a social and economic nature.

However, the pressure and urgency to intervene has not taken into consideration the view of the territory as a spatial continuum, in which intervention should be integrated and qualified. While cities continued to expand within a discontinuous urban sprawl and at an unprecedented scale, several mechanisms and programmes have appeared, directed at intervention in urban centres. They mostly favour the development of integrated actions (centred on clearly delimited areas and within well-defined timeframes), capable of boosting participation and reconciling interests, and of responding more effectively to urban complexities (in accordance with what is intended as a new way to think and govern the city). They do however reveal a number of shortcomings in terms of governance and regional integration, particularly with regard to implementing a strategy for the so-called peripheral areas or outskirts.

The Portuguese case: from commercial urbanism to urban regeneration

In Portugal, incentives to regenerate urban space gained relevance with PROCOM and URBAN, achieved broader expression with POLIS, and intensified with the POLIS XXI City Policy (*Política de Cidades POLIS XXI*) and the founding of a number of Urban Regeneration Companies (*Sociedades de Reabilitação Urbana*) (see Chamusca, 2010a for a broader understanding of these developments)..

POLIS XXI (decree nº 312/2007) was launched in 2007, following a succession of instruments to promote integrated initiatives incorporating governance, cooperation and participation principles. The programme promoted an integrated and inclusive approach to urban development,

translating the desire to "*overcome the weaknesses[2] of the national urban system*" and "*to transform cities into engines of development for the regions and the country*" (POLIS XXI – presentation document, pp. 1). It encouraged the establishment of *SRU – Sociedades de Reabilitação Urbana* (Urban Regeneration Companies), state and/or municipal public capital companies in charge of urban regeneration in specific spatial contexts.
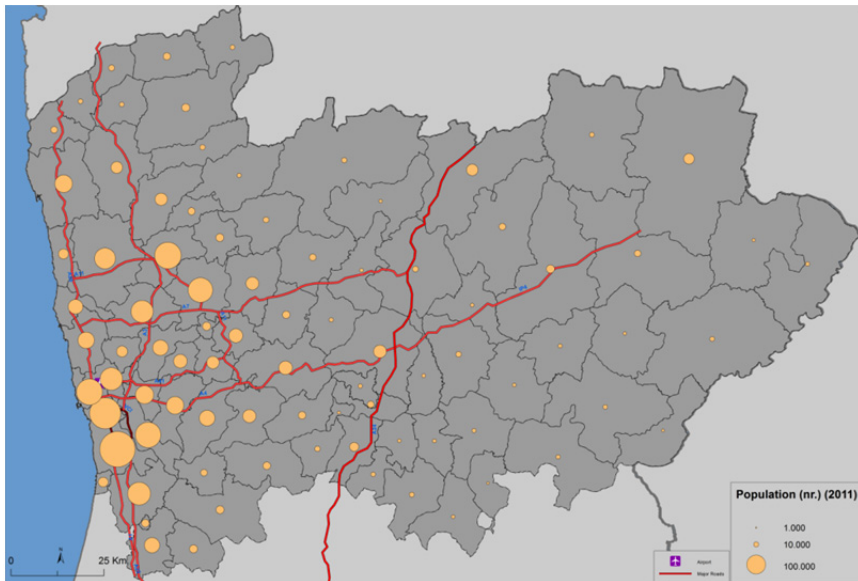
Fi. 1 Population by municipality in the North of Portugal (2011)

POLIS XXI aimed to broaden previous policies and to introduce important changes in the form and results of planning, particularly by linking with the principles of governance and promoting "*new forms of governance, based on the broader participation of citizens, more committed involvement on the part of different urban actors – public, private and associative – and on flexible mechanisms of cooperation among cities, as well as among these and their surrounding spaces.*" (POLIS XXI – Specific Regulations, pp. 1).

With regard to involvement, it is important to bear in mind that the rise of "participation" in urban policy is associated to hypothetical benefits in terms of the projects' quality, efficiency and sustainability. Recently, however,

there has been growing criticism of its practical effects. In Portugal, research on urban regeneration has highlighted as its main features, the mobilisation of public and private agents and the diversity of partnership models. The results show that it is difficult to consolidate processes of participation and transformation in urban management models, as a culture of governance is still lacking (Breda et al, 2009a). Furthermore, current institutional practices and the existence of sectoral agendas restrict the development and temporal maturing of learning and innovation experiences in the models of participation and institutional relations (Breda et al, 2009b; Chamusca, 2010b).

Apart from clear changes in form and expected results, POLIS XXI also aimed to promote decentralised approaches, with local initiative projects seeking interconnect cities or different areas within a specific city, bolstering their human, institutional, cultural and economic capital. One of POLIS XXI's lines of action involves urban regeneration.

Within the "Urban Regeneration Partnerships", support mechanisms are defined for intervention in intra-urban spaces, giving emphasis to different components and the reconciliation of interests among the various urban actors. This instrument aspires to contribute to the development and implementation of new forms of urban governance by encouraging citizen participation, bolstering flexible, hybrid cooperation structures among urban agents and actors, and building shared views of the future, which can improve the performance of urban plans and projects and greater articulation among cities and their surrounding areas. This latter ambition is particularly relevant since it focuses on one of the main shortcomings of previous programmes.

Reflections on regeneration in Greater Porto

If the changes in spatial planning and governance work give urban regeneration plans better relevance, in Portugal and more specifically in its Northern region, this investment is particularly clear in two processes: the establishment of Urban Regeneration Companies (SRU); and the implementation of POLIS XXI, particularly through its "Urban Regeneration Partnerships". The following sections will seek to reflect on these two

processes, in light of urban regeneration projects in Greater Porto, approved in the first call for proposals in 2007 and which are currently underway.

Urban Regeneration Companies (*Sociedades de Reabilitação Urbana – SRU*)[3]

The SRUs operate in the area of urban regeneration, arising from the need to ensure rigorous management and intervention in the older urban centres. They were established by the Decree-Law nº 104/2004, dated 7th May, and are an important component in the strategy to regenerate rundown historic centres, based on a legal regime of an exceptional nature applicable to "*critical areas of urban recovery and reconversion*" ("*áreas críticas de recuperação e reconversão urbanística*" – ACRRU). The SRUs' goals include not only urban renewal but also the need to create sustained attractiveness, to enhance the restored areas at the social, cultural and economic levels, and promote dynamic, coordinated initiatives with public and private resources.

There are two SRUs in Greater Porto, Porto Vivo SRU and CidadeGaia SRU EEM, established to manage the urban renewal process (prepare the intervention strategy and act as mediator among owners, investors and civil society). Initial analysis of how these two companies operate found that both repositioned the centre as a focal attraction, not only for new residents but also for those who already live there. This was driven by the need to fight population drain from the city centre and problems of economic depression, dismembering of the social fabric, physical degradation and insecurity usually associated with it.

In the case of Porto[4], Porto Vivo is a state (60%) and municipal (40%) public capital company, founded in 2004, aimed at managing the processes of urban regeneration and revitalisation, identified in the 17th Constitutional Government Programme as one of the three priority areas of intervention to improve quality of life. Porto Vivo illustrates the complexity of spatial intervention models, which also translates the complex structure of the territory. Its unit of intervention is the city block, which was studied

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[3] Some of the considerations presented here resulted from interviews with two SRUs , Porto Vivo (with Ms. Ana Paula Delgado) and CidadeGaia (with Mr. Defensor Castro), as part of PhD research..

according to specific goals that resulted in the production of Base Plans of Strategic Documents (*Planos Base de Documentos Estratégicos – PBDE*). These were presented publicly, subject to public debate (although participation was very low and almost always comprising only owners and tenants). Once approved, they gave rise to Strategic Documents (*Documentos Estratégicos – DE*), materialising the transfer of urban planning powers to the SRUs and initiating the negotiation of regeneration contracts.

At this stage, urban management and intervention models have multiplied. In some cases, all the owners enter the partnership and become involved in a project in which the SRU acts only as mediator; in others, intervention is conducted essentially with public investment, funds from IHRU and the Porto City Hall, or public funds associated to the Urban Regeneration Partnerships.[5]. There are other situations where equal distribution processes and joint renewal predominate, with exclusively private capital; there are also schemes based on co-responsibility principles and agreements, as well as situations involving parcelling and direct contracting.

CidadeGaia, in contrast to the Porto SRU, is a municipal business venture, exclusively with municipal capital. It was established in 2007, to spearhead "*local development through the direct or indirect implementation of urban regeneration and renewal*" (*http://www.cidadegaia-sru.pt*). It is currently responsible for ongoing large-scale planning projects in the city's oldest area, but it does not execute contracting or other types of physical interventions. It acquires real estate and manages a set of urban renewal incentives, namely financial support (particularly the SOLARH programme), tax benefits (such as VAT and Municipal Property Tax), and municipal rates and licences (particularly with a reduction on the compensatory urban rate of 50% for urban allotment operations or with a similar impact to allotment within ACRRU).

Its strategy is identical to Porto Vivo's, focusing on restoring housing, enhancing public space, bolstering commerce and economic business activities, as well as promoting tourism and leisure, with a view to revitalising the city centre as a space of sociability, residence and economic activity. However, in Gaia, the focus has mostly been on attracting private

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[5]

investment and involvement in public-private partnerships for large-scale projects, such as the Hotel Taylor (private capital only), the Cais Cultural, the cable car, the cultimedia centre, several parking lots, and a few social housing buildings (with the participation of the IHRU - *Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana / Housing and Urban Regeneration Institute*).

When looking at the results, it is clear that the SRUs have played a fundamental role in revitalising the historic centres of Porto and Gaia, mainly by acting as facilitators in the process of urban regeneration, and as promoters of cooperation among the public and private sectors. Urban interventions are thus shaped by processes of coordination and linkage among many actors, systems of negotiation, regulation and non-hierarchical administration, and by the capacity to build views of the future that are shared by both the public and private sectors. Recent research argues that this governance model maximises the effects of spatially-based development strategies, since it promotes the sharing of responsibility, so as to face problems more effectively in contexts of growing complexity and fragmentation, to which the traditional management and planning models, highly centred on central or local administrative structures, are unable to provide answers.

It should be noted though that the progressive introduction of governance principles in managing the city centre took place essentially in the legal domain (due to the complexity of property laws and regimes) and the heritage domain (due to the number of institutions involved and figures of law to protect highly valuable elements in an area classified as a UNESCO World Heritage site). There is a lack of attention to dimensions such as forging supra-municipal/metropolitan linkages and participation, despite recent efforts to involve institutions in urban projects developed under the PRUs, and an effort to create closer ties with the scientific and academic community, with the establishment of an Urban Management Office in the Porto municipality. However, civil society has not yet been fully integrated in the process as it has not yet identified the representative agents in the population.

In terms of supra-municipal cooperation, operational connections between the two municipalities do not exist, which creates a barrier to

developing concerted policies between the SRUs, and among these and the surrounding municipalities. Apart from the lack of a common strategy, there is also a process of disarticulation in Greater Porto (lack of coordination and information flows that could promote links among policies at regional level), which means many of the synergies built are lost, generating waste and redundancy of facilities and investments. In this context, the governance paradigm has not yet transposed interventions focused on small areas in the urban centres, towards linkages with actions at the metropolitan and regional scale.

Urban Regeneration Partnerships

Several urban projects have been developed in the last four years (2007-2011) under POLIS XXI, and particularly the Urban Regeneration Partnerships programme (in the Northern Region, 86 projects were approved, totalling 407 million euros in investment). These projects cover integrated regeneration and renovation operations aimed at critical neighbourhoods and peripheral zones, redevelopment of abandoned areas or with obsolete functions, and the enhancement of areas of excellence (historic centres, waterfronts, etc.). From the total investment, about 72 million euros are concentrated in Greater Porto, of which 57 million have been applied to interventions in the municipalities of Porto and Vila Nova de Gaia (representing 14% of the total investment in urban regeneration), whereas no projects were approved for the municipalities of Maia and Valongo.

Urban Projects in Greater Porto (approved in 2007)

- Cathedral District Urban Regeneration Action Programme – Ch. 1
- Regeneration of the Vila Nova de Gaia Historic centre – Phase I
- Urban Regeneration and Renewal – Vila D'Este Housing Estate – Phase I

Fig. 2 Urban Projects in Greater Porto (approved in 2007)

Programa de Acção para a Reabilitação Urbana do Morro da Sé - Ch. 1 (Cathedral District Urban Regeneration Action Programme – Ch. 1)

Regeneração e Requalificação Urbana - Urbanização de Vila D'Este - Fase 1 (Urban Regeneration and Renewal – Vila D'Este Housing Estate – Phase I)

Requalificação do Centro Histórico de Vila Nova de Gaia - 1ª Fase (Regeneration of the Vila Nova de Gaia Historic centre – Phase I)

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Programa de Reabilitação Urbana do Eixo Mouzinho / Flores CH_2 (Urban Regeneration Programme of the Mouzinho / Flores CH_2 Axis)

Req. Urb. e Ambiental do Bairro do Lagarteiro - Novos Espaços Públicos (Lagarteiro Neighbourhood Urban and Environmental Regeneration – New Public Spaces)

Parceria para Regeneração Urbana do Parque Ocidental (Western Park Urban Regeneration Partnership)

Requalificação do Centro Histórico de Vila Nova de Gaia - II Fase (Regeneration of the Vila Nova de Gaia Historic Centre – Phase II)

Marginal Atlântica (Atlantic Seafront)

Table 1 Urban Projects in Greater Porto (selected under the Urban Regeneration Partnerships)

We analysed three of the selected applications from the first call for proposals in 2007: the action programme for the Morro da Sé (Cathedral district), targeting an area notorious for poor housing, social conditions and a lack of economic and cultural activities; the Vila D'Este urban project, aimed at "*overcoming the problems and difficulties experienced in this area, with a view to improving the urban environment, spatial planning, and the economic and cultural development of this zone*" (Regeneração e Requalificação Urbana - Urbanização de Vila D'Este – Fase1); and the Gaia historic centre project, intended to promote Gaia as a modern urban area and bolster the centre's recreational and tourist dimension, "*anchored in the singular features of its landscape and historical heritage*" (Requalificação do Centro Histórico de Vila Nova de Gaia - 1ª Fase).

The analysis of the projects was conducted from two perspectives, with a view to determining the extent to which the PRU urban projects were in fact real regeneration strategies for the urban centres (or if they merely serve to aid in funding urban renewal); and, on the other hand, to find out in what way these projects have become partnerships that promote participation, collaboration, and new forms of governance in the city centres.

Beginning with the topic of urban regeneration, the three projects have focused on the physical, socio-cultural and economic dimensions to varying

degrees, giving greater relevance to the physical space, environmental improvement, and socio-cultural advancement. Operations with direct impact on economic revitalisation of the urban fabric are however fewer in number, and are more centred on creating services to provide support to entrepreneurship and investment, and on the recovery or construction of buildings to house certain activities.

	Physical and environmental dimension	Social and cultural dimension	Economic dimension
Programa de Acção para a Reabilitação Urbana do Morro da Sé - Ch. 1 (Cathedral District Urban Regeneration Action Programme – Ch. 1)	6	9	4
Regeneração e Requalificação Urbana - Urbanização de Vila D'Este - Fase 1 (Urban Regeneration and Renewal – Vila D'Este Housing Estate – Phase I)	9	9	3
Requalificação do Centro Histórico de Vila Nova de Gaia - 1ª Fase (Regeneration of the Vila Nova de Gaia Historic Centre – Phase I)	4	2	1

Table 2 Number of actions/operations with direct impact on the different dimensions of urban regeneration

Furthermore, there is a clear effort to open the process of the action plans' design to all the actors who may potentially be affected by the operations, an aspect that is particularly evident in the performance of the SRUs and in articulating the urban project with the existing masterplans.

In Porto, the Morro da Sé urban project conveys the desire to advance the principles of capacity-building of local agents, co-responsibility and partnership. This desire is expressed in efforts to approach the local populations that are directly affected by the project (despite low participation), in the development of a participatory model and an Urban Management Office, in the involvement of all the partners in the programme's Administrative Unit, and in the structuring of a complex funding system, in which the ERDF represents only 45% of an investment that is also funded by private partners (33%) and the public sector (21%). It has been developed with the support of Porto Vivo, Porto City Hall, *Associação Porto Digital* (Digital Porto Association) and *Fundação para o*

Desenvolvimento da Zona Histórica do Porto (Foundation for the Development of the Porto Historic Zone).

In Gaia, the efforts for openness and prior discussion with local agents is also present, manifested in a strategy to establish linkages between the SRU and several residents' associations in the case of Vila D'Este, and a process of negotiation among the SRU, owners and local associations (particularly those linked to Port wine and river activities), in the case of the historic centre.

Generally speaking, in terms of principles of co-responsibility and shared management of the urban process, despite all efforts, there is a clear concentration of "powers" in municipal companies, which comprise the majority of the partnerships involved in the process. There is also a lack of capital coming from private partnerships, even though in all likelihood, given the SRUs' financial restrictions, private investments can lead to a review of strategies and often determine the type of action implemented.

Conclusions

As we have seen, the central areas of cities are essential to promoting competitive, inclusive cities and territories. To this end, urban regeneration is a fundamental strategic element, associated with a broad set of supports and incentives to integrated intervention, where articulating three core dimensions is essential – the physical, economic and social – through new models of administration based on the principles of governance.

There are important ongoing activities in Greater Porto, particularly those associated to the ON2 (*Operacional do Norte*) programme Urban Regeneration Partnerships and the two Urban Regeneration Companies. Although it is not yet possible to evaluate the effects of these processes, we can identify a number of features of the governance models adopted to deliver urban regeneration.

First, the commitment to pursuing urban regeneration is worth mentioning, confirming the historical tendency of the triumph of architecture over economic and social geography (Fernandes, 2010), an option with a

certain degree of risk, particularly the possibility that the entire process of urban renewal may become incipient.

Second, the need to attract private investment (even though public funds continue to be very significant) is gaining importance, often without public discussion and validation of a strategy. This may also indicate a course of action guided by the "privatisation of urban regeneration", concentrated around the interests and influence of large economic actors, which do not always coincide with the goals of the city, civil society and other agents (McAreavey, 2009).

Despite the two previous aspects, it should be noted that urban projects are increasinglycharacterised by hybrid and complex processes and solutions, seeking to involve different public and private partners. Furthermore, efforts are made to link regeneration with initiatives to create and modernise facilities and infrastructure, as well as implement measures fostering social and cultural support that can lead to integrated, collective urban regeneration strategies.

A forth point highlights the lack of connections among different scales and disregard for supra-municipal planning strategies. In fact, at local level, the importance of elected authorities (City Hall) and their vision of the city centre is critical. At the supra-municipal level, however, the absence of regional (or inter-municipal) planning and the multiplicity of border conflicts mirror the shortcomings of the governance model, still poorly "territorialised" and excessively "theorised".

Thus, the next few years will be crucial in determining the success of a city policy which aspires to make the Portuguese cities "*well-planned and well-governed territories*" and to "*qualify and intensify the city's integration in the surrounding region*" (POLIS XXI – presentation document, pp. 2). To this end, the challenge facing the different instruments in city policy, the urban regeneration initiatives and the agents involved, is that they be capable of developing integrated (environment, society, economy, and governance) projects. Focus should not be centred only on developing a certain vision of the city centre, but rather on the fact that these projects are fundamental to the city-region, with linkages at the different scales and the blurring of borders as part of strategic urban planning that is common to the regional

space, ensuring the importance and specificity of the urban centres (especially the historic and classified ones), also as part of a broader system.

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