

João Francisco Santos Igreja

Understanding the EU Urban Agenda from the Margins of Europe

The Case of Porto

2021



UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI PALERMO



UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI PALERMO

Dottorato in Architettura, Arti e Pianificazione
Dipartimento di Architettura
Settore Scientifico Disciplinare ICAR 21.

UNDERSTANDING THE EU URBAN AGENDA FROM THE MARGINS OF EUROPE: THE CASE OF PORTO

IL DOTTORE
JOÃO FRANCISCO SANTOS IGREJA

João Francisco Santos Igreja

IL COORDINATORE
PROF. FILIPPO SCHILLECI

Filippo Schilleci

IL TUTOR
PROF. IGNAZIO VINCI

Ignazio Vinci

CO TUTOR
PROF. PAULO CONCEIÇÃO

Paulo Conceição

CICLO XXXIII
ANNO CONSEGUIMENTO TITOLO 2021

Contents

1	Introduction	1
2	The urban dimension in the EU regional policy	11
2.1	Regional policy without attention to cities	14
2.2	The emergence of the urban dimension in the 1990s	17
2.3	Cities and urban policies in the 2000s	24
2.4	The new urban agenda for the EU	32
2.5	An overview of EU urban initiatives between 1990 and 2006	37
2.6	EU urban policies as a process of Europeanisation	45
3	Urban transformation of Porto and the development of democratic Portugal	49
3.1	The Portuguese spatial development system	49
3.1.1	Developing a spatial planning system	51
3.1.2	The effects of the European Economic Community	52
3.2	Urban policy in Portugal	56
3.2.1	From sectoral investments to area-based approaches	58
3.2.2	Prioritising physical regeneration	60
3.2.3	Focusing on cities and integrated urban development	63
3.2.4	Instrumental alignment to EU sustainable urban development	65
3.3	Porto: local experiences of urban policy	67
3.3.1	Urban policies before the adhesion to the Community	69
3.3.2	Introducing the area-based approach	70
3.3.3	The rise of entrepreneurial models of intervention	73
3.3.4	Porto and the new urban agenda for the EU	77
4	Case study: urban regeneration of Bairro da Sé	83
4.1	Overview of the context	83
4.2	1993 Urban Pilot Project	93
4.3	2006 Urban Rehabilitation Programme	103
4.4	Post-2014 urban regeneration strategies	113
5	Conclusion. How EU initiatives can influence local contexts?	115
5.1	Influence of EU initiatives in local governance	116
5.2	Influence of EU initiatives in planning innovation	127

5.3	Influence of EU initiatives in urban regeneration	140
5.4	Concluding remarks	152
5.5	Research limitations and future developments	155
	References	157
	List of Figures	179
	List of Tables	181
	Acronyms	183
	Appendices	187
A	Contextualising Bairro da Sé do Porto	187
B	Early interventions in Bairro da Sé	195
B.1	Renovation of run-down areas between 1930 and 1970.	195
B.2	1974: SAAL's intervention—Operação Sé	199
B.3	1985: Critical Area for Urban Renewal	202

Chapter 1

Introduction

This research focuses on the European Union (EU) regional policy and presents a critical analysis of its influence on the urban regeneration process of the Portuguese city of Porto. A particular attention is drawn to the historic centre area which in 1996 was formally recognised by the UNESCO as a World Heritage Site. The old town's social, cultural and historic heritage has been dealing with a diverse range of challenges and consequently has been the stage of different urban interventions. Among the actions that have been implemented during the last 50 years to steer the area's development, two area-based interventions linked to the EU Cohesion Policy have notably contributed to the processes of urban change—1990 Urban Pilot Project (UPP) and 2006 Programa de Reabilitação Urbana (URP).

In order to make sense of the intricate relationship between the urban dimension of the EU regional policy and the processes of urban regeneration we started by tracing the development of the EU urban agenda. As a second step we contextualised the historic Bairro da Sé do Porto area within national and local urban policies and development patterns. Finally, it was possible to put forward a series of considerations regarding the influence of EU initiatives in this southwestern European city. Hopefully, the insights resulting from this research will not only help to understand local effects of EU instruments and their specificities at the level of implementation, but allow future EU policy making to capitalise on its urban agenda in order to promote a better future.

Interest and scope of the research

In the face of a constantly changing and adapting Europe, while drafting the initial research project, the following broad question was asked: what kind of challenges have European cities been facing? The earlier stages of the work sought to address this issue and highlighted the complexity and heterogeneity within the European system. Indeed, Europe has witnessed (and is still witnessing) different transition periods with consequences for its urban areas, underpinned by factors such as economic restructuring, patterns of urbanisation, or demographic trends (Parkinson, Bianchini, Dawson, Evans, & Harding, 1992). Further on, we expanded our research focus to study the mechanisms, or ways, through which the EU seeks to manage and tackle urban challenges. Although urban policy is not a field where the EU has explicit competences, the European Commission (EC) has

been building an *aconstitutional* involvement in urban policy matters (Tofarides, 2003), and after an initial exploratory phase, «its recommendations and activities have become more and more concrete» (Atkinson, 2015, p. 21). Considerable attention has been given to this subject by the academic community and policy makers, that since the 1990s have been studying and debating it from various points of view (see, among others, Antalovsky, Dangschat, & Parkinson, 2005; Cotella, 2019; De Gregorio Hurtado, 2020; Fedeli, Carpenter, & Zimmermann, 2021; Grazi, 2006; Hamedinger & Wolffhardt, 2010; McCann, 2015; Medeiros, 2019; Parkinson, 2006; Ramsden & Colini, 2013).

As the topic is still actual and of interest to scholars, the research proceeded to focus on European cities from the so-called *less-developed* (or *lagging behind*) regions, in particular because: a) EU Cohesion Policy represented a tangible opportunity for these cities to start urban regeneration schemes, introduce innovative planning instruments and implement new governance relations as a way to steer regional convergence; b) significant structural funding resources have been put at the disposal of local authorities and municipalities to start large infrastructure projects of local, metropolitan or even regional relevance; c) urban policy of the EU has exerted different influence across cities, and its relevant to investigate the ways through which these policies have been transferred.

At the same time, the study of regional disparities across the EU and the interplay between urban and regional development (see Vinci, 2021; Vinci & Igreja, 2018) led us to take a look at the territorial distribution of these regions. The Portuguese North and Alentejo regions, as other regions from the margins of Europe—such as Campania or Sicily in Italy, Extremadura in Spain, and Epirus or Thessaly in Greece—have never been able to change their *lagging behind* status.

Given what has been said, the main objective of this research was to give an overview of the EU urban agenda and understand how it unfolded in the context of a Member State (MS) located at the margin of Europe. By focusing on the influence of the urban dimension of the EU regional policy in the urban regeneration processes in Porto, it was possible to make a reflection on the Europeanisation of local urban policy which several authors have stressed as key process in explaining the changes that occurred in Portugal in different fields—see, for example, Cavaco, Florentino, and Pagliuso (2020) who have tackled the Europeanisation of urban policies, Campos and Ferrão (2015) who stressed the links emerging in the field of spatial planning and, more indirectly, Allegra, Tulumello, Colombo, and Ferrão (2020) who have highlighted the links regarding housing policies.

Since this Portuguese city has been very active in the field of urban policy and a platform for experimentation for many EU instruments—for example Poverty II and III programmes, UPP, URBAN I and II, JESSICA or URBACT—, it turns up to be particularly interesting when building an understanding of the EU influence at the margins of Europe in terms of urban policy. At the same time, to face the decline of its historic centre, Porto has been carrying out a long process of urban regeneration that started more than 50 years ago. This case becomes even more relevant considering that both national and EU resources have been influencing local urban development trajectories including governance and planning practices. Similarly to other European countries, Portugal has shown to be keen to the processes of Europeanisation and there seems to be an understanding that the EU

has influenced domestic changes in various directions. Indeed, in addition to financial opportunities that enabled the development of projects that otherwise would have not been achieved, European funding acted as a source of institutional change (A. Oliveira, Ferreira, & Dias, 2019; C. Oliveira & Breda-Vázquez, 2011, 2012), and stimulated the introduction and consolidation of urban policies and spatial planning tools (Allegra et al., 2020; Cavaco et al., 2020; Magone, 2006; Medeiros, 2014a).

In this context, the relevance of this process in Porto has led, and is the result of, a continuous tension towards the opportunities made available by the EU. There are many studies that analyse the innovations associated with these experiences (Alves, 2013; Gros, 1993; Rio Fernandes, 2011a), leading to different forms of policy transfer and related to both innovation in planning instruments and approach to governance. However, an in-depth analysis of the sequence of policy instruments and institutional configurations that characterise the case of Porto is key to understand how that policy transfer process has happened over time, what models of intervention have been used, and if these experiences have given place to events of urban development.

Aiming at shedding light on this process, and since the EU influence on national and local levels happens in different ways and is prompted by a myriad of factors, we decided to analyse the EU urban policy influence in the particularly interesting domain of urban regeneration (see, among others, Colantonio & Dixon, 2010; Leary & McCarthy, 2013; Porter & Shaw, 2008; Roberts & Sykes, 2008).

As it will be further described, urban related aspects of public policy have been in close contact to great societal changes, that in turn, are linked to major economic, cultural and environmental changes. Consequently, urban regeneration emerged as key element of the *new era of urban policies*, being a source of new models of governance, innovative forms of planning and transformations within local development. As argued by Carpenter (2013), «since the 1990s, the European Union has played an increasingly important role in influencing member states' urban policy and regeneration practice» (p. 138) and «it is likely that the EU approach to urban regeneration will continue to gain dominance within European cities in years to come» (p. 146).

The research sought to build knowledge on the topic by examining the urban regeneration process in the historic neighbourhood Bairro da Sé, which is an unfinished process in constant development. In particular, three fields of analysis guided the in-depth investigation of the case of Porto, corresponding to the following three research questions:

- What is the potential influence of EU initiatives in local governance, in terms of institutional arrangements and mechanisms of public participation?
- What is the potential influence of EU initiatives in planning innovation, in terms of comprehensiveness of the programmes, intervention methods and connection to other resources?
- What is the potential influence of EU initiatives in urban regeneration, in terms of physical transformations and economic revitalisation?

Contextualising the development of European cities

For many years, cities have been at the centre of interest for social research not only because a large percentage of the global population has been living in urban centres, (currently reaching almost around half of the world population, see OECD, 2020), but also due to the compelling economic, social, political and cultural changes that they have been witnessing. It is possible to look at urban development in relation to a myriad of different transformations and according to specific research points of view, which results in the emergence of many (and sometimes contrasting) interpretations regarding urban trends.

Within the field of urban theory multiple conceptions of the city and the phenomena associated with it have been formulated, and while the debate is still open it will probably continue as the role, scope and form of such areas evolve (see, among others, Bagnasco & Le Galès, 2000; Castells, 1977; Glaeser, 2011; Hall & Hay, 1980; Harvey, 1973; Jacobs, 1961; Le Galès, 2002; Sassen, 1991; Saunders, 1981; Simmel, 1903; Weber, 1921; Wirth, 1938). While it is not our scope to address such complex topic, we recognise that cities are not merely the places where the changes take place, but active contributors to the rearrangement of urban environment.

From the technical-operational perspective have also emerged different points of view which are by no means free of discussion. In such cases, and although historical, political and governmental boundaries were given a great deal of importance for the analysis of urban activity, interest was progressively drawn towards the critical role of population size and density (see, among others, Gibbs & Schnore, 1960). As demographic trends increasingly become a key aspect for the definition of what constitutes the city, a myriad of concepts and territorial typologies arise, reflecting the use of different criteria. For instance, the recent efforts of the EU and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) to develop a harmonised definition of *city* has resulted in a methodology that uses population density, total population and local administrative functions to define cities and its commuting zones (Dijkstra & Poelman, 2012; OECD, 2012). Using a similar criteria, the EU has defined additional local typologies, such as the *degree of urbanisation*¹ which classifies municipalities as cities, towns or suburbs and rural areas (Eurostat, 2016, 2018).

The rich corpus of literature being produced in the attempt to understand cities has examined with great detail the trajectories of urban development, from different levels and perspectives (see, among others, Brenner, 2013, 2019; Cheshire, 1995; Cheshire & Hay, 1989; Clark, 2016; Haddock, 2004; Hall, 1993, 1996; Othengrafen & Knieling, 2009; Parkinson et al., 1992; Pieterse, 2008; Robson, 1973; Schneider-Sliwa, 2006; Tisdale, 1942). Urban developments, as described by van den Berg, Drewett, Klaassen, Rossi, and Vijverberg (1982) «are a reflection of societal developments, and manifest themselves in all fields of human behaviour» (p. xxi). In broad terms, urban functioning has been influenced by demographic, economic, social and political factors that cannot be easily isolated from each other, operate at multiple scales, and can differ in time and across space. Moreover, and as mentioned by Kazepov (2005), such factors emerge from specific endogenous and

¹This method has been recently proposed to be applied and adopted globally, see United Nations Statistical Commission (2020).

exogenous pressures which underpin the development of cities.

In a very simplified way one can describe the functioning of the urban system in accordance to certain development patterns (or trends) that translate into urban changes, and the all process is guided by urban policies. Once again, we will not attempt to delve into the details of the complex debate around urbanisation stages and the evolution of spatial development. In any event, the patterns of urbanisation suggested by Parkinson et al. for the periods between 1960 and 1990 can help us navigate through the main demographic, economic, spatial and political trends that characterised the past fifty years, or so, of European cities.

Whilst different cities grew and declined at different times, a clear cycle of urban change can be identified – urbanization, suburbanization, deurbanization and reurbanization. In the urbanization phase central cities grew. In the suburbanization phase central cities declined but growth in their suburban areas meant that the total urban population continued to grow. In the deurbanization phase the whole urban area lost population. With reurbanization, however, the population of some large urban areas has begun to grow again. (Parkinson et al., 1992, p. 16)

The population growth in the European countries has been driven in a first period by natural population change, and by net migratory patterns, the latter having a major role in the last three decades. Taking the current European Union configuration (with its 27 countries) as example, between 1960 and 2020, the total population has increased around 91.7 million people, from 356.0 million to estimated 447.7 million². The *urbanisation* trend felt during the 1950s and 1960s as a consequence of industrialisation, was associated with large-scale movement of people towards urban centres at the expenses of smaller towns and rural areas.

Largely as a result of the industrial decline, European cities between the 1970s and early 1980s entered the *suburbanisation* and *deurbanisation* stages which were socially characterised by a rapid increase in unemployment, poverty and social exclusion levels. The knock-on effects of deindustrialisation were specially felt in city centres and in the poorest neighbourhoods—where job losses concentrated—, thus resulting in people moving to the suburbs, in the pursuit for better living standards.

As a consequence, urban policies throughout this period were mainly focused on neutralising the impacts of deindustrialisation. This was a significant mark for the development of urban strategies, and countries that industrialised first were pioneers in the develop of extensive urban programmes and policies (Parkinson et al., 1992).

If economic decline portrayed the previous stages, the 1980s were marked by economic restructuring and important political transformations, which would open space for structural changes with great impacts for urban areas. The *reurbanisation* phase opened space for larger cities to regain their central role as places to live and work, and were seen as a way to get economy back on track. In what concerns public policies, two types of strategies achieved notoriety for acting as boosters of urban competitiveness: a) first, larger-scale regeneration strategies targeting especially decayed inner city areas; b) second, cultural

²Data extracted online from Eurostat, data code: *demo_gind*.

policies that emphasised the potential of cultural/historic heritage and the importance of its rehabilitation and conservation as a valuable tool for economic development (see, among others, Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993).

Accompanying these events was the rapid development of information and communications technology, which combined with the globalisation process would account for polarisation of labour markets and the increase of geographical disparities. Furthermore, the European integration added an additional layer of complexity to the context. To illustrate the spatial implications of all these changes on the European Union, a myriad of *spatial visions* started to emerge to describe the possible transnational spatial scenarios. In a context of economic competitiveness, these different frameworks and analysis of the urban system were seen as a practical advantage for the Community development (see, among others, Brunet, 1989; Commission of the European Communities, 1999; Faludi & Waterhout, 2002; Janin Rivolin, 2004; Krugman, 1991; Kunzmann & Wegener, 1991; van der Meer, 1998).

In the 1990s, urban regeneration strategies gained further emphasis (see, among others, Leary & McCarthy, 2013; McCarthy, 2007; Porter & Shaw, 2008; Roberts, 2008), and tourism and leisure economies fuelled the development of urban centres that were still struggling from the long-term effects of *suburbanisation* and *deurbanisation*. Meanwhile European urban policy would acquire new contours, including changes in national policy-making, local governance arrangements and responsibilities, and intervention approaches (see, among others, Armstrong, 1995; Brenner, 2004; Chorianopoulos, 2000; Liesbet & Marks, 2001; Stewart, 1994; Tofarides, 2003; van den Berg, Braun, & van der Meer, 2007; Vinci, 2002; Williams, 1996). On the one hand, intense migration flows towards European cities imposed new multi-level demands, and on the other hand due to the growth of EU regional policies and strategies. The latter will be dealt with further detail in the present work, see Chapter 2.

Towards the 2000s the European urban system kept being driven by the dynamics of economy, supported by continuous improvements on transnational connectivity and an environment of integration and regional competitiveness. However, the early years of stability would be disrupted and the situation dramatically change as the 2008 financial and socio-economic crisis started to be felt. The effects spread across European regions and cities, and urban actions were requested to give quick strategic response (see, among others, Dijkstra, Garcilazo, & McCann, 2014; Knieling & Othengrafen, 2015; Oosterlynck & González, 2013; Tulumello, Cotella, & Othengrafen, 2019).

Meanwhile, the multiple strategies, initiatives and practices to drive urban change—that had been set in motion within the European Union policies and discourses—, achieved the phase of *mainstreaming*.

In 2007 with the aim of ensuring better living conditions in European cities, an agreement was reached to make a greater use of EU urban policy approaches—*Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities*³. The document was followed, three years later, by the

³See German Presidency of the Council of the European Union (2007).

so-called *Toledo Declaration*⁴ which linked the wider EU strategy⁵ for smart, sustainable, inclusive growth, with the role of cities in achieving it. Particular emphasis was not only given to the development of urban regeneration projects, but also to the advantages of multi-level coordination in relation to issues influencing urban areas.

To strengthen the role played by cities in the EU regional policy, in 2012 the EC Directorate-General for Regional Policy changed its name to the Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy, but more importantly were implemented reforms to the structural funding regulation. In fact, for the programming cycle between 2014 and 2020, a special attention was given to integrated sustainable urban development, as a way to promote its importance in EU countries.

In mid-2014, yet another meaningful document was published—*The Urban Dimension of EU Policies: key features of an EU urban agenda*⁶—, as a way to encourage the debate regarding the need for a structured EU urban agenda. As result, two years later under the Dutch Presidency was launched the *Pact of Amsterdam*⁷, establishing the *Urban Agenda for the European Union*. In general terms, this document focused in improving EU regulation that reflects urban needs, a better use of structural funding and stronger knowledge exchange practices. At the same time, the integration of different aspects—e.g., multi-level governance, urban regeneration, societal changes and internationalisation—was seen as a key aspect to face the complexity of urban challenges.

For the post 2020 period the EC has been developing a new strategy—*European Urban Initiative*—that gives further support to cities and ensures that the goals of the EU urban agenda are promoted.

Studying the case of Porto and methodological issues

Located on the right bank of river Douro, Porto is the core city of Portugal's second largest metropolitan area (around 1.3 million habitants) and the country's second largest city. The city is the capital of the North region and plays an important role on the urban, social, cultural and economic dynamics. The complex nature and diversity of the challenges that Porto has been experiencing, is directly related to variegated policy-making decisions, governance changes and planning adjustments. These aspects have been combined with multi-level drivers of change, such as EU financial opportunities or nationally-led urban policy initiatives.

Some of the most urgent issues in the city have been felt in the historic centre that since 1996 has been awarded as a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Site. Directly related to its declining process was the ageing population, deterioration in the built fabric, overcrowded housing and social isolation. These have been worsened by the fragility of the local economy, with high levels of unemployment, low rates of economic participation and low incomes amongst residents.

⁴See Spanish Presidency of the Council of the European Union (2010).

⁵See *Europe 2020*, European Commission (2010a).

⁶See European Commission (2014).

⁷See, Dutch Presidency of the Council of the European Union (2016).

Since the inclusion of Portugal in the Community, the North region has been among the *less-developed/lagging behind* territories, and as a consequence has been target of numerous interventions. While the EU Cohesion Policy seeks in many ways to increase convergence between European regions, it does so by supporting local development, both strategically and financially. At the same time, Porto has been one of the experimental fields of the European urban policy through the implementation of different Community initiatives and programmes—e.g., Poverty II and III, UPP, URBAN I and II or URBACT. In order to address the research objectives, we focused on this city as its also considered by scholars, practitioners and policymakers to be a representative example of a context that has significantly built on the urban dimension of EU regional policy to regenerate its historic centre.

The analysis of such process, and the influence on urban regeneration initiatives in particular, is complex given the interaction between different socio-economic, cultural and political aspects, specific to each context. For such reason, when studying the possible influence and effects of continuous interventions, a careful and detailed analysis is required and the study of Porto holds the potential to help understanding the relationships that are exist between EU and local contexts. To capitalise on the city experience, the research carried out a case study methodology strategy, involving a careful observation of selected events. As argued by Johansson (2012), «in practice-oriented fields of research, such as architecture and planning, the case study has a special importance»(p. 57), and while it focuses on one case, «simultaneously takes the societal context into account and so encompasses many variables and qualities»(p. 53).

At the same time, the essentially qualitative approach used in this research is directly related to its purpose which is not to compile a comprehensive set of indicators for assessing and evaluating the efficiency or efficacy of urban regeneration, area-based interventions. Rather, the aim is to shed light on the complex relationships at work between EU, national and local levels, emphasise the importance of economic, social, cultural and physical local contexts, and hopefully help to anticipate how future challenges and urban policy responses might come about.

In practical terms, the methodology adopted in this research incorporated the following stages: First, a literature review that summarised the emergence of the urban agenda within the EU framework, traced its genealogy and development, and finally its implementation at the level of *less-developed* geographies. Moreover, insights were gathered on the specific urban transformations in Porto through the vast body of research knowledge that is available. Second, a data collection, including official documents, public reports, newspaper articles, websites and direct field observations. Occasionally, some statistical information was collected to help addressing specific issues. Third, case study characterisation and analysis according to three dimensions that match the research questions—local governance, planning innovation and urban regeneration.

Regarding these three dimensions of analysis, we find the case of Porto a good, suitable and interesting example to answer the research questions. In what concerns the first dimension—local governance—the city has been characterised by a sequence of institutional configurations and the period under observation in this research is particularly intense

in terms of institutional creation and governance transformation. With respect to the second—planning innovation—, and as mentioned before, Porto has seen the implementation of different Community initiatives and programmes and is the result of a continuous tension towards the opportunities made available by the EU which, in turn, may have led to episodes of planning innovation. Finally, the city is going through a long process of urban regeneration where EU and nationally-led actions come into play with exciting local political, institutional and social processes.

Overall, we find the qualitative analysis based on a case study an adequate option to approach the influence of the EU on local development. However, we also recognise some limitations of this study, as for instance the fact that interviews were not undertaken. This issue is further detailed in the end of the work.

Structure of the work

The present document is outlined in five chapters and organized as follows: In this introductory chapter, first we explore the research's motivation and objectives, and give a brief contextualisation of the EU urban agenda. Then, we focus on the selection of Porto as case study and the potentialities it offers for analysing the influence of the EU in local contexts.

In Chapter 2, we set out the framework through which the urban dimension of EU urban policy has been developed. Here a historical review is made based in academic literature and official documentation that have been actively seeking to hold a grip on the relationship between the European Union and local contexts. By taking a closer look on the EU urban initiatives between 1990 and 2006 it is possible to have an overall idea of the practical influence of specific EU programmes directed to cities. A particular attention is given to EU area-based programmes such as the UPP, URBAN I and URBAN II due to their links with local urban regeneration processes. The chapter ends with a brief look into the concept of Europeanisation, thus exploring how, and where, the influence between the EU and domestic level can occur.

Chapter 3 introduces the case of Porto by contextualising in a first moment the broader national urban policy framework. Therefore, we briefly describe the Portuguese spatial planning system and then make a historical review of the main urban policy events that characterise the current national urban agenda. In a second moment we focus in the city and examine how local urban policies connect to the evolution of the national framework. While doing it we highlight some of the main urban transformations witnessed during the last 50 years or so.

Chapter 4 considers the case study and example of Bairro da Sé. We initially contextualise the neighbourhood within the urban development patterns of Porto by making a short description and diagnosis of the situation. Then we analyse two area-based interventions that have notably contributed to the processes of urban change—1990 Urban Pilot Project (UPP); and 2006 Programa de Reabilitação Urbana (URP). The analysis allows to draw a more accurate interpretation of urban policy effects, as perceived on the ground. This represents the original contribution emerging from the research, where an in-depth investigation of the areas elucidates the urban changes experienced in the southern Europe

cities. It is done in the base of a qualitative approach that sought to capitalise on the literature available and field observations, which allowed to understand how was the local urban policy response to tackle such demanding context.

The final and conclusive Chapter 5 takes in consideration the previous three chapters and draws on the EU influence in Porto. It is structured in three Sections, which translate the three main research questions that the research sought to answer: First, we look into the influence of EU initiatives in local governance, in terms of institutional arrangements and mechanisms of public participation. Second, we try to understand if EU initiatives influenced planning innovation, in terms of comprehensiveness of the programmes, intervention methods and connection to other resources. Third, we examine what is the potential influence of EU initiatives in urban regeneration, in terms of physical transformations and economic revitalisation?

Chapter 2

The urban dimension in the EU regional policy

This chapter presents to the reader the context in which the European Union (EU) has been carving out the urban dimension of the Cohesion Policy. With the purpose of illustrating how the EU regional policy evolved towards urban issues while contributing to the overall aims of cohesion and growth, we provide a chronological overview (for a brief contextualisation, see Goulet, 2008).

A similar approach, describing the main events contributing to the emergence of the urban dimension within EU policies, can be found in the literature (see, among others, Atkinson, 2001, 2015; Cotella, 2019, 2020; European Parliament, 2014; Fioretti, Pertoldi, Busti, & Van Heerden, 2020; Medina & Fedeli, 2015; van den Berg et al., 2007). As it will be shown, multiple chronological frameworks can be identified, and although it is not our aim to discuss them in particular, we consider that they are relevant for setting the scene.

In line with the European Commission (EC) programming cycles, van den Berg et al. (2007) suggested five stages to describe the emergence of the urban dimension within the EU Cohesion Policy (see Table 2.1). The first stage, 1975–1988, involved the acknowledgment by the Community of the territorial (and in particular regional) differences across Europe. The 1989–1993 period, which coincided with the second stage, was characterised by the emergence of the urban agenda, and its consolidation during the following 1994–1999 period (third stage). The start of the new millennium matched the beginning of a fourth stage (2000–2006), in which the contribution of cities started to be recognised. The key role of cities would be further enhanced during the fifth stage, in particular through the mainstreaming of the urban dimension (2007–2013).

A similar reading of the events was put forward by Medina and Fedeli (2015). Taking into consideration the milestones events of sustainable, urban and territorial development, the authors found strong links between the European funding periods and the phases of the EU urban policy process (see Figure 2.1). Admitting that the *urban problem* was only recognised by the EU in the 1990s, their first phase of the urban policy process coincides with the increasing demand for an EU urban agenda emerging, in particular, through diverse documents (1990–1999). In turn, the second phase (2000–2006) is linked with informal meetings between ministers responsible for urban issues and spatial planning.

Table 2.1: Summary of stages of EU Regional Policy and the urban dimension of EU policy. Source: adapted from van den Berg, Braun, and van der Meer (2007).

	EU Regional Policy	Urban Dimension in EU Policy
Stage 1 1975 – 1988	<i>Creation of the ERDF. Regional Policy starts to be considered as a tool to reach economic integration.</i>	<i>Not yet existing, not even implicitly as part of Regional Policy.</i>
Stage 2 1989 – 1993	<i>1st reform of the SFs: Regional Policy is considered one of the most important ways to achieve economic integration. The creation of the CF is specially meant for the poorest countries.</i>	<i>The European Commission starts to realise the need to focus on the urban dimension of its policy. The Urban Pilot Projects represents the first attempt of the EC to have an explicit urban policy.</i>
Stage 3 1994 – 1999	<i>2nd reform of the SFs: the European Council doubled the financial allocations for them. Now one third of the Community budget is booked for Regional Policy. The Treaty of Amsterdam stresses the importance of cohesion.</i>	<i>The EC pushes towards the development of an urban policy and some MSs agree. The divergence existing between the actors still presented the institutionalisation of the EU urban policy. SFs finance two programmes specifically targeted to cities: UPP II and the URBAN CI.</i>
Stage 4 2000 – 2006	<i>3rd reform of the SFs: they receive 35% of the Community budget. The implementation of the Regional Policy has been simplified: the priorities of the SFs, named objectives, have been reduced from seven to three.</i>	<i>Cities get their official positioning inside the Regional Policy: URBAN II, Urban Audit II and also a relevant part of the Obj. 1 and Obj. 2 of the SFs is meant, directly or indirectly, for cities. In particular a part of Obj. 2 is dedicated to “urban areas facing structural difficulties”.</i>
Stage 5 2007 – 2013	<i>Cohesion Policy will be further simplified. Three priorities: convergence and competitiveness; regional competitiveness and employment; and European Territorial Cooperation. Three financial instruments: the CF; the ERDF; and the ESF.</i>	<i>The EC shows more commitment towards the urban issue and proposes to involve city authorities from member states on urban-related issues. The URBAN+ Initiative will represent the main expression of the urban dimension of EU policy.</i>

This was related to the EU lack of formal competences in such field, which resulted in a strong intergovernmental participative process.

During the third stage of the European urban policy development—*The “mainstreaming” of the urban dimension (2007–2013)*—, the authors highlight the growing links between the urban dimension and territorial cohesion. The integration of urban actions within the Operational Programmes would promote national and regional urban development strategies, the empowerment of local governance, and urban networking. The last phase, 2014–2020, is characterised by several changes at both EU and national levels, and results from the attempt to *formalise* the EU-National urban agenda.

More recently, Cotella (2019) explored the implications of the EU urban agenda on national urban policies, and identified four stages to describe the consolidation of the EU interest in urban development matters:

- i) Denied Competence and First Experimentations (1989–1993)—the EU, after having seen its claims for urban development competences denied, develops a rather experimental approach to urban interventions;
- ii) The Consolidation of the URBAN Approach and the Birth of the Intergovernmental Cooperation (1994–2006)—more concrete conceptualizations and initiatives, that however still maintain an episodic flavour;
- iii) First Attempts of Mainstreaming (2007–2013) — the EU operates a first attempt to turn urban development into a mainstream element of its Cohesion Policy; and
- iv) Fine-Tuning the Mainstream Approach. New Tools for Action (2014–2020) — building on the lessons learnt from the previous programming periods, the EU mainstream approach to urban

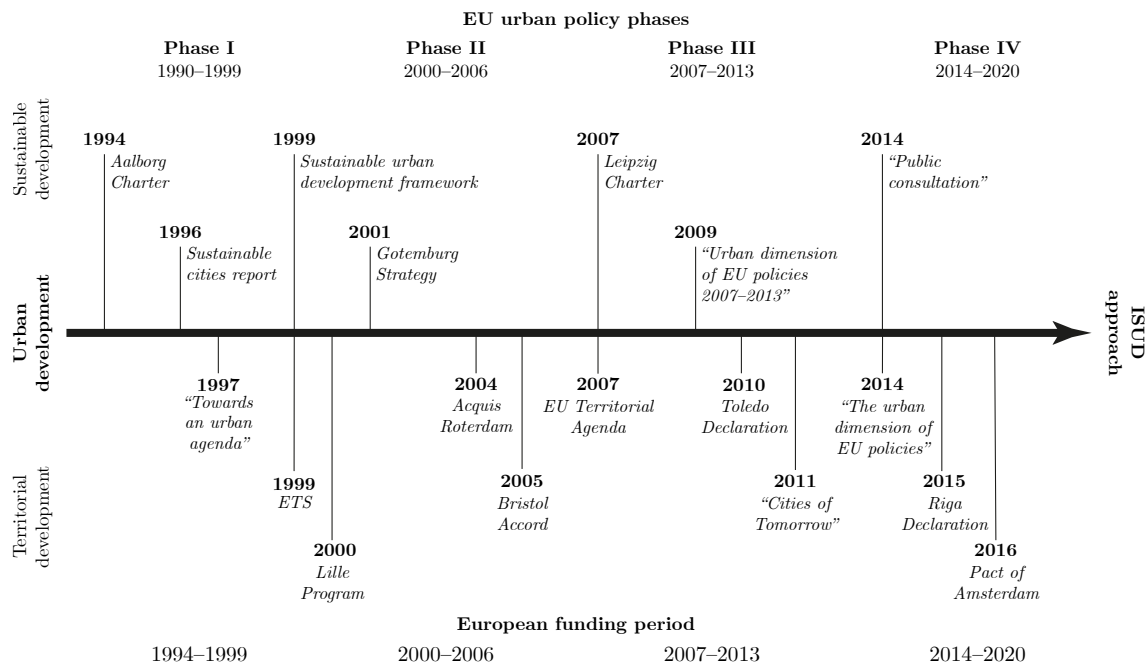


Figure 2.1: EU urban policy process milestones and phases . Source: modified from Medina and Fedeli (2015).

development matters is fine-tuned and provided with innovative, supporting tools. (elaborated from Cotella, 2019, p.134)

Finally, Fioretti et al. (2020) recently presented a more compact illustration for the evolution of the urban dimension of the EU policy (see Figure 2.2). The authors gave particular emphasis to the year 2007—coinciding with the sign of Leipzig Charter—, and the year 2016—when the Urban Agenda was launched. The authors described the key political milestones and the operational building blocks that led to the consolidation of a EU perspective on the urban question, and defined the current EU sustainable and integrated urban development approach:

- An approach which promotes a strategic vision for the development of urban areas;
- An approach which targets cities of all sizes and promotes integration across scales, from neighbourhoods to wider territories;
- A multi-level governance and multi-stakeholder approach, which coordinates different actors according to their respective roles, skills and scales of intervention, ensuring that citizens are actively engaged;
- An approach which is integrated across sectors, and pushes cities to work across policy-areas;
- An approach based on the integration of multiple sources of funding; and
- An approach which promotes result-oriented logic and establishes frameworks for monitoring and evaluation. (Fioretti et al., 2020, p. 9)

In summary, these different interpretations on the path taken by the urban dimension of the Cohesion Policy give a general idea of the wide range of *contents* of the of EU urban

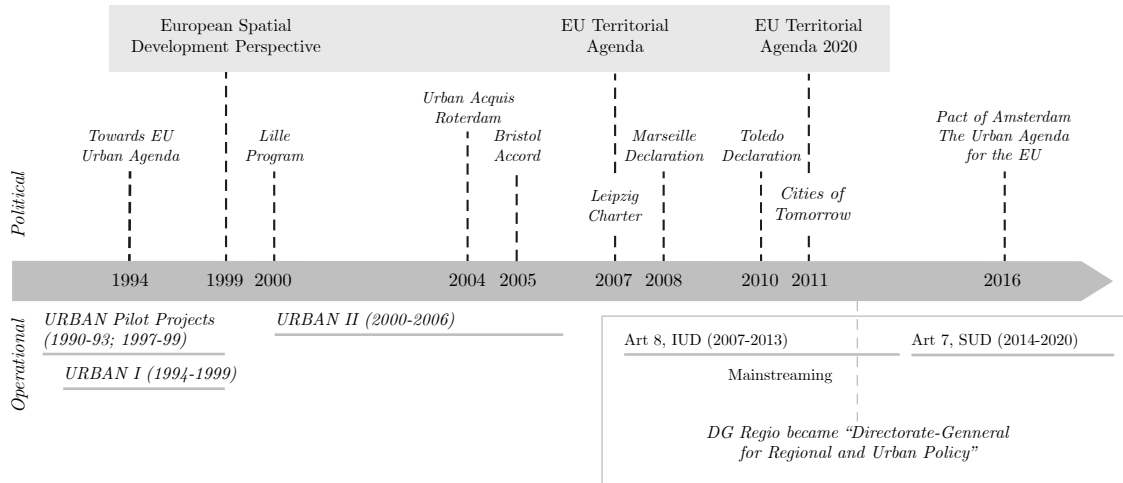


Figure 2.2: The evolution of the urban dimension of the EU policy. Source: Fioretti, Pertoldi, Busti, and Van Heerden (2020).

policy, and display different levels of importance which might be given to the events that steer its development. That being said, we find pertinent to carry out our own diachronic analysis of this process, which will allow the selection of specific subjects that might suit the needs and purposes of this research. At a later stage, the insights resulting from this analysis will hopefully shed light on the implications for the national and local urban policy contexts, in particular, the Portuguese.

2.1 Regional policy without attention to cities

After the devastating consequences of Second World War, peoples and democratic nations of Europe saw the possibility to co-operate in order to achieve greater unity and face the severe living conditions and high levels of social imbalance. The Council of Europe (CoE), that perceived European integration, was the first supranational body to be established (1949) and despite having no formal powers regarding spatial policies and planning in Europe was important to stimulate ideas and learning processes. Later on the six MSs which had formed the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) (1951) to regulate their industrial production, signed the Treaty of Rome (1957) and established the European Economic Community (EEC) which represented a further step in bringing closer their national economic policies, steer a balanced development and increasing their growth.

Within the principles of the Community the signatory countries agreed to reduce economic and social disparities experienced between the different EEC regions and two specific instruments (European Social Fund (ESF) and European Investment Bank (EIB)) had a particular active role in achieving such ambition. One of the first regional policy measures resulted from the Treaty's Article 130 which determined that the EIB would provide low interest loans and loan guaranties to support different projects, including actions aiming for the development of *less-developed* regions (European Economic Community, 1957). This and other elements of regional funding with analogous purposes might have contributed to some spatial changes although the Treaty didn't present a specific regional development

policy (Leonardi, 2005; Williams, 1996). Regional policy was the sole responsibility of each individual MS leading to limited results and it was only during the 1970s when different approaches were introduced which several authors consider to have been *the origins*¹ of EU regional policy.

The creation of the ERDF in 1975 is sometimes referred to as the *keystone* of EU Regional Policy while the changing socio-economic scenario, resulting from the energy crisis and the deindustrialisation process, led to particularly challenging situations in many MSs and asked for urban economic development policies. In this context, the Community relied on the ERDF to redistribute part of the EEC budget to the *poorest* regions, allowing national governments to benefit from funding to develop predetermined projects which should promote industry and infrastructures as a way to achieve economic growth and stability, therefore reducing disparities between the EEC regions and draw closer to the desired economic integration of the Community (Brunazzo, 2016; Piattoni & Polverari, 2016). The initial budget allocation process was made on the basis of predetermined and negotiated quotas and the instrument was perceived by local authorities as a good opportunity to benefit from extra financial aid (Armstrong, 1995; Williams, 1996). However, while Regional Policy «interventions were strictly sectorial in nature and the procedures followed in implementing these policies were monopolised by the national governments» (Leonardi, 2005, p. 33), a more significant shift was yet to be seen.

Between 1979 and 1984, with the introduction of small reforms, the ERDF put in place new approaches to regional development which opposed the *ad hoc* selection of individual projects: a) the National Programmes of Community Interest (NPCI) granted a financial incentive to MSs to design and submit applications to ERDF assistance; b) the Integrated Development Operations (IDO) tested the joint use of different Structural Funds (SFs) to finance integrated actions encompassing the development of small-scale assistance projects to help disadvantaged inner-city and depressed areas; and c) the Community Programmes (CP) provided means for tackling in an articulated manner particular areas or economic activities (Williams, 1996). Such instruments, despite its experimental nature, together with the different ERDF reforms, would influence the role of the EEC in tackling regional development issues and would lay the foundations for the additional reforms introduced in 1989 (as part of the Single European Market (SEM)) that would take these processes even further (Armstrong, 1995; Leonardi, 2005).

After the accession of Spain and Portugal to the Community in 1986, the revision of the Treaty of Rome set by the Single European Act in 1988, put in place not only the Single European Market, but reshaped regional policy. While the introduction of the single market could mean additional financial burden for the *less-favoured* regions, a new legal basis to approach social and economic cohesion was provided—as a way to «promote the overall harmonious development of the Community» (European Economic Community,

¹Regarding *the origins* and development of the EU regional policy and in particular the role of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) in such matters see among others, Armstrong (1995), Bachtler, Berkowitz, Hardy, and Muravska (2016), Bachtler, Mendez, and Wislade (2013), Leonardi (2005), McCann (2015), Molle (2007), Piattoni and Polverari (2016).

1987, Article 130(a)). As Piattoni and Polverari noted, «regional policy became a Community competence, and social and economic cohesion a Community goal» (2016, p.20). Such idea was made clear in Article 130(a), which stated that the EEC should: «aim at reducing disparities between the various regions and the backwardness of the least-favoured regions», by making a combined use of different SFs, and relying on additional financial instruments (e.g., European Investment Bank).

These events, and in particular the comprehensive reform of the SFs, not only showed the Community's commitment to strengthen the regional policy, but represented a landmark for EU policies. Different authors stress how groundbreaking it was, arguing that the reforms «heralded a revolution» (Bachtler, 1998), and «promoted the creation» (Brunazzo, 2016) of a truly European regional policy. Moreover, they represented not only large steps in the development of the Community's spatial policy (Williams, 1996), but the beginning of the *genuine* Cohesion Policy (Bachtler & Mendez, 2007).

The Europeanisation process was also strengthened with the reforms. Whilst previously regional policy was of exclusive MS competence, the European level became involved in deciding *how* and *what* should be delivered, and «“who” was to participate in the decision-making and implementation phases of the policy» (Leonardi, 2005, p. 6). At the same time, the new Cohesion Policy «also held a political promise to involve subnational actors more openly in European decision-making» (Hooghe, 1996, p. 89), as it «would help to strengthen its own position in this specific policy area as a broker of agreements between the actors involved» (Brunazzo, 2016, p. 24).

The core instrument of the policy was structural programming for regional and local development, and there was a significant increase in the total budget available for the SFs. However, the changing process of the regional policy was not exclusively supported by a the financial load. The new Cohesion Policy summarised a «novel policy rationale to deal more effectively with the old problem of regional economic disparities» (Hooghe, 1996, p. 89), and introduced: a) a set of key principles (concentration, programming, partnership and additionality)²; b) five new objectives³ with explicit territorial definitions; and the implementation of Operational Programmes (OPs) through an *integrated approach* (see Commission of the European Communities (1988b, Article 13)). The latter, pursued the overall cohesion aim by reducing territorial disparities, involving subnational administration structures (at national, regional and local levels), and combining different SFs.

In summary, from the 1990s onwards, the European regional policy moved on from

²Four basic principles were introduced as a result of the Single European Act (SEA) reforms that would shape regional policy on the years to come: *Concentration*—the EU assistance shall be focused on areas of greatest need, across a limited number of objectives in the least-developed regions (Brunazzo, 2016; Dossi, 2017); *Concentration*—the EU assistance shall be focused on areas of greatest need, across a limited number of objectives in the least-developed regions (ibid.); *Programming*—the EU assistance supports multi-annual programmes (instead of the pre-1988 project-based approach) based on analysis, strategic planning and evaluation (ibid.); *Additionality*—EU funding shall be added (and not substituted) to MSs expenditure (Brunazzo, 2016); and *Partnership*—«Community operations shall be established through close consultations between the Commission, the MSs concerned and the competent authorities designated by the latter at national, regional, local or other level, with each party acting as a partner in pursuit of a common goal» (Brunazzo, 2016, p. 22), therefore strengthening the role of regions in relation to the EU.

³Among the different objectives, the following three represented operations within specific spatial contexts: a) Objective 1 to regions lagging behind; and b) Objective 2 to industrial areas in decline and Objective 5b. to rural areas (Commission of the European Communities, 1988a).

being a merely transfer of budget, to become a real regional development instrument where the territory played a fundamental role in the policy shifting—from single economic sectors to individual regions (Leonardi, 2005). At the same time, the growing attention that was being given by European policy-makers to cities—which became recognised as the places where not only the problems, but also the opportunities of regional development were concentrated—, resulted in the increased presence of the urban dimension in the SFs (Atkinson, 2015; Atkinson & Zimmermann, 2016).

2.2 The emergence of the urban dimension in the 1990s

The debate on the importance of cities and urban areas for the development of the EU started almost 30 years ago and didn't stop growing since the 1980s. The key role of cities in implementing EU policies has been enabled by focusing in the urban dimension, which in turn has been delivered through multiple urban related policy matters (Atkinson & Zimmermann, 2016; De Gregorio Hurtado, 2018; European Commission, 2014; European Parliament, 2014; A. Pinho & Campos, 2012). During the 1990s, concern was growing in Europe «over the restructuring which has occurred in urban areas caused by economic, technological and social changes in the European and global systems» (Atkinson, 2001, p. 385). These had resulted in the rise of multiple problems, as illustrated by the Commission of the European Communities (1997): «unemployment, environmental conditions and traffic congestion but also poverty, poor housing, crime and drug abuse» (p. 3). Since then, urban policy became part of the Commission and the EU regional policy agenda, as their actions were oriented towards urban areas. The issues concerning such areas, and the need to tackle them, was clearly stated by the Commission, stressing that «whilst cities remain strong poles of economic growth and development, they are at the same time faced with problems of environmental decay and pollution, industrial decay, and social exclusion» (see *Urban Pilot Projects – Annual Report 1996*, European Commission, 1998a, p. 4).

On such grounds, different thematic instruments were deployed to address urban areas, ranging from environment to transportation, research and development to urban regeneration. Particularly important were the following spatial policy elements, that had been introduced during the above mentioned SFs reforms:

- Community Initiatives (see Commission of the European Communities, 1988b, Article 11) succeeded the Community Programmes (CPs), and presented as key features the *bottom-up implementation* and *networking co-operation* (Williams, 1996). Overall, they «focused on issues like economic and social conversion of the coal mining areas, the improvement of the environment, the strengthening of the innovation capacity and technological development, [and the] co-operation between regions on different sides of national borders and others» (Brunazzo, 2016, p. 23).
- Pilot/innovative schemes and studies (see European Economic Community, 1988, Article 10), also known as *Article 10 measures*, would contribute to bolster regional and urban dimensions of the development scheme for the EEC, and later resulted in the creation of the Urban Pilot Project, Europa 2000 studies, and Regions and Cities of Europe (RECITE).

In addition to the innovative nature of the contents, the EC underlined the added value of co-operation between cities, exchange of information and knowledge, which would play a key role on delivering urban change (Dossi, 2017).

In the 1990s, due to numerous disadvantaged and stressed urban areas, the SFs played an important role in supporting the development of the *integrated approach* to urban regeneration, as a way to tackle urban problems, but apart from these efforts and other specific requests from the MSs to finance actions in cities within Objective 1 and 2 regions, the Commission's contribution to urban regeneration was rather limited (Grazi, 2006). The most significant boost to urban action came from the above mentioned *innovative actions* under Article 10 measures (European Economic Community, 1988), and one of the key features of the Community action in this domain was precisely the EU *integrated approach* consisting in two components: a) the horizontal component meant an effort to overcome the sectorial approach and focusing different realms simultaneously (socio-economic, physical/environmental, cultural, etc.); and b) the vertical component was related to a more participative action involving the different administration levels (European, national, regional/local) and when possible, local stakeholders and citizenship, during the different stages (from programming, implementation, controlling and evaluation) (Dossi, 2017).

During the period between 1989 and 1993, the Commission made its first steps on the path to build an explicit urban dimension of its regional policy by co-financing 33 Urban Pilot Project (UPP) (first phase), across 11 MSs (Ecorys, 2010; van den Berg et al., 2007). By exploring and illustrating innovatory urban regeneration approaches and planning activities to tackle urban problems, this experience contributed to economic and social cohesion among regions, and as a consequence, to the greater objective of reducing territorial disparities (European Commission, 1998a).

While facilitating the exchange of practices across the Community, the UPP had been designed to promote and test out new ideas to achieve effective urban policies. In practical terms, the projects should lead to the development of an effective solution for a clearly defined problem as: a) socio-economic deprivation; b) poor land-use planning; c) neglected historic centres; d) poor links between research and development activities; and e) derelict industrial wasteland. Additionally, the projects were selected in the grounds of the following four principles (Williams, 1996, p. 210):

- i) should address a theme of urban planning or regeneration of European interest;
- ii) must be innovatory in character and offer new approaches;
- iii) should have a clear demonstration potential so that lessons can be transferred to other cities;
- iv) should also contribute to the development of the region in which the city is located.

The pilot projects were part of comprehensive and integrated local strategies, which aimed at maximising physical impact while generating public and private investment. In other words, they encompassed the «combination of activities, including both physical infrastructures and “soft measures”» (European Commission, 1998a, p. i).

Among these activities, the physical actions were often related to the rehabilitation of historic and decaying buildings, or the creation of new service centres—offering information services to local population, vocational guidance and/or training, support or advice to small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). In both cases, the actions aimed at meeting the needs of local communities, or improving the general provision of public services. On the other hand, the immaterial actions aimed at economic revitalisation, reducing unemployment and tackling social exclusion (European Commission, 1998b). Despite the different *nature* of the actions, they were clearly compatible with the common goals.

Due to the SFs regulations, the Urban Pilot Project (UPP) initiative was restricted to the following specific themes: a) development of areas facing social and economic deprivation; b) improve environmental conditions and economic growth; c) tackle neglected historic centres and stimulate their commercial life; and d) pursue technological development to benefit the city (European Commission, 1998a). In spite of these restrictions, van den Berg et al. argue that «the UPP was a successful experience, and it had the opportunity to show the EC the potential of an (explicit) urban-related programme» (2007, p. 43). The Urban Pilot Projects – Annual Report 1996, also recognises the overall positive outcome, stressing that the UPPs «have by and large met their stated objectives» (European Commission, 1998a, p. i).

In addition to the UPP, between 1989 and 1993 other Community actions—for instance *Green Book on the Urban Environment*, Europe 2000, RECITE and Poverty III —contributed to the recognition, innovation and experimentation on the urban dimension. Their importance went beyond the quantitative outcomes as the opportunity to learn several fundamental lessons, as regards both organization and experimentation was of much greater value. In relation to the indirect effects, Stewart underlined that the «importance of an emergent European urban policy, however, lies less in the substance or size of its programme or its effects upon bidding and funding procedures but rather in the symbolism of its very existence» (1994, p. 273).

In 1993, while preparing the coming into force of the Maastricht Treaty and consequent European Monetary Union (EMU), the SFs undertook a revision for the 1994–99 period, which included a budget increase and several changes to the eligible areas⁴. At the same time, the role of the Commission in regional cohesion was strengthened and the creation of the European Cohesion Fund (ECF) added to the economic development of the most fragile countries in the community in those times (Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain) by funding projects pursuing the improvement of transportation and environment and result in both regional and urban impacts.

In 1994 the Commission, under the ERDF framework, launched fourteen Community Initiatives (CIs)⁵, including one to support urban issues through the regeneration

⁴On the changes introduced regarding the area designation system and the role of the MSs to propose eligible areas see among others Bachtler and Mendez (2007).

⁵For the period 1994–1999 the assistance financed by the ERDF could be grouped in three categories: a) assistance undertaken on the basis of the development plans submitted by the MSs; b) Community Initiatives; and c) Innovative Measures. Within the CIs that aimed to «adopt and encourage innovative approaches; to promote transnational networking and exchange of experience; and to mainstream new approaches and good practice into national policy and programmes» (European Commission, 2003a, p. iv),

of crisis-struck areas in medium-sized and large towns—URBAN Community Initiative (see Commission of the European Communities (1994)). The initiative was based on the (apparently positive and encouraging) outcomes and lessons learned from the pioneering experience of the UPP (first phase) (Atkinson, 2015; European Commission, 1998a; European Parliament, 2014), explicitly reflected an urban orientation to EU policy (Stewart, 1994) which was a step towards the development of the urban dimension and was intended to extend, consolidate and improve the EU contribution to different urban policy areas while helping urban areas under distressed to overcome social problems such as poor housing conditions, lack of social facilities, high rates of unemployment and urban fabric in decay (van den Berg et al., 2007; Williams, 1996).

URBAN I targeted 108 urban areas between inner city areas, peripheral areas, historic city centres and a mix of all the previous, covering together around three million people and supported interventions that improved the ensemble of their physical and social circumstances (European Parliament, 2014). 85 programmes were launched in June 1994, and further 33 in 1996 (approximately EUR 953 million community financial aid). The innovative projects ran for 4 years and support economic and social revitalisation, renovation of infrastructure and environmental improvement of cities with more than 100.000 inhabitants (Williams, 1996).

Priority was to be given to towns located in Objective 1 regions, although cities within the other objectives were also contemplated, and foresaw when possible a strategic link between the mainstream SFs programmes and URBAN or with programmes that formed part of long-term strategies within the urban areas concerned (European Commission, 2003a). The project's financing sources were represented not only by the ERDF and ESF but also by national, regional and local authorities as well as by the private stakeholders.

The emphasis was upon integrated and spatially focused action in extremely disadvantaged and deprived neighbourhoods in which individual's problems got aggravated and lead to social exclusion. At the same time, the lack of economic opportunity would result in the individuals becoming hostile to their environment, and therefore the URBAN I tried to solve the problems at source by focusing upon problems of isolation, poverty and exclusion of their inhabitants by promoting the reintegration of excluded and marginalised people into employment, the creation of local jobs, and upon the improvement of the quality of life by providing a better physical and social environment (Stewart, 1994; van den Berg et al., 2007).

The *ex post* evaluation of the programme (see *Ex-post Evaluation, Urban Community Initiative (1994–1999), Final Report*, European Commission, 2003a) grouped the programme's implementation strategies as follows:

- A broad integrated approach: a balanced set of economic development, social integration and environmental measures;
- An integrated approach with a particular focus – economic, social or environmental;

the Commission launched: Interreg II, Leader II, Regis II, Employment, Adapt, Hechar II, Resider II, Konver, Retex, Textile and clothing in Portugal, URBAN, Pesca and Peace (Commission of the European Communities, 1996).

- A community-focused strategy, with a particular emphasis on local community involvement in the programme; and
- A “flagship” strategy, which used a limited number of visible or flagship projects, as a means of generating interest in the programme.

In general terms, these different strategies contributed to the launching of new economic activities, the promotion of employment through policies for professional training, the creation of social facilities and security services and the improvement of the environment and built infrastructures. However the innovative nature of the programme didn't lie only on these objectives but also in the partnerships that it fostered by including the involvement of a variety of local players/stakeholders and the participation of the final beneficiaries in the different stages of the projects, which was needed in order to activate long-term regeneration processes and to inspire a new urban intervention culture (Vinci, 2002).

Apparently, such ambitions were achieved, once URBAN I «had a lasting impact on structures at the local and city level, which have been sustained to deliver urban policy beyond the life of URBAN» (European Commission, 2003a, p. 73). The programme was considered as a success «both in terms of the substantive impact of the interventions and in terms of the delivery mechanisms adopted» (European Commission, 2003a) and van den Berg et al. (2007) mention as factors supporting such success the combination with existing urban regeneration projects, the synergies among the different selected projects and the active participation of local communities in the management and implementation of programme.

The respective roles and responsibilities of the national authorities and the EC in the selection process were not clearly defined and by this reason some difficulties were posed in the negotiations processes leading to delays in the launching of the programmes. Moreover, as pointed out by van den Berg et al., «some problems arose regarding the lack of support from the private sector and the difficulty in understanding EU documents and procedure by those involved in the programmes» (2007, p. 57). Although the total Community contribution amounting to approximately EUR 900 million at 1999 prices (according to European Commission, 2000a), the GHK report states that the programme «was relatively small in financial terms, compared with the potential need» (European Commission, 2003a, p. ix) but concludes that URBAN I «was successful in terms of the improved capacity, learning and demonstration that have occurred» (ibid., p. 72). The key strengths and weaknesses identified by the report (see Table 2.2) were taken into account to further develop the future programmatic and strategic EC urban agenda.

In 1997 a second phase of the UPP was approved, and alongside URBAN I, continued sustaining cohesion through innovation in urban regeneration and planning until 1999. As noted in the Communication from the EC laying the guidelines for the following URBAN II programme, (see *Communication from the Commission to the Member States of 28 april 2000 laying down guidelines for the Community Initiative URBAN II*, European Commission, 2000a), «the experience gained from URBAN and the UPPs has fed into the general discussion on urban policy [and] the outcome of this discussion was the Commission communication entitled “Sustainable urban development in the European Union: a framework

Table 2.2: URBAN I key strengths and weaknesses. Source: adapted from European Commission (2003a, p. 73–75)

Key strengths reported:	Key weaknesses reported:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ was a simple concept meeting real needs; ▪ provided a direct link between cities and the EU; ▪ promoted an integrated; ▪ involved decision-making in real partnership approach (involving a variety of actors); ▪ contributed to building capacity at the city level; ▪ increased the visibility of EU interventions (especially in the urban realm); ▪ contributed to national urban policies; ▪ made a difference to “quality of life”; ▪ targeted disadvantaged social groups; ▪ built social capital at the local level. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ achieved only limited transnational exchange and learning; ▪ was administratively complex which led to significant delays and consequently an underspend of the resources available; ▪ lacked systematic monitoring and evaluation structures; ▪ the programmes were limited in their scope to those interventions eligible under the SF regulations; ▪ it excluded some important elements relating to urban deprivation such as housing, crime prevention and transport.

for action”» (p. C 141/8).

This document, in addition to other that had been published one year earlier, are frequently cited as keystones of the development of urban policy in the context of regional policy in the successive decade (see, among others, Atkinson, 2015; Dossi, 2017; European Commission, 2003b). While they are said to mirror the recognition by the European Commission of a specific *urban dimension*, we will take a closer look on their contents.

The first document, *Towards an Urban Agenda in the EU*⁶ (see Commission of the European Communities (1997)), while underlining that «urban areas, especially the depressed districts of medium-sized and larger cities, have borne many of the social costs of past changes in terms of industrial adjustment and dereliction, inadequate housing, long-term unemployment, crime, and social exclusion» Commission of the European Communities (1997, p. 13), emphasises the role of cities as drivers for European, national and regional economic development, thus for the lagging regions under Objective where «the success of urban areas is crucial to their overall growth and development» (ibid., p. 9). It is also suggested that:

a greater attention to urban development in future strategy building and programmes could result in an integrated strategy between actions in urban areas and in their wider regions, as well as in terms of economic and human resource development. To achieve such coherence, it is important that local authorities participate closely in the preparation and implementation of regional development programmes. Commission of the European Communities (1997, p. 9)

An attention is also given to improving the functioning of conurbations as a whole. In the words of the Commission «investments in public transport schemes, in the reclamation of derelict urban land, and in the treatment of urban waste water are only three examples of

⁶The statement concerning the need for an Urban Agenda would be later restated in multiple political declarations by the Commission such as the *Lille Action Programme* in 2000, the *Rotterdam Urban Acquis* in 2004, the *Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities* in 2007, the *Toledo Declaration* in 2010, the *Riga Declaration* in 2015 which culminated in 2016 with the *Pact of Amsterdam – Urban Agenda for the EU*.

actions which contribute both to the growth of wider regional economies and to sustainable development in cities» (ibid., p. 16).

The second document, *Sustainable Urban Development in the EU: a Framework for Action* (see Commission of the European Communities (1998)), set in 1998 «the main pillars for an urban policy» (van den Berg et al., 2007, p. 44) and determined «how urban action would be developed by the Commission in the future» (European Commission, 2000a, p. 8). It established the directions to the 1999 reform of the SFs which in turn was the base for the upcoming 2000–2006 programming cycle. In the document it is advocated that the role of towns and cities as centres of regional economic growth and innovation should be addressed more clearly in the use of the Structural Funds because the «EU-wide regional disparities mainly reflect relative strengths and weaknesses of towns and cities». In that way, the EU efforts to reduce disparities would «be more effective when they explicitly address urban development problems and exploit the role of towns and cities as motors of economic growth and centres of innovation» (ibid., p. 3). The communication reflects also some new imperatives that were emerging in the European debate on regional policy, such as those addressed by the European Spatial Development Planning (ESDP) in the direction of a more polycentric, balanced and sustainable spatial development of Europe (Faludi & Waterhout, 2002). Moreover, it identifies the following key, interdependent, themes considered necessary for a coherent approach to urban problems:

- strengthening economic prosperity and employment in towns and cities;
- promoting equality, social inclusion and regeneration in urban areas;
- protecting and improving the urban environment: towards local and global sustainability; and
- contributing to good governance and local empowerment (Commission of the European Communities, 1998, pp. 5–6).

In 1997, the Urban Audit pilot project was launch under the aegis of the Article 10 measures of the ERDF, to improve exchange of comparative information among individual European cities. Through different statistical data and indicators—e.g., socio-economic aspects, participation in civic life, education and training, environment, culture and leisure —, it would be possible to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the different EU urban contexts and thus evaluating the overall state of the towns and cities. This would be particularly important «to solve some of the problems that occurred with the UPP, especially the problem connected to the lack of comparable data among European cities» (van den Berg et al., 2007, p. 57) and revealed to be a powerful advisory tool for cities.

Among other things, the reforms of 1999 to the SF introduced some changes including an increase of responsibilities for the domestic actors—which became closely involved with the implementation and monitoring of programmes —, and a reduction on the number of CI (reduced to only four)⁷. Still the the most urban-related initiative (URBAN) kept running

⁷The four initiatives in progress after the reforms were: «*Interreg III*, promoting cross-border, transnational and interregional co-operation intended to encourage the harmonious and balanced development and spatial planning of the European territory; *Leader+*, aiming at the promotion of the rural development

to foster regeneration of areas in crisis, by promoting sustainable urban development innovative and integrated approaches (Brunazzo, 2016; European Commission, 2010c). On a final note regarding the views of the Community on its Regional Policy and the engagement with the urban dimension McCann argues «whereas from the 1960s to the early 1990s the dominant discourses and terminology in European regional development policy had all been about assisting regions with severe weaknesses, these discourses had, by the late 1990s, shifted towards rather more optimistic terminology regarding convergence and competitiveness» (2015, p. 61).

2.3 Cities and urban policies in the 2000s

1999 marked the conclusion of the political debate around the ESDP which represented (so far) the most ambitious and symbolic result of *European spatial planning* (Janin Rivolin, 2004) (see also Atkinson (2001), Commission of the European Communities (1999), Faludi and Waterhout (2002)). The document was prepared by the Committee on Spatial Development of the EC after the informal meeting of the Council of Ministers responsible for Spatial Planning held in Potsdam, May 1999.

The set of spatial development policies introduced, aimed to «work towards a balanced and sustainable development of the territory of the EU» (Commission of the European Communities, 1999, p. 10) and reinforced the need for the EU goals to be achieved equally across different countries and regions: a) economic and social cohesion; b) conservation and management of natural resources and the cultural heritage; and c) more balanced competitiveness of the European territory (idib.).

Although the document stressed that in order to tackle the European challenges, integration and coordination of activities and different level actors was crucial—including horizontal and vertical partnerships between public and private actors —, arose some uncertainties about the possible superficiality of the contents, and the overall impacts were hard to measure (Atkinson & Zimmermann, 2018; Janin Rivolin, 2004).

When addressing the ESDP, reference should also be made to European Spatial Planning Observation Network (ESPON) which is «probably the most successful follow-up pathway directly flowing from the ESDP» (Atkinson & Zimmermann, 2018, p. 10). This research network, emerged as a tool for the EC to monitor European spatial development trends, and promote the spatial dimension through strategies and policies in co-operation with MSs (Faludi & Waterhout, 2002). It was not only responsible for carrying out technical work, but represents one important source of *soft* Europeanisation, as it generates and circulates knowledge regarding the European spatial planning which has also implications for the urban dimension.

If until the beginning of the 21th century urban aspects were mainly dealt at project level, the necessity for the EU to work on an urban agenda would become much explicit

via integrated programmes and co-operation between local action groups; *Equal*, focused on fighting all forms of discrimination and inequalities in connection with access to the labour market; and *URBAN II*, fostering social and economic regeneration of towns and neighbourhoods in crisis, with a view to promoting sustainable urban development» (Brunazzo, 2016, p. 27).

from 1998 onwards. After the document *Towards an Urban Agenda in the EU* (1997), urban-related policies kept being emphasised under different EU Presidencies. In 2000 the *Lille Action Programme*⁸ (French Presidency) pursued the «political discussion about integrated urban development and the need to actively implement urban policy agendas on a European level» (European Parliament, 2014, p. 35–36). By sharing experiences and working together, European counties could build a common framework for a more successful and integrated use of SFs, directed at urban areas (Atkinson, 2015). Further policy-making developments with more explicit consideration of the role of cities and urban policy in relation to the future development of cities and territorial cohesion were made, first under the Dutch Presidency (2004) which resulted in the *Rotterdam Urban Acquis*⁹, and in 2005 under the British Presidency the *Bristol Accord*¹⁰. In addition, the *Third Report on Economic and Social Cohesion* (2004) and *Report on the Urban Dimension in the Context of Enlargement* (2005) are other examples expressing the commitment of the EC to address territorial disparities and see cities as *engines of regional development* and attractiveness to face European challenges.

The SFs for the period between 2000 and 2006 accounted for three clearly-defined priorities (Objectives) which in practice meant an attempt to a less sectorial and more territorial-oriented approach in order to stimulate the creation of activities that could deal with declining urban areas. In particular, Objective 2 aimed at the revitalisation of areas facing structural problems and high levels of decline, including various forms of socio-economic struggles and environmental issues. However, as pointed out by van den Berg et al., «even if in Objective 2 there is a clear package of measures for urban areas, their impact on cities can't still be considered as successful as the impact generated by the URBAN Initiative» (2007, p. 58–59). Among the reasons for such consideration was the unbalance between economic and social aspects, and the fact that measures were still characterized by a top-down approach—where limited power was given to MSs to reduce decentralisation of management, and the upper national tier still hold most of the power to decide how these programmes should be carried out.

Regardless of the emergence of alternative ways for the urban dimension to be addressed, the added value from the URBAN CI approach was better acknowledged.

Thus, encouraged by the previous (positive) experiences (UPP and URBAN I) (Atkinson & Zimmermann, 2016; van den Berg et al., 2007), and by incorporating its lessons into the guidelines (European Commission, 2003a), the Commission introduced for the 2000–2006 period the URBAN II Community Initiative as a follow-up of the previous, this time

⁸The set of priorities proposed by the programme clearly cover a linkage between policy-making and the urban dimension: a better acknowledgement of the role of towns and cities in spatial planning; a new approach of urban policies on national and community levels; improving citizens participation; action to tackle social and ethnic segregation; promote an integrated and balanced urban development; promote partnership between public and private sectors; diffusion of best practices and networking; promote the use of modern technology in urban affairs; a further analysis of the urban areas to deepen the knowledge of interlinked phenomena in the cities.

⁹After the Lille, the *Rotterdam Urban Acquis* kept promoting *integration* applied to urban development. The concept – which perceive interlinking social, physical, economic and environmental actions – currently dominates the agenda discourses and practices regarding the sustainable development of urban areas.

¹⁰After Lille and Rotterdam, the *Bristol Accord* put an extra emphasis on *sustainability* and how development strategies could be sustainable for cities and its urban areas.

«specifically focused on the need for integrated strategies for urban areas» (European Parliament, 2014, p. 38) and funded at the EU level exclusively by the ERDF.

The main objectives laid down by the EC in the guidelines for the programme were:

(a) to promote the formulation and implementation of particularly innovative strategies for sustainable economic and social regeneration of small and medium-sized towns and cities or of distressed urban neighbourhoods in larger cities; and

(b) to enhance and exchange knowledge and experience in relation to sustainable urban regeneration and development in the Community.

The pursuit of these objectives can facilitate the transition from innovation into the mainstream with the programmes in the urban areas concerned accredited as demonstrative, flagship actions. (European Commission, 2000a, p. C 141/9).

In addition, URBAN II aimed at improving living conditions, creating jobs, integrating the social excluded, developing environmental friendly public transport and facilitating the use of information technologies. This could be achieved by financing projects that: a) targeted small, deprived areas; b) focused on social inclusion and integration of minorities; c) endorsed the creation of local partnerships; and d) promoted the exchange of experiences and best practices.

The EC argued that URBAN II «was intended to offer distinct added value and be complementary to mainstream programmes», which should be achieved by «investing in the formulation and implementation of especially innovative strategies for sustainable economic and social regeneration [, and] promoting pioneering and visible change in a limited number of urban areas» (European Parliament, 2014, p. 39). In other words, the programme aspired to act as a bridge between innovative urban-related actions, and the full incorporation of the urban dimension within the SFs.

URBAN II involved 70 projects in urban areas in crisis—such as inner city areas, peripheral areas, mix areas, and entire cities —, both within and beyond Objective 1 regions, covering together around 2.2 million people. With a total budget of EUR 730 million (exclusively ERDF), the programme focused on actions towards physical and environmental regeneration, social inclusion, entrepreneurship and employment. The target areas of the URBAN II initiative had to follow at least three of the selection criteria—which were clearly linked to the need to tackle urban problems—and the priorities translated the main lessons learnt with previous actions (see Table 2.3).

The URBAN Community Initiative as a whole (see Figure 2.3) «has acted as a catalyst for new forms of co-operation, through its requirements of local partnership and participation» (Dukes, 2008, p. 117) and «represents the most significant EU attempt to address the urban area in terms of policy promotion» and «it is one of the principal actions within the EU policies favouring institutional transformation and policy change in cities and urban areas» (Dossi, 2017, p. 124). The URBAN II in particular, could «also be a bridge between the small-scale innovative approaches (such as those that have been piloted under Article 10 urban pilot projects and LIFE) and the incorporation of this integrated, participative approach into the mainstream SFs, and a focus for dissemination and good practice» (European Commission, 2000a).

Table 2.3: URBAN II areas, eligibility preconditions and priorities for action. Source: adapted from European Commission (2000a, p. 9–10).

<p>Criteria</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ a high level of long-term unemployment; ▪ a low level of economic activity; ▪ a high level of poverty and exclusion; ▪ a specific need for conversion, due to local economic and social difficulties; ▪ precarious demographic trends; ▪ a low level of education, significant skills deficiencies and high drop-out-rates from school; ▪ a high level of criminality and delinquency; ▪ a high number of immigrants, ethnic and minority groups, or refugees; ▪ a particularly rundown environment. 	
<p>Priorities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ mixed-use and environmentally friendly brownfield redevelopment, involving sustainable employment opportunities, better integration of local communities and ethnic minorities, reintegration of excluded persons, improved security and prevention of delinquency and reduced pressures on greenfield development or urban sprawl; ▪ entrepreneurship and employment pacts including local employment initiatives and employment opportunities linked, in particular, to measures for preventing negative environmental impact and for the improvement and protection of the environment, preservation and dissemination of culture and development of alternative care and other services taking account of changing demographic structures; ▪ the development of an anti-exclusion and anti-discrimination strategy through actions furthering equal opportunities and targeting notably groups such as women, immigrants and refugees; ▪ development of significantly more effective, economically efficient and environmentally friendly integrated public transport systems, provision for cycling and walking and intelligent communications systems leading to a reduction in trips made by motorised private transport; ▪ waste minimising and treatment, efficient water management and noise reduction as well as reduction in consumption of hydrocarbon energy sources, through development of efficient energy management systems and renewable energy sources resulting in measurable reduction in CO2 and other noxious emissions; ▪ development of the potential of information society technologies in order to improve the provision of services of public interest for small enterprises and citizens, contributing to social inclusion, economic innovation and regeneration, integrated environmental policies and management, management of human resources and employability, and efficient management of services such as health care, education and training and services of proximity. 	

As part of URBAN II, the Commission launched URBACT network for the period 2000–2006 which is considered as another feature of interest for the urban dimension of the EU public policy. It supported the exchange of information on sustainable urban development across the cities and actors involved in the UPP and URBAN CI and draw lessons from the results, successes and weaknesses.

The *learning* instrument was meant to develop other types of actions, as the creation of transnational networks for exchange of experience and good practices between actors (whether cities or other partners) for the capitalisation of the urban-related measures undertaken by the EC and the discussion on the future urban dimension of the EU policy (Atkinson, 2015; Atkinson & Zimmermann, 2016; A. Pinho & Campos, 2012). However, as argued by Dukes (2008), the URBACT exchanges of knowledge and practices didn't *necessarily* implied their transfer to the supranational arena.

Since 2006, in the same logic as URBACT, the Regions for Economic Change Initiative (RECI) introduced new regional and urban networks which contributed to strengthen the exchange of experiences and best practices in innovation among European regions. As a learning platform, the projects that prove to be most innovative and could inspire other regions, are awarded by the EC with a prize, also known as RegioStars (European Commission, 2009).

Considering the financial resources allocated through the mainstreamed programmes, URBAN II, URBACT and the second phase of the Urban Audit, directly or indirectly a

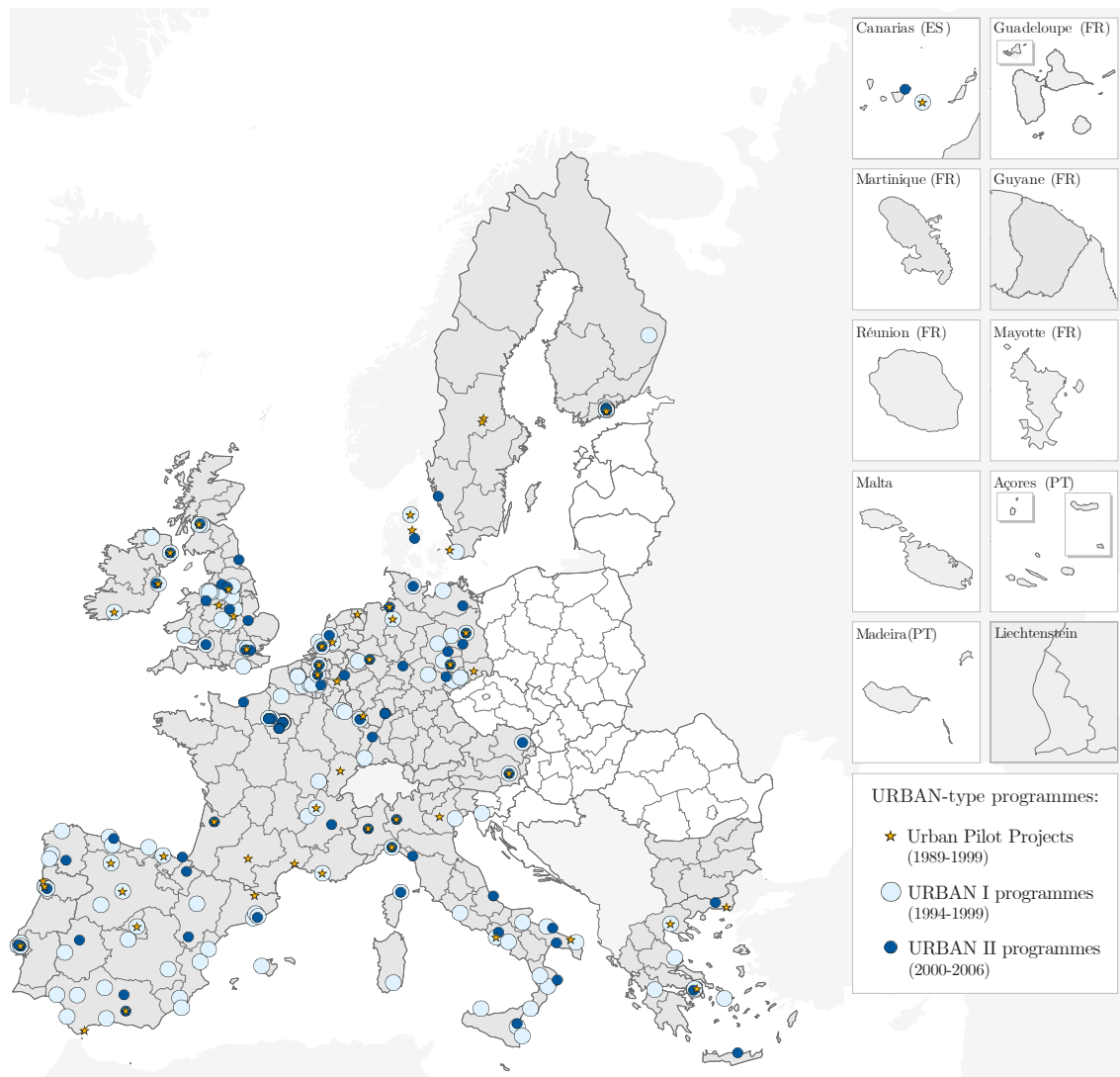


Figure 2.3: The different UPP and URBAN CI projects in the EU-15. Source: modified from European Commission (2009).

large part of the financial resources of Objective 1 and 2 of the SFs was directed towards urban-related measures (van den Berg et al., 2007).

Another example of the intent by the EC to affirm the importance of cities for the policy agenda was the 2006 communication from the Commission—*Cohesion Policy and Cities: the urban contribution to growth and jobs in the regions*—that underlined «the importance of the European dimension in integrated urban development» (Atkinson, 2015, p. 23). In the guidelines was included a topic specifically committed to the *territorial dimension*, and was also stated that programmes with a focus on urban areas would be supported through three types of actions:

- i) actions to promote cities as motors of regional development;
- ii) actions to promote internal cohesion inside the urban areas that seek to improve the situation of crisis districts;
- iii) actions to promote a more balanced, polycentric development by developing the urban network at national and Community level (CoE, 2006).

Furthermore, in May 2007, on the Informal Ministerial Meeting on Urban Development and Territorial Cohesion, the ministers responsible for spatial planning of the MSs adopted the *Territorial Agenda of the European Union: towards a more competitive Europe of diverse regions* and the *Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities*. The first document delivered several recommendations for an integrated spatial development policy aiming at mobilising the potential of European regions and cities for achieving sustainable economic growth and the implementing social and economic cohesion. The second focused, from a political point of view, on the importance of the urban areas or cities in the future EU policy making, provided some general guidelines and recommendations stressing the need to tackle problems relating to deprived neighbourhoods, areas facing high unemployment and social exclusion (for a detailed description of their contents, see among others the study requested by European Parliament, 2007). These documents and events that began being developed from the 1990s onwards, accumulated and would contribute not only for the spatial development of Europe as well as for the European urban agenda (see Table 2.5).

The 2007–2013 programming period marked yet another turning point for the EU regional policy with the integration of the urban dimension into the mainstream of Cohesion Policy as a result of gained experience (and particularly positive results) with UPP and URBAN CI, but also from other events that supported urban regeneration and sustainable urban development such as the URBACT, the RECI and Urban Audit (European Commission, 2009). This meant the disappearance of the URBAN CI (as a specifically dedicated instrument) while its principles were mainstreamed within the wider regional policy framework and individual Cohesion policy programmes (Atkinson & Zimmermann, 2016; European Parliament, 2014). The mainstreaming of the urban actions and sustainable urban development policies into the Cohesion policy was the result of a comprehensive discussion during preparation of the 2007–2013 financing programmes and was in line with its simplification process for that period and the necessary budget adjustments resulting from the enlargement of 2004¹¹ (European Parliament, 2014; Grazi, 2012).

Dossi notes that although the Lisbon Strategy—launched in 2000 to propose a new strategic view to strengthen employment, economic reform and social cohesion in the EU—brought cities to the EU-led policy making stage, the decision to incorporate the specific urban-related programmes into the wider regional policy «opened up questions as to the place and role of cities and urban actors within the EU» (2017, p. 27) and emphasised that the actual development of an urban policy of the EU seemed to be «still far from an effective fulfilment» (ibid.).

The European Commission stresses that from mid-2000s, towns and cities would «play a decisive role in bringing about social cohesion (which is) particularly true for cities that are exposed to problems of social exclusion and social inequalities between different groups

¹¹ «On the first of May 2004, 10 new countries with a combined population of almost 75 million joined the EU. The EU-25 now forms a political and economic area with 450 million citizens and includes three former Soviet republics (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), four former satellites of the USSR (Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia), a former Yugoslav republic (Slovenia) and two Mediterranean islands (Cyprus and Malta). This historic enlargement of the EU from 15 to 25 members is the culmination of a long accession process leading to the reunification of a Europe that had been divided for half a century by the Iron Curtain and the Cold War» (European Union, n.d.).

of people (and) politicians of all nationalities and political parties recognise the importance of urban issues» (2009, p. 8). Meanwhile, and as suggested by Atkinson, there was also a growing recognition that the EUs sectoral policies «had important impacts on urban areas and their development and that these policies should take into account their “spatial impact” and “urban dimension”» (2015, pp. 22–23). At the end the recognition of cities as drivers of economic growth and competitiveness was made clear by the 2007 fundamental reform of the SFs (Ecorys, 2010).

For this programming period the SFs regulations and guidelines held «a “stronger” urban element (and) provided finance for a wide range of urban development projects» (Atkinson, 2015, p. 22). In order to foster the urban dimension of the EU policy within the national and regional policies, specific regulatory provisions were introduced: on the general SFs regulation¹², on the ERDF regulation¹³ (see Article 8) and at last, in the Community Strategic Guidelines¹⁴. Once the URBAN CI was discontinued at the operational level, these provisions should have allowed MSs to fund actions that promoted sustainable urban development¹⁵, in other words the development of URBAN-type initiatives (European Commission, 2008; European Parliament, 2014). As a result of the reforms, the National Strategic Reference Frameworks and ERDF Operational Programmes acted as important vehicles to spread urban oriented methodological concepts within European cities.

Taking as guidance the above mentioned documents, including the communication *Cohesion Policy and Cities: the urban contribution to growth and jobs in the regions*, and by reflecting the past guidelines, the Commission sought to achieve sustainable long-term urban development strategies and to confer MSs the possibility to design, program and implement tailor-made, integrated development operations (European Commission, 2008). The co-financing of Integrated Urban Development Plans (IUDP) for instance served as a policy tool to ensure the successful implementation of regional development instruments to the benefit of towns and cities (European Commission, 2009). Regarding governance, a distinctive principle that needed to be taken into consideration during the design and implementation of urban actions, was the involvement of cities and local authorities into the different stages of the SFs.

The analysis made by European Commission in respect to the urban dimension and the Operational Programmes co-financed by the ERDF (2007–2013), recognised three types of actions which were able to drive urban-related impacts European Commission (2008, p. 14):

¹²Council Regulation (EC) No. 1083/2006 of 11 July 2006 laying down general provisions on the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund and the Cohesion Fund and repealing Regulation (EC) No. 1260/1999.

¹³Regulation (EC) No. 1080/2006 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 July 2006 on the European Regional Development Fund and repealing Regulation (EC) No. 1783/1999.

¹⁴Council Decision of 6 October 2006 on Community strategic guidelines on cohesion, 2006/702/EC.

¹⁵The concept of *sustainable urban development* is presented by European Commission as follows: «Complex challenges in urban areas require complex cross-sectoral, holistic solutions. Integrated urban development seeks to coordinate the different sectoral policies having an impact on cities and on city dwellers. It means the simultaneous and fair consideration of concerns and interests which are of relevance to urban development. Strong local involvement and public participation in the design and implementation of cross-sectoral projects and programmes is therefore essential. Citizens need to play an active role in shaping their immediate living environment» (2008, p. 11).

1. *Actions to promote internal cohesion of deprived urban neighbourhoods (URBAN-type actions)*: actions understood as the direct legacy of programmes formerly implemented under the URBAN CI, which follow an integrated, area-based approach and have a clear focus on disadvantaged urban areas. Actions which have been programmed outside Article 8, but respect the main principles of the *Urban Acquis*.
2. *Actions to promote sustainable urban development in relation to specific urban challenges*: actions in this group do not always follow a holistic approach, or might even refer to only one specific sectoral challenge which are implemented within the legal framework of Articles 4, 5 and 6 of the ERDF Regulation.
3. *Actions to promote a more balanced, polycentric development*: actions including the development of networks of cities and the creation of links between the economically strong cities and other urban areas such as small and medium-sized cities. Operations in this group might also refer to questions of metropolitan governance or urban-rural linkages.

In addition to these actions, URBACT networks continued the exchange of know-how and experience between key actors in urban policy across Europe and urban matters were also supported by the *Four Js* financial engineering tools (JASPERS¹⁶, JEREMIE¹⁷, JASMINE¹⁸ and JESSICA¹⁹). A specific support to urban regeneration was conducted with the Joint European Support and Sustainable Investment in Urban Areas (JESSICA) programming that besides providing directives for action (citizen participation, vertical and horizontal integration of different stakeholders and integration of sectoral policies), focused on the creation of a strategic framework, built on financial structures and supportive public-private partnerships measures among local actors (Grazi, 2012). The instrument was developed to support sustainable urban development, and the idea behind it was that it would enable MSs to use some of their EU grant funding to make repayable investments in urban projects supporting long-term sustainable urban renewal in the form of equity, loans or guarantees. Despite the good intentions the programme struggled to deliver clear impacts due to a number of reasons mostly related to its nature but also in part due to the financial crisis (Cotella, 2019).

What initially seemed as a bigger commitment from the EC towards the development of the urban dimension in its policy (van den Berg et al., 2007, p. 61), resulted in «significant discontent surrounding the mainstreaming of URBAN during the 2007–2013 period» (Atkinson & Zimmermann, 2016, p. 418) because despite the increased financial allocations for urban development it had a «stronger sectoral focus and loss of local targeting and community involvement» (Barca, 2009, p. 102). Even though the mainstreaming of the urban

¹⁶JASPERS (Joint Assistance in Supporting Projects in European Regions) provides free assistance to Member States for preparing proposals for large projects (European Commission, 2009, p. 55).

¹⁷JEREMIE (Joint European Resources for Micro to Medium Enterprises) enables the Managing Authorities of Structural Funds programmes to promote increased access to finance for the development of micro, small and medium-sized enterprises in the regions of the EU (European Commission, 2009, p. 55).

¹⁸JASMINE (Joint Action to Support Micro-Finance Institutions in Europe) seeks to improve access to finance for small businesses and for socially excluded people, as well as ethnic minorities, who want to become self-employed (European Commission, 2009, p. 55).

¹⁹JESSICA (Joint European Support for Sustainable Investment in City Areas) promotes sustainable investment in Europe's urban areas and enables the Managing Authorities of Structural Funds programmes to take advantage of outside expertise and have greater access to loan capital provided by urban development funds (European Commission, 2009, p. 55).

dimension at national and local levels was not as successful as foreseen, the impacts were not the same at every EU country (Cotella, 2019). Indeed, Ecorys claimed that «additional financial resources provided by the ERDF made it possible either to undertake investment projects which would otherwise not have been possible at all [,] or to “speed up” planned investments which would otherwise have taken more time to implement» (2010, p. 32).

In the face of such events, the independent report presented by Fabrizio Barca (see *An Agenda for a Reformed Cohesion Policy. A place-based approach to meeting EU challenges and expectations*, Barca, 2009) established a new rationale for the upcoming 2014–2020 Cohesion Policy cycle, by emphasising the importance of multi-level, governance based on place-based interventions and the horizontal integration of sectoral policies (Tosics, 2016). By relying on local knowledge and assuming the new approach as a long-term strategy, it would be possible to tackle persisting spatial challenges and increase the potential of public policies and therefore promote territorial development and cohesion (Medeiros, 2019). In the following years, the suggestions made by Barca would be gradually integrated in policy-making throughout Europe, and the EC acknowledged the added-value and changes introduced by integrated area-based approaches.

2.4 The new urban agenda for the EU

The financial crisis that boomed in 2008 was manifested in a variety of challenges, and while cities could play a key role in deploying possible solutions, they stood at the forefront when it came to manage the impacts (Guidoum & Soto, 2010; Knieling, Othengrafen, & Vladova, 2016). Regarding the outcomes of the crisis and possible changes on urban policy-making and governance, Tosics points out that «the crisis helped us to understand that the multitude of challenges in Europe (such as climate change, energy, ageing, social polarization and mobility) and their complex interactions can only be handled by an integrated approach» (2016, p. 284). In practical terms, one of the EU actions came in 2010 with the *Europe 2020 Strategy*, which aimed at leading Europe (of the post-crisis) back to the main global economic stage. Although the document didn't mention the possible role of urban areas in pursuing the strategy's goal (smart, sustainable, green and inclusive growth), different EC publications stressed that cities and its urban areas were to «play a key role in pursuing the EU 2020 objectives and in solving many of its most pressing challenges» (Dutch Presidency of the Council of the European Union, 2016, p. 3; see also European Commission, 2011a).

Europe 2020 Strategy resulted in the emergence within the EU discourse of an increasing emphasis on territorial development and cohesion, and the integrated territorial development would be the basis for the post-2013 actions. In addition to launching a Common Strategic Framework²⁰ the EC provided a number of general guidelines on how to use Cohesion Policy

²⁰The EC Common Strategic Framework to achieve better coordination and complementarity between the SFs would «lead to a reduction in the administrative burden on the managing and implementing authorities as well as the beneficiaries» (EESC, 2013, p. 44/76). At the same time the framework promoted and stressed the importance of integration (of both financial instruments and type of actions) in order to the achieve economic, social and territorial convergence across Europe and all its MSs (see also EESC, 2013).

to address urban development matters and introduced compulsory elements regarding urban issues. The intention was to involve cities and enhance their role in the future development of Europe.

According to the EC regulations, urban issues were to be tackled at three different levels of intervention—European, national and local—, and through ten types of actions which would encourage MSs and local authorities to adopt a more integrated and territorially focused urban approach (see Table 2.4 and among others, European Parliament, 2014).

Table 2.4: Levels of intervention and tools for 2014–2020. Source: modified from European Parliament (2014, p. 46)

Level	Type of Action	Regulation
European	Urban Development Network	Art. 9, (EU) No.1301/2013
	Urban Innovative Actions	Art. 8, (EU) No.1301/2013
Member State (strategic level)	Enhance the involvement of cities and urban areas in the Partnership Agreement	Art. 15, (EU) No.1303/2013
	Integrated Sustainable Urban Development	Art. 7, (EU) No.1301/2013
	ESF should provide a complementary contribution	Art. 12, (EU) No.1304/2013
Member State (programme level)	Urban-related investment priorities	Art. 5, (EU) No.1301/2013
	Ring-fencing funding	Art. 7, (EU) No.1301/2013
Member State (implementation level)	Involvement of Integrated Territorial Investments	Art. 36, (EU) No.1303/2013
	Involvement of Community-Led Local Development	Art. 32, (EU) No.1303/2013
Local level (project level)	Territorial Cooperation (URBACT III)	–

European cities are built according to their context—i.e., they have different strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats and present values—, which result in different visions of urban development. At the same time, EU programmes have been promoting a shared vision for cities, in which economic, social and territorial cohesion (the different dimensions of sustainable development) are taken into account in an integrated way, to address specific needs.

Some authors argue that there is an *European model of urban development* (see European Commission, 2011a), which «embeds a number of key principles including a holistic, integrated, strategic and area-based approach, involving multi-level governance structures that promote societal agents’ participation, and set within an overall strategy for the city’s development» (Carpenter, Medina, Huete García, & De Gregorio Hurtado, 2020, p. 228). These principles are part of the so-called Integrated Sustainable Urban Development (ISUD) approach introduced and endorsed by the EC, in order for MSs to adopt «strategies that set out integrated actions to tackle the economic, environmental, climate, demographic and social challenges affecting urban areas, while taking into account the need to promote urban-rural linkages» (European Union, 2013a).

As pointed out by Tosics (2016), integrated urban development «is not only one of the territorial aims of Cohesion Policy; neither does it refer only to the “urban” areas as opposed to the “rural” and “remote” areas» (p. 293) and although this approach has some

history it is still not applied everywhere in Europe.

The framework introduced with the ISUD, which has been central to carve the goals, procedures and structures of urban policy processes in MSs (Carpenter et al., 2020), could be implemented through multiple tools.

In particular, the «so-called mainstream approaches»—as either a separate OP, or a separate mixed priority focus—, and through the application of Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI) and Community-Led Local Development (CLLD) strategies (van der Zwet & Ferry, 2019).

The general regulation of the SFs envisaged some thematic objectives perceiving cohesion concerning urban areas and the ERDF regulation went further by specifying a direct relationship between strategies and the investments to target urban areas. Under the new Article 7 of ERDF provisions (Regulation (EU) No. 1301/2013) the role of cities and the urban dimension in Cohesion Policy was strengthened while it was requested that:

at least 5% of the ERDF resources allocated at national level under the Investment for growth and jobs goal shall be allocated to integrated actions for sustainable urban development where cities, sub-regional or local bodies responsible for implementing sustainable urban strategies (“urban authorities”) shall be responsible for tasks relating, at least, to the selection of operations. (European Union, 2013a, p. 296)

In their Partnership Agreements with the European Commission (see *Regulation (EU) No. 1303/2013 of 17 December*, European Union, 2013b, Article 15), each EU country outlined key principles for selecting areas where integrated actions for sustainable urban development were to be implemented. The territorial dimension in the OPs had «to be defined in the form of statements regarding territorial development and integrated approaches for urban areas» (European Parliament, 2014, p. 48).

In addition, local authorities and other local representatives were to be involved in the development of Partnership Agreements, although there was no clear specification on how the process should be carried out.

At the same time, and although not referring urban areas in its objectives, the ESF was supposed to provide complementary financial aid (under the complementarity principle of the SFs) to carry out integrated urban development activities, especially the ones linked to CLLD, which had greater connection to social issues of urban and rural areas EP2014.

One other instrument that should be key in the sustainable urban development strategy was the ITI which could be deployed (through the OPs) to implement multi-dimensional, cross-sectoral and targeted place-based strategies/actions that combined multiple funding sources and priority axes, including ESF (Atkinson & Zimmermann, 2016; European Parliament, 2014). As a tool for bottom-up management of urban-related issues, the ITI should (Atkinson, 2015, p. 27):

- Designate the target territory and an associated integrated territorial development strategy;
- Specify a package of actions to be implemented;
- Ensure that there are appropriate governance arrangements to manage the ITI.

Tosics (2016) points out that which looked to be a potentially very good tool, raised some questions regarding the success of its implementation. The lack of clarity and guidance around the definition of an ITI, the «weak form» of Article 7 and the budget flexibility and scale of action might have led to difficulties that were further aggravated by the variety of national frameworks and contexts.

Under Article 32 of Regulation (EU) No. 1303/2013 the EC introduced *CLLD* as another tool/strategy which provided a stronger bottom-up participatory approach for a integrated implementation of the SFs in areas with a population between 10,000 and 150,000 inhabitants. Similarly to the LEADER Community Initiative, the CLLD strategies were to be developed by Local Action Groups and therefore secure a closer involvement from local players.

In addition, the ERDF regulation made a provision for innovation and experimentation by providing financial resources to urban authorities to develop and test new solutions which could help addressing urban challenges. Under the Urban Innovative Actions²¹ a total EUR 372 million budget was made available for the period 2014–2020 and local authorities (with more than 50,000 inhabitants) could benefit from up to EUR 5 million to implement their innovative projects. The European Parliament notes that this initiative «opens up further potential for cities to participate at European level» (2014, p. 47) although there is some concern whether this approach adds a real value. However, if we move away from *grey* literature and sources of information, Fedeli, Lenzi, Briata, and Pedrazzini (2020) argue that this tool in particular struggles to achieve in a short period of time (3 years) significant *disruptive innovation* as it moves «on the boundary and the mix between the development of some really experimental and ground-breaking actions, and more tested solutions that could be improved and upscaled» (p. 78).

Overall concern was raised regarding the «extent MSs engage with the spirit of these new proposals and actually use them» (Atkinson & Zimmermann, 2016, p. 419), as well as to the actual effects that a common framework for integrated urban development would be able deliver (Tosics, 2016). van der Zwet and Ferry (2019) add that «the effectiveness and efficiency of strategies can be undermined where existing capacities are limited» (p. 127) and where participation in implementing SFs tools is not a *common practice*.

In addition to regulatory provisions and ISUD framework, the political debate kept strengthening the development of an articulated EU narrative on regional policy, cities and the urban dimension which resulted from the attempt to «construct a “conventional wisdom” in terms of knowledge (way of thinking) and action (ways of doing) around the urban question» (Armondi, 2020, p. 4). The review made so far, which evidences some stages of the journey to establish an EU urban agenda in 2016, included many other events which played an equally important role (see Table 2.5). The Toledo Declaration (2010), for instance, highlighted the «need to promote a smarter, more sustainable and socially inclusive urban development in European urban areas, cities and towns (and) consolidate an EU urban agenda in the future», the 2011 report *Cities of Tomorrow. Challenges, visions, ways forward* (see European Commission (2011a)) reinforced the commitment

²¹For further information regarding Urban Innovative Actions see: <http://www.uia-initiative.eu/en>

towards cities and its role for the future of Europe and the 2015 Riga Declaration prepared the ground for further development of the urban agenda.

Table 2.5: Pact of Amsterdam, list of reference documents. Source: adapted from Dutch Presidency of the Council of the European Union (2016).

Documents from Informal Meetings of Ministers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>European Spatial Development Perspective – Towards Balanced and Sustainable Development of the Territory of the European Union</i>, agreed at the Informal Council of Ministers responsible for Spatial Planning in Potsdam, May 1999. ▪ <i>Lille Action Programme</i>, adopted at the Informal Council of Ministers responsible for urban affairs held in Lille on 3 November 2000. ▪ <i>Urban Acquis</i> adopted at the Informal Council of Ministers responsible for territorial cohesion, held in Rotterdam on 29 November 2004. ▪ <i>Bristol Accord</i> adopted at the Informal Council of Ministers on sustainable communities held in Bristol on 6-7 December 2005. ▪ <i>Territorial Agenda of the EU – Towards a More Competitive and Sustainable Europe of Diverse Regions</i>, adopted at the Informal Council of Ministers responsible for spatial planning and urban development held in Leipzig on 24–25 May 2007. ▪ <i>Leipzig Charter on sustainable European cities</i>, adopted at the Informal Council Meeting of Ministers on urban development of 24–25 May 2007 in Leipzig. ▪ <i>Marseille Declaration</i>, adopted at the Informal Ministerial Meeting of Ministers responsible for urban development on 25 November 2008. ▪ <i>Toledo Declaration</i>, adopted at the Informal Council Meeting of Ministers on urban development of 22 June 2010 in Toledo. ▪ Territorial agenda of the EU 2020, agreed at the Informal Ministerial Meeting of Ministers responsible for Spatial Planning and Territorial Development of 19 May 2011 in Gödöllő. ▪ <i>Road map</i> for the implementation of the new Territorial Agenda, adopted during Polish presidency in November 2011. ▪ Declaration of Ministers towards the EU Urban Agenda, adopted at the informal meeting of EU ministers responsible for Territorial Cohesion and Urban Matters, Riga, 10 June 2015.
Documents from the European Commission
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Communication from the Commission of 6 May 1997 entitled <i>Towards an urban agenda in the European Union</i> (COM(1997)0197). ▪ The Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the Committee of the Regions and the European Economic and Social Committee entitled <i>Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion: Turning territorial diversity into strength</i>, dated 6 October 2008 (COM(2008)0616). ▪ The Working Document of the DG for Regional Policy <i>Fostering the urban dimension – Analysis of the Operational Programmes co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund (2007-2013)</i> from November 2008; and the Guide from the Commission on <i>The urban dimension in Community policies for the period 2007 – 2013</i>, updated in December 2009. ▪ Commission’s report entitled <i>Cities of tomorrow: Challenges, visions, ways forward</i>, October 2011. ▪ Communication from the Commission of 18 July 2014 on the urban dimension of EU policies – key features of an EU urban agenda (COM(2014)0490). ▪ Communication from the Commission of 16 December 2014 entitled <i>Commission Work Programme 2015</i> (COM(2014)0910). ▪ Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee of the Regions. <i>Commission Work Programme 2015 – A New Start</i> (COM (2014)910) ▪ Commission Staff Working Document / Results of the Public Consultation on the key features of an EU Urban Agenda (SWD(2015) 109 final/2); ▪ Commission’s report entitled <i>Cities of tomorrow: Investing in Europe</i>, Brussels, 17-18 February 2014. ▪ Better regulation for better results – an EU agenda (COM(2015) 215 final).

In 2016, as a result of this long process that involved multiple actors—e.g., MSs, EC and other European institutions, cities and urban stakeholders—, the *Pact of Amsterdam* was adopted establishing the Urban Agenda for the EU (UAEU) (see Dutch Presidency of the Council of the European Union, 2016). Armondi (2020) added that this aspired to

change the role of cities in policy-making from a simple object (or recipient), to a directly active part.

Under the Dutch Presidency, the document put forward the objectives, scope, themes, operational framework, and actions for the development of EU urban policies. It established a common vision of sustainable urban development, that «marked an important mile-stone towards the reinforcement of the urban dimension in EU policy» (EUKN, 2017, p. 3).

One year after the UAEU launch, several positive outcomes were highlighted, linked with new working governance practices. Among others aspects, EUKN (2017) argued that the creation of partnerships allowed better horizontal and vertical co-operation based on multi level and cross-sectoral governance. Moreover, new communication channels had been created within (and between) the EC, Directorate Generals (DGs), MSs and local authorities. However, in order to have a durable impact on the urban dimension, there was a need for further alignment with the EC programmes.

Finally, the European Commission (2017) noted that cities had demonstrated «their ability to contribute in a meaningful way to EU policy-making» (p. 5) and emphasised the very active role of MSs in the implementation of the Agenda and the resulting interest to develop or strengthen their national urban policy.

For the post 2020 period the EC has been developing a new strategy—*European Urban Initiative*—that gives further support to cities and ensures that the goals of the UAEU urban agenda are promoted. In short, the initiative is described as follows:

This initiative aims to strengthen integrated and participatory approaches to sustainable urban development and provide a stronger link to relevant EU policies, and in particular, cohesion policy investments. It will do so by facilitating and supporting cooperation and capacity building of urban actors, innovative actions, knowledge, policy development and communication in the area of sustainable urban development. (European Commission, 2019, p. 1)

2.5 An overview of EU urban initiatives between 1990 and 2006

By this point we have seen that the EU has been active in delivering tools that show potential to shape the urban dimension. At the same time, the Europeanisation process is complex, and there is no rule regarding the way the EU urban policy (potentially) affects domestic approaches to urban issues. In fact, gauging with precision the consequences of EU interventions at local levels is a challenging endeavour.

As it will be further described, literature on Europeanisation of cities has been oriented through a wide range of subjects and theoretical interests (see, for example, the volume edited by Hamedinger & Wolffhardt, 2010). In this Section we will try to shed light on the influence of specific EU programmes in cities, which promote innovative governance arrangements and combine physical improvements with immaterial actions supporting economic revitalisation. In particular, we will examine EU area-based programmes—i.e., UPP, URBAN I and URBAN II—, which have a strong link with urban regeneration processes.

The report prepared by DG XVI outlined the key outcomes of the Urban Pilot Projects first phase (1990–1996) which «have by and large met their stated objectives» (European Commission, 1998a, p. i). As a pilot initiative designed to support innovatory urban regeneration actions in urban areas, the projects aimed to achieve economic and social cohesion. At the same time they acted as a learning platform to understand the value of integrated area-based approaches which proved to be an effective means of tackling urban problems.

The 33 projects from the first round illustrated a range of different organisational arrangements for implementation. These included diverse levels institutional involvement, varying degrees of influence of urban elites, and differing leadership involvement of the private sector. In this regard the report claimed some UPPs «have themselves provided the framework for initiating or testing new forms of organisation for the development and/or implementation of urban regeneration initiatives» (European Commission, 1998a, p. 20).

Among the governance changes, they induced collaboration between different levels of government, fostered the co-operation of local actors and the establishment of partnership structures. In addition, local autonomy in decision-making is argued to have accelerated «the implementation process to the benefit of all concerned» (ibid., p. 14). As a consequence the overall confidence between agencies was improved, and some UPP acted as catalysts for much larger and long-term urban regeneration schemes.

Multiple lessons and insights from the UPPs (see Table 2.6) were fed into wider intervention programmes (nationally and EU funded). Less success was reported in relation to evaluation procedures at project level which in part might explain the rather *vague* content of results and impacts.

Although the experience with the pilot initiatives initially struggled to be «fed into the wider national policy debates» (European Commission, 1998a, p. 16), it was «a significant factor in the creation of the URBAN Community Initiative» (ibid., p. i). The URBAN CI represents not only the «most significant EU attempt to address urban areas in terms of policy promotions [but also] one of the principal actions within EU policies favouring instrumental transformation and policy change in cities and urban areas» (Dossi, 2017, p. 124). The extensive literature available about both URBAN I and II shows the interest of scholars in understanding what have been the impacts of the initiative and the overall performance of the EU urban policy. Several authors have drawn up observations on the general outcomes of URBAN CI often as a result of in-depth studying of particular cases and cross-country comparative assessments. While it is not our scope to present a comprehensive sample and review of the URBAN CI literature (for that matter see, for example, the bibliography put together by Frank, Holm, Kreinsen, & Birkholz, 2006) we will focus on some key publications from both EU and academic sources. In this way, we try to achieve a better understanding of the influence and impact of EU over the trajectories of urban development.

The *ex post* evaluation of URBAN I made by GHK (see *Ex-post Evaluation. Urban Community Initiative (1994–1999). Final Report*, European Commission, 2003a), tried to establish the impacts of the programme, and in particular, its «lasting improvements in socio-economic conditions for inhabitants in the programme areas» (p. ix). According to

Table 2.6: Urban Pilot Project lessons and insights. Source: adapted from European Commission (1998a)

Lessons relevant to urban development in the Community	
Integrated approach:	<i>complex and interrelated urban problems require an integrated and spatially focused approach to achieve greatest impact. Multifaceted synergetic measures in a specific neighbourhood or small area, maximises leverage and spin-off effects.</i>
Employment and social exclusion:	<i>integrating pre-training, training and employment initiatives with physical urban redevelopment can assist in combating long-term unemployment and social exclusion. Rapid development in a certain district, may not have evident “trickle down” effects in surrounding deprived areas.</i>
Sustainable urban development:	<i>urban regeneration projects must be considered within wider strategies for sustainable development, taking account of not only their impact on the physical environment but also their impact on existing urban services, environmental resources and the social welfare of citizens.</i>
Organisation and partnership:	<i>integrated regeneration strategies need to have the support of all the key actors and participants in the area. In some cases national governments or their representatives at regional level were closely involved in the projects and in others emphasis was given to the participation of business community.</i>
Regeneration strategies:	<i>individual integrated, small area revitalisation projects undertaken in isolation are unlikely to be as effective as those set in a broader context urban regeneration strategies.</i>
Urban policies:	<i>at national level projects had little influence on the development of urban policies. They were much successful in informing the development of urban policies at regional and local levels.</i>
Insights regarding general changes affecting the EU urban areas	
New forms of employment:	<i>several UPP experimented with mechanisms that encourage a shift “from welfare to jobs” whilst meeting local needs for improved environmental quality and security. Other targeted training and employment initiatives at groups in danger of social exclusion and improved self-esteem and confidence.</i>
Changes in urban structure:	<i>projects were located in central, “inner city” and peripheral neighbourhoods reflecting the diverse character of urban problems. Many have illustrated how the physical fabric can be successfully adapted to rapidly changing socio-economic demands.</i>
Role of medium-sized cities:	<i>whilst in broad terms medium sized cities in the EU experienced good economic performance, they share many of the problems characteristic of larger urban areas. Several UPP focused on exploiting the technological potential of medium sized cities to meet both economic and social objectives.</i>
Approaches to urban governance:	<i>several UPP provided the framework for indicating or testing new forms of organisation for the development and/or implementation of urban regeneration initiatives. The projects also illustrated a range of different arrangements for implementation.</i>

the report, the URBAN programme had multiple impacts at different spatial scales—from the local neighbourhood to the city level—including:

- impacts on the physical environment;
- improvements in socio-economic conditions;
- social capital impacts;
- changes to institutional and governance structures;
- influence on city strategies; and
- impacts on city structure and functionality.

Allegedly, the programme delivered long-lasting effects due to the approach to urban regeneration which encouraged a shift from single sector working towards the integration of city council offices, other stakeholders, and the community. However, some negative impacts were reported related to opposition by some local communities to changes in their neighbourhoods. In any event, the report also claims that people interviewed during street surveys «perceived significant improvements in many aspects of the quality of life in their

neighbourhood. This was particularly true for improvements in the built environment» (European Commission, 2003a, p. viii).

The analysis carried out by Paulus (2000) regarding the formulation and operationalisation of URBAN I highlighted the role of multi-level governance and policy networks. URBAN managed to illustrate the innovative and «indisputable benefits» (p. 243) of the participatory, integrated and partnership-based approach to socio-spatial regeneration. However the «traditional EU decision-making procedures and institutional structures» (p. 20) didn't facilitated the process and several issues asked for elaboration and debate.

For example, «at community level, local actors unanimously considered themselves empowered to participate actively in decision-making processes and the promotion of local change» (p. 240). However, the author argued: .

the participation of the entire local community in general and in URBAN's case in particular was unattainable. Parts of that community were either unaware of its existence, other parts were not involved due to a general lack of interest, while yet others became de-motivated and disengaged due to the protracted formulation and operationalisation process. (Paulus, 2000, p. 240)

Furthermore, although «URBAN's philosophy and innovative objectives had raised high expectations at the micro level» (Paulus, 2000, p. 239), it faced several issues. One the one hand bureaucratic limitations of the EU programming reality associated with «lengthy and often unclear information and communication channels within horizontal and across vertical policy levels, as well as overall uncertainties about eligibility and programme/project management» (ibid., p. 234). On the other hand, URBAN formulation «would be rendered top-down, prescribed policy solutions, based on mere perceptions of local need rather than necessarily identifying the core problems and/or addressing them appropriately» (ibid., p. 253).

An additional interesting point raised by the author regards the identification by decision-makers of the areas for assistance. In some cases it seemed to have been driven by political/lobbying choices rather than based on spatial analysis. As a result, in turn of being effective in deploying locally-targeted unemployment strategies, the «geographical area definition could be perceived as carrying out the “danger of displacement of problems”» (Paulus, 2000, p. 237).

Chorianopoulos (2000, 2002) addressed governance responses in the implementation of URBAN I by focusing the administrative structures, the degree of involvement of the national level, as well as the role of interest groups in the organisation of programmes at the local level. Regarding the organisational arrangements and involvement of national administration, the author could identify two different realities which were linked to the national level of institutional centralisation:

- i) programmes organised and co-financed exclusively by local authorities and assigning a limited co-ordinating role to the central bodies; and
- ii) programmes that were part of the single national URBAN initiative and in which central administration was responsible for co-financing and co-ordinating the action plans.

Relying on six case studies, the author argued the first category was more likely to happen in *northern* Europe, and the second in the *southern* European cities:

The high degree of national-level involvement in the administration of the programme and the subjection of its targets to nationally defined policy priorities for the areas is one of the common characteristics of the way the initiative was implemented in the southern case-studies cities. Since such involvement took the form of a blanket approach to the administration of the programmes it reflects the structurally restricted local governance orientation in these countries towards developments at the EU level. (Chorianopoulos, 2002, p. 718)

In addition, Chorianopoulos (2002) found that the promotion of endogenous development policies was facilitated when local authorities attempted to enhance the involvement of interest groups. In turn, the exclusion of such actors could in some cases lead to «negative consequences for the progress of URBAN programmes» (ibid., p. 720).

At the same time, the «degree of competence of the local administration and the experience of a city in promoting socio-economic development policies» (Chorianopoulos, 2002, p. 720) affected the ability of cities to fully benefit from the initiative. Furthermore, the author stressed the importance of recognising the varying governance capacity of European cities while it «mitigates and, to a certain extent, counteracts the rationale behind the launch of the initiative» (ibid., p. 720).

Dukes (2006, 2008) addressed the influence of URBAN on domestic governance structures and the ways the initiative acted as an instrument of Europeanisation. The author noted variegated impacts between different MSs as well as between cities within them. A possible explanation may result from the multiple domestic structures/ planning systems, the political attitude and propensity to adapt to EU policy-making:

The most significant changes could be found in countries with a hierarchical and centralist tradition of planning, where the position of local authorities was relatively weak (Greece, Italy). Especially the inclusion of private non-state actors, as required by the European URBAN programme, was a significant innovation. Strong effects could also be found in countries that had already started changing their planning structures (Italy) or their urban-political orientations (UK). (Dukes, 2008, p. 109)

Dukes recognised that URBAN «certainly helped some city administrations to enter the European stage» (p. 105) but questioned the extent to which the initiative had *directly* contributed to Europeanise the local level (in both download and upload forms). The micro-scale case-studies revealed the existence of ongoing download and upload Europeanisation processes in Amsterdam and The Hague, which, however, didn't seem to result from URBAN. Finally, the author claims the initiative could be considered one more stage in the long process of European integration and Europeanisation which «had an impact stimulating new forms of co-operation, networking, cross-departmental collaboration, partnership, participation [but] questions remain regarding the scope, sustainability, and profundity of these changes» (p. 111).

The URBAN II *ex post* evaluation report (see *Ex-Post Evaluation of Cohesion Policy programmes 2000–2006: the URBAN Community Initiative. evaluation report*, European

Commission, 2010c) tried to identify urban changes in the targeted areas, and explored the extent to which such changes resulted from the initiative. The key findings (see Table 2.7) were achieved from qualitative data (impact indicators collected by each project) and quantitative evidences coming from case studies. Allegedly, URBAN II managed to induce

Table 2.7: Key findings from URBAN II. Source: adapted from European Commission (2010c)

Key findings from the URBAN II
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Positive change was identified through improved performance in relation to economic, health, crime, education and other data. There was also evidence of the improved physical appearance of neighbourhoods, and also improvements such as a new image and increased business confidence which are difficult to measure. ▪ The programme tended not to be the main driver of change, but was one of a number of reasons for areas generally improving. It supported successful projects that were well received and achieved high levels of outputs, but this did not necessarily lead to any obvious, or at least measured, improvements in deep-seated deprivation. ▪ The intensity in terms of financial and geographical scope, set against the scale of the issues facing programme areas, was often the main reason why the initiative was not seen as a principal driver of change. ▪ Most stakeholders viewed the programmes in a positive light and deemed URBAN II a success, partly because they never expected it to fundamentally reverse long-term decline, but also because the programmes supported a wide range of largely successful projects that helped to address economic, social and physical development. ▪ Stakeholders highlighted the URBAN “method” as the key impact, more than funding. The promotion of integration, its flexibility, its partnership building and its local agenda were the main benefit. Funding was a key way to encourage urban development practitioners to embed these new types of working and as a tool that stimulated cities to approach their regeneration agendas in different ways. ▪ The scale of outputs and impacts achieved shows that programmes supported a range of varied activities which had an impact on a whole host of issues connected with urban decline. Even though it is difficult to aggregate data there are many quantified outputs for improved physical, social and economic circumstances. ▪ In many cases there are good linkages between the challenges, the programme strategies and the projects, thus demonstrating a logical process. However, programme monitoring and evaluation systems designed to capture changes in the programme area and the impact of URBAN II were patchy, and very poor in some cases.

physical, economic and social regeneration, but failed to be the main driver of change. The evaluation claimed that this wasn't due to poor performance, but rather, due to the limited duration of the programme, and the limited scale. The first hold «any real headway in solving long-term and deep-seated issues» (European Commission, 2010c, p. 52), and the latter meant it was «unlikely to affect significant issues such as high unemployment or poor health» (ibid.).

The fact that «the real causes of deprivation were found elsewhere in the host city and not in the target neighbourhoods» (ibid.) was also mentioned to have contributed to constrained results.

In terms of the physical realm, the initiative «helped to reverse urban decay, created transport hubs and new transport facilities, developed new community facilities» (European Commission, 2010c, p. 51) resulting in improved attractiveness of the area. Economic aspects were boosted by targeting entrepreneurship, the support of small-scale business and industrial activities as well as employment. Finally, in terms of social dimension, the influence resulted from actions to «reduce crime, improve educational performance, improve the skills of local people and support disadvantaged groups in various ways» (ibid.). Additional studies and reports have sought to draw conclusions of the impacts of the URBAN Community Initiative. For example, the *Partnership with the Cities* brochure (see European Commission, 2003b), highlighted the influence of the initiative on: a) local partnerships; b) learning processes; and c) advantages of the integrated approach to achieve

urban needs.

In general terms, there was a gradual change in terms of the project's managing authority since the initial UPPs. In an effort to decentralise management, in many countries city councils or local representatives became responsible for the projects. However this was not always the case due to the different national governance structures.

The document claims that «in over 80% of cases, local partners such as community groups, voluntary groups and residents associations were extensively consulted in the design of the programmes» (European Commission, 2003b, p. 19). Allegedly, through local partnerships it was possible to better target local needs and to promote efficient local development. Together with the learning mechanisms (URBACT and Urban Audit) it was possible to improve local strategic planning, to promote private sector investments and improve overall targeting and effectiveness.

With evidences from a comparative analysis provided by six cities that participated in URBAN Community Initiative (URBAN) and Objective 2 actions, Wolffhardt, Bartik, Meegan, Dangschat, and Hamedinger (2005) draw on the impact of EU regulations, policies and programmes on the MSs and the resulting domestic change (see also Hamedinger, Bartik, and Wolffhardt (2008)). The authors argued that Europeanisation at city level results from an initial top-down relationship (from the EU level to the domestic city/city-region level). However, the complex dynamics of the process also include inverse bottom-up connections, which the framework suggested by Börzel and Risse (2000) helped deconstruct.

The authors note that the level of change induced from the EU through its area-based and urban-related programmes are linked with the level of *misfit* or *mismatch* between the European and the local levels in terms of policies and institutional arrangements. The Manchester and Liverpool cases presented the lowest level of *misfit* because the «EU programmes are designed on the model of cross-sectoral partnership and programme-based area regeneration which has its origins in Britain» (Wolffhardt et al., 2005, p. 423). As a result these cities «incorporate EU requirements into their institutions and policies without substantial modifications to existing structures or the logic of political behaviour» (ibid., p. 426).

In turn, there were cities that although sharing with the EU the same area-based urban regeneration strategies and policy goals, didn't conform to the programmes or institutional requirements. This partial misfit promoted in some cases an active modernisation of policy processes accompanied by governance arrangements (Graz, Austria). In other, turned out to be a major challenge whilst the original motivation to get involved with the EU was not the potential innovation impetus (different methods of local government and local development) but rather the financial. The cities of Vienna, Austria and Hamburg, Germany indicate that although the governance principles were respected, they fail «to become part of the overall policy approach to urban regeneration and development» (Wolffhardt et al., 2005, p. 426). These cities «accommodated European pressure by adapting exiting processes, policies and institutions in a peripheral way without changing core features and the collective understandings attached to them» (ibid.).

Finally, the highest level of political and institutional change was achieved when the level of misfit was high whilst there is a predisposition to replace existing policies, processes and

institutions. The city of Graz, Austria, was claimed as «a clear-cut local transformation initiated by EU programmes» as new governance structures emerged and the political thinking became dominated by area-based programme's planning and partnership principles. The authors argue this type of outcome might be refer to as *transformation* as «cities replace existing policies, processes and institutions by new, substantially different ones to the extent that their core features are fundamentally changed» (Wolffhardt et al., 2005, p. 427).

The comparative study carried out by Frank et al. (funded by the URBACT programme) presented interesting information of the URBAN I and II which, the authors noted, depended strongly «on the specific prevailing national, political, legal, social, and cultural conditions» (Frank et al., 2006, p. 6). The report provides insights regarding the relationship between URBAN and domestic governance practices/structures, local empowerment and exchange/policy learning. At the same time it sought to make some considerations regarding differences between *northern* and *southern* Europe.

The report recognises the presence of both direct and indirect effects of the initiative, as well as horizontal and vertical modes of urban Europeanisation. At the same time it seems that the «governance effects triggered off by the URBAN programme are estimated as being enormous if measured by the relatively restricted size of the programme» (Frank et al., 2006, p. 158).

As a consequence of project implementation, traditional administrative structures were broken up and new committees oriented through partnership and co-operation were created. However, concern is raised regarding the «sustainability and profundity» of such changes that varied across the different cases. Some cities experienced temporary *episodes* of adjustment, while others faced deep transformation processes. This is in line with the above mentioned *misfit* between EU and domestic levels, and the idea that the catalytic effect of URBAN was stronger in contexts where «national ideas of urban policy were in the process of reshaping» (ibid.) was emphasised.

Regarding the links between participation and local empowerment, the study found a multitude of participatory schemes with different levels of intensity in what concerns the involvement of stakeholders. Evidences showed the URBAN partnership approach typically involved the participation of citizens and local community in the different steps of the projects, and the creation of local partnerships (with public and private actors). However, varied methods and procedures of participation, which depended on local institutional and governance practices, resulted in mixed, and sometimes controversial, outputs.

Among the various important notes on the URBAN experience, Frank et al. (2006) highlighted that:

- URBAN acts as a catalyst for change in terms of more EU oriented policy practices; a stronger orientation towards partnerships, strategic planning, integrated and area-based policy approaches (p. 116);
- exchanges of knowledge and practices do not *necessarily* imply their transfer to the supra-national arena. In other words, there is not necessarily *collective* “upload Europeanisation” from within URBACT (p. 117);

- URBAN has acted as a catalyst for new forms of co-operation (with citizen's groups and community organisations), through its requirements of local partnership and participation. This has particularly been the case in countries with a centralised tradition of urban planning where such innovations were called for (p. 117);
- due to the multi-fund provisions of ERDF/ESF, local actors had to deal with different departments at the national and European level. Hence, the fragmented bureaucracy of the Commission was not compatible with the integrative approach of URBAN (p. 120);
- the extent of innovational power of the URBAN programmes is different for each country and city (p. 148).

The above cited studies, illustrate the significant variation of impacts of the EU urban instruments on European countries, as well as on different cities of the same country. As we have learned, the influence on governance practices, on planning innovation and on local development depends upon many intricate aspects.

2.6 EU urban policies as a process of Europeanisation

The brief review on the urban dimension of EU policy presented in this chapter, has shown that despite having few (if any) legal competences to operate directly on urban-matters, the EU has a myriad of tools—among others, the different *soft instruments*, programmes, initiatives, funding schemes and networks (Atkinson & Rossignolo, 2010)—, to bring about urban changes at the domestic level.

The effects manifest directly on the ground but also within *intangible* aspects (i.e., governance and planning practices, policy-making, cultural habits). As suggested by Atkinson and Zimmermann a question remains regarding «what has been the cumulative impact of all these developments» (2016, p. 418).

Several studies have seek to get a better understanding of the *transfers* that occur between the EU and MSs. They sought to underline what could be: a) the *transformations*, or in other words, the impacts on policy-making and governance (modes and structures); and b) the *interactions* between different actors (i.e., the extent to what they are shaping and being shaped). As Armondi (2020) argues, since urban areas have been the focus of many specific policy actions, the EU urban agenda functions as a vehicle of urban Europeanisation, which represents a «salient driver for change from Budapest to Berlin to Bristol and beyond» (Marshall, 2005, p. 682).

For more than 20 years, scholars from different disciplines have been theorising about the concept and definition of Europeanisation, and exploring its impacts on the domestic structures of the MSs (see, for example, the volumes edited by Featherstone and Radaelli (2003), Green Cowles, Caporaso, and Risse (2001), Hamedinger and Wolffhardt (2010)). Olsen (2002) has pointed out that there doesn't seem to exist a shared definition of Europeanisation and among the multiple definitions²², the view proposed by Green Cowles

²²For a comprehensive review on the different perspectives and research foci on Europeanisation as well as on its mechanisms, see among others Bache (2003) or the introductory chapter by Hamedinger and Wolffhardt (2010, p. 9–39).

et al. (2001) constitutes an interesting starting point for the conceptual understanding of the phenomenon which they define as:

the “emergence and development at the European level of distinct structures of governance”, that is, of political, legal and social institutions associated with political problem solving that formalize interactions among the actors, and of policy networks specializing in the creation of authoritative European rules. Political institutionalization involves the development of formal and informal rules, procedures, norms and practices governing politics at the European, national and subnational levels. (p. 3)

However Radaelli (2003) finds that the definition could be more specific regarding the notion of *networks*, which he argues are one of the multiple modes of governance but not an ever-present phenomenon. The author also recognises some lack of clarity around *creation of authoritative European rules*, which might indicate that there is a «rational layer of “EU decisions” from which Europeanization descends» (p. 31). At the same time, while Green Cowles et al. accept Europeanisation as a two-way process, Bache (2003) points out that «their focus was on the “downward causation” from the EU level to domestic structures» (p. 3). Alternatively, the definition provided by Radaelli (2003) includes the «“inside-out” or “bottom-up” perspective» where vertical and horizontal mechanisms (hard and soft framing instruments correspondingly) take place:

the concept of Europeanisation refers to: Processes of a) construction, b) diffusion, and c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, “ways of doing things” and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU public policy and politics and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures, and public policies. (p. 30)

The author suggests three domains (*the objects*) where the effects of Europeanisation are materialised—i.e., domestic structures, public policy and cognitive and normative structures. In turn, these objects are more or less likely to be changed, in other words *the dimension of change*. At the same time, the author reminds that Europeanisation should not be confused with other terms such as *convergence*, *harmonization* or *political integration*²³. This definition has been adopted by several authors while it is sufficiently broad to incorporate the most relevant actors and actions and it allows to include both direct and indirect changes.

Although a great amount of research on Europeanisation has focused the EU and the shifts felt within the national level, authors have started to address occurrences within sub-national tiers. So far, cities have proven their importance for the European urban policy discourse and therefore, for the purposes of this study, it is appropriate to narrow the overall Europeanisation process to the particular relationships between EU, cities and the urban level. This stream of research is described by scholars as *urban Europeanisation* and has been consolidated over the past two decades (Armondi, 2020).

²³Dukes (2008) drawing on the differences between *European integration* and *Europeanisation* notes that the first is «primarily concerned with the question to what extent MSs devolve authority to supra-national bodies (while the second) focuses on the processes within these MSs after authority has been devolved» (p. 115).

Marshall (2005), based on Green Cowles et al. (2001) *three step* approach, argues that the Europeanisation of cities happens in a four-stage pattern of interaction and adjustment (see Figure 2.4) which is able to accommodate both directions, objects and impacts mentioned above and which accounts for the presence of *path-dependent* trajectories in each MS. Path-dependency results from their own policy priorities and institutional/organisational cultures which enables or blocks the adaptational pressures and consequently domestic change.

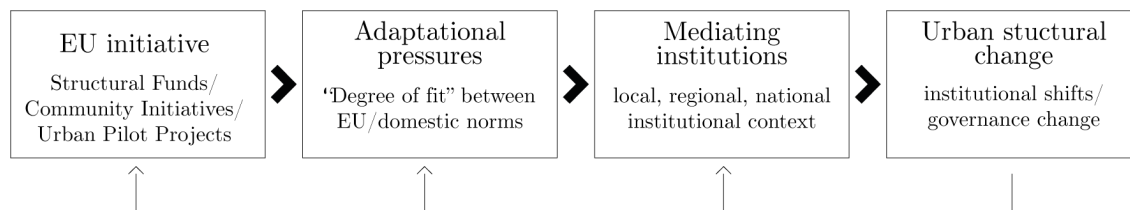


Figure 2.4: Europeanisation at the urban level. Source: adapted from Marshall (2005, p. 672).

While exploring the effects of EU in local systems, Dossi (2017) argues that Europeanisation is a useful «procedural device» which can help explaining changes and changing dynamics at various levels of government and policy making. The author identified four sets of policy instruments (or modes of Europeanisation: *ideation*; *distribution*; *regulation*; and *coordination*) which are likely to be transferred or to induce change. In addition he recognised two major types of interactions: a) mechanisms of change; and b) mechanisms of transmission (see Table 2.8).

Table 2.8: Mechanisms and modes of Europeanisation. Source: adapted from Dossi (2017).

Mechanisms of Europeanisation		
Mechanisms of Change	Ideation: <i>Socialisation</i> <i>Legitimising discourses</i> <i>Deliberation and framing</i>	Regulation: <i>Pareto efficiency</i> <i>Regulation</i> <i>Collibration</i>
	Distribution: <i>Strategic bargaining</i> <i>Negotiation</i>	Coordination: <i>Coordination</i> <i>Cooperation</i>
Mechanisms of Transmission	Ideation: <i>Benchmarking</i> <i>Promotion of new paradigms and tools of governance</i>	Regulation: <i>Regulatory competition</i> <i>Regulatory compliance</i>
	Distribution: <i>Institutional framing</i> <i>Programming</i> <i>Targets compliance</i> <i>Territorial rescaling</i>	Coordination: <i>Self-regulation</i> <i>Cooperative learning</i> <i>Targets compliance</i>

Finally, a further interesting point of view was presented by Carpenter et al. (2020). Focusing on the particularities of Europeanisation in relation to urban issues, the authors suggested an analytical framework which addresses the engagement between the EU and cities based on three dimensions:

- i) *Direction* of transfer: overtime, transfer processes may occur in both vertical (top-down and bottom-up) and horizontal (circular) direction. The two-fold definition suggested by Marshall (2005) covers the vertical form and includes download Europeanisation (changes in policies, practices, preferences or participants within local systems of governance, arising from the negotiation and implementation of EU programmes) and upload Europeanisation (the transfer of innovative urban practices to the supranational arena, resulting in the incorporation of local initiatives in pan-European policies or programmes). The horizontal direction, also referred to as crossload or trans-load, regards the activities that engender knowledge dissemination, policy learning and exchange of know-how and experiences (benchmarking and mainstreaming of good practices) without the direct involvement of the EU institutions.
- ii) *Object* of transfer: Hamedinger and Wolffhardt (2010) indicate «local politics, policies, institutions, arrangements, discourse, actor’s references, values, norms and belief systems on both levels» (p. 28) which fit three general categories: policy content, policy structure and policy style.
- iii) *Impact* of transfer: Börzel and Risse (2000) suggest three possible outcomes which reflect the «misfit» between the European/domestic level and the achievable degrees of domestic change. *Absorption* might happen when a MS is «able to incorporate European policies or ideas and readjust their institutions, respectively, without substantially modifying existing processes, policies, and institutions» (p. 10). *Accommodation* represents a middle ground where MS adapt “existing processes, policies and institutions without changing their essential features and the underlying collective understandings attached to them» (ibid.). *Transformation* is at the other extreme as MS «replace existing policies, processes, and institutions by new, substantially different ones, or alter existing ones to the extent that their essential features and/or the underlying collective understandings are fundamentally changes» (ibid.). Radaelli (2003) advances two additional possible outcomes: *retrenchment*, that implies that national policy actually diverged from the European, and *inertia* that corresponds to the lack of change.

The above mentioned examples of urban Europeanisation *frameworks* show the complexity and wide dimension of the process. Dossi (2017) argues that «the emphasis is often on in-depth analysis of changes occurred within the institutional structure of local government, triggered by the involvement of the city in specific initiatives for urban regeneration or more extended programmes for regional development, where cities administrations act in synergy with upper levels of government» (p. 21–22). Moreover, Armondi (2020) suggests that while «an articulated EU narrative on cities has been developed (it has) largely ignored the transformation of space that these changes entail» (p. 4). For the purposes of this research, we shall include in the discussion three major keys which will translate direct and induced effects of EU urban policies in cities.

Therefore, next section will dive into the particularities of the Portuguese case, which will set the scene to address more clearly the dynamics within the city of Porto. Subsequently, it will be possible to come back and cross-check this theoretical framework with the empirical data emerging from the case study.

Chapter 3

Urban transformation of Porto and the development of democratic Portugal

3.1 The Portuguese spatial development system

Portugal is a European country located in the Southwest part of the continent. The mainland is located in the western western part of the Iberian Peninsula (see Figure 3.1) and is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean to the west and south and by Spain to the north and east.

This section offers a brief review of the Portuguese spatial planning framework which has been a key player in the Portugal's territorial development. According to Newman and Thornley (1996), the country's model integrates the traditional Napoleonic systems and, similarly to other western and southern Europe countries, was quite legalistic, characterised by abstract rules, and rigid regulations and land-use plans.

At the same time, Alden and da Rosa Pires (1996) points out to the fact that «the relative newness of Portugal's statutory planning system is very much a product of its special political and constitutional history» (p. 27). In particular, Salazar dictatorial regime (1926–1974) deprived local authorities from political and financial autonomy, and left a «strongly hierarchical and centralized inheritance» (C. Oliveira & Breda-Vázquez, 2011).

The 1976 Portuguese constitution introduced among other changes, new decentralisation features and strengthened local government autonomy. These would serve as base for new planning laws and later in 1982, the decree-law DL No. 208/82 of 26 May¹, established the Plano Director Municipal (PDM) which Alden and da Rosa Pires (1996) sees as the beginning of Portuguese «modern urban planning system» (p. 28). Nevertheless, and despite such changes, the system «remained largely underdeveloped until the 1990s» (C. Oliveira & Breda-Vázquez, 2011)

With the adhesion of Portugal to the EEC in 1986, and a closer contact with international networks, the national planning framework began to take different trajectories

¹See decree-law: DL No. 208/82 of 26 May 1982, *Diário da República*, I Série, Número 119.

(Campos & Ferrão, 2015; Ferrão, 2010). With the EU indirect contribution, the effects of the cohesion and growth policy resulted in the introduction of multiple innovations. A strategic dimension was added, easier procedures were adopted for the elaboration of the PDMs (decree-law DL No. 69/90 of 2 March)², as well as an articulation with the Community Support Framework (CSF), which contributed promptly to answer some of the local authorities' new needs (C. Oliveira & Breda-Vázquez, 2011; J. Seixas & Mota, 2015).

Even if there has been a time lag between the evolution of the Portuguese spatial framework and national urban dynamics (Mourão & Marat-Mendes, 2015), the planning system has been playing an important role in the country's development. Campos and Ferrão (2015) argue that in the future it is unlikely that Portugal embraces a different path from those advocated in the European and Global mainstream agendas. At the same time, the authors note that the system's future relies strongly on policy-makers and their intentions towards the employment of land-use policy.



Figure 3.1: Location of Portugal within the current EU-27. Source: author.

²See decree-law: DL No. 69/90 of 2 March 1990, *Diário da República*, I Série, Número 51.

3.1.1 Developing a spatial planning system

The great industrial revolution experienced across Europe during the 19th century was accompanied by an intense population growth and expansion of cities, to the detriment of rural areas. At the same time, the *uncontrolled* urban sprawl and severe physical impacts saw the emergence of city planning as a necessity to improve the urban environment.

In Portugal, however, the economy still relied to a large extent on agriculture and like other *lagging* economies from the European periphery, the industrialisation process was more intense only after the First World War (1914–1918) (Reis, 1987). As a consequence, the early national initiatives to manage land occupation, emerging in the mid 1800s, were developed according to the following two independent policy lines:

1. agriculture/forestry, under the government office responsible for agriculture; and
2. urban, under the government office responsible for public works.

In what concerns the latest, one of the first examples resulted from a legislative initiative to regulate road traffic which introduced rules such as the width of streets or height of the buildings. Another tool was the Urban Improvement Plan (Plano Geral de Melhoramentos Urbanos, 1864) that aimed to address public health and safety in cities. Moreover, in 1905 were introduced the first national building regulations, applied to urban contexts. Campos and Ferrão (2015) pointed that the implementation of these urban focused processes faced multiple setbacks. On the one hand, due to strong real estate interests associated with predominantly privately owned land and a housing sector dominated by rented accommodation. On the other, as a result of the lack of public funding to develop structural investments and the low technical capacity of Administration. As a consequence, the first improvement plans, mandatory to the cities of Lisbon and Porto, were only completed in the beginning of the 20th century.

In the 1930s, during the raise of the corporatist regime, national urban planning practices took a turn with the implementation of structural reforms and introduction of statutory plans. Among other aspects, (Campos & Ferrão, 2015) highlighted that the new urban development framework: a) introduced a new regulatory document for cities (Plano de Urbanização, 1933); b) established the ground rules for land-use, channelled central state financing resources to invest in public works; created a central state institution to manage spatial policy (Direcção-Geral dos Serviços de Urbanização, 1944); and c) fostered a public/private articulation for urban development.

As described by the authors, this pragmatic land-use policy, in which the public sector assumed the key role, didn't last longer than a decade, and the private sector regained its influence over the urbanisation process, to the detriment of the public interest. Meanwhile, Lisbon (through the Direcção-Geral dos Serviços de Urbanização) kept all key urban planning decisions and deprived local authorities from political and financial autonomy, as well as human resources. This *step back* in the planning system coincided with the deep transformations in the Portuguese society with direct impact on the territory—e.g., the effects of progressive industrialisation underpinned by regional development policies, the so-called Planos de Fomento (1953–1973), the adhesion to European Free Trade Association

(1960) or the Colonial War (1961–1974), see Lains (1994). In the long run, it would leave a strong mark in the national planning practices.

The change towards democratic Portugal and the 1976 Constitution introduced among other changes, new decentralisation features and strengthened local government autonomy. Yet, as Mourão and Marat-Mendes suggest, «in the following decades the legislation on spatial planning was insufficient and inefficient» 2015, p. 159. A *new* land law (decree-law DL No. 794/76 of 5 November)³ and other complementary tools were approved, but the «physical planning/blueprint approach to urban planning» (Alden & da Rosa Pires, 1996, p. 27) prevailed until the 1980s.

The real change started to take place in 1982, with the adoption of the decree-law DL No. 208/82 of 26 May⁴ establishing the Plano Director Municipal (PDM). This allowed municipalities to plan their urban and rural territory based on functional zoning and respecting higher tier options (Cardoso & Breda-Vázquez, 2007). Alden and da Rosa Pires (1996) sees this event as the beginning of Portuguese «modern urban planning system» (p. 28), although it encountered many challenges arising from the lack of local authority's human resources and strong bureaucratic encumbrances (Mourão & Marat-Mendes, 2015; C. Oliveira & Breda-Vázquez, 2011).

At the same time, Environment began to gain relevance as an autonomous central government policy, resulting in the creation of different tools, such as: a) the establishment of a National Agricultural Reserve (1982) and National Ecological Reserve (1983); or b) Regional plans for spatial planning (Plano Regional de Ordenamento do Território (PROT), 1983), which defined «principles and objectives for territorial development strategies in the different regions» (Cardoso & Breda-Vázquez, 2007, p. 394).

3.1.2 The effects of the European Economic Community

The adhesion of Portugal to the EEC, marked yet another turn in the Portuguese spatial planning history. The EU compendium of spatial planning systems and policies (see European Commission, 2000b) provides an overview of the Portuguese framework in the early 1990s, and clearly recognises the influence of the EU in multiple policy topics. In addition, the 1990 national reform (decree-law DL No. 69/90 of 2 March)⁵ would not only update and simplify the PDM framework, but also make them mandatory. Moreover, it considered public participation a principle, and introduced smaller-scaled, more detailed plans, such as the urban plans (Planos de Urbanização) and detailed plans (Planos de Pormenor). The indirect influence of the European Union and the access to Structural Funds, contributed to change procedures, «as municipalities without an approved PDM would not be eligible for EU programs» (C. Oliveira & Breda-Vázquez, 2011, p. 67).

Despite this important step forward, «during the implementation of PDMs, individual interests overlapped collective interests [,] and corruption and illegal urbanisation frequently occurred» (Mourão, 2019, p. 160). At the same time, the so-called *first generation*

³See decree-law: DL No. 794/76 of 5 November 1976, Diário da República, I Série, Número 259.

⁴See decree-law: DL No. 208/82 of 26 May 1982, Diário da República, I Série, Número 119.

⁵See decree-law: DL No. 69/90 of 2 March 1990, Diário da República, I Série, Número 51.

of PDMs, suffered from being strongly regulatory and having little strategic/programmatic content—which explains the struggle to integrated housing, mobility, rehabilitation, or environmental protection. This was accompanied by local governance structures that «faced (and still face) difficulties in articulating political and technical points of view, since politicians often choose territorial development options, contradicting the prescriptions of technicians» (ibid.).

In 1998, it is adopted the ground basis law for spatial planning (see Lei de Bases da Política de Ordenamento do Território e Urbanismo, 1998)⁶, in order to create a framework for the public regulation of spatial transformations. This law, which was developed at the same time as the European Spatial Development Planning (ESDP), mirrors a great European influence on national policy-making (Ferrão, 2010). The legislation was a landmark event to «reinforce the foundations of the planning system and delineate its contemporary form» (Cardoso & Breda-Vázquez, 2007, p. 393). It introduced for the first time a distinction between territorial development plans (of strategic nature) and land-use plans (of operative nature), and defined roles across the governance structures (Campos & Ferrão, 2015).

With the adoption of this Law, there was «a clearer distinction between different categories of plans in relation to their aims, principles and scope» (C. Oliveira & Breda-Vázquez, 2011, p. 67) associated with a variety of planning tools. These ranged from the national-level to smaller-scale/detailed plans (see Table 3.1). The strategic dimension, in particular, is present at different scales, notably at the national level through PNPOT, the regional level through PROT and the local level through PIOT and PDM (C. Oliveira & Breda-Vázquez, 2011).

In the last 20 years the country has been (re)developing these planning instruments at all governance levels, embodying the new territorial management system. However the journey has not been an easy one, and a «strong hierarchical orientation of the system has been widely recognized in the community of planners and researchers» (C. Oliveira & Breda-Vázquez, 2011, p. 69).

Moreover, J. Seixas and Mota argue that in spite the political and technical efforts in matters of planning:

the outcomes are mainly reflected in a planning praxis that is very focused on the development of spatial land use plans; a limited financial and organizational capacity of local governments to implement the planned actions; a relationship of distrust between the central government, local authorities and various social and economic agents that are active at the municipal level; and contradictory and even conflicting guidelines given to the municipal spatial planning, without intermediate structures for consultation (at the regional level). (J. Seixas & Mota, 2015, p.232)

Other lines of criticism have emerged regarding social justice and a lack of an «explicit formulation of citizens' rights [since] the system's endeavors fall short of inducting the crucial structural changes necessary to bring about progressively just outcomes» (Cardoso & Breda-Vázquez, 2007, p.395).

⁶See law: Lei No. 48/98 of 11 August 1998, Diário da República, I Série A, Número 184.

Table 3.1: Instruments of the Portuguese planning system. Source: Cardoso and Breda-Vázquez (2007).

Instruments	Description
<i>PNPOT Programa Nacional da Política de Ordenamento do Território</i>	The National Program for Territorial Planning Policy defines principles and objective paths to orientate spatial development; based on a comprehensive model of territorial organization, this program defines a unitary framework for development and planning endeavors with the objective of rationalizing (and balancing) spatial distributions at the national scale.
<i>PS Plano Sectorial</i>	The Sector-based Plans materialize specific policies with relevance for spatial planning in the different domains of intervention of the state (from transport and communications, to housing, education and health). Defining principles and paths, each sector-based plan orientates the implementation of a certain policy throughout the national territory in order to rationalize (and balance) specific spatial distributions.
<i>PEOT Plano Especial de Ordenamento do Território</i>	The Special Plans for Spatial Planning regulate land use with the objective of safeguarding the national interest with regard to environmental issues with direct implications for ecological distributions in the territory (plans for protected areas or coastal regions).
<i>PROT Plano Regional de Ordenamento do Território</i>	The Regional Plans for Spatial Planning define principles and objectives for territorial development strategies in the different regions. Integrating orientations made at the national level and constituting a framework for the elaboration of plans at the municipal level, these comprehensive plans specify and orientate regional spatial distributions.
<i>PIOT Plano Intermunicipal de Ordenamento do Território</i>	At the lower level of the system, the Inter-municipal Plans for Spatial Planning are socio-economic development instruments designed with the intention of coordinating regional and municipal scales in structurally interdependent territories. Like the other development instruments, they define principles and objectives to orientate spatial distributions.
<i>PMOT Plano Municipal de Ordenamento do Território</i>	The Municipal Plans for Spatial Planning are regulatory instruments that generate land use regimes through territorial classification and functional categorization. Divided into subtypes of plans, these regimes define transformational models for the municipalities with different levels of detail. There are three subtypes of municipal plans: PDM, PU and PP.
<i>PDM Plano Director Municipal</i>	The Municipal Director Plans operate with the spatial structures of the municipalities as a whole, translating development strategies which integrate options made at national and regional levels of planning; their preparation is compulsory.
<i>PU Plano de Urbanização</i>	More detailed than the foregoing, the Urbanization Plans define operations within urban areas as specific instruments of functional categorization.
<i>PP Plano de Pormenor</i>	The most detailed of the planning instruments, the Layout Plans go down to the level of urban design to conceptualize interventions in any area of the municipal territory.

Campos and Ferrão (2015) argue that, in the future, it is unlikely that Portugal embraces a different path from those advocated in the European and Global mainstream agendas. At the same time, the authors note that the system's future relies strongly on policy-makers and their intentions towards the employment of land-use policy. Recently, the management of maritime space and climate changes have been two topics introduced in the land-use agendas. Furthermore, they recognise it as a result from the «Europe effect», since the EU doesn't hold formal authority on spatial planning.

The authors highlighted multiple connections between European and National events: The National Strategy for the Sea (2013–2020) preceded the 2008 Roadmap for Maritime Spatial Planning⁷; the ground basis law for the management of maritime space (Lei de Bases da Política de Ordenamento e de Gestão do Espaço Marítimo Nacional, 2014)⁸ would become articulated with the 2014 European directive establishing a framework for the maritime space⁹; the *EU Strategy on Adaptation to Climate Change* (see European Commission, 2013) has been being integrated across the different governance levels, in particular, the 2014 programme (AdaPT) launched by Ministry of Environment, Land-use and Energy promoting the development of city council strategies on the adaptation to climate change.

In recent decades, as described by Mourão (2019), there has been a significant development of the Portuguese planning system. Such evolution «was motivated by the same drivers that also led to the financial and economic crisis [which was] strongly interconnected with urbanisation processes as well with permissive urban planning and territorial management activities» (p. 168). The time lag between the period of higher urban development and the establishment of the Ground Basis Law for Spatial Planning (1998), «contributed, in the long-term, to the outbreak of the crisis in Portugal, as well to aggravating its effects» (p. 168).

In summary, there seems to be a close relationship between the evolution of Portugal's socio-economic context, policy-making options, governance structures and the trajectory of national territorial planning. The influence on each other has been multi-directional and not necessarily synchronised, thus resulting in unsustainable effects. Thus, and as noted by Campos and Ferrão (2015), the current National spatial planning confronts different tensions which relate to its past, its nature, the current context and new emerging challenges. For the authors, in the future it is unlikely that Portugal embraces a different path from those advocated in the European and Global mainstream agendas. At the same time, the authors argue that the system's future strongly relies on policy-makers and their intentions towards the employment of land-use policy.

C. Oliveira and Breda-Vázquez (2011) claim that «as in the case of other southern European planning systems, Portuguese planning exhibits all the outward signs of a policy system characterized by its complexity and opacity, making it particularly resilient to institutional change» (p. 73). At the same time, «Nationally funded area-based programs

⁷See Communication from Commission of the European Communities, COM(2008) 791 final, Brussels, 25.11.2008.

⁸See law: Lei No. 17/2014 of 10 April 2014, Diário da República, I Série, Número 71.

⁹See Directive 2014/89/UE of 23 July, Official Journal of the European Union, L 257.

have been inspired by practices in other European countries, contributing to shifts at the domestic level» (ibid.). Section 3.2 details national urban policy planning in order to get a better understanding of its changes and the links with the European Union.

3.2 Urban policy in Portugal

The evolution of cities is the product of a sequence of events resulting from interrelated drivers of change, ranging from economic development, socio-demographic patterns or shifts in cultural and political ideas and norms. As a consequence, and for many years now, cities have been at the centre of interest for social research not only because a large percentage of the global population has been living in urban centres, (currently reaching almost around half of the world population, see among others OECD, 2020), but also due to the compelling changes and challenges that they have been witnessing.

In Portugal, the 1970s marked a profound transformation in the country's socio-economic, geographic and political context, with the transition from an authoritarian regime—that lasted 48 years (1926 to 1974)—and the end of Colonial War (1974). The absence of democracy was characterised by a centralised political framework where, among other aspects, local authorities were deprived from autonomy and human resources to operate. This influenced not only local development trajectories, but also the urban and spatial planning systems (see, among others, Alden, Albrechts, & Rosa Pires, 2001; Cardoso & Breda-Vázquez, 2007; Rosa Pires, 2005).

Salazar's corporatist regime is often linked with serious underdevelopment patterns, a stagnant economy and a politically isolated, poor country, where people were restricted from freedom of speech. Such conditions were translated in many deficits visible «in education, social infrastructure, health services, infant mortality rates, life expectancy, investment in research and development, the size of the agricultural sector, the structure of manufacturing, as well as tariff levels and state protection, large public manufacturing and banking sectors, and weakly developed capital markets» Lains (2019, p. 5). In addition, and as pointed out by Allegra et al. (2020), the inability to answer housing demands that resulted from population growth in the greater cities led to critical living conditions, including informal neighbourhoods and substandard housing. As a consequence, one of the first post-revolutionary policy approaches related to urban matters sought responses to those housing issue—Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local (SAAL).

This pilot experience (1974–1976) was launched by the late Secretary of State for housing and urbanism, and was based on interventions in the built environment, included models of public participation, and a close interaction between technical officers and the real situation on the ground. According to A. Pinho (2009), the *modus operandi* of the SAAL was based on a set of principles that would later be integrated into the 1980s urban regeneration policies of the EU (see also Bandeirinha, 2007; G. M. Pereira, 2014; Portas, 1986).

With the implementation of the new *Constitution of the Portuguese Republic* (1976)¹⁰—which

¹⁰See decree: Decreto de aprovação da Constituição of 10 October 1976, Diário da República, I Série, Número 86.

highlighted the need for decentralisation of power¹¹—, new political visions started to be formally introduced, and from the governance point of view, the emergence of this new political framework was expected to introduce modifications into the central-local interaction, thus strengthening local government financial and economic autonomy (Alden & da Rosa Pires, 1996; Chorianopoulos, 2002). For instance, as regards spatial planning, new legislative instruments to regulate state intervention were introduced, in particular the director plan (Plano Director Municipal), that were developed and approved by local authorities. Until then, the national urban system lacked clear policy guidelines, and was structurally unbalanced and top-heavy (see, among others, Domingues, Portas, & Sá Marques, 2007).

Until the late 1980s, the few national urban programmes focused on housing issues and critical urban areas, and were based on physical interventions financed by the government, or by private owners with support from the state. Among some of these national instruments (see also Vilaça & Ferreira, 2018) were:

- support programme for the development of housing cooperatives (Programa de Apoio às Cooperativas de Habitação Económica)¹²;
- programme for the restoration of degraded buildings, granting low-interest loans to families willing to repair their houses (Programa Recuperação de Imóveis Degradados, PRID)¹³;
- programme promoting physical regeneration as an instrument of the housing policy and was the first attempt to support decentralisation (Programa de Reabilitação Urbana, 1985)¹⁴;
- programme focused on upgrading the quality of residential buildings (Regime Especial de Participação na Recuperação de Imóveis Arrendados, or RECRIA, 1988)¹⁵; or
- programme that supporting the creation of technical city council offices dedicated to urban rehabilitation and the recovery of physical aspects (Programa de Reabilitação de Áreas Urbanas Degradadas, PRAUD, 1988)¹⁶.

In summary, the political context of urban-related matters in the country during this period reflected the unstable transition of Portugal to the new democracy, and it is with the adhesion to the European Economic Community in 1986 (and consequent European integration process) that deeper domestic transformations on the urban development strategies would start to take place (Medeiros, 2014b).

¹¹The 1976 *Constitution of the Portuguese Republic*, updated the local governance system, introducing sub-national self-government institutions of three different levels. Parishes, municipalities and administrative regions. The first two already existed and were inherit from the authoritarian regime. The latest introduced the Autonomous Regions of Madeira and Azores (examples of decentralised administrations) and a number of central government departments at the regional level the regional coordination and development commission (Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional, CCDR) which represent forms of administrative de-concentration (see, among others, C. N. Silva, 2015).

¹²See decree-law: DL No. 265/76 of 10 April 1976, *Diário da República*, I Série, Número 86.

¹³See decree-law: DL No. 704/76 of 30 September 1976, *Diário da República*, I Série, Número 230.

¹⁴See legislative order: Despacho No. 4/SEHU/85 of 4 February 1985, *Diário da República*, II Série, Número 29.

¹⁵See decree-law: DL No. 4/88 of 14 January 1988, *Diário da República*, I Série, Número 11.

¹⁶See legislative order: Despacho No. 1/88 of 20 January 1988, *Diário da República*, II Série, Número 16.

3.2.1 From sectoral investments to area-based approaches

After the adhesion of Portugal to the EEC in 1986, and during the preparation of the Single European Act (SEA, 1988), a set of pragmatic policies and reforms were developed to restructure the Community and boost its impact in national public policies (Leonardi, 2005, 2006). As mentioned above in this Chapter, it is around the same time when significant changes began to take place nationally in both spatial and urban policy systems, that still remained largely undeveloped, centralised and lacked consensual strategic orientations for territorial development (see, among others, Cavaco et al., 2020; Domingues et al., 2007; Magone, 2006; C. Oliveira & Breda-Vázquez, 2011; Rosa, 2018).

With the Cohesion Policy and its renewed SFs scheme, Portugal would not only be able to carry out significant physical upgrades in infrastructures, but also to «reinforce the role of the territory as a factor of coordination of the diverse sector policies [...] develop new ways of trans-national cooperation [and] participate in new decision and governance processes in matters regarding the regional management of its territory» (Ferrão, 2010, p. 78).

Meanwhile, and as mentioned in Chapter 2, in European debates increasing attention was given to cities, which became recognised as places where the problems and opportunities for regional development were concentrated. This resulted in a gradual inclusion of an urban dimension in the SFs, by developing new instruments and guidance documents focusing on urban issues, even in respect of the autonomy of member states on that matter (see, among others, Atkinson, 2015; Atkinson & Zimmermann, 2016; Carpenter, 2010; Cotella, 2019; van den Berg et al., 2007).

A step forward in consideration of urban issues in the EC regional policy lies in the launch of UPP during the first Community Support Framework (CSF, 1989–1993) after the SEA. This represented a turnaround in urban regeneration and planning policies in Portugal, and both Lisbon and Oporto were among the targeted cities of the programme (see Figure 3.2). The projects introduced an integrated area-based approach to deal with economic, social and environmental problems of extremely deprived neighbourhoods, and the case of Porto—which will be further detailed in Chapter 4—was particularly interesting as it tackled an area of the historic centre.

During the period between 1994 and 1999, the EC supported major national/regional infrastructural projects—e.g., motorways, basic sanitation facilities, the Alqueva dam, or the second bridge across river Tagus—, and in contrast to the previous cycle, included interventions with direct incidence on cities. Indeed, the ERDF financed an Operational Programme devoted to environment and urban regeneration with a specific sub-programme for urban renewal called *Intervenção Operacional de Renovação Urbana (IORU)*¹⁷. This instrument supported integrated measures for the regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods and the renewal of areas occupied by informal, substandard housing, as well as various projects in the framework of Lisbon’s EXPO’98 waterfront project—considered by some as the first *great urban project* in Portugal (see, among others, V. M. Ferreira & Indovina,

¹⁷See Ministérios do Planeamento e da Administração do Território e das Obras Públicas, Transportes e Comunicações, Despachos conjuntos p. 5446 of 3 June 1994, Diário da República, II Série, Número 128.

1999). In the same period, an even wider impact on policy-making was provided by the implementation of the URBAN I Community Initiative (European Commission, 2003a). For instance, Medeiros and van der Zwet (2019) have argued that the influence of URBAN in Portugal cannot be limited to tangible impact on cities regeneration, but has also to be evaluated in terms of improvement of local capacity and activation of learning processes.

Other works have referred to URBAN I as an inspirational source for a other subsequent national programmes (e.g., Urban Rehabilitation Programme, 1995–2004) especially in the case they were designed to address the revitalisation of distressed urban areas (see, among others, Domingues et al., 2007; European Commission, 2011b).

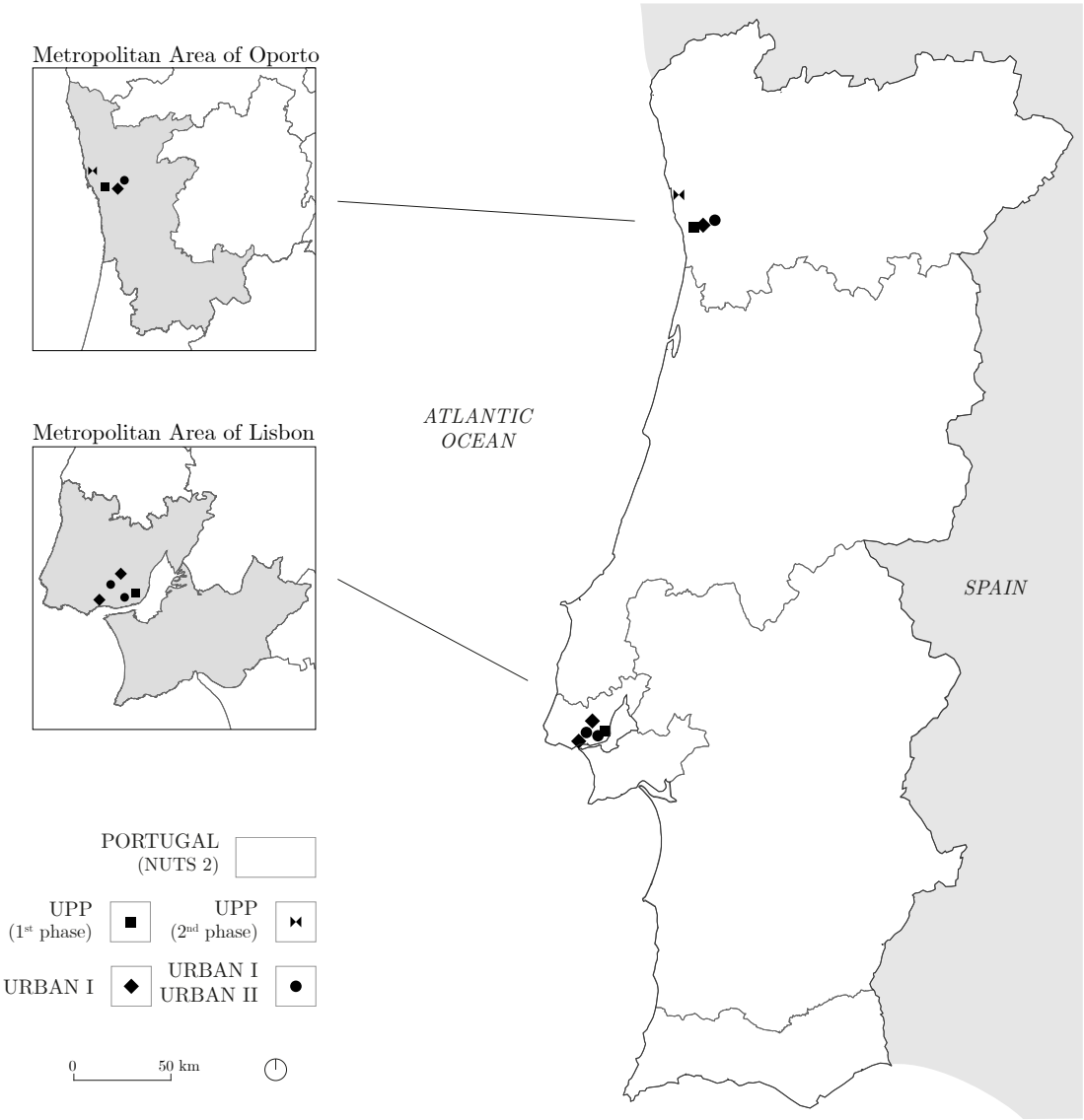


Figure 3.2: Urban policies in Portugal, the URBAN Community Initiative concentrated its efforts in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto. Source: modified from European Commission (2002).

Finally, in 1994, was launch by the central state one additional bottom-up sectoral policy targeting traditional business in old centres in crisis—Programa de Apoio à Modernização

do Comércio (Procom)¹⁸. This instrument carried out revitalisation projects, benefited from ERDF allocations, and part of the actions dealt with physical interventions on public spaces and improving environmental conditions. Domingues et al. (2007) argue that this programme, and its follow-up, was «the most important initiative for commercial urban planning in historic city centres» (p. 315) in Portugal.

In summary, during the 1990s the Portuguese framework of urban programmes clearly experienced a quantitative increase, which seems largely related to the European integration process (see Table 3.2). At the same time, while the *direct and indirect* influence of EU regional policy in the Portuguese urban policy has been positively recognised, it illustrates the complexity within the *underdeveloped* Southern Europe contexts—divided between path dependencies, and new financial opportunities and political agendas (for other Southern Europe evidences see, among others, Andreou, 2006; Athanassiou, 2020; Chorianopoulos, 2002; De Gregorio Hurtado, 2019; Featherstone, 1998; Vinci, 2019).

Table 3.2: Main Portuguese urban policy tools during the 1990s. Source: author.

Year	Policy/Programme	General Aim
1992	Special Co-financing Scheme for the Recovery of Rented Buildings	Housing rehabilitation (rented dwellings)
1993	Special Rehousing Programme	Provide social housing
1994	Programme for the Consolidation of the Urban System and Support to the Development of Municipal Master Plans	Land-use and urban planning innovation
1994	Support Programme for Business Modernisation	Support economic activities (revitalisation)
1995	Operational Intervention for Urban Renewal	Physical environment rehabilitation
1995	Exceptional scheme for the urban reconversion of illegal areas	Land-use organisation, infrastructures
1996	Support Scheme for the Housing Recovery in Old Urban Areas	Housing rehabilitation (in historic/old areas)
1996	Special Co-financing Scheme for the Recovery of Urban Buildings	Housing rehabilitation (shared ownership)
1999	Solidarity Programme for Housing Recovery	Housing rehabilitation (low-income landlords)

3.2.2 Prioritising physical and environmental regeneration

After the successful implementation of URBAN I Community Initiative (see, for example, Carpenter, 2006, 2010), the follow up of the programme in 2000–2006 programming cycle is seen by many authors (Atkinson, 2001, 2015; Cotella, 2019; European Parliament, 2014; Medina & Fedeli, 2015; van den Berg et al., 2007) as a fundamental step in the consolidation of an urban agenda in the EU.

In Portugal the URBAN II programme targeted deprived neighbourhoods within the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto, relied on both national and EU funding, and was supported by partnerships integrating a wide range of stakeholders (both local and national, public and private). Nationally, the initiative targeted areas within the two metropolitan areas (Lisbon and Porto, see Figure 3.2, and it has been argued, also, that this EU initiative has greatly influenced the creation of the Iniciativa Bairros Críticos (IBC), a pilot project launched by national government in 2005 (Breda-Vázquez, Conceição, & Fernandes, 2009; European Commission, 2011b).

¹⁸See decree-law: DL No. 184/94 of 1 July 1994, Diário da República, I Série A, Número 150.

Also contributing for the development of the EU urban policy during this period was the URBACT network that supported the exchange of information on sustainable urban development across cities and actors involved in the UPP and URBAN CI. The idea was to capitalise on previous experiences and foster the discussion on the future urban dimension of the regional policy (Atkinson & Zimmermann, 2016; van den Berg et al., 2007). As regard to its particular influence in the Portuguese context, Cavaco et al. (2020) noted that it boosted the exchange with other EU urban policy actors, and «provided political stimulus for the development of national urban policies» (p. 53).

The year 2000 marked a significant change in the Portuguese urban policy framework with the introduction of an innovative strategic programme: Programa de Requalificação Urbana e Valorização Ambiental de Cidades, 2000–2006. Within the literature multiple links have been suggested between this programme and previous national and EU experiences. Some authors have pointed out that POLIS has embedded the ideas and motivation from the EXPO'98 urban project (Domingues et al., 2007; Rosa, 2018), while others have underlined the analogies with the URBAN initiative, and more broadly, with the EU approach to urban regeneration (Cavaco et al., 2020; Mamede & Tavares, 2010; Medeiros & van der Zwet, 2019).

Moreover, Baptista (2008) raises three additional factors leading to the development of POLIS: a) first the national need to address the fragile territorial development framework that was still delayed when compared to other European contexts; b) second, partisan interests from the newly elected socialist government that saw the opportunity to display a innovative urban policy programme during the Portuguese Presidency of the EU (2000); and c) third, the possibility to make use of structural funds available for urban regeneration actions under the third CSF.

As part of a territorial development strategy aiming at strengthening the national urban system, POLIS moved away from an approach based on sectoral investments and infrastructure development, becoming the catalyst for integrated spatial interventions of greater impact, that otherwise would have struggled to produce the same results (M. Queirós & Vale, 2005). At the same time it contributed for improving living conditions, increase attractiveness and boost competitiveness between urban centres (see Figure 3.3).

Among the operational components of the programme, the first one—integrated operations of urban and environmental rehabilitation—encouraged city councils to develop a strategic view for their cities, and subsequently to create specific partnerships between the State and municipalities to manage local action plans (the so-called Sociedades POLIS). This programmatic component was, to a certain degree, similar to previous IORU tool, and represented an *upgraded* version of the institutional model that had been tested during EXPO'98 project. In particular it tried to spread territorially the use of a innovative public policy institutional arrangement that empowered municipalities—whose technical offices designed and implemented procedures—and which was given a share in decision-making and management of the strategies.

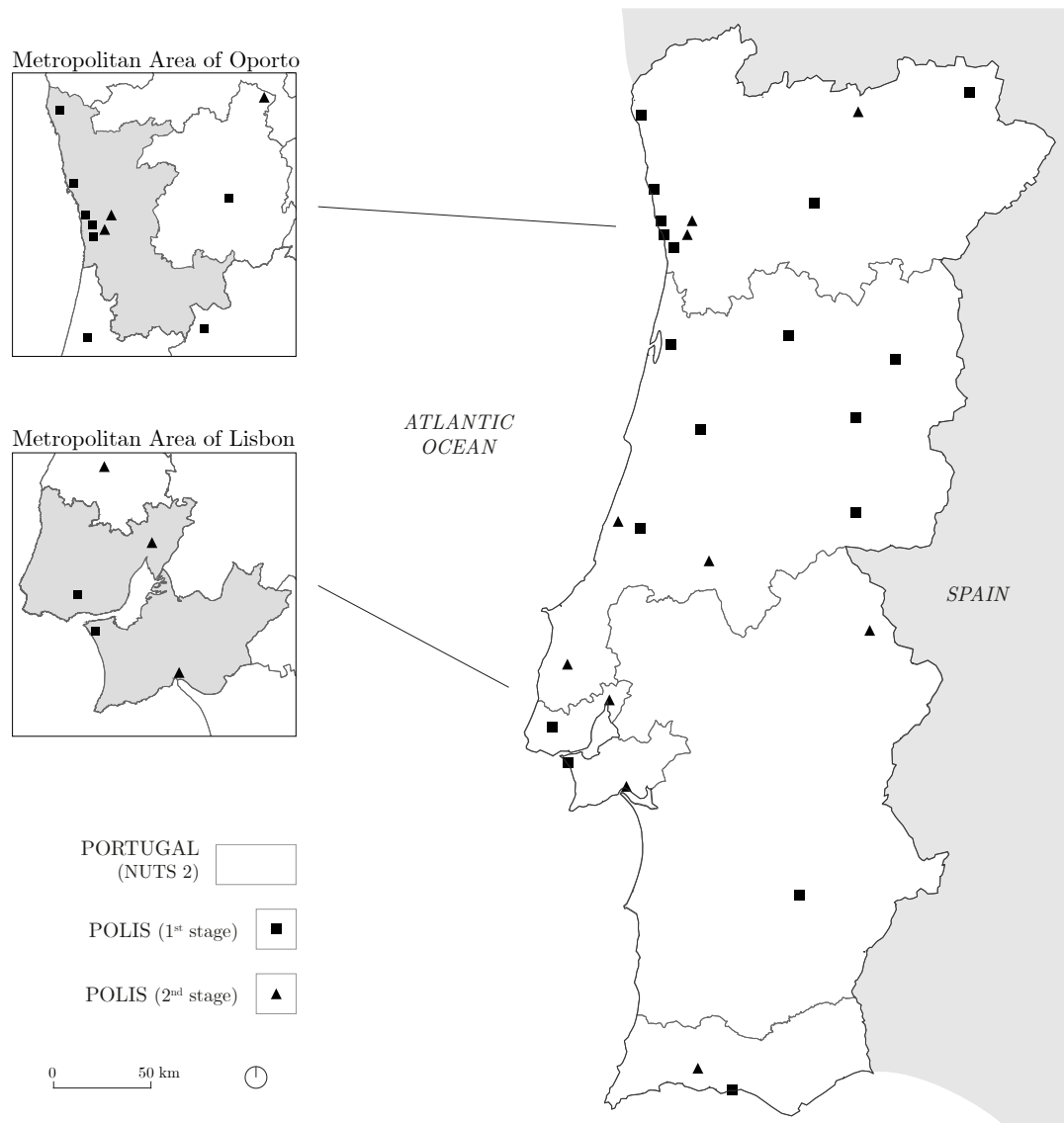


Figure 3.3: Urban policies in Portugal, 28 medium-sized were cities selected for the POLIS programme. Source: modified from MAOT (2002).

Following the 2002 change in Government, a new legislation was introduced with direct influence in urban regeneration matters, the decree-law DL No. 104/2004 of 7 May¹⁹. This legal framework²⁰ was a commitment to revitalise historic centres and other critical areas, and support the creation of public-private companies—*Sociedades de Reabilitação Urbana* (SRU)—with participation of central and local authorities. In practical terms, the *Sociedades de Reabilitação Urbanas* (SRUs) benefited from exclusive legal competences to facilitate administrative procedures, including licensing of building repairs, the expropriation of properties, the acquisition of the right to use public areas, or to establish contracts with the private sector (see, among others, Balsas, 2007; R. Branco & Alves, 2020; Breda-Vázquez et al., 2009).

¹⁹See decree-law: DL No. 104/2004 of 7 May 2004, *Diário da República*, I Série A, Número 107.

²⁰This legal instrument for urban regeneration is considered by some as the first of its kind, and raised some attention in the literature (see, for instance, J. F. Branco, 2006; J. P. Costa, 2011; Neto, Pinto, & Burns, 2014; Pipa, de Brito, & Oliveira Cruz, 2017).

3.2.3 Focusing on cities and integrated urban development

The importance of integrated urban development at the EU level would take a major step in the 2007–2013 period, as it was integrated into the national and regional operational programmes supported by the SFs (see, among others, Bachtler, Ferry, Méndez, & McMaster, 2006; Becker, Egger, & von Ehrlich, 2018; De Gregorio Hurtado, 2017; Ecorys, 2010; European Commission, 2008; Ramsden & Colini, 2013; Thoidou, 2011). At the same time, as highlighted by Atkinson (2015), cities further benefited from many Cohesion Policy instruments and initiatives, following the increasing recognition that the EU «sectoral policies have important impacts on urban areas and their development and that these policies should take into account their “spatial impact” and “urban dimension”» (p. 23).

For the programming cycle between 2007–2013, the Socialist government introduced a new policy framework for Portuguese cities, called *Política de Cidades POLIS XXI* (POLIS XXI)²¹. While some authors have mentioned the connections to previous initiatives such as URBAN (Cavaco et al., 2020; Medeiros & van der Zwet, 2019; Rio Fernandes, Teles, Chamusca, & Seixas, 2020), others highlighted the indirect influence on POLIS XXI of policy and planning practices developed in other EU countries see, for example, Campos and Ferrão (2015), Chamusca (2011), M. Queirós (2014), but also additional links with trends arising within other sectors of EU regional policy—e.g., promoting efficient solutions for existing facilities, environmental sustainability (Mourão, 2019).

POLIS XXI envisaged a decentralised, bottom-up approach, able to tackle multiple territorial scales, and make use of public/private financing sources, including allocations from the CSF. In operational terms, the policy was structured according to the following key tools:

- i) urban regeneration partnerships—*Parcerias para a Regeneração Urbana* (PRU);
- ii) urban networks for competitiveness—*Redes Urbanas de Competitividade e Inovação* (RUCI);
and
- iii) innovative actions for urban development—*Ações Inovadoras para o Desenvolvimento Urbano* (AIDU).

Among these tools, the urban regeneration partnerships were of key importance to promote the integrated approach to urban development in Portugal, and gained particular relevance, as evidenced by the number of projects approved and the amount of investments made across the country (Cavaco et al., 2020; European Commission, 2011b). Its main feature was the establishment of mandatory, local and flexible partnerships, led by municipalities, engaging diverse public and private stakeholders, and strengthening citizens’ participation. As pointed by Rio Fernandes et al. (2020), these were «revolutionary participatory and governance principles» (p. 17) for the time, which in fact struggled to be assimilated into the processes of urban areas strategic planning and management.

In operational terms the instrument encountered a series of challenges, such as: a) difficulty to access the financial instruments to help the stakeholders; b) problems engaging

²¹See *Política de Cidades POLIS XXI*, Ministério do Ambiente e do Ordenamento do Território, Gabinete do Secretário de Estado do Ordenamento do Território e das Cidades MAOT (2008).

private partners; c) low level of community engagement; d) poor articulation of central government to implement and monitoring; e) need for better monitoring and evaluation; and f) insufficient awareness about the benefits of the integrated approach (European Commission, 2011b). As regard some of these challenges, Chamusca (2011) pointed out as possible reason, the inability of local authorities to embrace such governance arrangement as a consequence of their small dimension and lack of technical capacities.

As an integrated approach, the PRU envisaged the promotion of multi-dimensional improvements—in the physical, environmental, economic, socio and cultural dimensions. However, evidences have shown that physical improvements were achieved above the other dimensions, and (Mourão, 2019; Rosa, 2018).

Looking at the PRU nature and rationale, it is possible to find resemblances to previous integrated area-based urban regeneration programmes, especially the POLIS. While its new, refined organisational structure represented a clear step forward within the Portuguese context, it couldn't escape a myriad of endogenous and exogenous challenges. For instance, Cavaco et al. (2020) note that the adverse economic situation resulting from the 2008 financial crisis, resulted in a delicate socio-economic context that posed some barriers to the initial goals.

At the same time, the authors stress the existing dis-articulation between different governance levels, which was aggravated by municipality's inability to implement the tool. In particular, Rosa (2018) stressed that, in contrast to the long central government experience and capacity to develop and monitoring the programmes, local authorities struggled to deal with the complex administrative burden. Finally, and linked with the centralised Portuguese urban and governmental system, was the *poor* or *missing* intermediate tier between central and local levels (Chamusca, 2011).

In parallel to these developments, in 2009 additional aspects were introduced in the national urban policy framework. On the one hand, the establishment of the new legal scheme for urban regeneration (decree-law DL No. 307/2009 of 23 October²²) determined with more accuracy the role and scope of urban regeneration companies (SRU), and the consolidation of rehabilitation fiscal incentives. The document reinforced the national spatial planning instruments by introducing a urban regeneration normative framework at both programmatic, procedural and executive levels. In addition it established the SRUs role within the wider spatial planning tools (Neto et al., 2014).

On the other hand, the creation of JESSICA Holding Fund Portugal, to counteract the impacts of the financial crisis and facilitate the implementation of the community initiative in the national territory. In turn, the fund has helped the rehabilitation of degraded buildings with private capital, by using European grant funding to make repayable investments in the form of equity, loans or guarantees (see, among others, Atkinson, 2015; European Investment Bank, 2010; URBACT II, 2010).

²²See decree-law: DL No. 307/2009 of 23 October 2009, Diário da República, I Série, Número 206.

3.2.4 Instrumental alignment to EU sustainable urban development

Due to the economically adverse post-crisis scenario, it was crucial for Portugal to make the best use of EU funding. Thus, while the 2014–2020 programming cycle was under development, the country had the opportunity to capitalise on its previous urban policy experiences, and develop an improved, coherent and sustainable urban development policy framework. In broad terms, the country’s commitment to embrace these new challenges was demonstrated through the following two elements:

- i) a new strategic framework for cities—*Cidades Sustentáveis 2020*²³; and
- ii) the partnership agreement with the EC—*Portugal 2020*²⁴.

The first, approved in 2015 by the central government, stated the principles and guidelines for sustainable spatial and urban development and its main goal was to promote the functional, cultural, social and economic development of urban areas. The strategy was «built on an integrated action framework, demanding for the coordination between the several government levels, the integration of a wide range of policy sectors and citizens’ participation» (Cavaco et al., 2020, p. 59). To this end, the framework was articulated through four thematic points: a) intelligence/competitiveness—including internationalisation, economic/job promotion, urban innovation, and communication and information technologies; b) sustainability and efficiency—including physical rehabilitation, housing, regeneration of urban environment, low-carbon and climate-resilient development, and urban-rural integration; c) inclusion and human capital—including promoting social inclusion, local capacity, and urban communities; and d) *territorialisation* and governance—including sharing experiences, networking and knowledge (MAOTE, 2015).

However, one important aspect that should be underlined relates to the lack of operational capacity. Indeed, the framework didn’t encompassed direct links to financing or implementation, which would be framed within Portugal 2020.

The Portugal 2020 framework introduced new approaches for territorial sustainable development and, in its efforts to create sub-regional development strategies, gave additional responsibility to inter-municipal institutions. Particularly, the integrated urban development actions—*Ações Integradas de Desenvolvimento Urbano Sustentável (AIDUS)*—were designed to promote urban regeneration and revitalisation in urban centres, based on strategic plans—*Plano Estratégico de Desenvolvimento Urbano (PEDU)*—to be prepared by municipalities. These plans were, in certain way, similar to the ones developed under POLIS XXI partnerships (Medeiros & van der Zwet, 2019; Rio Fernandes et al., 2020; Rosa, 2018), and local authorities were requested to develop them in order to be granted EU funding (see Figure 3.4).

In addition they contained a series of sub-strategic tools:

- sustainable mobility plan—*Plano de Mobilidade Urbana Sustentável (PMUS)*;

²³See resolution of the Council of Ministers No. 61/2015 of 16 July 2015, *Diário da República*, I Série, Número 155.

²⁴See agreement between the European Commission and Portugal on funding through the European Structural and Investment Funds (2014–2020) of 30 July.

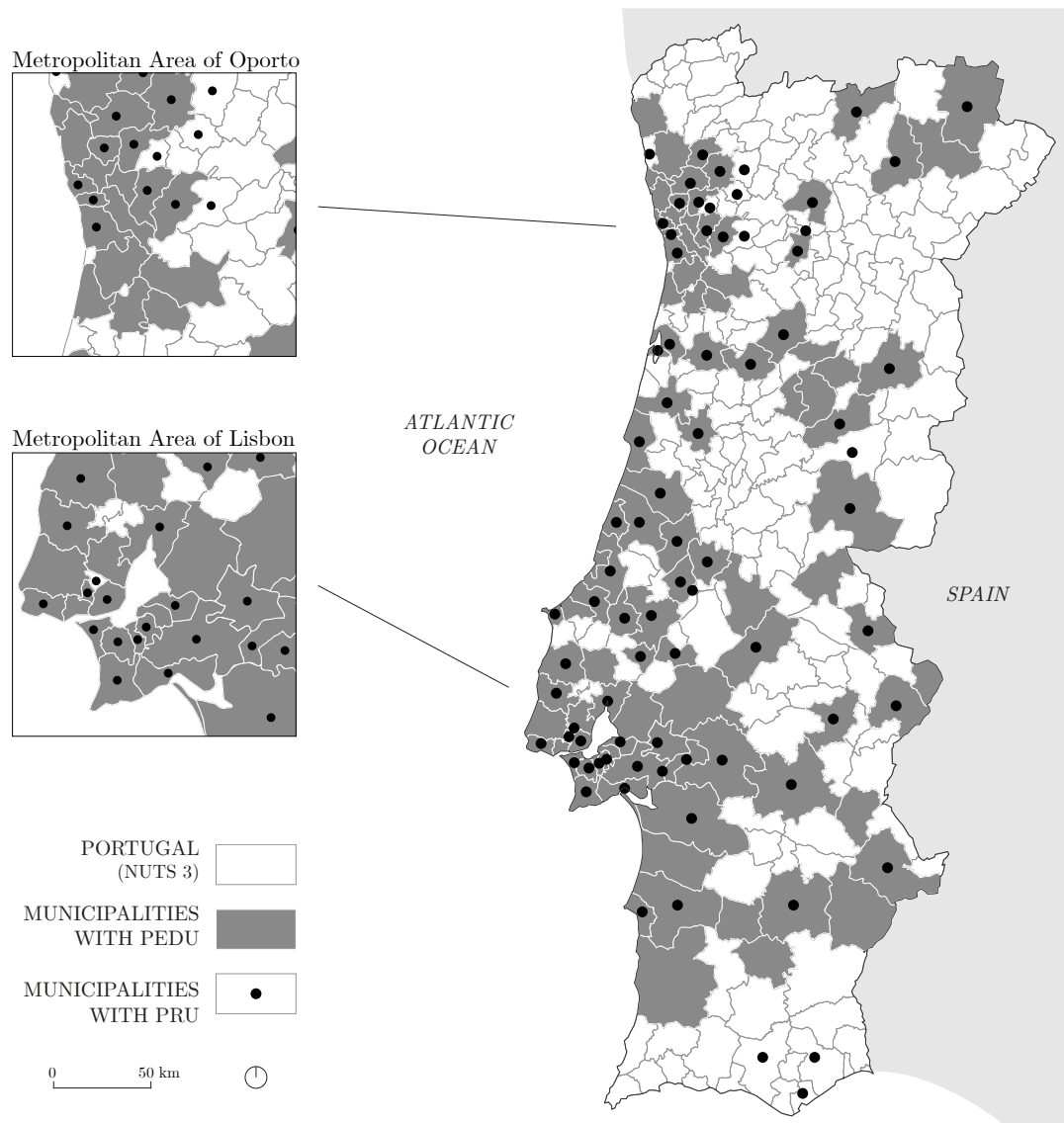


Figure 3.4: Urban policies in Portugal, in comparison to the previous 2007–2013 PRU tool, for the post-2014 period more cities adopted a strategic PEDU. Source: modified from Rosa (2018).

- urban regeneration action plan—Plano de Ação de Regeneração Urbana (PARU); and
- integrated action plan for disadvantaged communities—Plano de Ação para as Comunidades Desfavorecidas (PAICD).

In general, the practical application of this framework is yet to be thoroughly analysed. As mentioned by Rosa (2018) the implementation of this *complex and fragmented* framework led in some cases to spatial, temporal and institutional overlays between the different tools. Furthermore, Cavaco et al. (2020) argued that it resulted in «the pulverization of funds through a myriad of tools, demanding for strategic documents and action plans, whose coherence and intelligibility are, at best, hard to scrutinize and understand» (p. 60).

Similarly to other southern European countries, the need to reconcile the Portuguese urban system with the innovative framework from the EU, proved to be demanding (Tosics, 2016). This was locally emphasised by the «lack of articulation between this type of

strategic documents and the statutory planning tools in force (e.g., PDM)» (Cavaco et al., 2020, p. 62). Moreover, Medeiros and van der Zwet (2019) stressed that in order to increase the impacts in quality of life it would be appropriate to link these instruments with other urban development funding initiatives, and despite the presence of «placed-based and long term strategies mobilized by local and regional stakeholders» (p. 16) the expected impacts in relation to the actual needs of the targeted areas were *somewhat limited* in comparison to the previous initiatives.

3.3 Porto: local experiences of urban policy

Porto gives name to the largest urban conurbation in the north of Portugal—Área Metropolitana do Porto (AMP)—which represented in 2011 approximately 17.0% of the country's total population dispersed over seventeen municipalities (see Figure 3.5). According to the latest available census (2011²⁵) the city's population was 237,591 and projections for 2019 estimated it would drop to 216,606.

Between 1981 and 2011, the population growth rate in both Portugal and the two metropolitan areas was positive, in contrast to the country's two main cities (Lisbon and Porto). Gato (2013) argued that this pattern is similar to other metropolitan areas that tend to witness a growth on peripheral municipalities, to the detriment of the core city. This negative trend has been felt in the city's since the second half of the 19th century (see Figure 3.6), and different authors have debated the issue. P. C. Seixas (2008) has pointed out that the city's trajectory was particularly linked with intense development of housing programmes on the peripheries of the city. In the 1970s this process intensified with housing cooperatives focusing on neighbouring municipalities. Sousa and Pinho (2016) added two other possible points for the general population decrease in the city. On the one hand, the general deindustrialisation process and shift towards the tertiary sector, and on the other changes in living standards that led people to move away.

With the adhesion of Portugal to the EEC (1986), steady improvements were carried out in the transport network at the metropolitan level, along with an easier access to mortgage loans for housing construction or purchase (Rio Fernandes, 2011a). In contrast, the despair of Porto city centre and historic part didn't help the situation, and as suggested by J. P. Costa (2011), strongly contributed to the shrinking phenomenon in the municipality. The subsequent revitalisation strategies have tried to counteract the situation, but the pursuit for new residential areas offering more affordable housing has been stronger, and young, active population has been moving away from the city (V. Oliveira, Martins, & Cruz, 2013).

As centre of the metropolitan area and Norte region, Oporto provides the main services and acts as a socio-economic engine of North Portugal, standing out as an attractive historic and cultural hub. The city has been a front-runner in taking advantage from EU Structural Funds, through the implementation of different initiatives, projects and networks that date back to the early 1990s. The intersection of these experiences with various national/local

²⁵The statistical data was gathered online from the Portuguese National Institute of Statistics website. Annual estimates of resident population.



(a) Location of Área Metropolitana do Porto (AMP), Portugal (NUTS 2). (b) Location of Porto, AMP (LAU 2).

Figure 3.5: Portugal, the metropolitan area of Porto (AMP) and the municipality of Porto. Source: author.

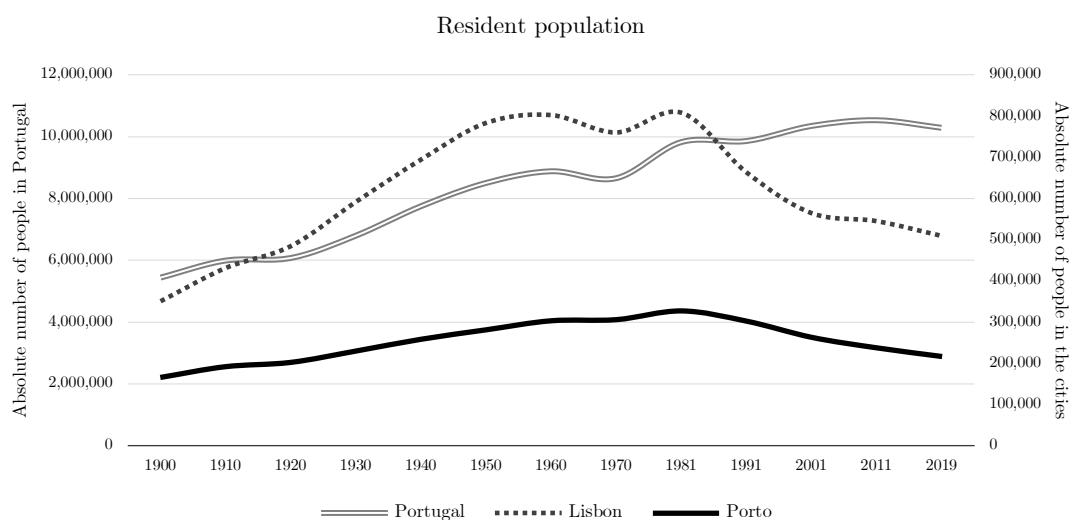


Figure 3.6: Population trend in Portugal, and the cities of Lisbon and Porto. Source: author with data from Portuguese National Institute of Statistics.

planning initiatives has fostered significant changes in the city structure and organisation, whose effects will be explored in the following section through a diachronic description.

3.3.1 Urban policies before the adhesion to the Community

Although this study focused on the period beginning with Portugal's accession to EEC, it is important to clarify some characteristics of the preceding periods, particularly those related to the perception of Porto's urban problems and to the methodologies and organisation of public interventions.

In the period under the authoritarian regime of *Estado Novo*, two problematic situations can be highlighted. On the one hand, the sanitary and housing problems associated with the so-called *islands* (*ilhas*), urban spaces of substandard housing, occupying in different parts of the city, the inner part of built plots, developed in the earlier process of industrialisation (see, Câmara Municipal do Porto, 2015a). This situation motivated, in the 1950s, the intervention plan by municipality (Plano de Melhoramentos²⁶), based on construction of social housing estates in more peripheral areas of the city, aiming to relocate some of the population of *ilhas*.

On the other hand, the recognition of the problems of the historic city centre in the late 1960s motivated a debate between two perspectives of intervention: a) one based on the idea of urban renewal, with greater focus on physical interventions; and b) other that can be associated with the (contemporary) concept of integrated urban regeneration, based on an important methodological study by architect Fernando Távora. According to A. Pinho (2009), the Study for Ribeira-Barredo Urban Renewal, «is the first Portuguese initiative aimed at promoting a true urban rehabilitation policy» (author's translation, p. 805) and has influenced many other experiences in Portugal, namely on the rehabilitation of historic centres. The form this debate was apprehended marks the experience of the following decades, even though one can underline in this experience the predominant focus of the physical rehabilitation interventions (and therefore, in practice, of a selective integration).

After the democratic revolution, these two problems—and the social movements that arise around them—gave rise to two experiments, promoted by central administration. In 1974 the ruling transitional government created a special purpose organisation—Comissariado para a Renovação Urbana da Área Ribeira-Barredo (Cruarb)—that would be responsible for developing alternatives for the critical areas of the historic centre, anchored in social and housing interventions that aimed to provide better living conditions and the restoration of historical, cultural and built heritage (J. Queirós, 2013). Its model of intervention focused initially on housing conditions, and was based on a process of acquisition (including compulsory purchase), rehabilitation and distribution of housing by Cruarb. At the same time, a short-term experiment was developed (Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local (SAAL)), to counteract the housing issues and the particular problem of the *ilhas* by carrying out

²⁶In 1956 a national programme was launched to deal with housing needs (Plano de Melhoramentos: implementing decree: DR No. 40616 of 28 May 1956) financed by the central state and the municipality. In Porto this programme help to deal with the relocation of residents from city centre that were transferred to new dwellings (of arguable quality) built across different peripheral neighbourhoods (Bandeirinha, 2007). In the following 15 years around 15.0 to 20.0% of the total households were resettled during one of the most systematic social housing initiatives in the country (J. Queirós, 2013).

physical interventions and participatory process to involve organised groups of residents see, Bandeirinha (2007).



Figure 3.7: 60 years of urban transformations in Porto 1940–2020, Ribeira and Dom Luís bridge. Source: digital collage by the author with an old photo by Rego, T. retrieved online from Arquivo Municipal do Porto.

In 1982 the central administration transferred its Cruarb responsibilities to the municipality. This led Cruarb to extend its intervention area, a decrease in its investment capacity and, for several authors, a loss of influence (Lobato & Alves, 2012) or a step backwards in relation to urban policies in the city centre (J. Queirós, 2007). In 1982, however, the central administration transferred its responsibilities to the municipality, resulting in less investment and reducing the influence and actual effects on the field (Lobato & Alves, 2012) which meant a step backwards in relation to urban policies in the city centre (J. Queirós, 2007).

3.3.2 Introducing the area-based approach

As mentioned in Section 3.2, after Portugal's accession to the Community, urban policies in Porto were marked by two complementary developments. On the one hand, a strategy of active participation in community initiatives and programmes such as Poverty III, UPP, and later on, URBAN. On the other hand, a set of investments mainly directed to enhance infrastructure, in the light of the strategy to empower the role of the city as core of the metropolitan area.

It is in the context of participation in community initiative programmes that new partnership structures were created. In 1990 an agency was created to manage different EU funding opportunities—Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Zona Histórica do Porto (FDZHP)—as the municipality couldn't negotiate directly with the EU. FDZHP overlapped in part the target area of Cruarb but focused on social care activities to fight poverty and segregation of underprivileged social groups. At the same time, it was able to combine non-material initiatives with physical interventions and promote cooperation among community actors. The complementarity of FDZHP and Cruarb may be seen as an important area-based initiative in the city centre, since it mirrored a local level network approach that encouraged institutional cooperation, created space for interaction and helped the production and sharing of knowledge (Lobato & Alves, 2012; Rio Fernandes & Seixas, 2018).

Due to its involvement in the UNESCO project and proximity to the historic centre, from 1994 to 1998 Cruarb was responsible for the implementation of the Urban Pilot Project in Porto. The target area of the project was one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in the city historic centre (UPP Bairro da Sé, see Figures 3.8 and 3.11). The main objective was to provide the appropriate development conditions in an area with high levels of physical and social degradation, but with great potential in terms of heritage and cultural richness. Considered by some as the first integrated operation after about 20 years of urban interventions in Oporto (see Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1998), the UPP was said to be highly innovative at both city, regional and national levels. The innovations were reflected in the participation of a wide range of partners (including private stakeholders, central/local institutions), in the creation of a multidisciplinary local management team responsible for the implementation of carefully planned objectives, and an integrated approach combining socio-economic, environmental and cultural objectives.

In 1994 the city council expanded the critical area in need of recovery and Cruarb became the leading actor responsible for the development of urban regeneration processes in the historic centre (see Figure 3.11). Two years later the city centre was classified as a UNESCO World Heritage Site and Cruarb played a key role in the application proceedings (Balsas, 2007). During the second CSF (1994–1999) the recently introduced sub-programme IORU channelled substantial financial allocations to support integrated measures to deal with the renewal of areas occupied by shanties and the regeneration of depressed zones. While in Lisbon it supported the EXPO'98 integrated waterfront renewal project, in Porto it was strongly linked with national rehousing policies by providing public facilities within social housing estates from the periphery²⁷.

In that period, Porto was among the cities selected for the URBAN I Community Initiative and its action was combined with ongoing (non-systematic) interventions. The target area (see Figure 3.11) was mostly residential—including several social housing blocks that resulted from different re-housing initiatives—, and had accumulated several challenges

²⁷The physical actions were frequently linked with social and re-housing policies and national programmes such as the PER, RECRUA, Recriph, or Rehabita (see Domingues et al., 2007). While in 1996 there were approximately 620 shanties and 580 substandard housing units in the city, around 1,400 new dwellings were created, by rehabilitating or building new social housing blocks, to accommodate around 5,000 people (Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana, 2018; Tribunal de Contas, 2001).



(a) c. 1960.



(b) c. 1990.



(c) c. 1998.



(d) 2008.

Figure 3.8: Largo da Pena Ventosa, Morro da Sé. Source: photo 3.8a by Rego, T. retrieved online from Arquivo Municipal do Porto, photos 3.8b, 3.8c retrieved from Câmara Municipal do Porto (1998), photo 3.8d retrieved online from Wikimedia Commons.

over time due to poor urban planning, the presence of illegally constructions, or lack of social facilities. However, there was a good tradition of associative life and neighbourly relations in the area, which the programme sought to take advantage of. The social dimension of urban regeneration was the programme's top priority, and the following principles guided its implementation: a) participation; b) partnership; and c) self-evaluation (FDVC, 2001).

A decisive effectiveness factor was the integrated approach managed by a partnership structure created for that specific purpose—Fundação para o Desenvolvimento do Vale da Campanhã (FDVC)²⁸. This agency included local authority representatives from different areas which was vital in order to garner political support at a higher level. In contrast to the UPP where the ongoing urban regeneration project was adapted to accommodate the *EU model of integrated development*, URBAN I tried to establish a more radical transformation of existing practices in local policy-making (European Commission, 2003a).

Limiting our view to the involvement of stakeholders there were contradictory interpretations regarding the extent of the public participation process. On the one side, Guerra (2004) argued that the participation quality was not true to a real integrated strategy, and the ex-post evaluation (see European Commission, 2003a) reported little support and cooperation from the private sector. On the opposite side, Alves (2008) pointed out that participation procedures were well planned and steered, resulting in a change of culture that affected the implementation of following initiatives.

3.3.3 The rise of entrepreneurial models of intervention

With the turn of the century, Porto faced many changes in terms of the institutional organisation, political agenda and spatial strategies. In the year 2000 the main national urban policy initiative (Programa de Requalificação Urbana e Valorização Ambiental de Cidades) pursued the improvement of living standards in cities through integrated operations of urban regeneration and environmental enhancement. To achieve such objective, it used EU funding and promoted work in partnership. Oporto took advantage of the already existent Porto2001 company, and combined funding sources to carry out different interventions in the city. These actions met not only POLIS goals, but contributed to the urban regeneration actions related to European Capital of Culture.

POLIS was implemented through two waterfront interventions (see Figures 3.9 and 3.12): a) an integrated operation of urban and environmental regeneration in the west part of the city; and b) an intervention in the historic Ribeira waterfront. These actions brought overlooked spaces back to life, and it was possible to note some complementarity with the interventions led by the neighbouring municipalities under the same programme. However, and despite the national commitment to develop integrated spatial interventions at city level, some authors argue that it failed to achieve such orientation, and, in the end, the interventions were mainly physical (see Breda-Vázquez & Alves, 2004).

²⁸The Fundação para o Desenvolvimento do Vale da Campanhã (FDVC) was created in 1995 for the purpose of managing the URBAN I that targeted the specific Vale de Campahã district. Without changing its initial purpose of tackling social issues of the city, it was renamed Fundação para o Desenvolvimento Social do Porto and later Fundação Porto Social and expanded its target area to include the whole city of Porto. To simplify, throughout the text we refer to it as FDVC.



Figure 3.9: POLIS waterfront rehabilitation, Porto's Atlantic coast. Source: retrieved from manuellesola-morales.com.

With the aim of providing the best possible conditions for hosting the European Capital of Culture event, Porto2001 assumed the exclusive responsibility of promoting cultural activities and a urban revitalisation programme for the city centre. The objectives of Porto2001 included the recovery of public spaces, the re-adaptation of key cultural and public facilities, an independent programme for the modernisation of commerce, housing refurbishment strategies, and actions linked to mobility (Balsas, 2007; Câmara Municipal do Porto & PortoVivo, 2010; J. Queirós, 2007). Despite its strategic intention to integrate a wide range of dimensions and the significant financial amount invested, many have underlined the strong gap existing between the strategy, the expectations and what was actually done. In particular, Balsas (2004) pointed out that activities were too dispersed and extensive for the implementation timeframe, and the governance model struggled to foster good and transparent communication among stakeholders. Nevertheless, the event managed to induce transformation within specific areas of the city, that were followed by particularly large investments in the light railway system looking to favour the accessibility towards the centre (Rio Fernandes, 2011a).

After the 2001 municipal election, the newly elected mayor's political agenda featured the introduction of a different urban regeneration strategy, giving greater attention to the entire city centre and not only the UNESCO historic area (Queirós 2007). The institutions responsible for acting directly in the historic centre (Cruarb and FDZHP) were dissolved²⁹,

²⁹Since the 2000s, Porto witnessed several changes in the institutional urban regeneration actors, accompanied by a political change of power which contributed to develop a different urban regeneration model. By June of 2002, Porto2001, S.A reached its expiration date, however its activities continued under a new and rebranded partnership—Casa da Música/Porto2001, S.A.—that would carry out functions until 2008, by the time of creation and transfer of rights to Fundação Casa da Música. The organizations responsible for acting in the historic centre were also dissolved, the *Comissariado para a Renovação Urbana da Área Ribeira-Barredo* (Cruarb) in 2003, and the *Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Zona Histórica do Porto* (FDZHP) in 2008. As a result, the urban regeneration operations in the historic centre would progressively become responsibility of PortoVivo, SRU created in November 2004, following the publication of decree-law DL No. 104/2004 of 7 May, regulating the urban rehabilitation in historic and critical areas and introducing mechanisms facilitating the private sector participation, by providing fiscal and financial benefits.

and in the new political discourse it was stressed «the idea that public funding would never be sufficient to solve all problems, and private investment was thus essential» (Rio Fernandes, 2011a, p. 295). Lobato and Alves (2012) argued that this strategy can be read as a replacement of the social character of previous measures, and the introduction of new market-based and efficiency-oriented ideas.

Accordingly, in line with the new emerging style in local politics³⁰, a partnership was created between the State and the municipality (PortoVivo) with the aim to operate with more freedom in the implementation of urban development strategies and programmes (Alves & Branco, 2018). In 2005, PortoVivo laid down its urban and social renewal project for the city centre³¹ that reflected, in the words of J. Queirós (2007), a new stage of urban planning characterised by the desire to place Porto in the competitive scenario of the European urban system. The company focused its more immediate actions in a priority area for intervention that included the historic centre and Baixa district (Zona de Intervenção Prioritária, see also Figure 3.12).

In a study concerning the impacts of PortoVivo (see Neto et al., 2014), some interesting points were raised by different stakeholders involved in the urban regeneration activities. On the one hand, it was stressed efficiency of the company on conducting building recovery. On the other, the overall struggle to deal with social matters, and the difficulty in improving the public realm. However, there seemed to be a common understanding that the city centre had become much livelier after the creation of PortoVivo although many recognise that revitalisation might have their origins outside or before the company's actions. Finally, some urban regeneration agents expressed the feeling that if PortoVivo had never existed, the situation would have aggravated, as the company played an important role in the medium term transformations, making the best out of the external opportunities, and reducing the impacts of external threats (R. Branco & Alves, 2018; Neto et al., 2014; Sequeira, 2011).

In the period 2000–2006, with the launch of URBAN II, Porto took the opportunity to tackle the persistent issues of the neighbourhoods close to URBAN I target area (see Figures 3.11 and 3.12). The URBAN II project resulted from a joint application with the neighbouring municipality Gondomar, and the managing responsibility was assigned to a regional body. The intervention covered critical areas from both municipalities which concentrated a large number of social housing blocks created during the rehousing initiatives (see Figure 3.12). The European Commission (2010b) later underlined the positive performance of the programme, based on a balanced integration of physical, social and educational measures and apparently supported by a strong participation of non-institutional stakeholders. In contrast, in the scholarly literature (see Alves, 2013, 2017a) it is argued that the decision-making processes revealed a strong, sectoral and top-down approach, and weak forms of institutional collaboration between the local authority and local associations

³⁰As mentioned in Section 3.2, one of the keystones of that period resulted from the publication of a national decree-law (DL No. 104/2004 of 7 May, Diário da República, I Série A, Número 107) regulating urban regeneration in critical areas and introducing mechanisms facilitating private sector participation and fiscal and financial benefits.

³¹See *Urban and Social Renewal of the Baixa District of Oporto. Masterplan (Executive Summary)*, see, *PortoVivo (2005)*.

were created. Furthermore, Alves has also pointed out that the experience with URBAN II was an isolated one, as the central and local administrations missed the opportunity to take advantage of the synergies that had been created and showed little attention to mainstreaming the planning activities previously implemented.

In the framework of *Iniciativa Bairros Críticos (IBC)*³², in 2005 an operation was launched to support the regeneration of Lagarteiro, a deprived neighbourhood in the east part of the city (see Figures 3.10 and 3.12). According to C. Costa (2015), the initiative worked better than in the previous URBAN projects due to the narrower spatial focus of the action and a stronger governance structure, with public and private partners involved at all different levels. However some co-ordination issues were identified, namely between central and local administration which hindered its implementation.



Figure 3.10: Initiative for Highly Deprived Neighbourhoods, Lagarteiro neighbourhood, Porto. Source: retrieved from habitarportugal.org.

Recognising the persistence of social and physical degradation patterns in the historic centre, PortoVivo developed in 2005 a new urban rehabilitation strategy for Morro da Sé. It introduced a new vision for the neighbourhood, based on the development of cultural, commercial, touristic and leisure activities, and housing. The strategy was subsequently implemented through two programmes: a) an action programme funded by POLIS XXI, and b) a resettlement programme financed by the EIB. Also under POLIS XXI the municipality and PortoVivo established different local partnerships that were intended to boost the participatory models of governance between citizens, urban stakeholders and public administration. Although the strategy recognised the need for a multidimensional approach—in which social, economic, cultural and environmental assets were taken into consideration—, physical regeneration prevailed over social measures (Mourão, 2019; Rio Fernandes, 2011a). In total, three action programmes were implemented (Morro da Sé,

³²See among others Breda-Vázquez et al. (2009), Sousa (2008), and for the specific case of Porto C. Costa (2015), Sá Marques (2006).

Mouzinho/Flores, and Avenida), benefiting not only from European funding, but also from private stakeholders funds (see Figure 3.12).

Finally, in 2009 a new legal instrument was adopted to promote urban regeneration: decree-law DL No. 307/2009 of 23 October. This introduced a new normative framework that emphasised the role of SRUs, stressed the financial complementarity between public investment and the landowner’s duty to carry out rehabilitations, and the need of public participation during planning stages (see, among others, Neto et al., 2014). In the case of Porto that role was given to PortoVivo, which as a consequence expanded its area of interest³³.

3.3.4 Porto and the new urban agenda for the EU

During the 2014–2020 programming cycle new tools were introduced as an attempt to *formalise* the EU-National urban agenda (see Section 2.4). Portugal embraced these new instruments through the partnership agreement with the EC: Portugal 2020. This framework sought differentiated strategies for territorial development, and mirrored the specific characteristics of each regional context. Therefore, Porto, as part of Norte region, was involved in the development of a complex set of strategic plans, to maximise its accessibility to EU funding (see Table 3.3). Among them, the mandatory urban development plan to

Table 3.3: Strategic Instruments for Urban Integrated Approaches in Porto. Source: author.

Programme		Territorial scale
EIDT	Integrated Strategies for Territorial Development	Metropolitan Area of Porto
PDCT	Pact for Cohesion and Territorial Development	
PAMUS	Sustainable Mobility Plan	
PEDU	Strategical Plan for Urban Development	Municipality of Porto
PARU	Urban Regeneration Action Plan	
PAICD	Integrated Action Plan for Deprived Communities	

access European financing—Plano Estratégico de Desenvolvimento Urbano (PEDU)—was designed by the municipality in conformity with national spatial planning framework to encourage urban development. Two actions plans, strongly related to urban regeneration were embedded in the document, accounting for a planned investment of over EUR 200 million (around 58.0% ERDF) (Câmara Municipal do Porto, 2015b). The first recognised the consolidation of ongoing processes of urban regeneration—Plano de Ação de Regeneração Urbana (PARU)—,and was subdivided in three territorial typologies in accordance to the particular strategies to be implemented (see Figure 3.13):

- PARU 1, historic waterfront (frente ribeirinha da cidade histórica);

³³The municipality asked for the conversion of PortoVivo target area (ZIP) into legally delimited urban regeneration areas (the so called Áreas de Reabilitação Urbana ARU).

- PARU 2, city centre (eixo central da cidade histórica); and
- PARU 3, old industrial area (envolvente do antigo matadouro e praça da corujeira).

The document established a group of measures that benefited from public and private investment (Câmara Municipal do Porto, 2015b): a) requalification of public spaces; b) enhancement of the ecological urban structure; c) rehabilitation of public facilities (services, commercial); d) reconversion of old industrial spaces; and e) rehabilitation of the housing stock. Regarding housing in the context of urban regeneration, the strategy encourages private interventions and for that matter several financial instruments have been launched by the central state, that supports intervention in buildings by capitalising on new housing regulations, and seeking to attract private dynamics.

The second one—Plano de Ação para as Comunidades Desfavorecidas (PAICD)—focused issues related to deprived communities and, for that, the municipality identified three areas where socio-economic and environmental issues persisted (see Figure 3.13). These areas were mainly characterised by the presence of social housing and *ilhas*, places with a high rate of unemployment and people at risk of poverty and social exclusion. PAICD was a clear expression of the integrated approach promoted by the EU in 2014–2020, combining small physical intervention with welfare projects focused on action groups to fight social exclusion and poverty under the community-led local development instrument.

In terms of the urban regeneration actors, in 2017 PortoVivo—a former partnership between the municipality and central administration—became fully owned by the city council. This meant a spatial expansion of the area under the company’s responsibility, as well as a redesigning of its mission, which ended up including interventions in the affordable housing.

Finally, other municipally owned companies have been acting with direct and indirect influence on the city’s urban regeneration. In particular, DomusSocial is currently the municipal housing company linked to interventions in social housing neighbourhoods—including maintenance of built stock, social facilities and development of social projects—, and inherits the responsibility for managing assets in the historic centre previously owned by FDZHP.

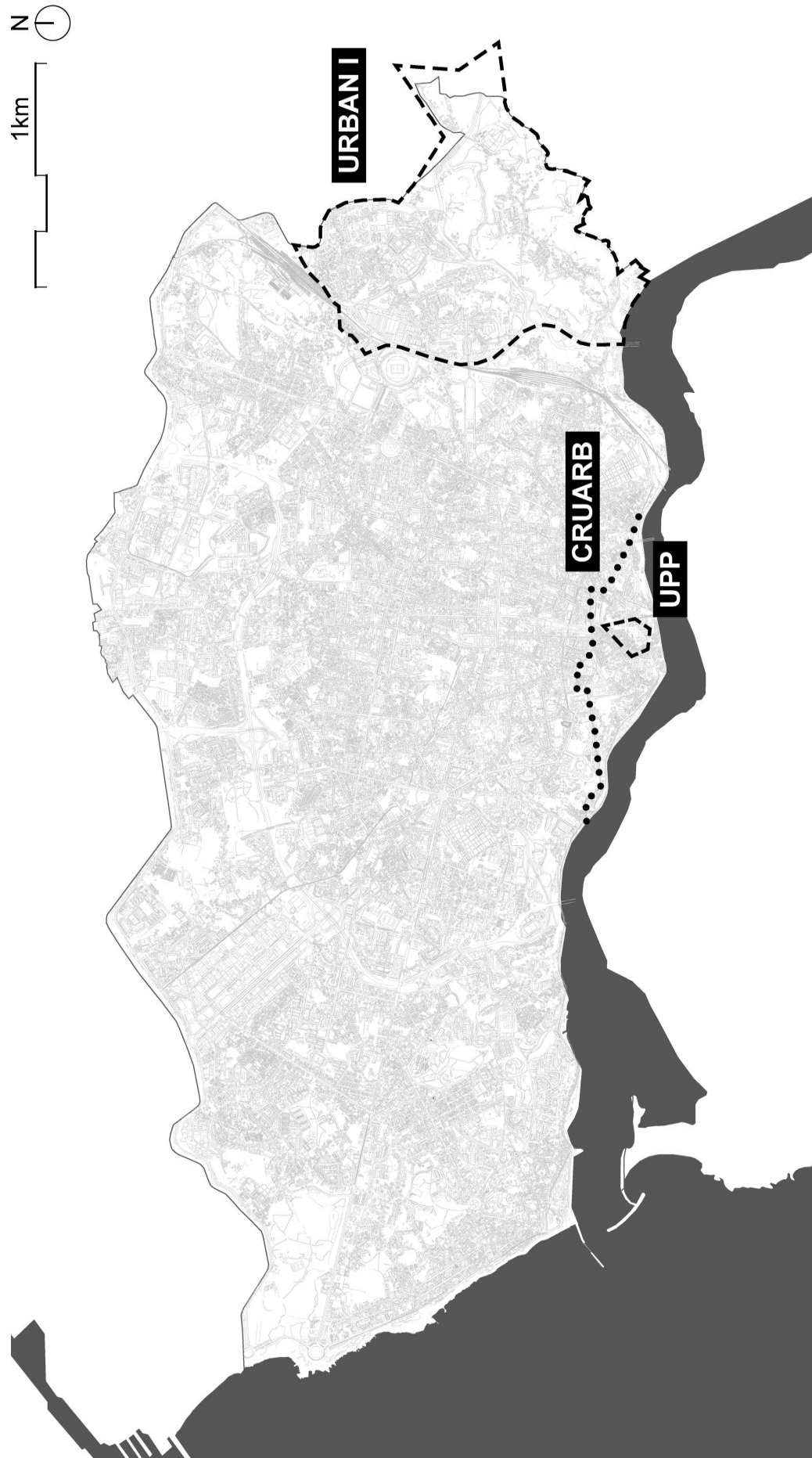


Figure 3.11: Spatial delimitation of the main urban policy tools in Porto during the 1990s. Source: author.

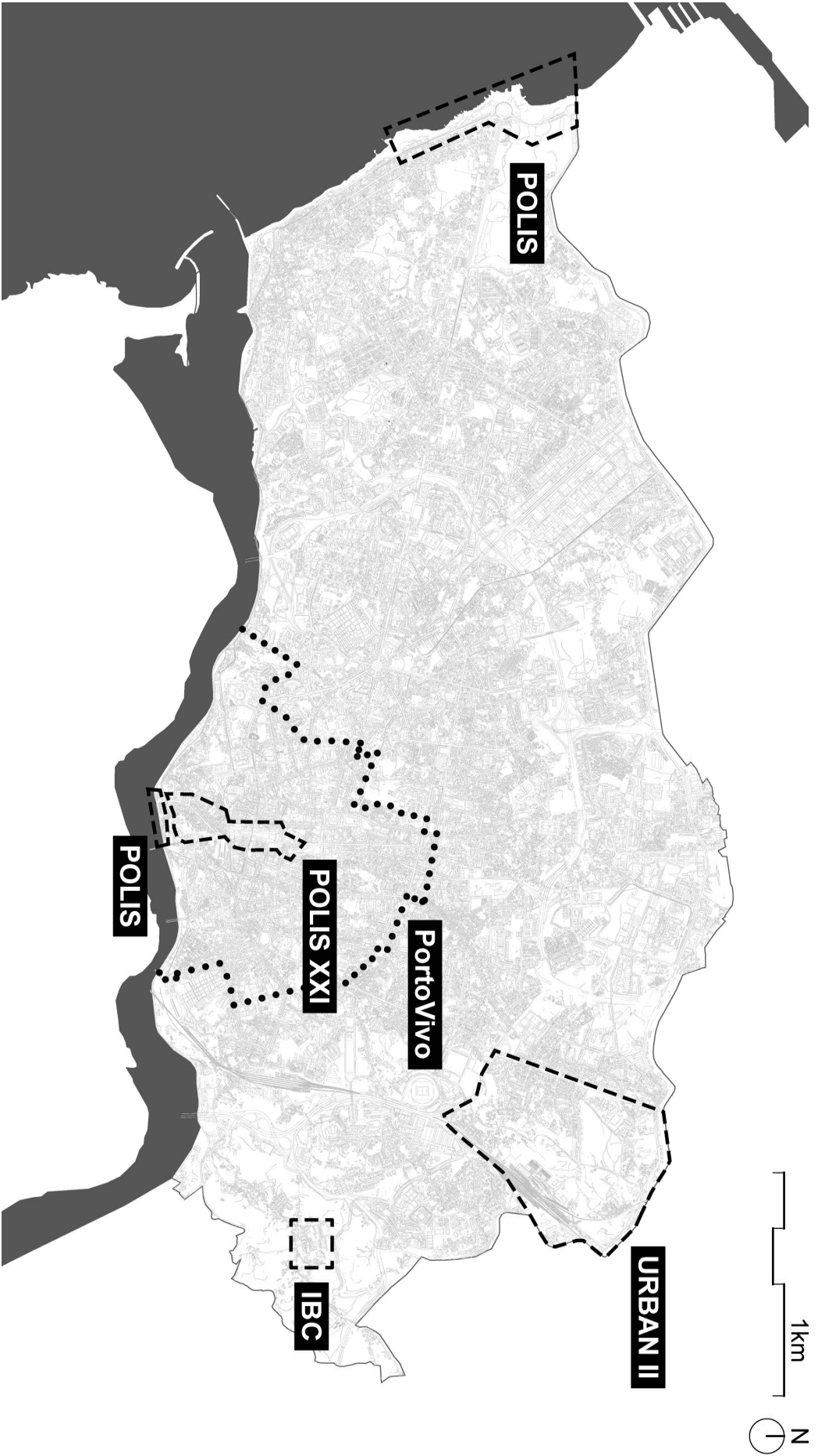


Figure 3.12: Spatial delimitation of the main urban policy tools in Porto between 2000 and 2014. Source: author.

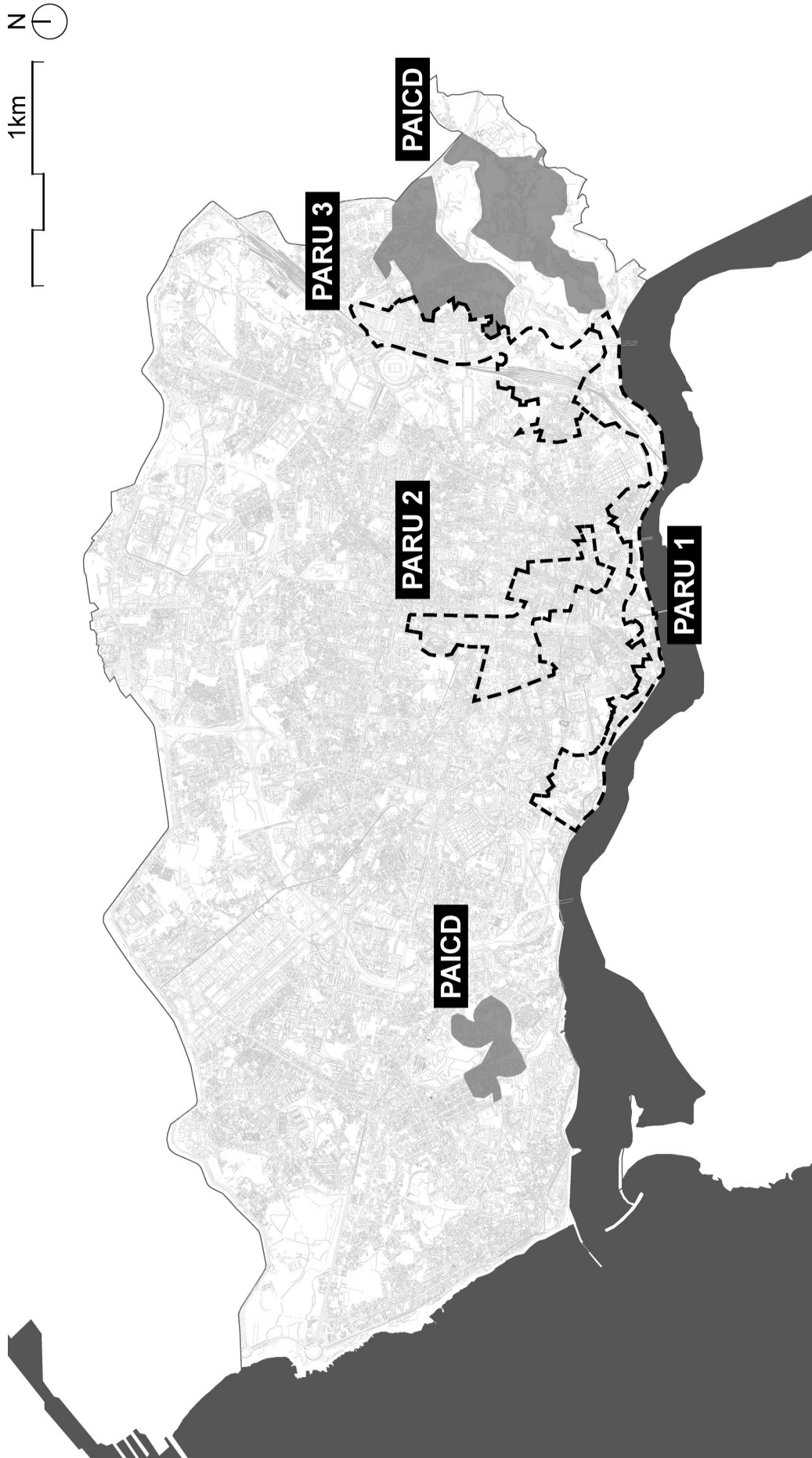


Figure 3.13: Spatial delimitation of the main urban policy tools in Porto since 2014 (PARU numbers according to the order in the text). Source: author.

Chapter 4

Case study: urban regeneration of Bairro da Sé

4.1 Overview of the context

The Sé area is located in the old centre of Porto and gives its name to the presence of the medieval cathedral¹ (see Figure 4.1). The area may also be referred to as *Bairro da Sé*, while the Portuguese word *bairro* in English stands for neighbourhood, or *Morro da Sé* due to the geographic feature of the terrain².

Its origins go back to the protohistory period when the Celts settled in the area due to its specific geographical features. The proximity to the river Douro enabled important maritime connections and possibly around the 1st century BC the Romans occupied the area (A. M. Silva, 2010). The borough grew around two urban centres: the higher ground area (Morro da Sé) was ideal for defensive reasons and the riverside area (Ribeira) allowed trading activities and functioned as a communication hub.

The main urban features of the area, as we see it today, were the result of the city's continuous expansion in the Middle Ages. The area was the heart of the city's medieval renaissance in the 12th century which included the construction of new buildings with different functions and importance (e.g., convents, inns, churches, administrative houses and squares), as well as defensive walls and watchtowers.

From then on, the Sé area experienced a gradual loss of attractiveness which was accompanied by social marginalisation and physical deterioration. Different aspects contributed for such unfortunate outcome, one of them being the urban renewal interventions³ in neighbouring areas during the 18th and 19th centuries which created new city dynamics.

By the end of the 19th century, wealthier merchants and tradesmen (that had the means to afford physical maintenance and vitality of the area) started looking for more

¹In Portuguese the word *sé* is derived from the Latin word *sedes* which refers to the place where the bishop has its chair (*cathedra*). In modern English *sé* refers to the word *cathedral*.

²The Portuguese word *morro* in English stands for hill.

³Among the interventions in the neighbouring areas of Sé was the reorganisation of several public spaces (including Ribeira and São Roque squares and São João street), the construction of São Bento railway station, the built of bridges (Dom Luís I as a replacement of the suspension bridge and Dona Maria Pia which connected the railway between Porto and Vila Nova de Gaia) and the demolitions to create Mouzinho da Silveira street.



Figure 4.1: Aerial view of Bairro da Sé, São Bento railway station and part of the riverside. Source: modified from Bing Maps, c. 2007.

attractive housing settings and began moving towards the periphery of the city. This is somehow explained by functional changes of the buildings associated with new lifestyles of the bourgeoisie. For such *upper class*, whereas before home and work were coupled activities (i.e., owners used the ground floor of the building for their business activities and the upper levels for housing purposes), there was a progressive division between workplace and living place.

In contrast, new dwellers began to arrive typically from rural areas, with few resources and searching for employment in the industrial sector. In most cases they moved to abandoned houses that have been divided into much smaller units for rent, in some cases as small as one single room (see Figure 4.2.). This increase in the number of underprivileged residents, associated with unemployment, led to the creation of alternative types of housing, namely overnight shelters also known as *casas da malta* (Assunção, 2010).

As a result of overcrowding the Sé neighbourhood began to fall into further disrepair.

The need to accommodate new people forced tenants to sublet their rooms and several illegal and substandard constructions were erected (see Figure 4.2). The absence of building maintenance, proper infrastructures and urban organisation (associated with illegal construction) resulted in narrow, dark streets, lacking basic health and safety conditions. In general terms, in the 1940s and 1950s the historic centre of Porto was already one of the most dilapidated, poor areas of the city and the initial strategy to address the problem involved the demolition of the affected areas.

In a study published in 1954, D'Aguiar (1954) surveyed the neighbourhood living conditions and reported the critical situation of the area. The author's description of the streets provides an overall idea of Bairro da Sé socio-economic and physical environment:

- Mercadores and Bainharia street—in average the buildings have 3 floors; both streets host a very high level of criminality, mainly associated with prostitution and drunkenness.
- Escura street—width of the street varies between 3 to 5 meters; buildings with 3 and 4 floors; presence of several grocery stores and taverns; during the day serves multiple commercial activities.
- Pelames street—width of street varies between 2 and 5 meters; buildings with two floors; a great number of dwellings are occupied by prostitutes whose living standards are very low.
- Santana street—buildings with 5 floors; the street has an inclination of 16.0%.
- Anjo alley—width of street varies between 1.5 and 5 meters; there is a shortage of health conditions and a public urinal; many dwellings are occupied by prostitutes associated with a considerable number of criminal cases.
- Dom Hugo street—buildings with one to two floors; contrarily to the situation witnessed in the rest of the neighbourhood, the environment is calm and the urban features adequate.
- Colégio square—structurally unstable buildings with unhealthy dwellings.

The Sé area witnessed multiple demolitions which are easily noticeable if we compare the urban fabric at the end of the 19th century and the current setting of the area (see Appendix A, Figure A.2). During the 1940s, as part of the strategy to expand the area public space around the cathedral, several blocks were demolished and in the 1950s, as part of the new road connections between Dom Luís I bridge and city centre (see Appendix B, Figures B.1 and B.2).

However, throughout the 1960s, an alternative approach began to be discussed, culminating with the *Study for the Urban Renewal of Barredo* under the co-ordination of Fernando Távora (see Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1969). While stressing the importance of adopting integrated urban intervention methodologies to solve the urban problems, Távora «gave voice to the idea that urban regeneration is not an issue limited to the execution of direct interventions carried out in debilitated areas but rather a broad question of urban policies and urban management, which should not be limited to these sectors but directed to the entire municipality» (Moniz, Correia, & Gonçalves, 2017, p. 8).

The revolution of 25 April 1974 mirrored the people's spirit to take action and fight against the multiple issues that the country's had accumulated. In particular, inadequate



(a) Two beds and one table.



(b) Improvised cooking area and clothesline.

Figure 4.2: Inside of a substandard dwelling in Porto in the 1960s. A single division, without private bathroom, for a family with two children. Source: CMP, retrieved online from Arquivo Municipal do Porto.

housing and living conditions (as the ones characterising Morro da Sé) were one of the issues to be tackled. As a response, the late Secretary of State for housing and urbanism launched the Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local (SAAL) between 1974 and 1976 as an approach to deal with the issue. This pioneering approach tried to give a quick response to immediate needs by introducing collaborative urban renovation processes which combined architects, engineers and the residents. At the same time it encouraged citizens to counteract precarious living conditions, poverty and high rate of illiteracy.

Despite facing real needs, in the short-living period of the programme, the Operation Sé (Operação Sé) delivered very modest impacts. In the early-stage, a street-cleaning activity was carried out and the technical team (brigada técnica) developed a two stage strategy with the help of the local resident's association (Associação de Moradores da Zona da Sé). The first stage included a diagnostic of the area and several programmatic arrangements for the operation that was to be implemented over the following years (i.e., renovation agreements with the landlords, the creation of temporary and definitive programme due to overcrowding and the selection of priority works). Although the second stage was rejected by the central administration and difficulties were faced with the need to relocate residents (which halted building works) it was possible to create public baths and a wash house for the community (Bandeirinha, 2007; Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1996a). With the creation of the first constitutional government, and after some issues and uncertainty regarding the programme's model, the Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local (SAAL) operations were progressively discarded.

During the 1970s, several interventions anchored in social and housing strategies were carried out under the co-ordination of Cruarb. This was a central state/municipality institution created in 1974 to tackle the critical situation of the historic centre, particularly the Ribeira-Barredo area (see Appendix B). Their aim was to provide better living conditions

while recovering the cultural and built heritage (J. Queirós, 2013). In 1982 its responsibilities were transferred to the city council and later, in 1985, it became embedded in the municipal office for the renovation of the historic centre—Direção Municipal do Projecto de Renovação do Centro Histórico⁴.

Also in 1985, due to increasing poor conditions, the Sé neighbourhood was almost entirely delimited as a critical area⁵ requesting regeneration actions (see Appendix B). Among the reasons for this delimitation was the lack of proper physical conditions and infrastructures with associated safety and health issues. The Cruarb became formally responsible to act in all the critical area of the historic centre, but Morro da Sé—where «only few interventions took place» (Lobato & Alves, 2012, p. 5)—didn't witness any major physical interventions. Furthermore, and apart from some building renovation, social problems—such as poverty, segregation of underprivileged and vulnerable groups—benefited from the action of different social care associations. In particular, a local partnership was involved in European Poverty II programme that geared actions specifically towards older people with financial difficulties (Alves, 2010).

The EC re-launched the programme for the 1989–1994 period and Porto city council created an organisation to be responsible for managing its implementation—Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Zona Histórica do Porto (FDZHP)⁶. It focused on social care activities to fight poverty and segregation of underprivileged social groups, and kept functioning after the programme completion.

In articulation with Cruarb, the work of these two institutions in Morro da Sé represents a *primitive* integrated area-based initiative. It mirrored a local level network approach to socio-economic and physical problems, which encouraged institutional cooperation, created space for participation, and helped learning processes.

Despite all their efforts, the neighbourhood undertook a negative social transformation (associated with delinquency, drug abuse and trafficking) which worsened the already fragile situation. By the early 1990s, Morro da Sé was probably the most deprived areas in the city, facing a wide range of socio-economic problems, combined by severe physical decay (see Figure 4.3).

After being involved in the initial studies for the application to UNESCO World Heritage Site, Cruarb was responsible for managing and implementing the European Urban Pilot Project in Morro da Sé from 1993 to 1998. As it will be further detailed in this Chapter, the project represented the first systematic attempt to reverse the situation in the area, and deployed a long process of urban regeneration. Concurrently, but under FDZHP management, the area was targeted by an European programme to fight poverty—Poverty III programme.

⁴In order to simplified reading, and while the working ideas and technical staff didn't suffer great changes, we will refer to both as Cruarb.

⁵The implementing decree DR No. 54/85 established, by request of the Câmara Municipal do Porto, eight critical area for urban recovery and rehabilitation (ACRRU) in the city.

⁶The FDZHP was created by the the municipality while they could not negotiate directly with the EC in order to access the diverse funding schemes. The structure involved a broad range of already active local partners and managed a strategic project to provide social support (Projecto da Zona Histórica da Sé e de São Nicolau).



(a) Social degradation.



(b) Rundown environment.

Figure 4.3: Critical social and physical environment conditions on Anjo alley, Bairro da Sé, c. 1990. Source: photos retrieved from Câmara Municipal do Porto (1998).

In 1996, the historic centre of Porto was classified as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, and together with the celebration of Porto as European Capital of Culture in 2001 and other mega events, the city became a place of transformation and challenges related to tourism (see among others Carvalho, Chamusca, Rio Fernandes, & Pinto, 2019; Chamusca, Rio Fernandes, Carvalho, & Mendes, 2019; Gusman, Chamusca, Rio Fernandes, & Pinto, 2019; Santos & Branco-Teixeira, 2020).

In 2004, the creation of Porto urban regeneration company—PortoVivo—marked a new effort to bring about change at Porto’s city centre, including the Sé area. After presenting a non-executive master plan for the urban and social renewal, the company developed the Sé Programa de Reabilitação Urbana. As it will be further detailed in this Chapter, the strategic document recognised persistent patterns of social and physical degradation, and the need to integrate multiple actors to reverse the situation. The new vision for the area (see PortoVivo, 2006), based on cultural, commercial, touristic and leisure activities and housing, resulted from in-depth analysis of the area’s condition which included small-scaled strategic documents⁷.

Its implementation benefited from the alignment with Política de Cidades POLIS XXI, and in 2007 a formal partnership was established to carry out a three year action plan. Under the Parcerias para a Regeneração Urbana (PRU) tool, these two elements were mandatory requirements for the admission to financing from the North Regional Operational

⁷The area was divided in 11 intervention units (*unidades de intervenção*) which corresponded to delimited blocks (*quarteirões*) and for each of them was designed a strategic document (*documento estratégico*).

Programme. In addition, the company put together a resettlement strategy to provide temporary accommodation to residents that had to be transferred (in order to carry out rehabilitation works), and repopulate the neighbourhood.

Although several difficulties were faced during the implementation, the action programme and its partnership contributed for the overall (long term) regeneration process in Sé. After its official completion in 2015, Porto Vivo, Sociedade de Reabilitação Urbana do Porto (PortoVivo) continued to carry out the regeneration strategy for the area, in particular, with the works of the Permanent Resettlement Programme. In 2020 most of the rehabilitation works within the strategy were concluded, and the programme was still running.

In addition to the Sé Rehabilitation Programme, PortoVivo was also responsible for developing a management plan for the city's Historic Centre (presented in 2008, see the publish edition Câmara Municipal do Porto and PortoVivo (2010)). The plan included a dedicated strategic focus to the protection, preservation, restoration and appreciation of the heritage, in which Bairro da Sé was included. Operation Sé (rehabilitation of the building ensemble) was interconnected with the above mentioned programme and posed the following objectives: a) «integrate Sé in the context of revitalisation of the city centre»; b) «renovate and conserve the building ensemble»; c) «improve standards of citizenship»; and d) «attract new residents, envisaging social balance and revitalise its structural area» (Câmara Municipal do Porto & PortoVivo, 2010, p. 163).

While some activities faced unexpected challenges and delays, Operation Sé is still taking place. PortoVivo still emphasis the importance to finish the project, as the neighbourhood holds great historic, architectural and cultural value. In addition to PortoVivo, other city council owned companies, such as DomusSocial⁸ and GO.Porto⁹, have been acting in the historic centre. Their responsibilities include the conservation and maintenance of the city's housing stock, social facilities and municipal infrastructures, development of social projects and the requalification and promotion of works in public spaces and facilities.

For the 2014–2020 European programming cycle, the city developed an urban development strategy which included an urban regeneration action plan (see Câmara Municipal do Porto, 2015b). The wider spatial extent and organisation of this tool is much different from the other area-based interventions that targeted Sé. However, part of the neighbourhood was included in the plan's target area, and expected to benefit from the outcomes achieved through other actions.

While the Portuguese territory is structured in three tiers of government (Regions, Municipalities and Civil Parishes), until 2013 Sé neighbourhood and its surrounding areas formed one civil parish¹⁰ – Freguesia da Sé. While is difficult to find data for Bairro da Sé,

⁸DomusSocial is a city council owned company responsible for promoting housing matters in the city including the management of social housing, the conservation and maintenance of the city's housing stock, social facilities and municipal infrastructures as well as developing social projects.

⁹GO.Porto is a city council owned company, responsible for the requalification and promotion of works in public spaces and facilities

¹⁰*Civil parish* is used here to refer to the Portuguese word *freguesia*, which is a small area of the city that has a publicly elected local government body. This subdivision has its origins in ecclesiastical divisions. The municipality of Porto is currently subdivided in seven civil parishes due to the administrative reforms resulting from the financial crisis of 2008. Sé was until 2013 an autonomous *freguesia* and was amalgamated

the information for the civil parish is here referenced to represent the overall demographic trend of the area. The civil parish territory, covering around 48 ha has been losing population since 1950, as well as a reduction in the number of families, dwellings and buildings (see Appendix A, Table A.1). If one compares this trend with the progress at the city and country levels, in contrast the negative growth has been constant (see Figure 4.4).

The overall decline in population as been particular felt in Porto city centre, as well as in some parts of Bairro da Sé (see also Appendix A, Figure A.4), and along with it there has been a progressive loss of vitality. Among the reasons presented to explain this situation were: a) the inadequate urban morphology that has been struggling to adapt the changing living habits; b) the rather poor conditions of the physical environment; and c) the transfer of people and businesses away from the centre (PortoVivo, 2005). In addition, other less direct aspects might have contributed to this event. For instance, in Bairro the Sé, issues of overcrowding were dealt by relocating families in other areas of the city, the shortage of green/leisure spaces, the incompatibility of the area with private transportation, and more recently the increasing *musealisation*¹¹ of the area, might have also contributed to draw people away (see, among others, Alves, 2017b; Carvalho et al., 2019).

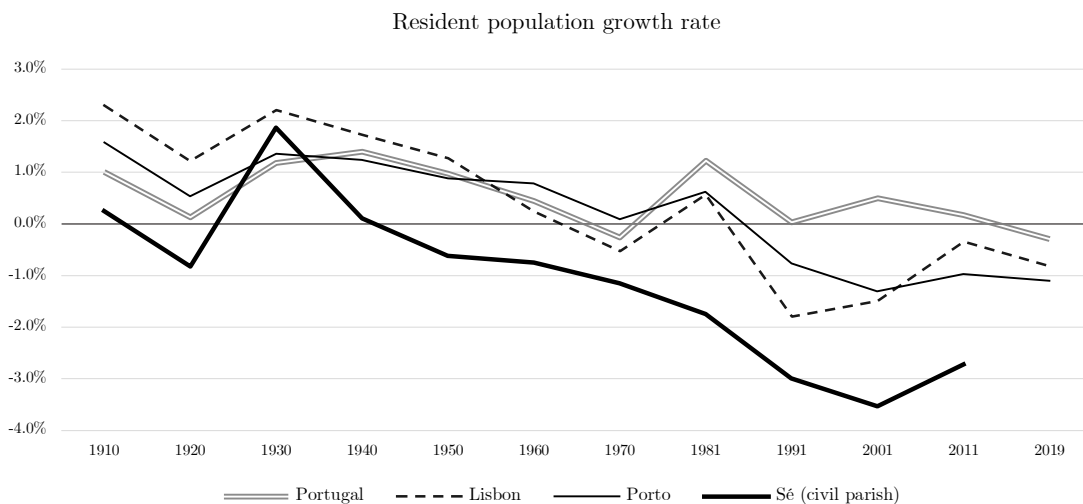


Figure 4.4: Population growing rate in Portugal, Porto and Sé civil parish. Source: author’s elaboration with data from Portuguese National Institute of Statistics.

In 2011, according to the latest national census¹², the number of residents was 3,460, 46.5% of whom men, and 53.5% women, with the following age distribution: 15.8% with less than 20 years old; 58.0% with more than 19 and less than 64 years old; and 26.2% with more than 65 years old. In what concerns the working situation of the residents, 33.6% of the people with more than 15 years old was employed, 11.9% unemployed, 34.3% already

with other five civil parishes. Currently the unit’s name is União de Freguesias de Cedofeita, Santo Ildefonso, Sé, Miragaia, São Nicolau e Vitória.

¹¹This term is also used by Colini, Pecoriello, Tripodi, and Zetti, to while providing interesting evidences from the case of Florence, Italy (see Colini et al., 2008).

¹²The 2011 census statistical data for Sé civil parish was gathered online from the Portuguese National Institute of Statistics website. The area’s geographic reference code is 131214.

retired and 5.2% was studying. In total 48.5% of the resident population didn't reported any economic activity.

From the 1,583 families living in Sé civil parish, 70.9% had one to two members, and 19.2% of all families had at least one unemployed person among its members. In addition, 14.4% of the residents with more than 64 years old lived alone or with people from the same age group, and 13.3% of the 2788 dwellings were occupied by families made exclusively of people with more than 64 years old.

Regarding the occupancy and ownership of the dwellings in Sé civil parish, 37.4% were vacant and among the occupied, 75.0% were rented and 18.9% was owner-occupied. Finally, as regards the typologies of dwellings, 16.1% have up to 2 rooms, 54.9% between 4 and 5, and 29.0% have five or more.

In addition, the 2011 census provides a general idea of the built heritage condition in the case study area (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Building's state of conservation in Sé civil parish, 2011, by period of construction. Source: author, data from Portuguese National Institute of Statistics.

Building Conservation	Period of Construction					Total
	Prior to 1919	1920–1960	1961–2000	2001–2005	2006–2011	
No need of repair	219	134	33	31	30	447
Minor repairs	221	117	10	8	1	357
Moderate repairs	150	71	1	0	1	223
Major repairs	53	32	0	0	0	85
Severely degraded	51	15	0	0	0	66

Note: data for *Freguesia da Sé*, extracted from the *V Recenseamento Geral da Habitação, quadros de apuramento Q2.05*.

In its current configuration, the Sé area is physically delimited to the south by a natural rocky slope that descends to the Barredo area and Ribeira riverside. On the east and west sides, several wide and busy streets isolate the Sé neighbourhood, while connecting the city centre. To the east part, Mouzinho da Silveira street links the riverfront to the São Bento railway station and to the central Aliados avenue. To the west, Dom Afonso Henriques and Vímara Peres avenues make the connection between the station and Dom Luís I bridge, which connects Porto to the neighbour municipality, Vila Nova de Gaia (see Appendix A, Figure A.1).

A thorough survey made during the elaboration of the strategic documents (2007–2008) for the city centre area showed that the Sé neighbourhood served mainly residential functions, sometimes shared with offices and small commercial activities (such as coffee shops and restaurants, craftwork and traditional shops, grocery stores) located on the ground floor (see Figure 4.5). Additionally there are multiple facilities such as social care associations (targeting elderly citizens), museums, monuments, churches, a market and buildings linked with the Catholic Church.

At that time, it was also possible to access the physical condition of the buildings (good, fair, decaying, advance state of decay) and need of rehabilitation works (low, moderate,

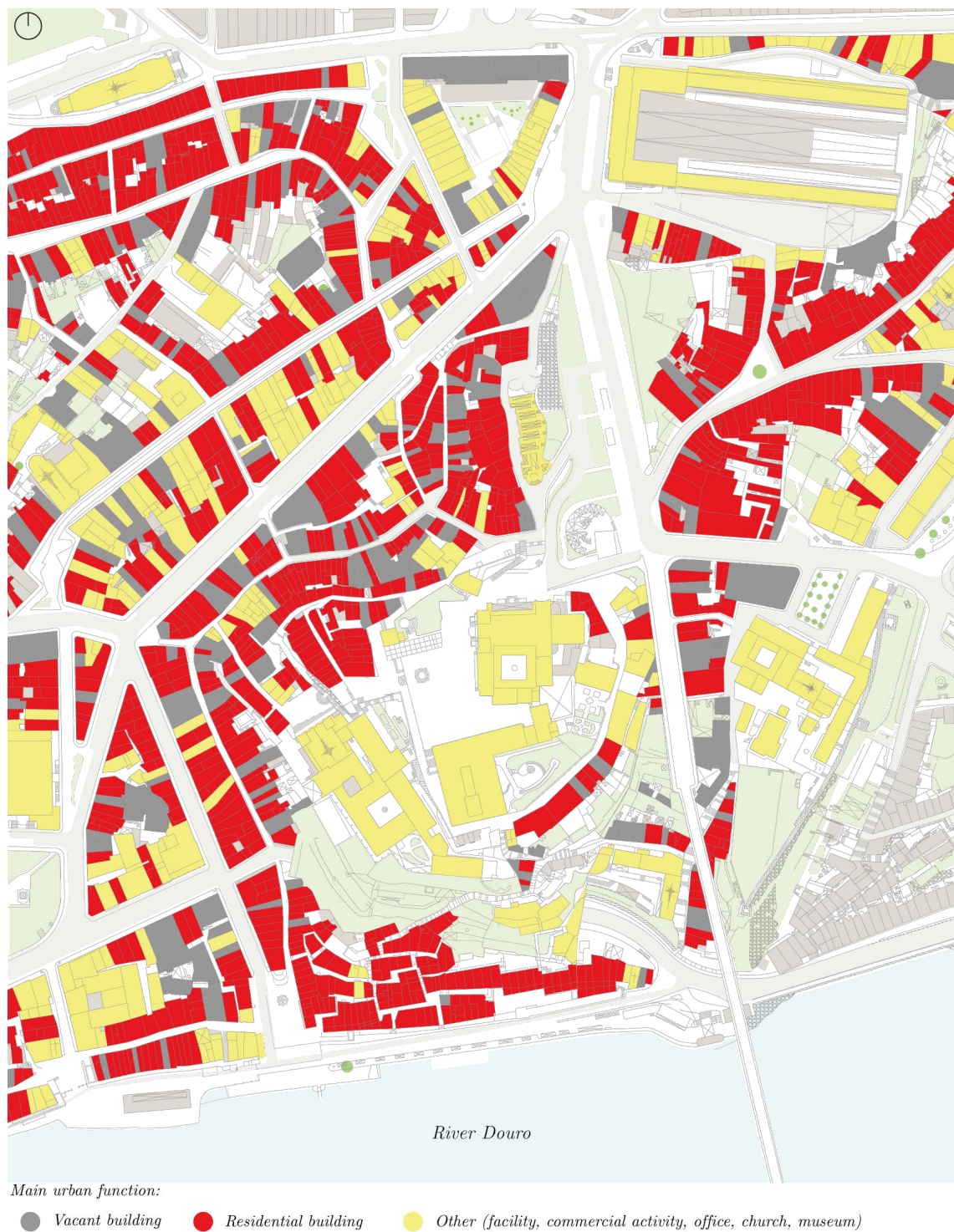
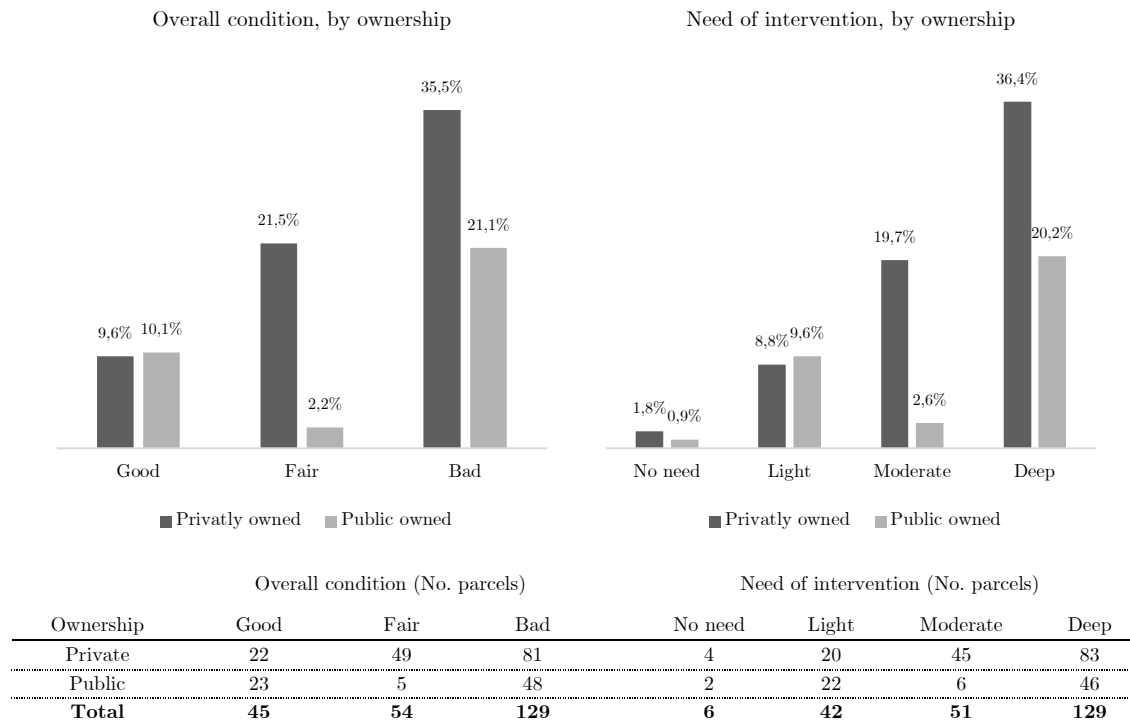


Figure 4.5: Bairro da Sé and surroundings, main urban functions in 2008. Source: modified from Câmara Municipal do Porto and PortoVivo (2010).

high), as well as ownership (public *vs* privately owned buildings) and type of occupation of the single dwellings (vacant, rented or occupied by the owner).

The analysis of data available in the strategic documents showed that—within the 10 blocks needing intervention in the target area of Operation Sé—, there were in total 228 parcels, of which 33.4% were public-owned. Regarding the state of conservation, 56.6% of the total were in bad conditions, and only 2.7% didn't asked for rehabilitation works (see Figure 4.6). Thus, the number parcels in need of works was 222, 148 of which privately-owned and 74 publicly-owned. This was representative of the great challenge for all local actors in order to reverse the situation.

Conservation of built environment in Morro da Sé, 2008



Note: data elaborated from *Documentos Estratégicos, PortoVivo: Quarteirões 13029, 14002, 14011, 14031, 14037, 14046, 14047, 14048, 14050, 14052*.

Figure 4.6: Physical characterisation of Bairro da Sé in 2008. Source: author.

4.2 1993 Urban Pilot Project (UPP)

As we saw in Chapter 2, the Urban Pilot Project (UPP) initiative was restricted to some specific themes, in particular the development of areas facing social and economic deprivation, in need of environmental improvements, as well as neglected historic centres requiring economic revitalisation (European Commission, 1998a).

The Porto UPP launched in 1993, targeted a small area within the historic Bairro da Sé with approximately 3.25 ha (see Figure 4.7), «in the hope that concentrated investment would have a maximum impact and pave the way for further long-term interventions» (European Commission, 1999). Different challenges and opportunities motivated its delimitation. In the one hand, the urban fabric's advance state of decay, the concentration of social

issues and the poor commercial context, required immediate intervention. On the other hand, the cultural and patrimonial richness of the area represented great potential. Due to its strategic location—as a linkage between the city and its riverside—the area could benefit from the wider urban regeneration processes happening in the city, and the area’s touristic potential could attract new people.



Operation:

● Public spaces ● Community centre ● Amenities ● Head office ● Housing ● Cultural heritage/tourism

Figure 4.7: Porto Urban Pilot Project, area of intervention and actions. Source: modified from Câmara Municipal do Porto (1996b, 1998).

During the 1980s the Sé neighbourhood saw its social and physical context becoming increasingly deteriorated. Thus, the city council was carrying out a Municipal Project for the Restoration of the Historic Centre. The Urban Pilot Project widened the array of rehabilitation activities under the Cruarab which embraced the responsibility to develop and implement the European initiative.

The mission was to renovate public spaces, restore built heritage, safeguard archaeological findings, contribute to the network of social and touristic facilities as well as revitalise economic, cultural and social activities. A comprehensive programme was developed to achieve such vision, and a set of objectives was stated (Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1996b; European Commission, 1999):

- Preserve the area's cultural assets and architectural heritage;
- Renovate the neighbourhood's urban environment;
- Provide housing to temporarily relocated residents during the rehabilitation works;
- Consolidation and development of tourism;
- Expansion and revitalisation of commercial activity;
- Implementation of a local partnership network with public and private actors.

UPP strategy

In the face of socially and physically degraded conditions, the project introduced an (*innovative*) integrated area-based approach in order to deploy the ideal development conditions for the future.

Therefore, rather than a *violent action*, which could have had negative effects, the programme's strategy encouraged a slow, but progressive, process of regeneration *metamorphosis*. The UPP strategic programme was built on inter-related and inter-dependent strategies (see Table 4.2) which sought to positively integrate the local community and create an attractive and accessible neighbourhood (Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1996b).

Moreover, the actions were «carefully selected to maximise physical impact and generate spin-off effects» (European Commission, 1998a, p. 15) while «remaining sensitive to the area's heritage and local culture» (ibid., p. 46). Due to the integrative nature of the programme, the actions had touching points between each other, and the effects of a particular action were also expected to influence the other measures.

In addition this strategy, the programme relied in additional *operational measures* related to the co-ordination and implementation of the UPP (including the creation of the UPP office), the exchange of experience, planning/urban research and monitoring/evaluation.

In order to encourage all actors to show a spirit of compromise and respect towards the residents, the UPP created a local office (located on Colégio square, see Figure 5.7) to promote a relationship of trust between people and institutions. The office not only «played an important role, by helping to raise public awareness of the changes in the historic centre,

Table 4.2: Porto Urban Pilot Project, thematic objectives and reported outcomes. Source: modified from Câmara Municipal do Porto (1998)

Strategic Axle	Sub-projects and Actions	Objectives
Cultural Promotion and Heritage Conservation	Heritage restoration and conservation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Grilos church</i> ▪ <i>Museum of Sacred Art</i> ▪ <i>Antiga Casa da Câmara (ancient city hall)</i> 	Bring out the architectural and historical features of the area and enhance its cultural assets; Renovation works in the Grilos church; Lighting public monuments;
	Research on the history and evolution of Sé: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Historical characterisation of the area</i> ▪ <i>Archaeological and heritage programme</i> 	Open up the sacred art museum to the public; Create a new multipurpose public facility; Archaeological excavations.
Improvement of Urban Environment	Public spaces and infrastructures requalification: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Streets and public space renovation</i> 	Enhance the physical appearance of area by refurbishing public spaces; Provide underground infrastructures;;
	External building rehabilitation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Rua das Aldas (rehabilitation of building's facades)</i> New public spaces: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Praça da Viela do Anjo (creation of public square)</i> 	Rehabilitation works on degraded facades and the creation of a new square would bringing out the area's historic and aesthetic characteristics and improve the overall liveability.
Social Support	Casa Amarela (community centre for the elderly)	Rehabilitate a critically dilapidated building and creation of a support centre for the socially excluded, in particular the elderly;
	Ilha da Rua das Aldas (substandard housing rehabilitation)	Renovate housing units and improve living standards;
	Largo do Colégio Block (social facilities)	Providing new social facilities and install the UPP Office (a meeting point for all the stakeholders, including residents).
Economic and Touristic Promotion	Tourism promotion: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Torre Medieval (touristic information centre)</i> 	Establish a network to support tourism by installing a new tourist information office; Create jobs and deploy a new business dynamic based on traditional activities while diversifying the area's economic development;
	Local business revitalisation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Characterisation study and research</i> ▪ <i>Co-ordination centre for commercial activities</i> ▪ <i>Largo do Colégio 9/12 (commercial spaces)</i> 	Attract new people to move in by providing financial incentives to stimulate economic investment.

disseminating information to local people, and strengthening residents' confidence in the further regeneration of the area», but underpinned the partnership and co-operation works.

The implementation and management of Porto UPP was under the responsibility of Cruarb. This municipal body had been responsible for regeneration activities in neighbouring areas of the historic centre of Porto and had built up experience. In addition, a smaller multi-disciplinary managing team was set up to have a strong presence in the area (therefore enhancing civic participation) and manage the different partnerships, execution and consultation procedures. It was expected that this team could extend the UPP effects even after its official closure.

Among the actors involved in the different partnerships, were local public institutions and local associations (social, cultural and retail), residents, religious bodies and private organisations. The work in partnership was reported to have «facilitated the project implementation process» (European Commission, 1999). This resulted from not only having a dedicated local project managing team, but also the fact that partnerships were oriented for a well defined and fixed objective. Among the stakeholders involved directly in partnerships, and that enabled a sustainable long-term use of the actions carried out during the UPP were, the Porto major seminary¹³ to support culture promotion), Porto

¹³Seminário Maior do Porto

retailer's association¹⁴ to support local business and private investment, and pensioners' association of Sé¹⁵, to support social issues.

UPP outcomes

The UPP ran for 5 years (1993–1998) and its implementation period was 2 years longer than initially envisaged¹⁶ due to a set of challenges and difficulties. It is reported that the nature of project (regeneration of an historic centre), complex administrative burden (which ensures transparency in the proceedings) and the late payments by the EC were among the main reasons for the delays (Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1998, p 53). Moreover, the expected timeline was argued to be inadequate for the tasks, which resulted in the deadline extension. Unexpected difficulties were experienced in securing alternative accommodation for about 85 families from the target area while rehabilitation was on the way. At the same time «archaeological unearthing necessitated lengthy excavations and investigation procedures» (European Commission, 1999) which weren't predicted.

Under Article 10 of the ERDF regulation, the EC co-financed ECU 3,515,000 which accounted for 61.7% of the initial eligible budget (ECU 5.7 million). However, the final eligible costs increased by 8.9% (ECU 6.2 million) and the actual final total cost of the UPP of Porto, including non-eligible expenses, was around ECU 9.8 million. The non-eligible expenditures were related to temporary relocating costs, the renovation of housing units and unexpected/additional works (Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1998).

Despite the budget deviation, the European Commission (1999) reported that the project succeeded in meeting its initial objectives and the Sé image «changed dramatically since the start of the Porto Urban Pilot Project»(para. 41). It «proved to be very successful in combining physical interventions to conserve and upgrade the historical fabric, with carefully targeted measures to promote the economic potential of the area and to improve the quality of life of its local residents»(para. 51). Moreover, it was claimed the project was able to act «as a catalyst for further public and private investment in the area»(para. 5), thus improving the image of the neighbourhood, building confidence among the residents and boosting relationships between local stakeholders.

The actions to promote culture and heritage conservation accounted for ECU 956,187 (9.7% of the total final cost) and were reported to have been *particularly successful*. The church of São Lourenço (commonly known as *Igreja dos Grilos*) was renovated and the works included «cleaning and lighting the facades, repairing the ornamental stucco and bass relief, and restoring the ancient tiles in the sacristy» (European Commission, 1999, para. 35).

The Museum of Sacred Art, located on the premises of the major seminary¹⁷, was opened up to the public and the works included the rearrangement and cataloguing of the existing exhibits, a new direct access was built to provide public entrance to the museum

¹⁴ Associação de Comerciantes do Porto

¹⁵ Associação Convívio dos Reformados, Pensionistas e Idosos da Sé

¹⁶The original UPP implementation period was between November 1993 and June 1996. However, since the first part of the funding was only made available to the Câmara Municipal do Porto (CMP) in May 1994, the administrative arrangements relating to the projects' technical team started behind schedule.

¹⁷Seminário Maior do Porto

directly from the street. The cathedral received a renewed external lighting system creating an attractive night scenery. An architectural project was designed by Fernando Távora for the rehabilitation of the ancient city hall which ended up being completed in a further redevelopment phase, after the UPP conclusion. Last but not least, several archaeological excavations and studies were undertaken as part of the project, uncovering valuable elements of historical interest that date back to the Roman empire.

The most meaningful action in terms of funding reached almost ECU 2.7 million—representing 27.2% of the total final cost—, and was related to street renovation and environmental improvements. This action was reported to have gradually improved the image of the Sé. The different streets and squares within the target area were rehabilitated, which included placing new decorative paving on a total surface of 7,800 m² and replacing over 1,400 meters of underground infrastructures (electrical and telephone cables, public lighting, sewage, gas and water supply) along several streets (Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1998; see Figure 4.8).



(a) During works, c. 1996.



(b) Current situation, c. 2019.

Figure 4.8: Porto Urban Pilot Project, street works on Mercadores street. Source: figure 4.8a retrieved from Câmara Municipal do Porto (1996b), photo 4.8b by author.

The measure to intervene on the facades on Aldas street included new windows and doors, maintenance of roofs, upgraded water drainage and exterior painting according to the architectonic aesthetics of the area. In addition, 11 houses were rehabilitated in their interior (in most cases at the owners expense) which improved the living standards of the area. Due to its close proximity, this action contributed to the overall regeneration plan for the historic Colégio square near São Lourenço church, and reinforced the interconnection between different measures.

The creation of a new public space (Duque da Ribeira square) was the result of a two stage intervention and «successfully contributed to “opening up” the district, making it a safer place to live and work» (European Commission, 1999). After demolishing abusive constructions in degraded conditions, it was possible to create an open space in the centre of the street block, and convert it to an underground car park and a new square. The new restaurant and cultural facility made the area more attractive and contributed to the general economic and social revitalisation. In order to make the area more accessible different alleys that served as access were refurbished and a link was created between the lively Mouzinho da Silveira street and the square.

In a second stage six surrounding buildings were rehabilitated, displaying commercial uses in the ground floor and housing purposes in the upper floors, which also helped to improve the area’s image. It was reported that the living conditions in the most rundown parts of the neighbourhood were significantly improved, due in part to the demolitions on Anjo alley, and in addition, due the renovation of several poor housing units which were not eligible for EC funding and were covered by the municipality. Moreover, an improved environmental standard was achieved due to interventions in other buildings (cultural and touristic facilities) under the other strategic measures.

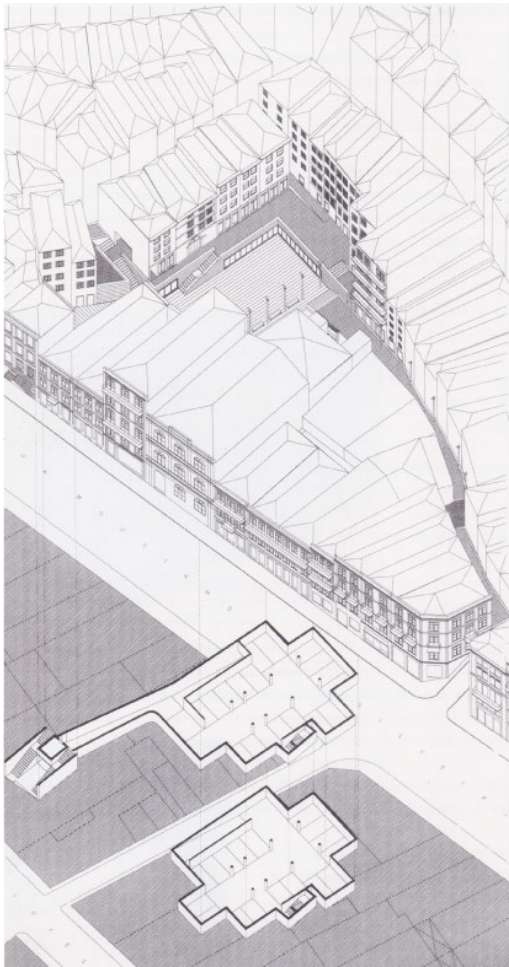
Regarding the strategic measures to support social issues, in particular displaced, socially excluded and elder population, one building was refurbished and its functions adapted to host a community centre—Centro de Acolhimento Temporário para Desalojados, Casa Amarela. The upper levels were divided into nine autonomous living units to provide temporary accommodation to households in need. In addition, the structure could provide daycare for up to 100 elderly people, including meals, leisure and recreation activities and health support services. The centre management was given to the pensioners’ local association¹⁸ as result of a local partnership with the municipality.

The activities related to the new social facility cost around ECU 1.0 million (10.3% of the total final cost of Porto UPP), which included additional measures to improve the overall safety in the area and reduce different risks (the renovation of public lighting, increased surveillance patrols and improved the fire fighting infrastructures, including a fire detection and alarm system and new fire hydrants).

A plan to renovate a substandard block of buildings in the proximity of Aldas street was made under the UPP as eleven families lived under health and safety risks. Due to the poor structural and living conditions the residents were relocated in renewed dwellings in the area and later the buildings were rehabilitated at the expenses of the CMP. Five new houses were created, maintaining the aesthetics of the area, and the exterior spaces were enhanced, including better accessibility.

A key element of the UPP of Porto was the creation of a multi-purpose facility on another square (Largo do Colégio, see Figure 5.7) which accounted for 9.9% of the UPP final total cost (ECU 977,363). For this purpose a block of dilapidated buildings was rehabilitated and converted to host variety of community facilities (including a recreation room, a restaurant and a bar), an information centre about the project and the UPP head

¹⁸Associação Convívio dos Reformados, Pensionistas e Idosos da Sé



(a) Exploded axonometric view.



(b) Aerial view, c. 2007.



(c) Perspective view.

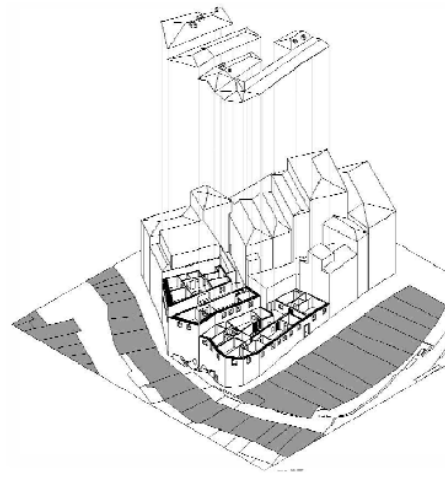


(d) Current situation.

Figure 4.9: Porto Urban Pilot Project, the new Duque da Ribeira square project and current situation. Source: figures 4.9a,4.9c retrieved from Câmara Municipal do Porto (1996b), photo 4.9b retrived online from Bing Maps, collage 4.9d by author.



(a) Plan.



(b) Exploded axonometric view.

Figure 4.10: Porto Urban Pilot Project, project for housing rehabilitation (Ilha das Aldas). Source: Mendes P., retrieved from Assunção (2010).

office (Centro de Articulação e Dinamização). The information centre meant residents «were kept informed of the developments and were given a forum for feedback» (European Commission, 1999), which enhanced the overall civic participation. The office was also responsible for monitoring activities¹⁹ and sought to attract private investment. In addition, it functioned as the point of contact between residents, technical managing team and public-private stakeholders. Partnership relationships were bolstered as the structure offered place for collaborative work in proximity to the true recipients of the project. In addition, three housing buildings at the back of the centre were rehabilitated at the expenses of the municipality which helped improve the image of the neighbourhood (see Figure 4.11).



(a) Front elevation of the project.



(b) During works, April 1998.

Figure 4.11: Porto Urban Pilot Project, plans for the head office, front elevation and works. Source: figure 4.11a retrieved from Câmara Municipal do Porto (1996b) and photo 4.11b by Carvalho L. retrieved from Lira (1999).

The different measures to promote economic and touristic potential of the area cost ECU 668,347 (6.8% of the total final cost of the project). The old medieval tower (located nearby the cathedral) had been used as historical archive of the city (until 1960) and before

¹⁹Sometimes the diagnosing and monitoring activities are referred to as Observatório Urbano.

the UPP served several local associations in diverse ways. While new (and more adequate) spaces were granted to these community groups, the space was converted into a tourist information centre and to its previous function as a documentation archive. The works included the conservation of exterior walls, structural reinforcement and new amenities. In addition, nine touristic routes were developed to attract visitors, which included signposting several key monuments and heritage landmarks.

The characterisation study on commercial activities identified around 80 businesses in Morro da Sé. A new regulation with support measures (including financial incentives) was created in partnership with the city's retailers' association²⁰. Technical assistance was provided in order for owners to update the exterior image of their shops and around 40 refurbished their spaces (including stonework, windows and doors, wall painting and store signs. It was reported that after the project new shops and different businesses were established in Morro da Sé, which resulted in the creation of new jobs (European Commission, 1999).

The renovation of two buildings located on Colégio square was also part of the measures to bring economic and touristic life to the area. The buildings were part of the great regeneration plan for that square (which, as mentioned above, saw the renovation of São Lourenço church and the creation of a multi-purpose facility) and included commercial spaces on the ground floors and apartments above. A new restaurant with a terrace, an office and a small *atelier* were created and during the works (see Figure 5.7b, the two buildings on the left), archaeological findings caused delays in the completion.

In addition, to reduce traffic congestion on the narrow streets of the neighbourhood, and promote pedestrianisation, car access was restricted to residents. Indirectly this measure and the project's emphasis on the rehabilitation of key monuments and sites, is reported to have increased the number of visitors to the area. Allegedly, the series of measures resulting from the UPP contributed for a new image of the Sé, increasing its attraction to tourists and encouraging newcomers to settle in the area. It was reported that «before the launch of the UPP, the city centre's residents considered the Sé district as an unsafe and unattractive area to live and work (where) physical decay and high crime rates meant that families who could afford to live elsewhere moved out» (European Commission, 1999). In addition, the official final reports of the project add that «an improved physical environment, better community services and a lively commercial sector»(ibid.) increased confidence among local people, a stronger sense of community and pride in their neighbourhood.

One year after the completion of the project additional achievements were claimed regarding the strategy for the area. Moreover there were high expectations for the Sé area (which ultimately were not met):

Since the start of the UPP and in particular after the designation of the area as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1996, this policy has evolved into a long-term integrated strategy for the regeneration of the area. The experience of the UPP has been instrumental in informing this strategy. To regenerate the city centre further, the Municipality has launched a number of other initiatives, including the rehabilitation of the sides of river Douro, running through the heart of the city, the restoration of

²⁰Associação de Comerciantes do Porto

the São Bento station and the construction of a bridge linking the Sé district to other neighbourhoods. Further private investment in the area includes a new hotel and further activities to revitalise local commerce, involving around 250 shops. In addition, Porto has been designated as Cultural Capital of Europe in 2001. This will undoubtedly act as a catalyst for further regeneration and restoration in the historic core and surrounding areas. (European Commission, 1999)

«The project's strength will lie in its ability to attract further development or regeneration works; a number of interventions have already occurred outside the remit of the UPP» (European Commission, 1998a, p. 46).

4.3 2006 Sé Urban Rehabilitation Programme (URP)

After the UPP intervention, Bairro da Sé began to fade into oblivion due to other emerging needs in different parts of the city—i.e., the concerns to host Porto 2001 European Capital of Culture and the URBAN initiative targeting more peripheral neighbourhoods. As a consequence, the initial long-term strategy lost intensity until 2004 with the creation of PortoVivo. The company assumed the responsibility for the urban rehabilitation in historic and critical areas of the city and the context was quite challenging. The situation was described by Câmara Municipal do Porto and PortoVivo (2010) as follows:

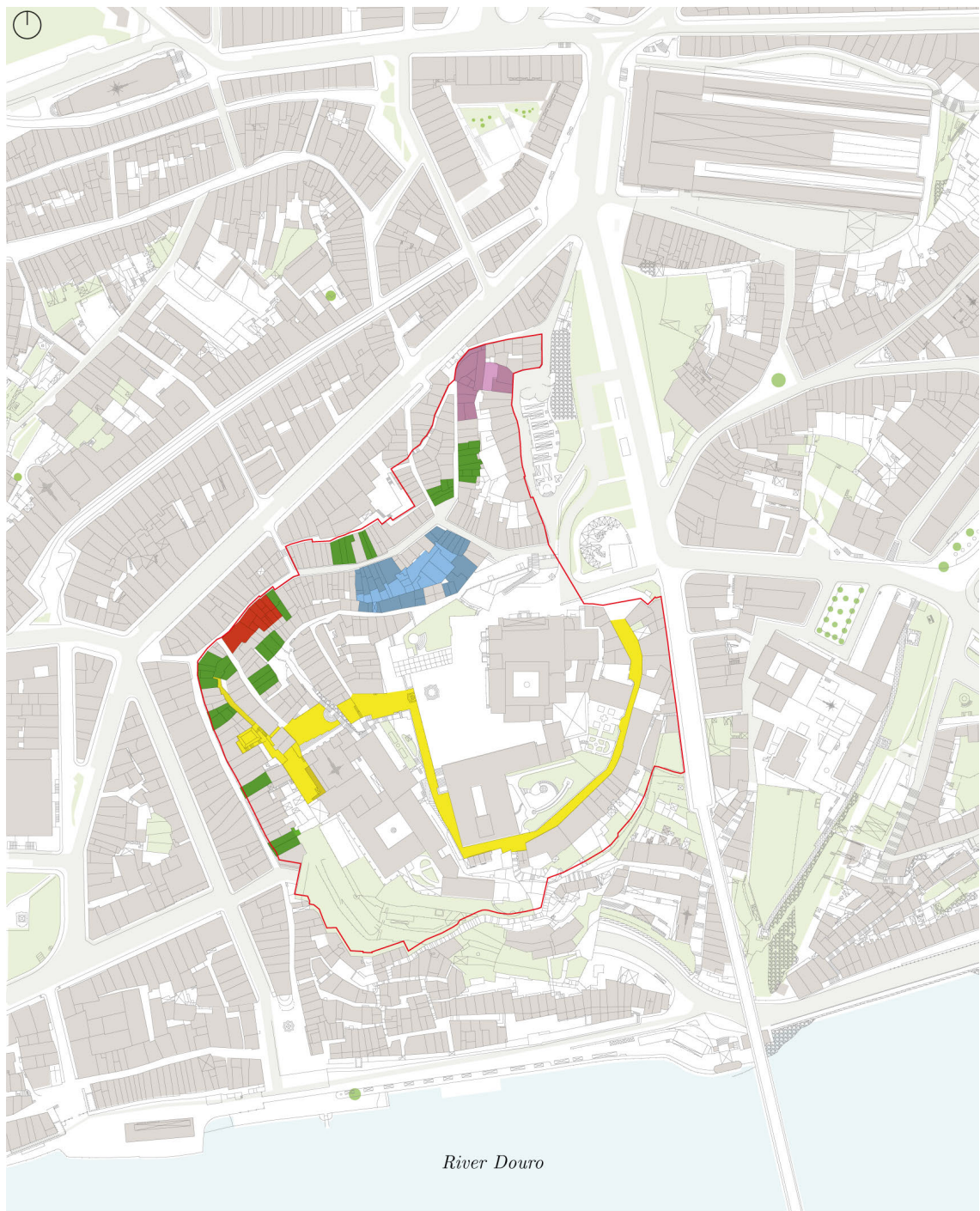
[in Morro da Sé] there are buildings in an advanced state of decay, the architectural heritage is impoverished, the environment attracts drug users and breeds criminality, commerce is in a poor state, there is a loss of self-esteem in resident families and this all creates a bad image of the city. (p. 163)

As regards the housing stock, in 2006 there were 285 buildings, 41.4% of which was in bad state of repair, and 883 dwellings, 41.0% was vacant and around 235 were rented. Finally, in the neighbourhood lived 367 families, 12.5% of which included a person with more than 64 years old, and the total population was 812 people (PortoVivo, 2006).

Following the new vision for Porto's city centre (reflected in the new master plan, see PortoVivo (2005)), PortoVivo developed a strategic Programa de Reabilitação Urbana for the Sé area. This document considered a target area of around 6 ha (see Figure 4.12) which was divided into 11 units (Unidades de Intervenção)²¹. Two of them corresponded to areas previously targeted by the UPP during the 1990s and didn't ask for greater action. In a later stage, and in accordance with the legal framework regulating the urban rehabilitation, each of these units was subject to the development of strategic intervention documents (Documento Estratégico)²² to get a better sense of the needs of the territory and develop individual (but integrated) strategies.

²¹According to Article 14, decree-law DL No. 104/2004 of 7 May, the intervention unit corresponded to a block of buildings (*quarteirão*), a patio or street and in some particular cases, to an individual building.

²²According to Article 15, decree-law DL No. 104/2004 of 7 May, the strategic document should include detailed informations regarding the buildings' state of conservation and intervention needs, the owners and landlords/tenants details and the strategic options in matters of rehabilitation, housing, facilities, transportation and infrastructures. In addition a budget estimate and time planning of the operations, as well as the potentially interested actors to participate in rehabilitation works.



Operation:

- Student accommodation
- Touristic accommodation
- Nursing home
- Public spaces
- Resettlement programme

Figure 4.12: Sé Urban Regeneration Programme, area of intervention and actions. Source: modified from PortoVivo (2012).

URP strategy

The Sé Programa de Reabilitação Urbana (URP) strategy was developed from a initial diagnosis of the neighbourhood that identified the key strengths and main weaknesses of the areas. The idea was to plan a strong operation, able to capitalise on the area’s centrality, its heritage value and the existence of many vacant buildings that offered the possibility do be repurposed. Moreover, the existing institutional tradition of the neighbourhood was seen as an advantage. In contrast the strategy had do deal with threats associated with the rundown building environment, a economic situation in decline, as well as, a set of issues that contributed for the negative image of the neighbourhood.

Therefore, the strategy carefully selected objectives that could give a new image to the neighbourhood : a) spatial integration between Morro da Sé and the city centre; b) rehabilitation of the housing stock; c) enhancing citizenship standards; d) achieve social balance; and e) promote economic revitalisation.

After defining the desired *vision*, the URP laid down the strategic vectors to guide the urban regeneration process of Bairro da Sé. These included aspects related to local governance (e.g., promotion of institutional partnerships), planning methodologies (e.g., implementing the management office), physical improvements (e.g., enhance the public space conditions), and economic revitalisation (e.g., creation of activity clusters and tourism).

As it was the case of the UPP, the programme promoted local partnerships between public entities, private sector and civil society. For that end, a *Urban Area Management* unit was created—and installed within the target area—, to develop, manage and monitor the revitalisation process. Similarly to *town centre management* (see Warnaby, Alexander, & Medway, 1998), this governance unit aspired a well-balanced articulation between the public and private dynamics, including the coordination of material and immaterial actions.

Table 4.3: Sé Urban Regeneration Programme methodology. Source: author based on PortoVivo (2006).

Implementation Principles	
Integration and Complementarity of Action Domains	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Building rehabilitation</i> ▪ <i>Social development</i> ▪ <i>Economic development</i> ▪ <i>Cultural development</i> ▪ <i>Improvement of urban environment</i> ▪ <i>Mobility</i> ▪ <i>Participative management model and planning actions</i>
Public-Private Partnerships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Inclusion of more (and new) operational actors</i> ▪ <i>Institutionalise the work in partnership</i> ▪ <i>Introduce new governance practices</i>
Spatial Planning Tools	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Act according to small-scale Strategic Documents</i> ▪ <i>Make use of spatial planning legal instruments (expropriation)</i>

Contrarily to the UPP that resulted from a direct initiative promoted by the EU, the URP presented a more intricate relationship with both national and European levels. In fact, the programme translates quite well the period of *mainstreaming* of EU urban policy through its regional policy.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, for that period the central government introduced the POLIS XXI city policy and the PRU tool. In turn, these partnerships to develop area-based, integrated operations became a mandatory prerequisite to access European funding. Therefore, can be seen as part of the national response to the Community mission of *mainstreaming* the urban dimension of its regional policy.

At the same time, to achieve the most urgent operations in Morro da Sé, the URP estimated a financial investment that reached almost EUR 40 million. Thus the city council decided to establish a partnership under the PRU arrangements (PortoVivo, 2014a; URBACT II, 2010), with four public institutions and three private stakeholders:

- i) Porto City Council (CMP);
- ii) Urban regeneration company (PortoVivo);
- iii) Municipal company for innovation/entrepreneurship²³;
- iv) Social support agency (FDZHP);
- v) Consortium between construction company²⁴, student accommodation company²⁵ and real state investment company²⁶;
- vi) Consortium between construction company (NOVOPCA) and real state investment company (NOVOPCA II); and
- vii) Audiovisual and multimedia production company (Widescreen).

At the same time, these partners were required to implemented an integrated area-based intervention—Action Programme_CH.1²⁷—that tackled three major fields of urban regeneration, and was based in eleven inter-related key projects (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Sé Urban Regeneration Programme projects. Source: author based on PortoVivo (2006).

Scope of Action	Projects
Physical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Rehabilitation of privately owned buildings;</i> ▪ <i>Rehabilitation of buildings for affordable housing</i> ▪ <i>Requalification of public spaces (Rua de D. Hugo/Largo Dr. Pedro Vitorino, Largo do Colégio, Viela de São Lourenço)</i> ▪ <i>Develop car parking alternatives</i>
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Develop a permanent resettlement programme</i> ▪ <i>Extension of the existent nursing home</i> ▪ <i>Actions within the Urban Area Management</i>
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Creation of a student accommodation unit</i> ▪ <i>Creation of a touristic accommodation unit</i> ▪ <i>Endorse local business modernisation;</i> ▪ <i>Actions within the Urban Area Management (support to entrepreneurial projects and vocational training)</i>

²³Associação Porto Digital

²⁴NOVOPCA

²⁵Sociedade Promotora de Residências Universitárias

²⁶NOVOPCA II

²⁷The original title of this document is *Programa de Acção para a Reabilitação Urbana do Morro da Sé_CH.1*, but to simplify reading and avoid ambiguity with the *Sé Programa de Reabilitação Urbana*, we adopt the term Action Programme_CH.1.

In addition, the URP benefited from a funding contract signed between the Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana (IHRU) and EIB which financed a parallel programme linked to the need to temporarily relocate families living in buildings subject to rehabilitation works—Permanent Resettlement Programme.

Finally, and equally significant, owners on their properties were requested to take an active role in the regeneration process by doing individual rehabilitation works. For that purpose, a set of tax policies, financial incentives and other support measures were available.

Despite this complex framework, the Action Programme_CH.1 had a central role. Therefore its contents, embraced not only the objectives outlined in the POLIS XXI policy, but the strategic planning features of the Sé URP. As an integrated area-based programme it articulated social, economic and cultural development and physical and environmental improvement, and in practical terms was implemented through 12 operations.

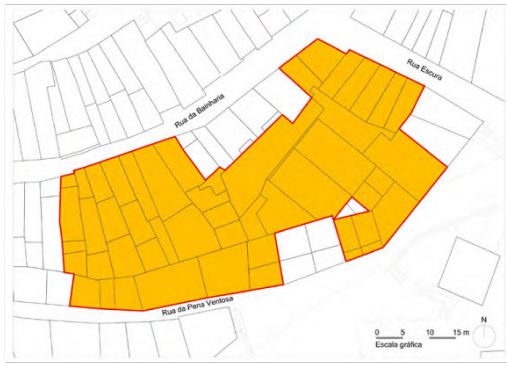
URP outcomes

The creation of a student off-campus residence to accommodate around 120 students (operation 1) was the first key action to achieve the desired revitalisation of Bairro da Sé. It aspired to bolster economic development not only by improving the built environment, but also by promoting new business activities, and to induce social balance. In practical terms, it meant renovating run-down buildings and adapting them to new functions, at the same time that attracted new, younger residents.

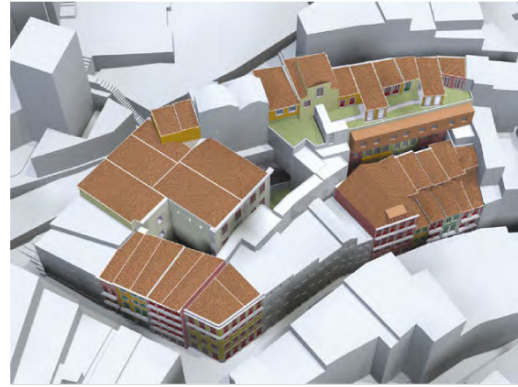
To implement this action, 22 buildings were acquired at the expenses of PortoVivo (11 private-owned and 10 belonging to the CMP), and families were relocated under the Permanent Resettlement Programme (see Figure 4.13). After that, the operation was led by a private consortium, responsible for the executive projects and construction, and a public institution, that was going to be responsible for managing the residence.

However, and still in a very early stage, the operation was suspended because the construction company became insolvent. As a consequence, the EC ended up withdrawing its ERDF contribution, estimated in EUR 2.45 million (PortoVivo, 2008b, 2013b). As it will be described further below, the failure to complete this intervention (initially estimated in EUR 5.67 million, 58.7% eligible for EC funding), undermined the overall revitalisation strategy. The second operation included the development of a touristic accommodation, and represented a key action to revitalise Morro da Sé. At the time (2008), and despite being one highly visited area of the city, there weren't any touristic facilities (PortoVivo, 2015a). Therefore, operation 2 was intended to not only rehabilitate an area of 3,500 m², but also to create a facility with 50 double rooms, restaurant and bar (see Figure 4.14). The location offered great views over the city landscape, and was close to the cathedral, and train and metro stations, that were very much appreciated.

As part of the rehabilitation process, PortoVivo acquired (at their own expenses) all the six necessary buildings—two public-owned and four private-owned—, and relocated two families under the Permanent Resettlement Programme. The remaining costs (EUR 4.23 million, 54.3% eligible for EC funding) was assumed by the private stakeholder. After that,



(a) Location plan.

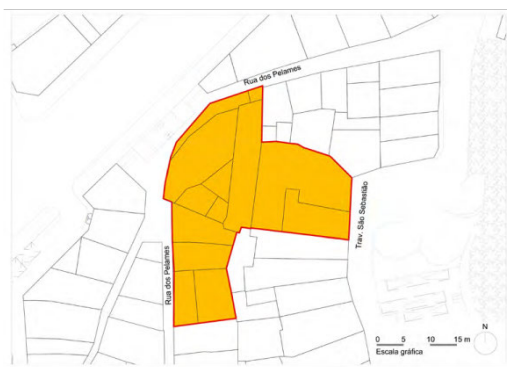


(b) Rendering.

Figure 4.13: Sé URP operation 1, project for the student accommodation. Source: retrieved from PortoVivo (2011, 2015a).

all the executive projects for the operation were finished (2010), and the initial archaeological surveys were successfully done. However, the same insolvency problems affecting the private partner, led the operation to a stop, and EC to quit its EUR 1.61 million financial support (PortoVivo, 2008b).

By the official conclusion of the Action Programme in 2015, PortoVivo stated that a new public call for tenders was going to be launched (PortoVivo, 2015a). However, this operation has been on hold, and as a goal for 2020, the company restated its efforts to carry it out. This will not only result in the rehabilitation of four buildings, but together with operation 1, shall boost local economic development and cultural promotion. (see PortoVivo, 2019a).



(a) Location plan.



(b) Rendering.

Figure 4.14: Sé URP operation 2, project for the touristic accommodation. Source: retrieved from PortoVivo (2011, 2015a).

Operation 3 involved social support by extending an already functioning nursing house located on Bainharia street. In order to improve the living conditions of elderly residents and increase the number of available rooms, contiguous buildings²⁸ were combined. All

²⁸These included disabled social facilities that were owned by FDZHP as well as an empty and degraded building which together allowed to quadruple the useful floor area.

these buildings were owned and managed by the partner FDZHP and the works that took place between 2011 and 2012 were done by the municipality.

During the rehabilitation works, elderly users were relocated in another public social facility in the neighbourhood. It was possible to increase the recreation areas, to restructure the kitchen and laundry room and to provide a general better organisation and fruition of the space. The operation expected total cost was EUR 730,278 (83.5% eligible for EC funding) and the contribution expected from the ERDF around EUR 427,000 (PortoVivo, 2008b). At the end, these numbers slightly increased and the total eligible investment executed was EUR 610,000 which corresponded to a ERDF support of EUR 518,500.

Given the high levels of physical degradation, where only 3.9% of the total built area didn't ask for intervention, it was essential to reverse the situation. Therefore, under operation 4—that had been designed to improve the image and energy efficiency of the built environment—, were conducted physical rehabilitation works in the buildings requiring intervention (PortoVivo, 2008b). Under the principle of *sustainability*, the operation sought better comfort and lower energy consumptions, and to that extent, a practical manual was published to answer some questions related to heritage, sustainability and building innovation—*Reabilitação de Edifícios do Centro Histórico do Porto. Guia de Termos de Referencia para o Desempenho Energético-Ambiental* (see PortoVivo, 2010).

Initially, the Action Programme_CH.1 expected financial investments to help leverage a great deal of building rehabilitation, both public and private owned. PortoVivo would encourage urban regeneration by acting in the exterior of the buildings, while the private owners would assume responsibility for the interior. This was specially important (and needed) for the landlords, while 61.9% of the total built area was privately owned, of which 79.4% needed rehabilitation (PortoVivo, 2008b).

However, the national managing authority of the SFs indicated that under this objective, only public property—including residential buildings and social facilities—, could benefit from financial support. As a result, operation 4 undertook works in buildings covered by the Permanent Resettlement Programme²⁹, that had been design to be financially *autonomous* and operationally independent.

As above-mentioned, the Permanent Resettlement Programme was PortoVivo's strategy to deal with the need to temporarily relocate families living in buildings subject to rehabilitation works. In total, 14 projects were developed to rehabilitate 29 buildings, create 71 new dwellings, and 11 spaces for economic activities (see Figure 4.15). The projects represented a combined effort to restore about 15.0% of the total built area of Morro da Sé, which corresponded to 15 commercial spaces and 52 new apartments (PortoVivo, 2020). Later, an additional project was included (Project 15), and although there were multiple setbacks, the city council was able to start renting part of the apartments. For further details on the Resettlement Programme operations and projects refer, among other sources, to PortoVivo (2011) and the academic works by S. Ferreira (2013), Freire (2016), Guedes (2013), Marques (2013).

²⁹As a matter of fact, while the buildings included in operations 1 and 2 were acquired by PortoVivo, they could also benefit from operation 4. However, since the rehabilitation works didn't start at time, the money was channelled to buildings under the Permanent Resettlement Programme.



Figure 4.15: Sé URP operation 4, front elevation of multiple projects. Source: retrieved from Freire (2016).

In spite of the great improvements made during previous interventions, in particular under the UPP, the physical environment remained poor in certain areas. This was not only the result of the buildings in decay but to the disregard towards public spaces and acts of vandalism. Therefore, Operation 5 tackled the rehabilitation of some key points as a element to input vivacity, particular: a) the refurbishment of Dom Hugo street; b) rearrangement of Colégio square and Doutor Pedro Vitorino square (see Figure 4.16). The works were carried out by the CMP office responsible for construction works in articulation with companies responsible for infrastructures which ran into some delays due to archaeological findings.

Overall the operation benefited from EUR 1.10 million from the ERDF which was slightly above the initial expected contribution (EUR 910,000), accounting for 85.0% of the final eligible investment (PortoVivo, 2008b). The non-eligible costs were incurred by the municipality.

Besides the operations mention so far—that directly tackled physical—, the Action Programme_CH.1 strategy relied on additional *non-material* operations. Operation 6, for instance, resulted in the creation of a technical local team that gave owners guidance and support to rehabilitate their properties. Apart from architectural and engineering advices, the team helped informing about available financing incentives and schemes.

The office was located in the area and opened functions in 2009 with a time-frame of 3 years. However, it kept running after the Action Programme_CH.1 conclusion and by



(a) Playground in 1963.



(b) Viewpoint after URP works, c. 2015.

Figure 4.16: Sé URP operation 5, public space rehabilitation, repurposed terrace near Grilos church. Source: photo 4.16a retrieved online from Arquivo Municipal do Porto and photo 4.16b retrieved from PortoVivo (2015a).

2015 it had managed 80 intervention processes (PortoVivo, 2015a). The expected total cost with this operation was EUR 232,297 and an ERDF contribution of EUR 140,000 (70.0% of the expected eligible investment). At the end the EC final contribution increased to 80.0% of the final eligible costs (EUR 182,594.60).

Operations 7, 8, 9 and 10 were interrelated and designed on the basis of the concept of *Urban Area Management* which was adopted by PortoVivo to act in the historic centre (see PortoVivo, 2008a). This strategic approach had been introduced in the Sé URP and was tested through the Action Programme_CH.1. It was an attempt to integrate actions, coordinate different local actors and municipal services by stimulating partnerships and articulate the private presence in the overall regeneration dynamics. Under operation 7 of the Action Programme_CH.1, an office was installed in Morro da Sé to put in place this strategic concept. Among the actions deployed PortoVivo highlighted the involvement with other ongoing projects with several schools and universities, projects to promote public safety and a better public environment, as well as social and economic activities.

Operation 8 set up a local office to promote entrepreneurial projects and perceived economic development of the neighbourhood. This could be achieved by bringing businesses to the area or supporting existing commercial activities, which would attract customers and potential employees. The operation was implemented by Porto Digital Association (Associação Porto Digital) which was a partner (owned by the municipality) specialised in innovation and entrepreneurship initiatives in the city.

Its implementation was not a smooth ride, as it faced external challenges related to the economic crisis. Nevertheless, according to the company's annual reports³⁰, during the implementation period of the Action Programme_CH.1 the office followed 344 projects which resulted in the creation of 13 new companies, and the creation of 47 new jobs. The operation benefited from EUR 56,395 from the ERDF, which represented 84.9% of the final

³⁰see *Relatório de Gestão do Concelho de Administração da Associação Porto Digital, Exercícios de 2009, 2010, 2011*.

total eligible investment (EUR 66,348).

Operations 9, and 10, which were also part of the *Urban Area Management* strategy, promoted social support activities and cultural development. Due to its presence in the area since the Poverty III programme (dating back to 1994) and the contact with local social care associations, FDZHP was the most suitable partner to deal with the social revitalisation. Thus, they were responsible for implementing the *Tales of self-esteem/Workshops* (Histórias de Auto-estima/Oficinas) that aimed to reverse risk behaviour and tackled delinquency and drug-addiction problems.

Operation 10 was led by a private partner (Widescreen) that was responsible to shoot a documentary film in Morro da Sé before, during and after the Action Programme _CH.1. The aim was to keep a living memory and promote not only the historical heritage of the area but also the existing cultural richness. At the end, these four operations benefited from a EUR 154,040 ERDF contribution which corresponded to 84.6% of its final eligible investment.

The last two operations were related to the Action Programme _CH.1 coordination, management, implementation and communication strategies. Under operation 11 a technical support structure was created in order to coordinate and monitoring the progress of the action programme, give advice to the coordination unit and help the main partners with administrative procedures. This team, was also responsible (under operation 12) for the communication strategy and is worth mentioning several publications, the participation at different international events and advertising actions about the Action Programme _CH.1. For instance, the eBook with the final results of the Action Programme _CH.1 that has been cited (see PortoVivo, 2015a), a guide that promotes the cultural and historical heritage of Morro da Sé (see PortoVivo, 2011), and the participation in the URBACT II project (see URBACT II, 2010) and EURO CITIES network.

Despite the minimum three years time frame for the partnership to run (2008–2010), the Action Programme _CH.1 official conclusion was in 2015—coinciding with the conclusion of the Regional Operational Programme. By 2012, six of the twelve operations were concluded, in 2013 operation 11 was finished and operations 4, 10 and 11 were completed in 2015. As mentioned before, operations 1 and 2 faced multiple issues and while were suspended due to poor performance. While the private partners didn't present alternative financing, PortoVivo and Porto city council were forced to search for new investors, and these operations become part of the priorities for the upcoming years.

At the same time, both structures within the *Urban Area Management* unit kept running at least until 2015, providing an important continuity to the longer-term strategy. Despite the existence of internal monitoring activities and the establishment of specific implementation/results indicators, these data couldn't be consulted. As part of the PRU tool of the Política de Cidades POLIS XXI (POLIS XXI) policy, additional (mandatory) monitoring and evaluation arrangements were expected³¹. However, it was not possible to retrieve any information, which complicates our task of accessing the induced effects of the

³¹See *QREN – Regulamento Específico, Política de Cidades, Parcerias para a Regeneração Urbana, aprovado pela Comissão Ministerial de Coordenação dos Programas Operacionais Regionais do Continente em 9 Outubro de 2007, com alteração aprovada em 14 Agosto 2009.*

programme.

Finally, the broader Sé Urban Rehabilitation Programme kept going until completing all actions, including the unfinished projects under the Permanent Resettlement Programme, and as part of the broader city centre strategy, the neighbourhood kept witnessing scattered actions as it will be further detailed in Section 4.4.

4.4 Post-2014 urban regeneration strategies

The management of Porto Historic Centre is a on-going process that started with the UNESCO's classification in 1996. PortoVivo assumed this responsibility and in 2008 began implementing a management plan, which final version was published in 2010 (see Câmara Municipal do Porto & PortoVivo, 2010). As part of the Historic Centre, Bairro da Sé was included in the plan as part of the strategy to protect, preserve and restore the heritage—Operação Sé. This operation perceived the rehabilitation of the building ensemble, the integration of Sé in the wider revitalisation of the city centre, the improvement of citizenship standards and attraction of new residents, and social balance (Câmara Municipal do Porto & PortoVivo, 2010, p. 163).

These strategic vectors mirrored the aims of the above mentioned 2006 Sé Urban Rehabilitation Programme. In fact, the Sé URP acted as the main vehicle to put the Operation Sé into action. Although the financing mechanism of the EU had been finalised, the Sé URP and Operation Sé As some of its activities faced unexpected challenges and delays, the operation is still taking place.

PortoVivo still emphasises the importance to finish the project, as the neighbourhood holds great historic, architectural and cultural value. In addition to PortoVivo, other city council owned companies, such as DomusSocial³² and GO.Porto³³, have been acting in the historic centre. Their responsibilities include the conservation and maintenance of the city's housing stock, social facilities and municipal infrastructures, development of social projects and the requalification and promotion of works in public spaces and facilities.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, for the 2014–2020 European programming cycle, the city developed an urban development strategy (see *Plano Estratégico de Desenvolvimento Urbano do Porto*, Câmara Municipal do Porto, 2015b), that included an urban regeneration action plan (PARU). The wider spatial extent and organisation of this tool was much different from the other area-based interventions that targeted Sé, however, part of the neighbourhood was included in the plan's target area.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the PARU recognised the consolidation of ongoing processes of urban regeneration, as well as the creation of new dynamics. Therefore, the strategy tackled three territorial typologies, in accordance to the particular measures to be implemented:

³²DomusSocial is a city council owned company responsible for promoting housing matters in the city including the management of social housing, the conservation and maintenance of the city's housing stock, social facilities and municipal infrastructures as well as developing social projects.

³³GO.Porto is a city council owned company, responsible for the requalification and promotion of works in public spaces and facilities

- PARU 1—historic waterfront (frente ribeirinha da cidade histórica);
- PARU 2—city centre (eixo central da cidade histórica); and
- PARU 3—old industrial area (envolvente do antigo matadouro e praça da corujeira).

Due to Bairro da Sé's location, one can expect it to indirectly benefit from public actions targeting neighbouring areas (such as PARU 1 and PARU 2, see Chapter 3, Figure 3.13). At the same time, private sector which was considered as integral part of the areas' rehabilitation, continued to benefit from tax incentives to improve the housing stock. Moreover, the city regeneration strategy aimed to capitalise on newly implemented national housing regulations, as a way to attract new investors, and contribute to the city centre revitalisation.

As mentioned before, due to the different operational nature of these tools, they can not be compared to the previous area-based, integrated initiatives. While they don't target exclusively Bairro da Sé, one shall not expect the same amount of energy to be invested. However, actions such as the ones being developed nearby—e.g., improvement of public spaces, enhancement of the ecological urban structure, rehabilitation of public facilities, rehabilitation of the housing stock—will certainly input new dynamics into the neighbourhood.

Chapter 5

Conclusion. How EU initiatives can influence local contexts?

In Chapter 4 we saw that by the end of the 19th century, Bairro da Sé socio-demographic context began to suffer a progressive change. Similarly to the *urbanisation* trends felt in other European cities during the 1950s and 1960s, this was, to a great extent, the consequence of industrialisation and large-scale movement of people towards urban centres. In Porto, the arrival of new dwellers from rural areas—with few resources and searching for employment—, was accompanied by the departure of more wealthier residents, which promoted social imbalances. Nevertheless, the area was able to reinvent itself, functioning as a residential hub where people shared a strong sense of belonging to the community.

In general, with the intense urban development of peripheral areas, Porto historic and city centre saw social issues intensify, and Bairro da Sé was particularly afflicted by prostitution, drug trafficking and drug addiction. This transformed not only the community and image of the neighbourhood, but also its *essence*. By the 1980s, the area was considered to be Porto's biggest drug hotspot and became socially stigmatised. At the same time, the situation was further worsened by the physical context in continuous decay, requiring priority action and without ignoring the social context and its implications.

Since the mid 1970s, Morro da Sé has been subject to various planning interventions that have seek to tackle a variety of problems, in particular those that typically afflicted historic town centres. Concurrently, intense processes of institutional creation and governance transformation were witnessed, and evidence suggest that the implementation of EU projects has followed not a single intervention model, but can instead be read as the expression of different views of city's development, as well as of various approaches to use the public intervention to stimulate urban development. In order to reverse the trends of urban degradation, the sequence of strategies, programmes, action plans and operations targeting the area. This study focused two area-based urban regeneration programmes which, despite separated by more than 10 years of age (UPP, launched in 1993 and the URP in 2006), revealed a number of similarities.

The complexity of the case of Bairro da Sé relies on the one hand, on its particular socio-economic, cultural and physical context, that requires a comprehensive, in-depth, consideration. On the other, urban transformations in the area have been conditioned by

multidimensional external forces affecting the city. These have played a decisive role in the neighbourhood development patterns, namely the disruption of key stakeholders involved in the urban regeneration process (see, among others, the academic works by Assunção, 2010; J. Costa, 2014; Moreira, 2013), or the political shifts that input transitions between strategic and planning options. The latter has been subject to a great deal of interest and resulted in an extensive body of literature that tries to shed light on the many sides of urban and spatial development in Porto (see, among others, R. Branco & Alves, 2017; Fernandes, 2010; Lobato & Alves, 2012; V. Oliveira et al., 2013; L. V. Pinto & dos Santos, 2011; J. Queirós, 2007; Rio Fernandes, 2011b; P. C. Seixas, 2008).

By examining the urban regeneration process in this area, the research seeks to build knowledge based in a process that is still not finished, and is in constant transformation. Following the description made in Chapter 4, we will now draw on the research questions laid down in the beginning. The dimensions of analysis were selected to provide interesting insights to better understand the relationship between European Union urban policies and local development, in particular:

- What is the potential influence of EU initiatives in local governance, in terms of institutional arrangements and mechanisms of public participation?
- What is the potential influence of EU initiatives in planning innovation, in terms of comprehensiveness of the programmes, intervention methods and connection to other resources?
- What is the potential influence of EU initiatives in urban regeneration, in terms of physical transformations and economic revitalisation?

5.1 Influence of EU initiatives in local governance

Urban regeneration strategies have been a place for experimenting with different local governance ideas. Multiple political priorities and objectives have been selected and tested (individually or in an integrated way), and implemented through different institutional arrangements—e.g., partnerships, networks, multi-level schemes or local co-operation) and making use of diverse instruments.

Urban Pilot Projects tested the use of the *integrated approach* that aimed at small area projects and contribute to a wider framework of regeneration strategies. As mentioned in Chapter 2, this approach consisted of two main components. The horizontal component meant an effort to overcome the sectorial approach by focusing different domains simultaneously, such as social, economic, physical, environmental and cultural.

The second component (*vertical integration*) is directly related to local actors. In particular, it mirrored a participated action, involving different government levels (European, national, regional/local) and when possible, local stakeholders, during the different stages of the project, from programming, implementation, controlling and evaluation (Dossi, 2017). Such approach is introduced through institutional arrangements and was an aspect of analysis.

Finally, yet another factor of local governance was analysed, in particular the inclusion of citizens in policy-making process and the mechanisms of public participation.

The analysis of the influence of the EU urban dimension on local governance has been framed by looking at the following aspects, that will be addressed individually below:

- i) Institutional arrangements (i.e., partnerships and development of governance networks with both public and private actors); and
- ii) Mechanisms of public participation (i.e., the engagement and influence of citizens in design procedures);

Institutional arrangements

It is undeniable that the strategy drawn for the Porto UPP represented an integrated urban regeneration project. This is due to the nature of the strategy, as well as to the governance and management model adopted for its implementation. The Porto UPP final report (see *Relatório Final Projecto Piloto Urbano da Sé, Porto* Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1998) goes further by claiming that this was «the first integrated operation carried after almost 20 years of urban rehabilitation at Porto» (p. 11, author's translation).

However, the city have witnessed interventions that, despite not framed under a single systematic project as the UPP, have in common similar objectives and approach. The case of the SAAL and Cruarb, both launched in 1974, are some pre-UPP activities which help set the background. This becomes relevant when try to understand the connection between the local governance practices in Porto and the Europeanisation of urban policy.

Although launched and financed by the central government, these experiences represented a decentralised approach to urban problems. Above all they supported interested stakeholders and bypassed *unnecessary* prerogatives (Portas, 1986). Additionally, the path taken by the Cruarb contributed to increasing Porto city council's responsibilities in renovation matters.

The SAAL introduced a connection between local authorities, local resident's associations (Associações de Moradores) and a technical teams (Brigadas Técnicas). The outcome strategies sought quick answers to eminent problems and their actions were expected to act as a catalyst for further public and private investment. The SAAL *modus operandi* was based on a set of principles that were not only fed into national housing programmes, but also into EU urban policies of the 1980s (A. Pinho, 2009; Portas, 1986).

The Cruarb was responsible the implementation of the Porto UPP. However, its activity started before (1974), to tackle the critical situation of the built environment of the Barredo–Ribeira area. It was created as a decentralised institution of government to locally tackle local issues. In addition, it symbolised a step towards the institutionalisation of the measures and ideas initially advocated by the municipality technical staff, including prioritising the renovation of the historic city rather than promoting new construction.

In 1982, Porto city council became responsible for managing the institution, resulting in less financial power and additional difficulties to reverse the declining process of the historic centre. Its activities were particularly anchored in housing strategies and the main focus was on physical aspects of urban regeneration. Meanwhile, social issues were also being experienced in the historic centre, and several national and European programmes to fight poverty were being implemented by other actors.

If we consider the regeneration of the historic centre as a wider strategy, this meant an early integration of institutions, working jointly for a shared goal (Lobato & Alves, 2012). In the Sé neighbourhood, such relationship became even stronger during the 1990s, with the implementation of UPP and European Poverty III programme. The first was implemented by Cruarb, which had limited capacity to deal with social aspects, providing at most adequate accommodation. The second, in management by FDZHP, concentrated on social support and provided only marginal assistance regarding physical works.

Together, the institutions «promoted an integrated programme of actions that combined urban requalification with more non-material dimensions of intervention, such as of training for unemployed, support for children, etc.» (R. Branco & Alves, 2017, p. 5) In an interview (see Alves, 2010), a Cruarb manager stressed that the strong coordination between both institutions, included exchange of resources and knowledge between technicians, which resulted in great team work. This joint effort has been mentioned as an important area-based initiative in the historic centre as it reflected a local level network approach, encouraging institutional cooperation, creation of spaces for interaction, and sharing of knowledge:

Even though participation was very restricted, multi-scale approaches were absent, private sector participation in investment was very limited and physical and social considerations were dominant, the work of Cruarb and FDZHP in the 1980s and 1990s may be regarded as a relevant area-based initiative in Porto. (Rio Fernandes, 2011a, p. 291)

The European pilot project at Bairro da Sé acted as a learning platform and tested new governance arrangements. A distinct aspect was the creation of a physical space in the area which was not only part of the strategy to enhance the physical environment, but also to enable a set of institutional arrangements. The UPP head office and its technical team, gathered in the same space, public and private stakeholders involved in the area, «to ensure that the views of all those concerned would be integrated into the project, and that a solid interest would be created as a basis for further rehabilitation, after the lifetime of the pilot project, thus ensuring the sustainability of the actions» (European Commission, 1999, para. 23).

In addition, a monitoring committee¹ (comissão de acompanhamento), made up of the main representatives of the neighbourhood, followed and evaluated the project implementation. According to the Porto UPP final report (see Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1998), three partnership agreements were signed between Porto city council (CMP) and both city-wide or local associations:

- i) Porto's retailers association—Associação de Comerciantes do Porto;
- ii) Porto major seminary—Seminário Maior do Porto; and
- iii) Pensioners' association of Sé—Associação Convívio dos Reformados, Pensionistas e Idosos da Sé;

¹According to the Porto UPP final report (see Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1998), the committee was composed of the following organisations: CMP, FDZHP, Sé civil parish (Junta de Freguesia da Sé), Porto retailers' association (Associação de Comerciantes do Porto), criminal investigation police agency (Polícia Judiciária), Porto Major Seminary (Seminário Maior do Porto).

iv) Local cultural centre—Centro Local e Cultural da Sé.

Allegedly, these «effective partnerships» contributed to erase prejudices regarding the intervention, and ensure a long-term management of the amenities resulting from the project (e.g., museum, community centre, facilities located on Colégio square).

In respect to Porto UPP co-operation scheme, it was stated the existence of a *broad partnership* covering almost all the public and private organisations involved in Bairro da Sé (Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1998; European Commission, 1999). While it is true that the pilot project induced new forms of local collaboration, in our view this statement seems overrated.

According to European Commission (1999), the network of partners involved «municipal services, associations of local commerce, residents' associations, the local cultural centre, and religious bodies (those owning the religious monuments in the area)» (European Commission, 1999, para. 55). Yet, the formal agreements involved only the three first partners mentioned above. It was a restricted group of stakeholders which resulted to be directly related to the selected operations. At the same time, other public and private stakeholders active in the neighbourhood², played a marginal role, if any.

Finally, it was reported that «the success of the partnerships with the private sector is reflected in the multifunctional centre, and in particular the project Head Office, which is jointly managed by public and private partners to increase efficiency, to ensure the long-term impact of the UPP actions and to source further investments for physical and social regeneration in the area» (European Commission, 1999, para. 55). Once again, this statement seems disproportionate, as the private sector participation in the partnership relied on one institution (Porto retailers' association). In turn, the private actors directly involved in the project ended up managing different amenities created during the project. Moreover, the lifespan of the partnerships was shorter than expected and a few years after the completion of the project, the UPP head office progressively lost its functions and the area fell into further decay (PortoVivo, 2006).

Nonetheless, and contrarily to other cases where the UPP experiences struggled to be «fed into the wider national policy debates» (European Commission, 1998a, p. 16), the partnership model became a common local governance practice in the following years. The multiple national urban regeneration policies launched after the UPP are representative of a great diversity of partnership schemes (Breda-Vázquez et al., 2009).

The creation in 2004 of PortoVivo as main responsible for the urban regeneration of Porto's city centre, was itself the result of an institutional agreement (partnership) between a central administration institution (IHRU) and the city council (CMP).

As a consequence, and despite the presence of a clear path-dependency in policy-making, local governance practices in Porto evolved. This might be seen as the mixed result of Europeanisation, and a gradual alignment of local urban policy strategies to neoliberal ideas focusing competitive, sustainable and entrepreneurial models of action. The first factor is associated with the continuing involvement of the city in European initiatives

²On Sé neighbourhood, during the same period, the partnership arrangements associated with the European Poverty II and III programmes revealed a much wider range of partners, see for example Alves (2010).

(e.g., European Poverty II and III, UPP, URBAN I and II). The second, emerges from the general entrepreneurial urbanism ideas that started dominating national political discourses, and in particular the 2002 policy-making shift in Porto City Council (Alves & Branco, 2018; J. Queirós, 2007).

As mentioned in Section 2.3, the 2007 reform opened a new chapter of EU Cohesion Policy. The National Strategic Reference Framework and Operational Programmes became important vehicles to support the development of URBAN-type, nationally-led initiatives. For the programming cycle 2007–2013 the central administration introduced a new policy for cities (POLIS XXI, see Section 3.2). It was not only the product of the previous experiences that took place in Portugal (Medeiros & van der Zwet, 2019), but also inspired from national policies from other MSs (Campos & Ferrão, 2015) and influenced by the European trends regarding regeneration, cohesion and sustainability (Mourão, 2019).

Although in a later stage Sé Urban Rehabilitation Programme would integrate one of these schemes, the initial strategy was not the result of a national/European initiative. Instead, it was developed by PortoVivo, which was framed under the national spatial planning system (see decree-law DL No. 104/2004). This becomes relevant, when studying the possible changes emerging in the local governance context.

PortoVivo primary task was the management of Porto city centre revitalisation. This was going to be achieved by preparing intervention strategies, «and mediate all involved parties (investors, owners, and tenants) in the process» (A. T. Silva, 2011, p. 226). Moreover, the company’s operative framework included the creation of *Urban Area Management* units. These offices would be «responsible for supporting entrepreneurship and local commerce, managing institutional arrangements for buying and selling buildings, and integrating the population into the rehabilitation process, creating a relationship between the people and public institutions» (A. T. Silva, 2011, p. 227).

The 2006 document laying down the urban rehabilitation strategy for Sé (URP) was a product of this company, and as a consequence, it mirrored PortoVivo’s functioning. For this reason, the document also recognised as a key feature for success ,the coordinated work between different actors, institutions and services, hence, an *Urban Area Management* unit was created.

However, the *main* organisational arrangement stemming from the Sé URP resulted from a formal requirement of the national POLIS XXI policy, in order to access European funding. This raises an interesting point, since it seems that the overriding goal to get involved with the national/European framework was financial. The partnership agreement signed in 2008 was to, a certain degree, no more than a «funding protocol» (A. T. Silva, 2011, p. 227), and it’s Action Programme_CH.1 (see PortoVivo (2008b)) constituted, to a large extent, an updated version of the 2006 URP document (see PortoVivo (2006)).

While we are not concerned with this aspect, our focus is on the adaptability in the face of a financing opportunity. Other European examples have shown that adaptation has turned out to be a major challenge. This was the case when the original motivation to get involved with the EU was not the potential innovation impetus, but rather financial (Wolffhardt et al., 2005). However, and despite the different preconditions, answering

the North Regional Operational Programme call³, didn't pose any major obstacles.

In this respect, we find a close alignment between local/national urban policies and Community programming. This is in line with the idea that the SFs, in addition to offering financial opportunities—that enable the development of projects that otherwise would struggle to be developed—, act as a source of institutional change (C. Oliveira & Breda-Vázquez, 2011). Thus, we get the impression that during this period, the centralised Portuguese urban policy framework was active in steering key local governance practices, while also being aligned with the EC guidelines. This was much needed in order to exploit funding opportunities.

With regard to the specific governance arrangements of the Sé URP, following the prerequisite for accessing EU funding, Porto city council put together a partnership with the following four public institutions and three private stakeholders:

- i) Câmara Municipal do Porto;
- ii) Porto Vivo, Sociedade de Reabilitação Urbana do Porto;
- iii) Porto Digital Association: Associação Porto Digital (innovation and entrepreneurship dedicated);
- iv) Social support agency Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Zona Histórica do Porto;
- v) Consortium between NOVOPCA (construction company), Sociedade Promotora de Residências Universitárias (student accommodation company) and NOVOPCA II (real state investment company);
- vi) Consortium between NOVOPCA (construction company) and NOVOPCA II (real state investment company); and
- vii) Widescreen (audiovisual and multimedia production company).

As described in Section 3.3, this partnership was the direct answer to a tool within the framework of POLIS XXI policy—the so called *Parcerias para a Regeneração Urbana* (PRU). Each partner was responsible for specific operations, apart from the city council which was also the key promoter and PortoVivo, that had a managing role. While the public partners were able to fulfil their own responsibilities, as a whole the partnership failed to achieve the full completion of the programme in the designated time. In particular, the private partners faced *unexpected* issues beyond control of the partnership, and their operations still need to be carried out⁴.

From the point of view of the diversity of the partners, Chamusca (2012) drew attention to the fact that the public partners were all companies under the city council's control, and the private represented a very restricted group. Furthermore, the author argued that

³Parcerias para a Regeneração Urbana (PRU/1/2007).

⁴Both operations 1 and 2 have been stopped for a long period of time which has worsen the physical decay of the area. In 2019, PortoVivo has restated its interest in materialising the operations and set as a goal for 2020 the launch of public tenders to find new private partners (see PortoVivo (2019a)). So far, CMP has launched an international public call for tenders (see Contract Notice 2019/S 251-622176 of 31 December 2019, Official Journal of the EU, series S, supplement S251.) to find a new private investor for the students accommodation operation.

the involvement of these actors stem from their previous commitment towards the historic centre revitalisation, and the available funding to carry out the priority/key actions.

At the same time, the strategy looked for (and relied on) the involvement of private owners and external investors, that were responsible for carrying out building rehabilitations. However, they had no formal role or representation in the partnership, and at most, their engagement would happen through mechanisms of public participation, as it will be presented below.

In order to promote the partnership's good functioning, a technical support structure was created to support its co-ordination and good functioning. This team shall not be confused with the *Urban Area Management* unit, which role was to promote a wider engagement between all potential stakeholders. Instead, the technical support team served as an advisor body to the coordination unit (unidade de direcção) which in turn consisted of representatives from the *official* partners (i.e., the entities that signed the partnership agreement and responsible for operations).

In relation to this division of roles and responsibilities, questions were raised regarding the strong hierarchical relationship within the partnership model of the action plan. This resulted from the fact that the coordination unit could decide, without consulting additional parties, to approve, modify or add additional actions to the programme. Thus, and despite claiming to include the views of local actors in the implementation, the decision-making process was biased towards the partners with greater financial involvement and higher political responsibility. All opinions and recommendations were considered, but in the end were taken as non-binding (Chamusca, 2012).

Similar struggles to those witnessed in this partnership were observed in other PRU arrangements under the national policy for cities. In particular, the difficulty that new stakeholders—not used to, or traditionally distanced from participatory actions—was pointed out as one feature with development potential (M. Queirós, 2014).

The experiences in Bairro da Sé alone, are indicative of a European and nationally influenced governance framework. While the EU influence of the 1993 UPP governance model can be seen as an example of downloading of EU principles to local context, the 2006 URP case is different. As stressed by Purkarthofer (2019), the EU influences «need to be viewed in the context of the complex networks of actors and processes within the member states» (p. 100). As it will be further detailed, by the time of implementation of the URP, both European, national and local levels had a role to play.

Mechanisms of public participation

With respect to the mechanism of public participation of the two integrated urban regeneration programmes in analysis, it is once again interesting to make a historical reference to previous local practices. In particular, the short Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local (SAAL) experience between 1974–1976 introduced innovative features of civic engagement in urban programmes.

This happened during post-revolution times, characterised by a socio-political environment with great citizen commitment to be part of the democratic policy-making process.

At the same time, the local contexts requested an effective intervention, able to address the most urgent needs. As a consequence, and in order to develop tailor-made solutions to urban problems, the feedback from residents was of key importance.

Within the SAAL practices⁵, popular assemblies were held to receive opinions and debate with a technical team the operation's strategy. As part of the process, local residents associations were created to represent the local interests. In the case of Sé, citizens were also involved in community actions—such as street cleaning—, and upon their request, was possible to create a new public facility (see Appendix B, Figure B.5.). The area experienced additional shortcomings⁶ that were not fully addressed, but the strong mechanism of public participation proved to be beneficial in supporting social interests.

Such proximity with residents was also recognised in the following actions and approaches undertaken by Cruarb. As above mentioned, Cruarb main goal was not only to provide better housing conditions, but also to avoid evicting as many people as possible:

Cruarb was characterised by using the participation of associations of local inhabitants, its defence of staying and working within the historic centre (in contrast to former methodologies), as well as the attempt to reconcile economic issues with housing, poverty, accessibility and physical and cultural heritage. (Lobato & Alves, 2012, p. 4)

The participatory mechanisms involving civic society were also contemplated within the Porto Urban Pilot Project that fostered partnership arrangements in which public interests were (allegedly) supported by local stakeholders. As stated by European Commission (1999) the Porto strategy was good intentioned, while the partnership governance model would «ensure that the views of all those concerned would be integrated into the project, and that a solid interest would be created as a basis for further rehabilitation, after the lifetime of the pilot project, thus ensuring the sustainability of the actions» (para. 23). For that reason, the head office was created not only to co-ordinate project stakeholders and to keep residents informed of the ongoing activities, but also to provide a forum for constant feedback and participation. However, and despite the possibility to be consulted, the decision-making process was limited to the key stakeholders.

In addition, the strategic location of such facility in the core area of the neighbourhood «played an important role, by helping to raise public awareness of the changes in the historic centre, disseminating information to local people, and strengthening residents' confidence in the further regeneration of the area» (European Commission, 1999, p. 48). This is similar to other European realities, such as the case of Malaga in Spain, where civic participation within the URBAN initiative framework was also rather informative (De Gregorio Hurtado, 2019).

The official reports recognised that both consultation and partnership involvement facilitated the implementation process. Yet, and despite an adequate proximity between decision-making, co-ordination and local reality, it was stressed that the different political

⁵For further information regarding the SAAL programme see Appendix B.

⁶Regarding the situation in Bairro da Sé during the period right after the 1974 revolution see, among others, Leite (2019).

and administrative levels were not to be bypassed (Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1998). Even though more intense levels of Europeanisation were expected to be found «in countries with a hierarchical and centralist tradition of planning» (Dukes, 2008, p. 109), the prevailing local political conditions in Porto offered resistance to the process.

On the basis of different urban experiences, European urban policy discourse considered as a key factor of sustainable urban development, the engagement with local communities. Multiple EU documents endorsed such idea, highlighting that the participation and involvement of citizens would contribute to achieve sustainable development (see, among others, Dutch Presidency of the Council of the European Union, 2004; European Commission, 2003a, 2009, 2010c):

Cities can establish and support neighbourhood associations, which can then be a focus for local participation in regeneration. These associations can also empower residents to take on formal roles on behalf of local people, such as running committees on areas of interest, taking part in planning discussions and representing people in local political life. Cities can aim to reach marginalised groups within the community and decide on targeted support to encourage their involvement in local development. (European Commission, 2009, p. 34)

Given that 13 years had passed between the design and implementation of UPP (1993) and URP (2006), the second urban regeneration programme in analysis was framed within a more consolidated framework of public participation practices. As mentioned, the experimental nature of the early programmes had proven that an adequate participatory scheme would not be in itself the solution to all problems, but an added value for the quality, efficiency and sustainability of the long-term urban regeneration strategies (Alves, 2008). At the same time, there was an increasing number of events where citizens demanded a more active role in the democratic process. As a consequence, these demands have been accompanied by a gradual change in political and governance attitudes, that give citizen participation a more central role (Devvish, Huybrechts, & De Ridder, 2018). However, as pointed out by Alves (2008), despite the growing willingness to adapt to different participation schemes, evidences from the Portuguese case showed that a gap persisted between rhetoric and practice.

The 2006 document laying down the rehabilitation strategy for Sé was in line with the city's new revitalisation vision and complied with the ruling national spatial planning regulations. In combination with the latest, a few compulsory features encompassing civic involvement had to be respected. This was the case of the mandatory consultation procedures during the design of the small-scale strategic documents (documentos estratégicos) that served as base for the wider regeneration scheme for Morro da Sé⁷. Based on interviews with residents, local business owners and technicians, Chamusca (2012) reported a poor involvement of local residents and actors in this stage, and as a consequence in the development of the urban regeneration strategy. As reason for the insufficient involvement

⁷According to Article 16 of decree-law DL No. 104/2004, the SRUs, while responsible for developing the strategic documents, had to make sure all interested stakeholders had the right to participate in its elaboration. Thus, a preliminary document (projecto-base) would be made available to the public for a 20 day period of consultation. During this time, suggestions and criticisms could be presented and discussed.

the author mentioned a lack of awareness among the residents, who reportedly have wished to get involved.

During the actual implementation of the Action Programme_CH.1, the proximity to the context was once again stated as a key intervention aspect. As pointed out, the intention to take advantage of multiple engagement opportunities might be interpreted not only as the result of the city's participation in multiple (area-based) European initiatives, but also from the processes of political change in city council management. Thus, with the purpose of «integrating the population into the rehabilitation process, creating a relationship between the people and public institutions» (A. T. Silva, 2011, p. 227), PortoVivo established an *Urban Area Management* unit.

The structure encouraged local actors and citizens to take part in the process and its implementation relied on several dedicated operations of the Action Programme (operations 7, 8, 9 and 10). Under operation 7 an office was installed in Morro da Sé (located on Duque da Ribeira square) to put in place this strategic concept. This was important to get accurate knowledge of existing problems and promote contact between officers and residents.

At the same time, the development of actions which directly engaged with the population—e.g., tales of self-esteem/workshops—was also appreciated by the local community, which reported an increase in social cohesion. Moreover, and also with the objective of boosting civil participation, PortoVivo promoted: a) the involvement of schools and universities; b) projects regarding public safety and better environment; c) actions to boost social and economic activities. In short, it was an attempt to integrate actions, coordinate different local actors and municipal services, and foster the private sector to participate in the regeneration actions.

The office to support property owners was also an important measure to establish contacts between the population and technicians. This operation was very important since the regeneration strategy *relied* on private owners to carry the physical rehabilitation of the buildings. This was a key part of the urban rehabilitation programme which tried to balance public and private investment.

However, in what concerns the design and implementation of the strategy, the participatory mechanism of the Action Programme_CH.1 showed strong hierarchical links as before, and a close relationship between power and the financial contribution of each participant (Chamusca, 2012). Therefore, the decision-making process saw little (or none) influence from the residents (or their representatives) and much stronger influence from partners with greater financial involvement and higher political responsibility.

Table 5.1 presents the main local governance features of both urban regeneration programmes analysed.

Table 5.1: Synthesis of the area-based interventions' influence on local governance. Source: author.

Area-based Intervention	Institutional arrangements	Local Governance	Mechanisms of public participation
Urban Pilot Project (1993)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The project introduced a local co-ordination structure that was highly innovative. Three "restricted" partnerships were established between the city council and local actors. Each one was linked with a specific action, thus assuring that each operation would have the best conditions to achieve its goals. The integration of different stakeholders was not a common practice and progressively became more accepted and recognised. However the partnerships has a short lifespan. The multi-disciplinary managing team created to manage the project was part of the municipal office responsible for acting in the historic centre. The technical expertise and previous knowledge of the staff strengthened the quality of the project. The presence of the team within the target area and the model of close proximity with the residents would become an increasingly relevant aspect of area-based interventions. Creation of a supervisory board (which included the main local actors' representatives). The direct contact between the European Commission and the Porto City Council contributed to the decentralisation of the national governance system. However, the path dependency was stronger and type of relationship became less common. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public interest were to be supported by local stakeholders through partnership arrangements. While well intended, the partnerships didn't show a particular clear link with the residents. The project promoted the contact with citizens although the engagement with the community was not as strong as in the following URBAN Community Initiatives, and other area-based interventions. It contributed to recognising its importance in physically and socially challenging urban contexts. The residents were kept informed of the intervention and given a voice by providing a forum for constant feedback and participation. However they had little involvement in decision making and design of the project. This was limited to the key stakeholders. The key institutional actors in the area would informally assume the responsibility of supporting public interests (e.g., social support institutions, religious institutions, the administrative civil parish). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It was emphasised that the partnership involvement facilitated the implementation process. However it was also stressed that the different political and administrative levels were not to be bypassed which illustrated the strong existing path dependent governance practices.
Urban Rehabilitation Programme (2006)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recognition that the articulated work between different actors, institutions and services was a key feature for the strategy to achieve success. A formal partnership was created as a result of a formal requirement of the national city policy in order to access European funding. The agreement included four public partners and two private. Each partner was responsible for carrying specific operations. The city council was the key promoter and PortoVivo had the managing role. There was a very restricted variety of partners. The public stakeholders were all companies owned by the city council and the most significant private partner was responsible for the greater operations (higher investment and expected impacts). The decision-making process was biased towards the partners with greater financial involvement and higher political responsibility. All opinions and recommendations were considered, but in the end were taken as non-binding. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The strategy foresaw different levels of local engagement and creating the Urban Area Management unit encouraged local actors and citizens to take part of the programme. The alignment with national spatial planning tools resulted in a few compulsory features encompassing civic involvement to be respected (i.e., consultation procedures during the design of strategic documents). However, local citizens reported poor involvement, possible due to lack of awareness. The programme foresaw operations that directly focused residents (Tables of self-esteem/workshops, office to support property owners). These were appreciated by locals and useful for the technical team to come closer with them. During the design and implementation of the strategy, the participatory mechanism showed strong hierarchical links, and a close relationship between power and the financial contributions. The decision-making process saw little (or none) influence from the residents (or their representatives). 	

5.2 Influence of EU initiatives in planning innovation

Innovation in planning is a wide concept which accommodates multiple theories and dimensions, and for this reason links emerge with policy-making, governance and other contextual factors (see, among others, Albrechts, Alden, & da Rosa Pires, 2001; Healey, 1997, 2004; Riddell, 2004; Salet & Faludi, 2000; Taylor, 1998; Vinci, 2010; Zimmermann, Galland, & Harrison, 2020). The development of European cities has been following a range of different planning practices that are connected, among other aspects, to traditions, scientific disciplines, strategic approaches, different institutional levels and individuals. Thus, looking into planning innovation represents a great challenge.

As we acknowledge the interdependence between all these concepts, we analyse the impacts of EU initiatives on local planning innovation, by looking into the following three aspects:

- i) Comprehensiveness of the programmes (i.e., integration of the different realms of urban transformation);
- ii) Intervention methodologies and structures (i.e., coordination, organisation and evaluation features);
- iii) Connection with other programmes and resources (i.e., combination with broader strategies);

Comprehensiveness of the programmes

The debate on the adoption of integrated urban intervention methodologies has been present in the case of Porto since the late 1960s. The 1969 *Ribeira-Barredo Urban Renewal Study*, co-ordinated by Fernando Távora (see Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1969), promoted a new approach for the rehabilitation of Porto's run-down areas, clearly opposing the ruling renovation policies. According to A. Pinho (2009) it was «the first Portuguese initiative aiming to promote a true urban rehabilitation policy» (p. 805, author's translation). Although the concept of integration has been evolving, the author argues that the 1969 Study «addresses aspects that go from the integration of policies and levels of action, participation and accountability of actors, continue monitoring and evaluation, the need of planning flexibility in order to answer the changing contexts and the development of a city-level strategic vision» (ibid., p. 808, author's translation).

The study resulted years later, under Cruarab responsibility, in the rehabilitation of Ribeira-Barredo area (on the south side of Bairro da Sé), and influenced many other experiences in Portugal, namely on the rehabilitation of historic centres.

The already mentioned Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local (SAAL) pioneering experience, carried out at the national scale between 1974 and 1976, is another relevant example to get a better understanding of the relationship between local planning practices. In many cases, and due to the critical substandard living conditions at that time, the SAAL operations were related with providing better housing by doing works on buildings. Although the physical component was the dominant feature, there were also social concerns, and the particular strategy put together for the Sé area (Operação Sé) provides some interesting hints regarding *selective* integration.

On the one hand, because the intervention carried out some actions indirectly tackling social issues and that promoted the area's liveability. This was the case of public space cleaning, or the creation of a new public facility to meet local needs (see Appendix B, Figure B.5). On the other, the development of a resettlement programme—running in parallel with the building renovation strategy—showed concern with preventing the transfer of people away from their origins. After an initial diagnosis of the area, several renovation agreements with the building owners were established, but no major actions were witnessed. This was in part because SAAL was *interrupted*, and as a consequence, the second stage of the long-term strategy (that encompassed the integration of other actions) never came into being.

Due to the project's short duration, no significant changes were accomplished in the Sé area. However the SAAL approach would influence the urban regeneration local actors and practices, in particular those of the Cruarb. In the late 1980s, the Cruarb office became responsible⁸ for managing the urban regeneration project in the historic centre, including Bairro da Sé.

However, while its focus was mainly on the physical dimension, in the face of cumulative social issues, national and European programmes to fight poverty were implemented at the local level by other actors. If we consider the process as a wider urban regeneration strategy, this meant not only an early coordination between institutions (as highlighted above) but also a *selective* integration of different regeneration dimensions. Therefore, the *mainly architectural intervention* became supplemented with provisions of social support (Rio Fernandes, 2011b). In the Sé neighbourhood such relationships became even stronger during the Porto UPP, which took place at the same time as the implementation of European Poverty III programme.

After being involved in the initial studies for the application to UNESCO World Heritage Site, the Cruarb was responsible for managing and implementing the UPP from 1993 to 1998. The target area of the project was Bairro da Sé while it had become one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in the city. The main objective was to provide the appropriate development conditions to the area and not only an urbanistic/architectural recovery (Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1996b). The UPP Final Report went further by claiming that it was the first integrated operation after more than 20 years of urban interventions in the city (Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1998). The comprehensive nature of the project was innovative and included actions to preserve cultural heritage, improve the urban environment, provide social support and revitalise local business and tourism. This was a step forward towards widening the urban intervention objectives (A. Pinho, 2009).

However, the budget distribution among the different thematic actions revealed higher expenditures in actions to promote the physical environment, accounting for 43,3% of the total costs (see Table 5.2). The direct investment in the other dimensions (cultural, social and economic development) was rather balanced and accounted together for 34,2% of the final expenditure. Although we don't argue that there is necessarily a direct correlation

⁸The legislative order Despacho No. 4/SEHU/85, 4 February 1985 foresaw the decentralisation of governance powers over urban policy, by supporting the creation of technical city council offices (gabinete técnico local) dedicated to the recovery of physical aspects.

Table 5.2: Porto Urban Pilot project, budget distribution by strategic focus. Source: author with data from Câmara Municipal do Porto (1998).

Strategic focus	Initial budget (ECU)	Initial budget (%)	Final cost (ECU)	Final cost (%)
Urban environment and infrastructures	2.280.000	40,0%	2.680.000	43,2%
Partnership and project management	675.000	11,8%	856.177	13,8%
Economic and touristic promotion	510.000	8,9%	668.347	10,8%
Social facilities and urban safety	410.000	7,2%	499.870	8,1%
Cultural and heritage promotion	950.000	16,7%	956.187	15,4%
International exchange of knowledge	415.000	7,3%	371.485	6,0%
Urban planning and research	260.000	4,6%	0	0,0%
Monitoring and evaluation activities	200.000	3,5%	176.024	2,8%
TOTAL	5.700.000	100,0%	6.208.090	100,0%

between a balanced distribution of financial investment and a well integrated urban regeneration strategy, we recognise that the nature of the project relied mostly on tangible operations (i.e., material/physical actions). A similar situation was experienced in other pilot projects. The fact that intangible actions struggled to achieve the same degree of influence as the others might have resulted from local difficulties in putting an integrated approach into practice (Vinci, 2002).

After a period of oblivion, the 2006 Sé Programa de Reabilitação Urbana was a fresh attempt to tackle the still challenging situation in Sé and a valuable piece of the wider vision for the urban revitalisation of Porto. PortoVivo master plan for the city centre had not only identified threats and strengths, but idealised strategic vectors capable of achieving the *potential for competitiveness* (see PortoVivo, 2005). The strategy was spatially distributed⁹ and the intervention in Sé neighbourhood was one of the first to be implemented given the urgent nature of the context. Similarly to the vision for the whole city, the area-based programme would combine different fields of action such as social, economic and cultural development and physical and environmental improvement.

The Action Programme_CH.1 was a key tool to operationalise the area-based revitalisation strategy for Sé. Under the PRU tool, the Action Programme would help financing and developing 12 operations that mirrored not only the Sé URP, but also the national

⁹After an extensive preliminary study carried out by the University of Oporto (see Faculdade de Engenharia da Universidade do Porto, 2004) that served the masterplan for the urban and social renovation of Porto city centre, it was possible to identify a priority intervention zone where PortoVivo would concentrate its renovation and revitalisation activities (zona de intervenção prioritária). Several areas of revitalisation operations (áreas de operações de revitalização) had been identified and from among them, six priority intervention areas (áreas de intervenção prioritária) were created. These would be capable of inducing intervention in their surroundings and contained smaller intervention units as established in legislation. Morro da Sé, together with Morro da Vitória and Mouzinho-Flores were the three intervention units of the Sé-Vitória priority intervention area. For further information see, among others, J. F. Branco (2006), PortoVivo (2005).

city policy. Regarding the nature of the actions and the level of comprehensiveness, the analysis by Chamusca (2012)¹⁰ provides some interesting inputs.

Table 5.3: Sé Urban Regeneration Programme, budget distribution according to the typology of the operations. Source: author with data from PortoVivo (2008b).

Typology of operation	Number of operations	Initial budget (EUR)	Initial budget (%)
Economic and cultural development	2	10.200.579	66,9%
Urban environment	3	3.810.758	4,8%
Social development	2	737.278	24,8%
Partnership management	2	310.126	0,8%
Economic and social development	1	124.385	0,6%
Economic development	1	87.899	0,1%
Cultural development	1	22.687	2,0%
TOTAL	12	15.293.712	100,0%

Despite the challenging social context of the area, the author noted a modest investment in operations supporting social development and a strong link with actions fostering economic development and promotion of public spaces and urban environment, which accounted for about 91,0% of the total estimated budget. In addition, little aid to social intervention and local economic activities was given to achieve economic development, that the programme relied particularly on two major infrastructures projects.

Moreover, Chamusca (2012) highlighted the financial weight of the physical dimension, accounting for 97,8% of the total estimated budget. This figure resulted from the fact that the *direct outcome* of the investment in some operations was only translated in the physical enhancement of the area. The two main actions encompassing economic development (tourist accommodation and student accommodation) backup this idea. Initially they would help the general physical rehabilitation of the area, and subsequently would achieve economic development. The author concludes by arguing that the strategy showed a clear predominance of physical aspects and a smaller weight of social concerns. This might be pointed out as one of the reasons for the overall difficulty to integrate all the dimensions in the case of Morro da Sé Mourão (2019).

Similarly to the UPP, the strategy outputs struggled to achieve a balanced impact on all dimensions. This observation might suggest a discrepancy between the declaration of intent to implement a comprehensive programme, and the actual implementation. Although it is difficult to indicate a direct cause for this outcome, the same line of criticism was reported regarding the wider revitalisation process in the city centre: «strategies of PortoVivo concentrate on physical interventions whereas social aspects of the regeneration process have a minor significance» (Lobato & Alves, 2012, p. 11). In contrast, J. P. Costa (2011)

¹⁰In order to draw some conclusions regarding the nature of the Action Programme actions, Chamusca (2012) relied on two approaches. The first approach was based on six typologies of actions required to ensure integration. According to Article 8 of the PRU regulation, the programme had to combine actions that promoted public space and urban environment enhancement, economic, social and cultural development, effective partnership management, and additional cross-cutting activities. The second approach evaluated the nature of the operations in regard to the three pillars of urban regeneration (i.e., the physical, economic and social dimension).

argued that «an integrated urban rehabilitation practice was implemented, going beyond the Law's building rehabilitation original concept» (p. 110).

At the same time, other European cities witnessed a similar outcome while implementing integrated area-based interventions. Malaga for example, also showed that «priority was given to the physical dimension [which] has determined the partial results achieved» (De Gregorio Hurtado, 2019, p. 22). Moreover the city has also experiencing the pressure of economic growth and competitiveness which possibly undermines the transformative capacity of the EU tools. As a result, social problems still persist in the city's Historic Centre, even if the urban environment witnessed great improvements. As De Gregorio Hurtado (2019) argues, this mirrors, to a certain extent, the «limitations and inconsistencies of the urban development model that is being fostered by the EU [and] provides lessons that could lead to a reflection [...] for the 2021–27 period» (p. 22).

Nevertheless, while some authors have been more critic in what concerns PortoVivo strategy (see, among others Lobato & Alves, 2012; Neto et al., 2014; J. Queirós, 2007), others have reported great achievements (see, for example, J. P. Costa, 2011; Sequeira, 2011). Sousa and Pinho (2016) stressed that the integrated urban regeneration process is necessarily slow, and that Porto has been a good example of it. In the city, physical rehabilitation has been occurring with a different pace than the wider social and economic regeneration. At the same time, the authors mentioned that economic problems are likely to remain after physical improvements. This is in part due to the wider national and international economic contexts, in which the younger generations hold the power to make a difference.

Despite the Sé URP combination with the national city policy (that had formal requirements for integration), since it represented an element of the city strategic vision, it was strongly in accordance to local political motivations. Thus, the possible connection between European, national and local planning practices becomes more intricate. As it will be tackle below, there was a great deal of discussion and public attention around PortoVivo intervention methodologies and the political revitalisation options for the city centre. All this aspects are interrelated and a structured reading is needed to get a clearer picture.

Intervention methodologies and structures

The European Urban Pilot Project initiative came up as a great opportunity to help reverse the critical situation at the historic centre of Porto. Despite the ongoing urban renovation processes within the city, the nature of the UPP was distinctive, as the EC introduced a very specific approach. The Bairro da Sé Urban Pilot Project resulted from an agreement between the Porto City Council and the European Commission. At that time, the city council office responsible for the regeneration process of the historic centre was Cruarb. Thus, it was locally assigned the responsibility of designing, managing and implementing the European project.

The programme targeted a specific area and had a well established number of actions and limited time-frame. Due to the initiative's innovative governance model, several public and private stakeholders were involved in monitoring and executing particular operations.

These partnerships were oriented towards well defined objectives such as to support cultural promotion (CMP with Porto Major Seminary), to support local business and private investment (CMP with Porto's Retailers Association) and to support social issues (CMP with pensioners' association of Sé) (see Figure 5.1).

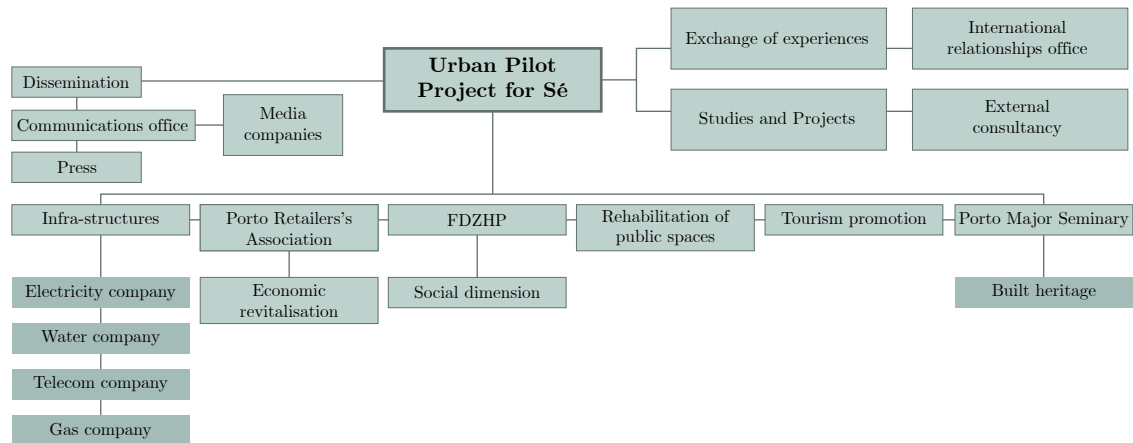


Figure 5.1: Porto Urban Pilot Project organisational structure, actions and actors. Source: modified from Câmara Municipal do Porto (1998).

The creation of a local multidisciplinary team was materialised through the UPP head office (centro de articulação e dinamização) which represented a key methodological element. It had a strong presence in the area and offered a working space where the stakeholders could «ensure that the views of all those concerned would be integrated into the project, and that a solid interest would be created as a basis for further rehabilitation, after the lifetime of the pilot project, thus ensuring the sustainability of the actions» (European Commission, 1999, para. 23). Moreover, it supported civic engagement by «helping to raise public awareness of the changes in the historic centre, disseminating information to local people, and strengthening residents' confidence in the further regeneration of the area» (ibid., para. 48).

Despite the intent to bring closer decision-making, co-ordination and the local reality, it was also stressed that political and administrative levels were not to be bypassed (Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1998). Thus, the project was assessed and monitored by a restricted council (conselho consultivo) headed by the mayor and with representatives from the main stakeholders. In summary, the Sé UPP methodology introduced an integrated approach with carefully selected actions tackling the different dimensions of urban problems, coordinated the work in partnership, and implemented a local project management office.

At the same time, and despite having a limited time frame, the pilot project envisaged a long-term revitalisation process that was supposed to keep going after the official closure of the activities. A plan, based in a thorough characterisation of the neighbourhood, was designed to be implemented in the following years and identified 87 buildings in urgent need of intervention. This continuity of intervention, together with the physical investments already realised, was intended to trigger additional social, economic and cultural progress. However, as reported by PortoVivo (2006), apart from some short-term changes, the project was not able to reverse the situation in the long run. In a similar way to other UPPs,

the difficulty to keep the regeneration process *alive* after the project completion, might be related to local difficulties in the use of the integrated approach (Vinci, 2002).

In the light of these events, Porto civil government¹¹ together with the city council, civil parish, the police and other local institutions felt the need to develop in 2002 an emergency plan for Bairro da Sé. This instrument was active for five months and perceived among the different measures: building inspections, promotion of local retail establishments, further public illumination, reactivation of the car access restrictions and integration with the city's programme to combat social exclusion and drug dependence. By the time of its closure, and to follow-up the restarted revitalisation process, was announced the creation within the city council of a management structure for the area. However little information was found in addition to some newspaper articles (see Gomes, 2002; Marmelo, 2002c).

At the same time, the area would arguably be affected by cuts applied to social care institutions which lead in many cases to cease functions. The then Cruarb manager argued that after 2002, with the recently elected mayor, FDZHP saw different facilities being closed or used exclusively during financing programmes. For this reason, the absence of a continued investment lead to scarcity of resources and eventually to a general devitalisation of the area (see Alves, 2010).

In 2008, FDZHP was definitely closed down and allegedly this process created several disruptions. During its existence, the institution had acquired multiple buildings and maintained several social facilities in the area. It had also developed managing mechanism and capacities. Different PortoVivo agents stressed that the company had to deal to a great extent with the resulting problems. Thus, great efforts were put into finding new ways to capitalise on FDZHP staff experience and knowledge and also to repurpose the public assets (see also Alves, 2010).

The manager of Cruarb said in the same interview, that by the 1990s (25 years after its creation) the commissariat was no longer a state of the art system. Although discussions were hold regarding a possible restructuring of responsibilities, one year later, the work of this structure in the historic centre would end. This event coexisted with changes in the national legislation on urban rehabilitation to which the municipality had contributed to its conception (J. P. Costa, 2011). In the early 2000s the Portuguese central administration had introduced new spatial planning elements under the decree-law DL No. 104/2004. In the same year a partnership was created between the central state and the city council (PortoVivo). As mentioned, it assumed responsibility for the regeneration process and operated with more freedom to define its approaches in terms of areas of intervention and strategies (Alves & Branco, 2018).

These changes marked the beginning of a new stage of urban planning practices in the city. In the 2009 interview done by Alves (2010), a PortoVivo administrator pointed out that in contrast to the previous practices of SAAL or Cruarb, PortoVivo stated a new position: public sector should play a supplementary role. Nevertheless, there seems to have

¹¹Civil government (in Portuguese Governo Civil) was an administration body responsible for representing the central government at a lower territorial level (Distrito). It was abolished in 2011 with decree-law DL No. 114/2011, 30 November and its functions were transferred to public institutions holding equal authority.

been a transfer of capacities and planning practices between these three institutions. Not only because some members of the staff integrated the new company, but also because it had to manage different inherited ongoing processes.

The second intervention programme analysed (Sé URP) was not only strongly in line with national spatial planning regulations, but showed several methodological similarities to the 1993 pilot project. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the URBAN Community Initiative kept supporting and experimenting through different schemes in order to bring about change in the European urban contexts. The EC 2007 to 2013 programming cycle coincided with the period where national authorities would play a greater role in fostering the EU urban dimension. Consequently, as mentioned in Chapter 3, the Portuguese government launched POLIS XXI, which sought to respond to the ideas and tools endorsed by the EC.

The Sé URP was implemented through two main tools: a) the Action Programme _CH.1; and b) the Permanent Resettlement Programme. The first resulted from PortoVivo answering a call from the Regional Operational Programme launched in 2007—*Parcerias para a Regeneração Urbana (PRU/1/2007)*. Its main goal was to do the most urgent operations in the area with contributions from European funds. The second was linked to the need to temporarily relocate families living in buildings that would be subject to rehabilitation works. For that purpose, PortoVivo would benefit from a funding contract signed between the IHRU and EIB. Simultaneously, and equally significant, were the individual rehabilitation works to be carried out by the owners on their properties, for whom a set of tax policies and incentives and other support measures were available.

Although these three sub projects had particular procedures, the strategical engine was translated in the Action Programme and the general process could be summarised according to the following steps: a) analysis of the context; b) creation of a partnership; c) finding financing; d) creation of a office to support owners; e) designing a integrated area-based action programme; f) designing a resettlement programme; g) implementing the programmes; and h) knowledge sharing and communication (PortoVivo, 2019b).

A key aspect of the project implementation was the involvement of multiple actors, institutions and services, as well as the active participation of the citizens (see figure 5.2). For that purpose, and similarly to the UPP head office that was located in the Sé neighbourhood, the URP strategy anticipated the creation of a *Urban Area Management* unit (*unidade de gestão da área urbana*). This administrative body was inspired by the *town centre management* schemes that had experienced a rise in popularity in the United Kingdom since the 1990s (Warnaby et al., 1998). In summary, the unit carried out the following tasks: a) developing, managing and controlling the multidisciplinary local implementation of the programme; and b) support a sustainable partnership between the entities directly involved in specific actions, but also the creation of cooperation networks capable of acting in the different sectors of the strategy.

Moreover, a coordination unit (*unidade de direcção*) including representatives from all partners was established. It would synchronise the work of all parties involved in the partnership, as well as external entities, and assure that each stakeholder would fulfil their obligations. This body would receive advice by the technical support structure (*estrutura de apoio técnico*), created under Operation 11.

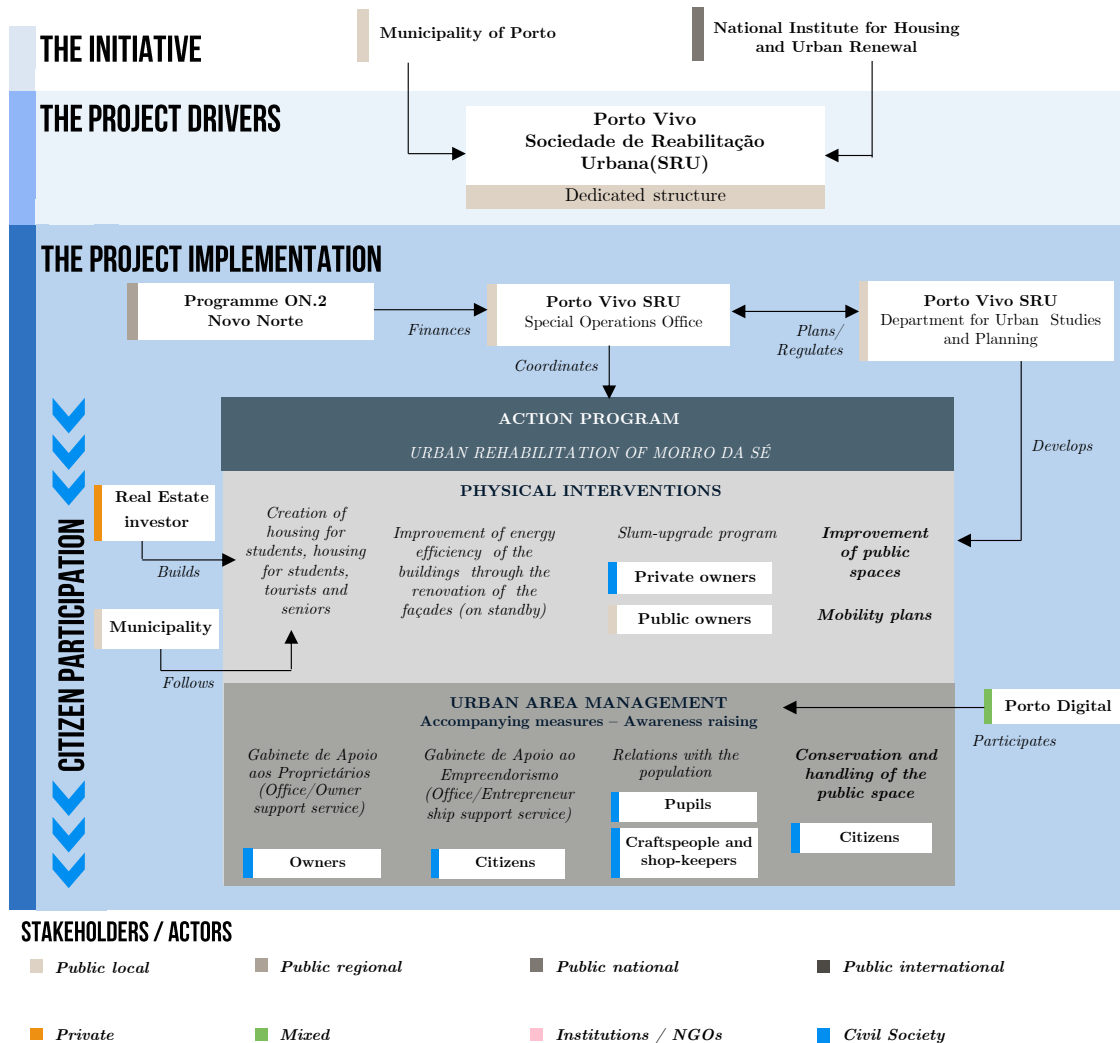


Figure 5.2: Action Programme_CH.1, organisational structure. Source: PortoVivo (2014a).

The technical support structure was responsible to produce periodic progress reports and keep an updated implementation framework (including both physical and financial aspects). The team was also responsible for the communication plan (Operation 12), which resulted (among other activities) in the publication of two books.

The resettlement programme had a complementary role in solving significant housing issues that needed to be tackled, but that weren't eligible for direct financial aid from the ERDF¹². After identifying the buildings to rehabilitate, PortoVivo acquired them (either from private or public owners), developed projects, carried out archaeological surveys and issued calls for tender for the construction works. The programme corresponded to 15 building projects that were independent from each other and covered around 29 buildings due to building re-parcelling. After the completion of the works, dwellings were to be assigned to families that had been temporarily transferred or put on the market for rent

¹²Initially, under Operation 4 of the Action Programme it was expected that money could be channelled to act in the external parts of both publicly and privately owned buildings. However, the SFs managing authority stated that such funds could only be used in public owned buildings. Thus, this operation became strongly connected with the resettlement programme, and part of the building works were sustained under this operation

under an affordable housing strategy that could attract young people to the city centre. While part of the strategy, but with a secondary organisational role, the procedures linked with the single building rehabilitation contracts between PortoVivo and property owners will be dealt with below.

J. P. Costa (2011) argues that PortoVivo, as a pilot project in the implementation of SRU policy in Portugal, «did effectively introduce new practices in the rehabilitation process» (p. 109). From the author's point of view, among the key innovations were *Urban Area Management* unit and the office to support owners. These structures allowed to put in place private sector management practices, which fostered pro-active action by owners and promoters and contributed to «efficient timings with regard to attribution of licenses» (ibid.). Moreover, the company's added value included the achievement of a «favourable tax situation for rehabilitation works» (ibid.) which will be dealt with greater detail below.

As a final note, Sousa and Pinho (2016) mentioned that the case of Porto revealed that structured actions within a collaborative framework have proved to have clear benefits. One could say that this system is, to different extents, very much aligned with the EU urban policy. However, the sequence and timing of relevant events in the city, has showed a more intricate relationship between local, national and European intervention methodologies and structures.

Connection with other programmes

As mentioned above, Cruarb became responsible for designing and implementing the Porto Urban Pilot Project. The institution had been responsible for the renovation project of the historic centre by carrying out the physical rehabilitation of several houses and multiple resettlement actions. To do so it relied on municipal and national financial support schemes to housing renovation, in particular the Regime Especial de Participação na Recuperação de Imóveis Arrendados (RECRIA) launched in 1988.

However, housing issues were (and still are) a field where the EU lacks formal competences (Allegra et al., 2020). Thus, interventions in residential buildings were not eligible for funding under Article 10 of the ERDF regulation. Thus, the strategy for the Bairro da Sé was complemented by alternative tools that supported housing and other specific fields not eligible for funding. In part this resulted from the fact that the UPP was embedded in the wider city council intervention on housing (Breda-Vázquez, Conceição, Baptista, & Branco-Teixeira, 2000).

One example was related to the substandard block of buildings on Aldas street. Under the UPP it was possible to commission a renovation plan but the construction works had to be financed at the expenses of the CMP. On the same street, the pilot project was able to finance rehabilitation works in the facades of 11 houses, including new windows and doors, maintenance of roofs, upgraded water drainage and exterior painting. As part of the project for the new Duque da Ribeira square multiple residential buildings were also rehabilitated.

To the extent of combination with other tools, the role of the FDZHP was also important to the overall regeneration process. With support from the European Poverty III programme, and other financial grants at the expenses of the central government (in particular by the Ministry for Solidarity and Social Security (Ministério da Segurança e Solidariedade Social)) and CMP, it was possible to address additional urgent social needs. Within its scope of action were activities related to child, youth and elderly support, and vocational/entrepreneurship training (Alves, 2010). It is also worth noting that under the CSF II regional OP (PRONORTE) additional funding was invested in the Sé area, in particular the renovation of a museum (Casa Museu Guerra Junqueiro).

Despite the above mentioned links (as well as the institutional arrangements previously reported) there was no systematic connection between the different interventions which could undermine the effectiveness of the process. In particular due to the fact that while EU financing was not eligible for interventions in private dwellings, there was the risk of mismatch between the level of transformation in public and private spaces (Breda-Vázquez et al., 2000).

In contrast, the contents of the 2006 Sé URP presented a clearer idea of the ways to integrate the strategy with other tools and programmes. This might be seen not only as the result of learning processes that progressively recognised the importance of integration, but also of the new urban policy discourses and practices.

In order to operationalise the Sé URP, two main *sub-programmes* and a set tax policies, incentives and other support measures were developed (see Table 5.4). While the Action Programme_CH.1 and Permanent Resettlement Programme were mostly associated with public intervention, the latest were directed to private owners. This was in line with the urban policy model which had enabled the creation of SRU (to manage the regeneration process and act primarily in the public space) and introduced economic and fiscal benefits to encourage the participation of the private sector in building rehabilitation (whether the landlords it self or external investors).

The second was also financed with European funding through a contract signed between the IHRU and EIB. It would support the expenses related to need to temporarily relocate families living in buildings that would be subject to rehabilitation works.

In addition, different housing programmes and a set of fiscal incentives would provide a further support to building rehabilitation (see Table 5.4). These mechanisms were important since the strategy strongly relied on the owners to do the works.

Table 5.5 presents the main planning innovation features of both urban regeneration programmes analysed.

Table 5.4: Sé Urban Regeneration Programme incentive tools for private building rehabilitation. Source: author.

<p>Programmes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Action Programme for the Urban Rehabilitation of Morro da Sé - CH.1 <i>financial contribution under the North Regional Operational Programme – European Regional Development Fund (2007–2013); creation of a public-private partnership to cover non reimbursed spending by both local council and private partners;</i> ▪ Permanent Resettlement Programme <i>rehabilitation works in buildings owned by PortoVivo to be integrated in the affordable rent programme; funding from a contract between the European Investment Bank and Institute of Housing and Urban Rehabilitation (central administration);</i> ▪ RECRIA (Decree-law: DL No. 105/96, 31 June 1996) <i>valid for conservation and rehabilitation of rented dwellings in poor physical condition; financial aid up to 65% of total construction costs, granted by central administration (60%) and city council (40%); financing non reimbursed works with a interest rate inferior to 8% granted by central administration, whenever credit institutions not offer better conditions; value added tax is set to 5%; access to temporary accommodation provided by the city council;</i> ▪ REHABITA (Decree-law: DL No. 105/96, 31 June 1996) <i>similar to RECRIA but in wider urbanistic context (e.g., block of buildings, rundown area); when articulated with RECRIA an additional 10% non-repayable grant is available;</i> ▪ RECRIPH (Decree-law: DL No. 106/96, 31 July 1996) <i>similar to RECRIA but exclusive to shared areas financial aid up to 20% of total construction costs, granted by central administration (60%) and city council (40%); financing non reimbursed works with an interest rate inferior to 8% granted by central administration, whenever credit institutions not offer better conditions;</i> ▪ SOLARH (Decree-law: DL No. 39/2001, 9 February 2001) <i>aimed at conservation works of neglected and vacant dwellings; loans are granted by the central administration with no interest rate to underprivilege people;</i> ▪ VIV'A BAIXA <i>set of services and suppliers for acquisition of construction materials with advantageous conditions of service and price (valid for residential rehabilitation works); reduction of permit taxes;</i> <p>Fiscal incentives and benefits</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Value added tax (Imposto de valor acrescentado) <i>tax is set to 5% for urban rehabilitation works within regeneration units (unidades de reabilitação urbana); societies and inside the ACRRU;</i> ▪ Municipal stamp duty for property sale (Imposto municipal sobre transmissões onerosas de imóveis) <i>tax exemption for buildings classified as monument or those of public/municipal/national interest (Historic Centre of Porto was classified as Public Interest Monument with the Decree nº 67/97 as 31st December. All buildings located in this area, delimited by this Decree, are classified and exempt.); tax value will be refunded for urban buildings that are object of rehabilitation in the space of 2 years from the date of acquisition;</i> ▪ Municipal tax on properties (Imposto municipal sobre imóveis) <i>Tax exemption for buildings classified as national/public interest monuments, municipal/cultural heritage (the Historic Centre of Porto World Heritage);</i> ▪ Fee on the occupation of public domain (Taxa de ocupação da via pública) <i>reduction of 80% in commissions connected with works of construction, reconstruction, conservation, recuperation or rehabilitation of new parks situated in the ACRRU;</i> ▪ Advertising license fee (Taxa de licenciamento de publicidade) ▪ Municipal infrastructures tax (Taxa municipal de infraestruturas) <i>positive discrimination in the Historic Centre with a 25% tax reduction;</i> ▪ Building permit tax (Taxas de licenciamento) <i>reduction of 50% within the Priority Zone for Intervention (ZIP);</i>
--

Table 5.5: Synthesis of the area-based interventions' influence on planning innovation. Source: author.

Area-based Intervention	Comprehensiveness of the programmes	Intervention methodology and structure	Articulation with other tools and resources
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The nature of the project was innovative and included actions to preserve cultural heritage, improve the urban environment, provide social support and revitalise local business and tourism. A number of mainly physical interventions (infrastructures, public space, social facilities) were combined with revitalisation actions (socio-economic promotion). The "immaterial" actions (regarding employment, support to economic activities and promotion of social balance) had marginal role. The expenditures in actions to promote the physical environment accounted for 43,3% of the total costs. Thus, the project relied mostly on tangible operations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Implemented by Cruarb on a delimited area with well-established number of actions and limited time-frame. Key implementation and management aspect: the creation of a local multidisciplinary team, materialised through the UPP head office. Innovative model including public and private stakeholders in monitoring the project and executing particular operations. Civic engagement although with no real influence on the design and implementation project. Monitoring by a restricted council, headed by the mayor and with representatives from the main stakeholders. Creation of a follow-up plan, envisaging a longer term strategy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No strategic articulation a part from the alignment with the overall urban renovation process on going in the Historic Centre. Important articulation with FDZHP that was responsible for managing the European Poverty III programme within the same area. While Cruarb and the UPP acted primarily on the physical environment, FDZHP carried activities related to child, youth and elderly support, and vocational/entrepreneurship training. Housing issues not eligible for financing under the UPP benefited from financial aid from the city council and other national housing programmes (e.g., RECRIA).
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The strategy recognised the need for a comprehensive and articulated programme. This was in line with the national policy for cities and local master plan. Modest investment in operations supporting social development and a strong link with actions fostering economic development and promotion of urban environment (91,0% of the total estimated budget). Strategic dependence of the wider revitalisation process in the city centre carried by Porto Vivo. Concentration on physical interventions and little attention towards social aspects. The outputs struggled to achieve a balanced impact on all dimensions of urban regeneration. The strategy "relied" on two key operations that would induce transversal transformations in the area. Such operations were not completed, thus the other operations struggled to achieve the desired vision for Morro da Sé. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Implemented by PortoVivo on a delimited area. Connection with the national city policy regulation, national spatial planning laws and local on-going strategies. Complex operational framework to benefit from different financing possibilities. Creation of a Urban Area Management unit to develop, manage and control the multidisciplinary local implementation of the programme and support a sustainable partnership. Involvement of multiple actors, institutions and services, as well as the active participation of the citizens. Creation of two local offices to engage directly with residents and provide information and support. Encourage private sector to carry building rehabilitation. A technical support structure produced periodic progress reports and kept an updated implementation framework. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Clearly identified how to articulate the strategy with other tools and programmes. Running two parallel programmes: Action Programme CH.1 with financing from the Operational Programme (ERDF) and Permanent Resettlement Programme with financing from the EIB. A set of tax policies, incentives and other support measures were available according to national spatial planning regulations. Use of different national housing programmes to give further support to landlords in order to carry building rehabilitation. Creation of a local housing programme to support the rehabilitation of the city centre VIVA BAIXA.
Urban Rehabilitation Programme (2006)			

5.3 Influence of EU initiatives in urban regeneration

The urban regeneration of historic Bairro da Sé do Porto has to answer multi-faceted problems, and it can be asked how the interventions analysed have contributed to (or constrained) this processes, and how effective were their impacts on local development. With different levels of acceptance, it seems consensual that the multiple interventions supported by the EU have triggered, in different modes and to different extents, the improvement of physical, social, economic and environmental conditions. Nevertheless, the intensity and effectiveness of these transformations seem to vary according to more complex dynamics.

As suggested by Medeiros and van der Zwet (2019), the broader Portuguese experience as shown that EU funding «positively contributed to improving physical and socio-economic elements in several deprived urban neighbourhoods [but] had limited impact in terms of changing socio-economic paradigms in urban areas which are strongly affected by drug-addiction, lack of economic capacity, and low-income levels» (p. 16). In order to understand the influence of the EU initiatives on the Sé urban regeneration process, different aspects (e.g., physical environment, economic revitalisation) were taken into consideration based on the particular strategies and fields of action of the Sé interventions, as well as on the challenges experienced on the area. Regarding the physical environment, we focused transformations on the built environment which, as stressed above, have been a critical issue of the neighbourhood. Focusing on the city of Porto, and in contrast to country's tendency, the building sector has shown a clear commitment to reconstruction rather than new construction (see Appendix A, Figure A.5). At the same time, the combination of a historic context, together with the critical physical conditions of the Sé area, translated in rehabilitation playing a lead role since the early 1990s strategies have been deployed (see Appendix A, Figure A.7).

In turn, economic revitalisation, social issues or tourism relate to a *non material* fields that have been proclaimed to be key strategic elements to regenerate the area. Indeed, both area-based programmes stressed these issues as major factors for the intervention success, but in both cases we argue that the impacts struggled to meet the initial strategic vision.

In addition to the changes in governance structures and planning practices, the Bairro da Sé Urban Pilot Project strategy was, above all, able to transform the urban environment. The physical improvements included the rehabilitation of different streets and squares within the target area, including new decorative paving and replacing over 1,400 meters of underground infrastructures (electrical and telephone cables, public lighting, sewage, gas and water supply (see Figure 5.3). It is recognised that these actions have gradually improved the image of Sé and in terms of funding reached almost ECU 2.7 million (representing 27.2% of the total final cost).

One of the most visible physical transformations was the creation of Duque da Ribeira square. It resulted from the demolition of abusive constructions in degraded conditions, which opened space in the centre of the street block. The space was converted to host an underground car park and a new public space with a restaurant and cultural facility. In



(a) Before street renovation, c. 1990.



(b) After UPP intervention, c. 1998.



(c) Current situation, 2020.

Figure 5.3: Porto Urban Pilot Project, before and after public space renovations, Bainharia street. Source: photos 5.3a, 5.3b retrieved from Câmara Municipal do Porto (1998), photo 5.3c by author

a second phase, six surrounding buildings were rehabilitated, displaying commercial uses in the ground floor and housing purposes in the upper floors (see Figure 5.4). In order



(a) After completion, c.1998.



(b) Situation in c. 2007.

Figure 5.4: Porto Urban Pilot Project, new Duque da Ribeira square with rehabilitated housing units, shops and multi-purpose facility. Source: photo 5.4a retrieved from Câmara Municipal do Porto (1998) , photo 5.4b retrieved online from hostingcity.blogspot.com

to make the area more accessible different alleys were refurbished and a link was created between the lively Mouzinho da Silveira street and the square.

The Duque da Ribeira project, in addition to improving the physical environment, was expected to indirectly induce economic and social revitalisation. However, the project struggled to fulfil the desired revitalisation, and several national newspaper articles (see Luz, 2004, 2005) reported an unfortunate reality in which vandalism, drug abuse and unoccupied amenities, prevailed. According to the articles, multiple shops were empty, the restaurant was broken into and abandoned, one social facility was temporarily closed and the drug trafficking and abuse happened at all times.

Duque da Ribeira square (also called Viela do Anjo area) mirrors, to a certain extent, the wider urban regeneration challenge in Bairro da Sé. The square (just like the neighbourhood) witnessed multiple efforts being developed to tackle the intricate situation, but the problems have been *stubborn* and difficult to eradicate (see Figure 5.5a). In a 2009 interview done by Alves (2010), a senior technician of Cruarb/PortoVivo, stated that—the drugs issue appeared in the 1980s, reduced significantly after the UPP (1993–1998), and gradually returned as the neighbourhood evolved from being regarded as a red-light district to become a drug trafficking hub and it was unlikely to find a family without links to drug addiction or drug trafficking. A different Cruarb/PortoVivo technician stressed that—the involvement of families in the drug-trafficking business was so intense (including all age groups) that

it was extremely difficult to counter. Indeed, Bairro da Sé and its drug trafficking issues were illustrated in several newspaper articles (see Faria, 2004; A. C. Pereira, 2001) that raised awareness for the seriousness of the situation.

The situation would slightly improve, as the problem moved towards other areas of the city. In 2005, PortoVivo took over the facilities in Duque da Ribeira square and set up its customer service office (see Figure 5.4b). The objective was to attract new people and change the image of the area (“De bairro da droga a zona in,” 2006). Within the Sé URP, the area was also target of some physical improvements. Several buildings were rehabilitated under the resettlement programme, thus contributing to a better living environment, but despite all the efforts, the situation persisted. During various field visits (which took place in 2018–2019) it was possible to witness in first person how this issue was still a reality in Viela do Anjo. However, in 2019, the city council took some action to *deal* with the problem and gated to public all access points to the square (see Figure 5.5c and M. C. Pinto, 2019).

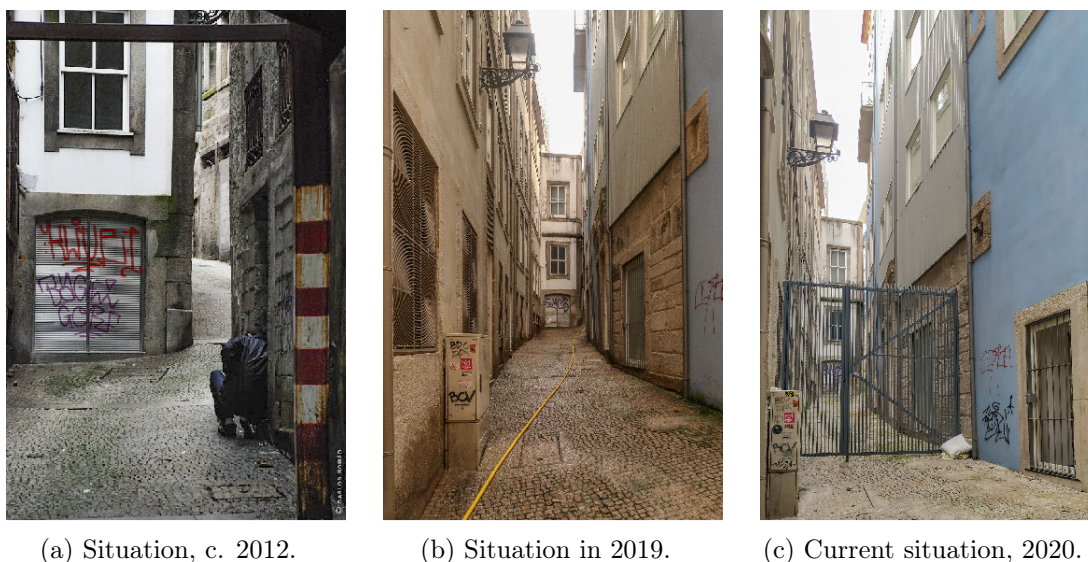


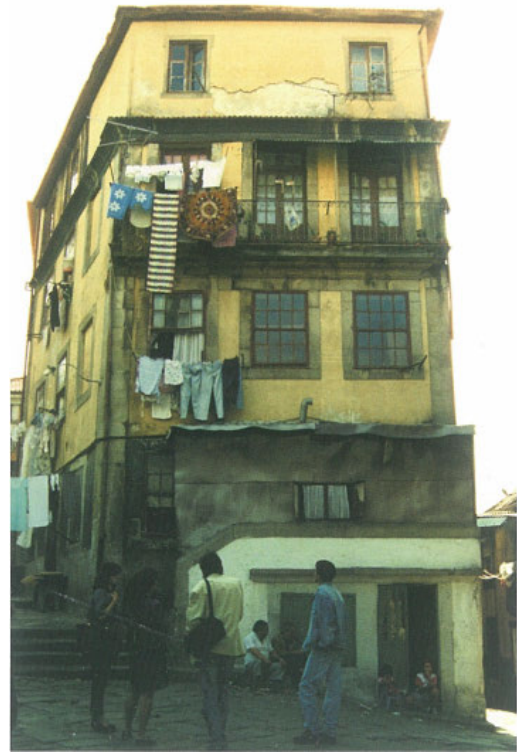
Figure 5.5: Anjo alley, persistent problem of drug addiction, physical improvements and the currently gated access. Source: photo 5.5a by Romão C. retrieved from outraface.blogspot.com and photos 5.5b, 5.5c by author.

Getting back to the Sé UPP transformations on the physical environment, in addition to public space reconversion, the physical conditions of other buildings were improved, as they were part of measures aiming to provide better community facilities. After the rehabilitation, the community centre Casa Amarela was ready to provide daycare for up to 100 elders and its upper levels were divided into nine autonomous living units to provide temporary accommodation to households in need.

The multi-purpose facility created on Colégio square was yet another intervention that was able to bring physical changes. A new restaurant with a terrace, an office and a small *atelier* were created and in addition three housing buildings were rehabilitated at the expenses of the municipality, thus helping to improve the image of the neighbourhood (see Figure 5.7).



(a) Situation c. 1958



(b) Before UPP intervention, c. 1990.



(c) During works, c. 1996.



(d) After works, c. 1998.

Figure 5.6: Porto Urban Pilot Project rehabilitation works, new community centre Casa Amarela. Source: photo 5.6a by Rego, T. retrieved online from Arquivo Histórico do Porto, photos 5.6b, 5.6d retrieved from Câmara Municipal do Porto (1998), photo 5.6c retrieved from Câmara Municipal do Porto (1996b).



(a) Situation c. 1990.



(b) During UPP works, c. 1996.



(c) During URP works, c. 2009.



(d) Current situation, 2020.

Figure 5.7: Bairro da Sé public space rehabilitation, works on Colégio square. Source: photo 5.7a retrieved from Câmara Municipal do Porto (1998), photo collage 5.7b and photo 5.7d by author and phot 5.7c retrieved online from portopatrimoniomundial.com.

Through the measures to promote tourism, the old medieval tower (located nearby the cathedral) was converted into a tourist information centre, and a documentation archive. The rehabilitation works included the conservation of exterior walls, structural reinforcement and new amenities. Moreover, São Lourenço church was target of physical improvements in both the interior and exterior.

The measure to intervene on the facades in Aldas street included new windows and doors, maintenance of roofs, upgraded water drainage and exterior painting according to the architectonic aesthetics of the area (see Figure 5.8). In addition, 11 houses were rehabilitated in their interior (in most cases at the owners expense) which improved the living standards of the area.

With less impact, but equally important, were the multiple refurbishment works done under the actions to promote economic activities. Technical assistance was provided to owners in order to update the exterior image of their shops and at the end around 40 retailers refurbished their spaces (including stonework, windows and doors, wall painting and store signs).

Moreover, with the support of the European project, two additional projects were developed. First, the renovation of a substandard block of buildings in the proximity of Aldas street that was rehabilitated at the expenses of the CMP and resulted in five new houses. These maintained the aesthetics of the area, featured enhanced exterior spaces, and included better accessibility. Second, the renovation of the ancient city hall, also called Casa dos Vinte e Quatro, with a project of well-known architect Fernando Távora.



(a) Before UPP intervention, c. 1990.



(b) During rehabilitation.



(c) After UPP intervention.



(d) Situation, c. 2011.

Figure 5.8: Porto Urban Pilot Project, facade rehabilitation on Aldas street, seen from Colégio square. Source: photos 5.8a, 5.8b retrieved from Câmara Municipal do Porto (1996b), photo 5.8c retrieved from Câmara Municipal do Porto (1998), photo 5.8d retrieved online from portopatrimoniomundial.com.

It is undeniable that the physical context of the neighbourhood benefited from these operations. However, due to the scale of the problem, the restricted scope of the UPP intervention (that was not to deal directly with rundown housing buildings), and the limited extent of the target area, the project alone was not able to *fulfil* all the physical needs of Bairro da Sé. The final report included a follow-up regeneration plan that accounted for 87 buildings in need of urgent intervention (corresponding to 212 families and 39 shops) and 125 dwellings to be rehabilitated.

Although some of these interventions were completed, as mentioned before, the neighbourhood's physical condition did not reverse as expected. In the years following the conclusion of 1993 UPP several newspaper articles reported the critical state of conservation, including buildings collapsing or catching fire, putting at risk people and material goods (Corvacho, 2002). As a consequence of the above mentioned physical and social issues, in 2002 an emergency plan (Plano de Emergência para o Bairro da Sé) was developed over the period of five-months as an effort to tackle the most urgent needs of the neighbourhood (Marmelo, 2002c).

Although this plan brought some hope for the Sé residents, eventually the plan reached its end and the overall process of revitalisation slowed down. Some newspaper articles noted the intention of local authorities to continue to support the regeneration process, including the creation of a management unit but it is not until the creation of PortoVivo and the start of the 2007 intervention that meaningful measures were taken (see Gomes,

2002; Marmelo, 2002a, 2002b).

The building state of conservation reported in 2006, before the start of the URP, illustrates that the decaying process was faster than the actions to counteract it. Thus, when PortoVivo took the responsibility of managing the rehabilitation process in the Historic Centre, the situation was still (if not even more) challenging. The company found that of the 285 buildings within the target area, 34.4% was publicly owned and the remaining 65.6% belong to private owners. Moreover, 21.8% of all the buildings were vacant, 33 of which belong to the public sector, and 82 private buildings were in bad state of conservation (PortoVivo, 2006).

The Sé URP stated as one of its objectives the physical rehabilitation of the built environment. This included renovating housing buildings that were in great need of intervention and tackling the short-comes of public space. The Action Programme, in combination with the Permanent Resettlement Programme, contributed actively to improve the area's appearance. Regarding the resettlement strategy, 14 projects were developed expecting to rehabilitate 29 buildings, create 71 new dwellings, and 11 spaces for economic activities. These projects represented a combined effort to restore about 15% of the total built area of Morro da Sé, and an additional project would later be included (Project 15). In 2019 PortoVivo reported that a total of 52 dwellings and 15 commercial spaces were successfully rehabilitated. Moreover, the number of already signed contracts under the resettlement programme was 12 for commercial spaces and 37 for residential spaces. In addition, some dwellings were assigned to previous owners and a new call was launch to find tenants for other 15 apartment (Ascensão, 2020; PortoVivo, 2020).

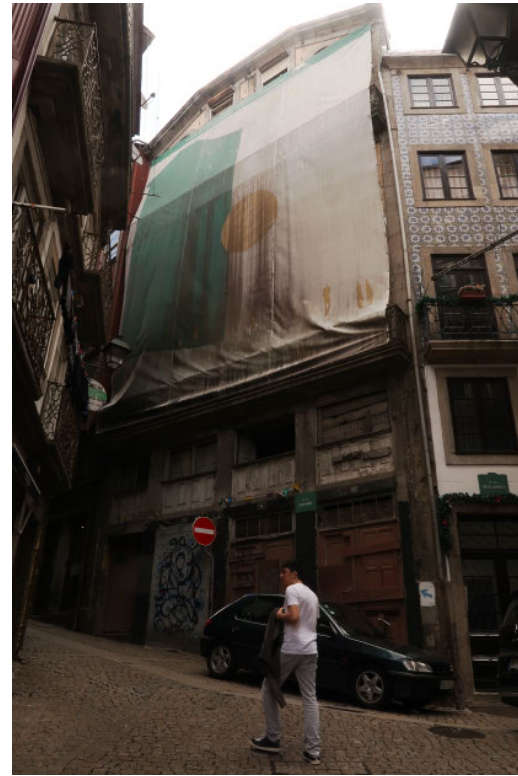
Although it turned to be a slow process, the resettlement programme shows a good progress, and has contributed repopulating the neighbourhood. However, as stated in the latest official document published by PortoVivo (2020), the following projects were yet to be concluded:

- Project 5, corresponding to 11 dwellings, and 3 commercial spaces (see Figure 5.9);
- Project 6, including 3 dwellings and 1 commercial activity;
- Project 15, including three parcels (2 private and 1 public) which will result in two affordable rent dwellings;

Moreover, as part of the overall strategy, several rehabilitation works were carried out by the owners. The comparison between conservation of the housing stock in 2008 and 2014 (first and last available information from the monitoring reports of Porto Historic Centre, see PortoVivo, 2013a, 2014b) provides an idea of the physical improvements achieved in Bairro da Sé. In 2008, 25.6% of the parcels was in good state of conservation and in 2014 around the same number of parcels was being subject to rehabilitation works (see Table 5.6). At the same time, the data showed that both the percentage of parcels in good, bad or very bad condition decreased. While this could be expected from the latest, meaning that improvements had been made, the opposite applies to parcels in good. In the same monitoring report (see PortoVivo, 2014b) figures a map showing the physical condition (with slightly different categories) of the built heritage. In contrast to the above mentioned



(a) Situation in 2012.



(b) Situation in 2019.

Figure 5.9: Sé Urban Rehabilitation Programme uncompleted intervention, Bainharia street, project 5. Source: photo 5.9a retrieved from Freire (2016) and photo 5.9a by author.

Table 5.6: Bairro da Sé, rehabilitations between 2008 and 2014. Source: author.

State of conservation	2008		2014	
Parcels in good condition	63	25.6%	57	23.2%
Parcels in fair condition	63	25.6%	82	33.3%
Parcels in bad condition	82	33.3%	29	11.8%
Parcels in advance decay	37	15.0%	21	8.5%
Parcels under rehabilitation works	1	0.4%	57	23.2%
Total parcels	246	100.0%	246	100.0%

Note: data for *Morro da Sé*, extracted from PortoVivo: *Relatório de Monitorização, 2010* and *Relatório de Monitorização, 2012*.

data, this revealed greater improves (see Figure 5.10). In 2015 PortoVivo reported that 138 new dwellings had been renovated, which included 57 touristic rooms and 7 commercial spaces. This was the combined result of EUR 46 million of investment by the private sector and around EUR 9 million of public spending in Morro da Sé (PortoVivo, 2015b) In 2019, PortoVivo reported that there were still 37 rehabilitation agreements to be established.

Notwithstanding what has been said so far, if one contextualises the evolution of building rehabilitation of the Sé area within the city of Porto, it is possible to notice that the evolution of the number of completed buildings follows approximately the same trend (see Appendix A, Figure A.8). Indeed, the data for the number of licensed buildings through the last 25 years has shown that national, metropolitan, city and local trends follow approximately the same pace, possible responding to broader (and exogenous) factors (see Appendix A, Figure A.6).



Figure 5.10: Bairro da Sé physical condition in 2014. Source: modified from PortoVivo (2014b).



(a) Situation in 2012.



(b) Situation c. 2020.

Figure 5.11: The urban regeneration in Pena Ventosa square, combined efforts from UPP, private owners and URP. Source: photo 5.11a by Romão C. retrieved from outra-face.blogspot.com and photo 5.11b retrieved from airbnb.pt.

While the challenging context resulted not only from buildings in decay but also to the disregard towards public spaces and acts of vandalism, operation 5 of the Action Programme perceived the rehabilitation of some key points that would input vivacity. All these works were carried out by the CMP office responsible for construction works in combination with companies responsible for infrastructures. Nevertheless, all actions were achieved including the refurbishment of Dom Hugo street, the rearrangement of Doutor Pedro Vitorino and Colégio square (see Figure 5.13). This operation was successful in bringing about change to the area, and therefore increasing the liveability standards and additional support to housing and economic activities (Chamusca, 2012).

In general, the various public space improvements undertaken under both UPP and URP have positively contributed to the urban regeneration process of Sé. However some other issues still need to be resolved. This idea seems to be in line with the perception of local residents of Sé. A survey¹³ of public safety in Sé civil parish revealed that 67.2% of those questioned reported a feeling of general safety in the area. However, the respondents manifested an apparent raise of criminality as a consequence of different physical environment aspects. At the same time, the main elements indicated to be important to improve quality of life were: a) further urban rehabilitation; b) additional patrolling; c) better green spaces; d) more public lightening; and e) less pollution (Sani & Nunes, 2012).

Interestingly, the idea of an unfinished urban regeneration process, or sense of faulty delivery by the urban regeneration actors didn't go unnoticed (Marmelo, 2010). Connected to such logic might have been two operations within the Action Programme that were not achieved: the creation of a student off-campus residence (to accommodate around 120 students); and the development of a touristic accommodation (with 50 double rooms, a restaurant and a bar). These could have helped solving multiple problems of run-down buildings, and by rehabilitating the built heritage and adapting it to new functions, could result in attracting new residents and contribute to economic revitalisation. Both operations encountered several problems and have been stopped for a long period of time, and as a result

¹³Survey done by University Fernando Pessoa in 2012. Sample of 244 people (residents/workers/students).

physical decay got worse (see Figure 5.12). More recently, PortoVivo (2019a) declared that these operations were resumed, including the preparation procedures to find new investors. In 2019, the CMP launched an international call for tenders¹⁴ to find a new investor for the student accommodation (rehabilitation of 22 buildings) and a similar process is expected to happen with the touristic unit (4 buildings).



Figure 5.12: Sé Urban Rehabilitation Programme, public-owned buildings waiting for intervention, Pena Ventosa street. The alarming state of building disrepair has got worse with time. Source: photo 5.12a by ecudiélle licensed under CC BY-ND 2.0 and photo 5.12b by author.

Despite some efforts to find mobility solutions, the issue regarding car parking is still of concern today (see Figure 5.13). In Bairro da Sé informal parking is not the exception, but the rule, as cars occupy public spaces and create conflicts in a mainly pedestrian area. However, the situation is complex, as private transportation still plays a key role in the daily lives of many residents.

In 2004, a national newspaper article titled as *Even the tourists stop passing through Bairro da Sé* (author’s translation, Fonseca, 2004) reported the weak liveliness of the neighbourhood and the struggles of the small shops and restaurants still open for business the area. Despite the area’s cultural values and its intrinsic connection to tourism, in the late 2010s there weren’t any facilities or commercial activities related to it. However, during the last 10 years such tendency has been changing and private investors have been showing growing interest in the area (see Appendix A, Figure A.9). Indeed, Gusman et al. (2019) argue that Porto’s historic centre has seen its physical, social and economic features being remarkable transformed as a result of tourism. The author’s add that Porto became one important urban tourist destination (Gusman et al., 2019) as a combined result of PortoVivo’s masterplan for the revitalisation of the city centre—with great emphasis on cultural regeneration—, together with the 1996 UNESCO World Heritage Site award and the European Capital of Culture initiative in 2001. However, the increase of gentrification or the *floating city users* phenomenon in different neighbourhoods (Carvalho et al., 2019; Chamusca et al., 2019) raises important questions for the sustainable and inclusive future of the city.

¹⁴See Contract Notice 2019/S 251-622176 of 31 December 2019, Official Journal of the EU, series S, supplement S251.



(a) During works, c. 2012.



(b) Current situation, 2020.



(c) During works, c. 2012.



(d) Current situation, 2020.

Figure 5.13: Sé Urban Rehabilitation Programme, physical intervention in Doutor Pedro Vitorino square and parking issues. Source: photos 5.13a, 5.13c retrieved from PortoVivo (2015a) and photos 5.13b, 5.13d by author.

Although this issue has been felt more acutely in other areas of the city, Bairro da Sé could benefit from updated strategies (see, among others, Santos & Branco-Teixeira, 2020) to achieve better living conditions and anticipate the downsides of tourism. On that note, the involvement of Porto city council in the European Interreg network ATLAS World Heritage will hopefully bring success to the city, both in terms of the (unfinished) regeneration of the historic centre and its economic revitalisation (see HeRe Lab, 2019).

5.4 Concluding remarks

Given the exploratory nature of this study and the inextricable character of the questions addressed, it is difficult to reach clear and definitive conclusions. The research reported in this thesis has investigated the extent to which EU regional policy initiatives have shaped local policy-making process, influenced local governance and stimulated an increase in planning capacity in the city of Porto. While the Europeanisation process of Portuguese public policies has been discussed at different levels, several authors recognise the centrality of the *Europe effect* in explaining the changes that occurred in Portugal in the fields of urban policies (Cavaco et al., 2020), of spatial planning (Campos & Ferrão, 2015) and, more indirectly, of housing policies (Allegra et al., 2020). In Chapter 3 particularly, it

is illustrated the emergence of a more explicit urban policy in Portugal, in contrast to the previous situation characterised by greater fragmentation and lack of attention to city development (Domingues et al., 2007; Parkinson et al., 1992).

Similarly to other European countries with a hierarchical and centralist tradition (Carpenter et al., 2020; De Gregorio Hurtado, 2019; Dukes, 2008), Portugal has shown to be keen on the processes of Europeanisation and there seems to be an understanding that in Portugal the EU has influenced domestic changes in various directions. Indeed, in addition to financial opportunities that enabled the development of projects that otherwise would have not been achieved, European funding acted as a source of institutional change (A. Oliveira et al., 2019; C. Oliveira & Breda-Vázquez, 2011, 2012), and stimulated the introduction and consolidation of urban policies and spatial planning tools (Cavaco et al., 2020; Magone, 2006; Medeiros, 2014b; Teles, Romeiro, & Pires, 2021).

In this context, this paper underlines the relevance of this process in Porto, a city where implementation of different Community Initiatives and programmes (for example, Poverty III, UPP, URBAN I and II, URBACT) has led to—and is the result of—a continuous tension towards the opportunities made available by the EU. There are many studies that analyse the innovations associated with these experiences (Alves, 2010, 2013; Chamusca, 2012; Gros, 1993; Rio Fernandes, 2011a), leading to different forms of policy transfer and related to innovations in both planning instruments and approaches to governance. However, by analysing the sequence of policy instruments and institutional configurations that characterise the case of Porto, we cannot conclude that policy transfer has followed a linear process over time and, even less, that a single model of intervention has been preferred to others.

It can be argued that the case of Porto is, above all, indicative of the diversity and tensions that characterise urban policies. In this context, governance practices and institutional design are a central aspect for understanding the processes of continuity and change in urban regeneration practices. Some tensions can be related to scale, both the scale that can define the problems and the scale on which the solutions are based. In the Porto case, at each moment, *area-based* interventions—such as Bairro da Sé—coexist with more general interventions at the scale of the city or at the metropolitan scale. Moreover, even within an area-based concept, urban regeneration practices in the city centre have taken different trajectories than those on the more peripheral areas of the city. Overall, it should be noted that the recent transformations than urban policies in Portugal reveal the growing importance of different scales, from the city to the inter-municipal levels.

The period under observation in this work is particularly intense in terms of institutional creation and governance transformation. Three aspects can be underlined in this respect. Firstly, the diversity of organisational settings through which municipal action is developed across the planning periods. Secondly, the changes operated in the partnership structures, between the intervention of the central administration and the intervention of the local administration. And thirdly, the persistent adaptation of the scope and territoriality of these different organisations. As a result of these processes, evidence suggests that the implementation of EU projects in Porto has followed not a single intervention model, but therefore can be read as the expression of different views of the city's development, as well

as of various approaches to use the public intervention to stimulate urban development.

Cruarb's initial experience underlies the central role of the State in housing rehabilitation. Later on, the role of public investment in public spaces and cultural facilities was seen as an essential trigger for urban change. PortoVivo represents a more entrepreneurial model directed to attract and facilitate private investment in the central part of the city. This diversity can be explained by the evolution of the local urban context, but it is also clearly marked by processes of political change in the management of the city, and reveals important tensions constantly present in its urban regeneration project. At the same time the case study of Bairro da Sé in particular reveals some continuities, as the link that can be established between Cruarb's UPP and later experience of PortoVivo.

Taking into proper consideration the difficulty to *isolate* the effect of EU policies, we can argue that the European projects have triggered, in different modes, urban change in Porto. By referring to Portugal as a whole, Medeiros and van der Zwet (2019) argue that the EU regional policy has «positively contributed to improving physical and socio-economic elements in several deprived urban neighbourhoods (but) had limited impact in terms of changing socio-economic paradigms in urban areas which are strongly affected by drug-addition, lack of economic capacity, and low-income levels» (p. 16).

In Porto, the target areas of almost all urban regeneration programmes witnessed an intervention continuity over time which is often seen as a source for their effectiveness. As a result, the connection observed between UPP, URBAN I and II projects have—to some extent— provided improvements in the quality of the built environment, and in the reduction of socio-economic marginality in both the city centre and peripheral areas (Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1998; ECOTEC, 2010; FDVC, 2001; Rio Fernandes, 2011a). In the historic centre, particularly, EU interventions clearly contributed to recover buildings and monuments, to create pedestrianised areas and public spaces, and the upgrading of public facilities. However, the case study of Bairro da Sé has also shown that some issues have struggled to be effectively tackled. The many barriers preventing the urban regeneration of Porto's historic centre, related to a myriad of obstacles such as: political shifts, inadequate financial investment to support the strategies, fragmented and inadequate legislation or reckless planning decisions.

Nevertheless, the role played by EU regional policy instruments in the revitalisation of the city in the last 30 years should be also observed under the lens of other political, institutional and social processes. For instance, the neo-liberal turn of urban policy in the last 15 years (Alves & Branco, 2018; R. Branco & Alves, 2018; J. Queirós, 2007, 2015; Sequeira, 2011) is a powerful argument to explain the increase of gentrification or the *floating city users* phenomenon in different neighbourhoods (Carvalho et al., 2019; Chamusca et al., 2019; Santos & Branco-Teixeira, 2020).

In summary, with different levels of acceptance, it seems consensual that the urban-related interventions with support from the EU have triggered, in different modes, urban change in Porto. The raising alignment of the Portuguese urban policy with international and EU strategies and tools, contributed to enlarge and strengthen the scope of national urban policy introducing changes that might be seen as the direct result of the Europeanisation process. From the case of Porto, however, complex relationships have emerged

between local, national and European urban policies, resulting from a long sequence of new governance models, institutional re-organisation, and policy-making practices. Moreover, the case of Bairro da Sé suggests that the intensity and efficiency of urban transformations varies according to complex dynamics. Indeed, the area witnessed a continuity of actions over time that, given its problematic context, may indicate that long-term interventions are needed in order to achieve the best possible results.

While the EU has contributed to Porto's urban regeneration process at different levels, it is not easy to find clear direct cause-effect relationship. The case study is an example of continuity in what concerns regeneration, and has shown that such process might be longer than initially expected (and desired). At the same time, it was clear that European, national and local level strategies intersect which might boost or undermine the overall results. Finally, the research leaves open the question whether there was an *inadequacy* between the strategies and the rather particular context of Sé, or a mismatch between the declaration of intent and the actual implementation of the urban regeneration process.

Finally, reflecting upon the different events and interventions that have been taking place in Bairro da Sé do Porto since the 1990s, arise some similarities to other European cities. Many cases have shown that urban initiatives resulting from the EU Cohesion Policy have been active contributors to urban change, Europeanisation of urban policies and innovation of planning practices—see, among others, Palermo in Italy (Vinci, 2019), Malaga in Spain (De Gregorio Hurtado, 2019) or Thessaloniki in Greece (Athanassiou, 2020). With the insights resulting from this study, we aspire to help the challenging enterprise of understanding the EU urban agenda. At the same time, while between the European Union countries there are many contextual differences, an analysis including more examples would be needed to get a better grasp of the actual reality. In this way we will be able to further strengthen and assist EU policy-making to promote a better future for our cities.

5.5 Research limitations and future developments

This thesis looked to the EU, national and local contexts to understand how their policy interrelations *territorialise* in the concreteness of the local level. In particular, the research tried to build knowledge from the urban regeneration process in the city of Porto, Portugal, more particularly from its historic neighbourhood Bairro da Sé. The area's urban development is an unfinished process, in constant transformation, and turned out to be more complex than originally expected. For this reason the reflection on the influence of the EU urban agenda on European cities became a more difficult task than envisaged at the beginning. At the same time, as the process is not finished yet, a follow-up study might be needed to conclude that the observations described here are valid.

Regardless, it was possible to draw some the insights from its experience and the contribution of EU initiatives to Porto's urban policy and local development through its multi-scalar mechanisms. However, we acknowledge that this in-depth case study cannot be seen as a rule that applies to all European contexts. In fact, case studying is generally bonded with the issue of false generalisation, while the information collected, analysed and

discussed does not represent the full reality. Moreover, we consider that it could have been interesting to approach with the same level of detail as for Bairro da Sé other area-based initiatives supported by the EU.

For completeness of the research, and considering the number of controversial issues in the fields of urban policy/planning—over urban governance restructuring, de-concentrating vs decentralisation, regeneration vs gentrification, or neoliberal/entrepreneurial urban governance and the rescaling of urban policies—, the thesis should have been given more attention to the engagement with broader urban studies debates. Moreover, the diversity of concepts covered in the thesis—such as *urban change*, *development*, *sustainability*, *urban problems/challenges* or *regeneration*—, should have been more carefully revised, particularly to provide a more clear critical position.

Finally, an aspect that could have been included to gather richer and detailed data were interviews. In fact, interviews are a widely used technique in qualitative research and we recognise that they could have provided valuable inputs.

Despite these limitations, we think that the thesis covered a critical topic and the detailed contents put together can be useful for future comparison works. In particular as regards Europeanisation of urban policies in countries located at the margins of the EU, where there are already evidences from other EU countries showing interesting points that relate to our observations. However, while between the European Union countries there are many contextual differences, an analysis including more examples would be needed to get a better grasp of the actual reality. In this way we will be able to further strengthen and assist EU policy-making to promote a better future for our cities.



(a) Active traditional market in c. 1998.



(b) Situation in 2019.

Figure 5.14: Changing reality in Bairro da Sé. What is next? Source: photo 5.14a retrieved from Câmara Municipal do Porto (1998) and photo 5.14b by author.

References

- Albrechts, L., Alden, J., & da Rosa Pires, A. (Eds.). (2001). *The Changing Institutional Landscape of Planning*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Breaking the ties with master plan: spatial strategic plans in Portugal. (2001). In J. Alden, L. Albrechts, & A. Rosa Pires (Eds.), *Changing institutional landscape of planning* (pp. 181–208). Ashgate: Aldershot.
- Alden, J., & da Rosa Pires, A. (1996). Lisbon. *Cities*, 13(1), 25–36. doi:10.1016/0264-2751(95)00111-5
- Allegra, M., Tulumello, S., Colombo, A., & Ferrão, J. (2020). The (hidden) role of the EU in housing policy: the Portuguese case in multi-scalar perspective. *European Planning Studies*. doi:10.1080/09654313.2020.1719474
- Alves, S. (2008). A diferença que a participação faz em iniciativas de regeneração urbana. *Sociedade e Território*, (41), 8–18.
- Alves, S. (2010). *O Social, o Espacial e o Político na Pobreza e na Exclusão - Avaliação de iniciativas de regeneração de áreas urbanas ‘em risco’ na cidade do Porto*. (PhD Thesis, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa). Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10071/4412>
- Alves, S. (2013). Evaluation and Evaluating the community initiative URBAN. In *2nd international scientific conference, regional development, spatial planning and strategic governance (respag), 22–25 may* (pp. 1–18). Belgrade: Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia.
- Alves, S. (2017a). Assessing the impact of area-based initiatives in deprived neighborhoods: The example of S. João de Deus in Porto, Portugal. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 39(3), 381–399. doi:10.1080/07352166.2016.1245081
- Alves, S. (2017b). Requalificação e gentrificação no centro histórico do Porto. *Scripta Nova*, 21, 1–32. doi:10.1344/sn2017.21.17921
- Alves, S., & Branco, R. (2018). With or without you: models of urban requalification under neoliberalism in Portugal. In S. Aboim, P. Granjo, & A. Ramos (Eds.), *Changing societies: Legacies and challenges. vol. i. ambiguous inclusions: Inside out, outside in* (Chap. 19, pp. 457–479). doi:10.31447/ics9789726715030.19
- Andreou, G. (2006). EU cohesion policy in Greece: Patterns of governance and Europeanization. *South European Society and Politics*, 11(2), 241–259. doi:10.1080/13608740600645865

- Antalovsky, E., Dangschat, J. S., & Parkinson, M. (Eds.). (2005). *European Metropolitan Governance Cities in Europe – Europe in the Cities. Final report*. Vienna: Europaforum Wien, EFW, EIUA and ISRA.
- Armondi, S. (2020). The Urban Agenda for the European Union: EU Governmentality and Urban Sovereignty in New EU-City Relations? In S. Armondi & S. De Gregorio Hurtado (Eds.), *Foregrounding urban agendas. the new urban issue in european experiences of policy-making* (Chap. 1, pp. 3–20). doi:10.1007/978-3-030-29073-3_1
- Armstrong, H. (1995). The Role and Evolution of European Community Regional Policy. In *The european union and the regions* (Chap. 2, pp. 23–64). doi:10.1093/019827999X.003.0002
- Ascensão, J. (2020). Câmara sorteia 15 casas com renda acessível no centro do Porto. *Observador*. Retrieved from <https://observador.pt/2020/01/13/camara-sorteia-15-casas-com-renda-acessivel-no-centro-do-porto/>
- Assunção, D. (2010). *O Morro da Sé – Reflexões de um passado para o futuro* (MSc Thesis, Universidade Fernando Pessoa). Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10284/1971>
- Athanassiou, E. (2020). Transferring sustainability: imaginaries and processes in EU funded projects in Thessaloniki. *Urban Research & Practice*, 1–22. doi:10.1080/17535069.2020.1783351
- Atkinson, R. (2001). The Emerging 'Urban Agenda' and the European Spatial Development Perspective: Towards an EU Urban Policy? *European Planning Studies*, 9(3), 385–406. doi:10.1080/713666487
- Atkinson, R. (2015). The Urban Dimension in Cohesion Policy: Past developments and future prospects. *European Structural and Investment Funds Journal*, 3(1), 21–31.
- Atkinson, R., & Rossignolo, C. (2010). Cities and the 'soft side' of Europeanization: The role of urban networks. In A. Hamedinger & A. Wolffhardt (Eds.), *The europeanization of cities. policies, urban change & urban networks* (pp. 193–206). Amsterdam: Techne Press.
- Atkinson, R., & Zimmermann, K. (2016). Cohesion policy and cities: an ambivalent relationship. In S. Piattoni & L. Polverari (Eds.), *Handbook on cohesion policy in the eu* (pp. 413–426). doi:10.4337/9781784715670.00042
- Atkinson, R., & Zimmermann, K. (2018). European spatial planning. In H. Heinelt & S. Munch (Eds.), *Handbook on eu policies*. doi:10.1080/096543102200001328
- Bache, I. (2003). Europeanization: A Governance Approach. In *Eusa 8th international biennial conference, 27–29 march*, Nashville: University of Pittsburgh.
- Bachtler, J. (1998). Reforming the structural funds: Challenges for EU regional policy. *European Planning Studies*, 6(6), 645–664. doi:10.1080/09654319808720488
- Bachtler, J., Berkowitz, P., Hardy, S., & Muravska, T. (2016). *EU Cohesion Policy. Reassessing performance and direction* (J. Bachtler, P. Berkowitz, S. Hardy, & T. Muravska, Eds.). doi:10.4324/9781315401867
- Bachtler, J., Ferry, M., Méndez, C., & McMaster, I. (2006). The 2007-13 Operational Programmes: a preliminary assessment. In *Iq-net, improving the quality of structural funds programming through exchange of experience, 15–17 january* (Vol. 2, *Thematic*

- Paper No. 19*), Antwerp: European Policies Research Centre, University of Strathclyde.
- Bachtler, J., & Mendez, C. (2007). Who Governs EU Cohesion Policy? Deconstructing the Reforms of the Structural Funds. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45(3), 535–564. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2007.00724.x
- Bachtler, J., Mendez, C., & Wislade, F. (2013). *EU Cohesion Policy and European Integration. The Dynamics of EU Budget and Regional Policy Reform*. doi:10.4324/9781315580630
- Bagnasco, A., & Le Galès, P. (Eds.). (2000). *Cities in Contemporary Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Balsas, C. J. L. (2004). City Centre Regeneration in the Context of the 2001 European Capital of Culture in Porto, Portugal. *Local Economy: The Journal of the Local Economy Policy Unit*, 19(4), 396–410. doi:10.1080/0269094042000286873
- Balsas, C. J. L. (2007). City Centre Revitalization in Portugal: A Study of Lisbon and Porto. *Journal of Urban Design*, 12(2), 231–259. doi:10.1080/13574800701306328
- Bandeirinha, J. A. (2007). *O Processo SAAL e a Arquitectura no 25 de Abril de 1974*. doi:10.14195/978-989-26-1265-2
- Baptista, I. (2008). O Programa POLIS e o «país desordenado»: percepções sobre governança e planeamento urbano em Portugal. In M. V. Cabral, F. C. da Silva, & T. Saraiva (Eds.), *Cidade & cidadania. governança urbana e participação cidadã em perspectiva comparada* (pp. 131–176). Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- Barca, F. (2009). *An Agenda for a Reformed Cohesion Policy. A place-based approach to meeting European Union challenges and expectations*. Independent report prepared at the request of Danuta Hübner, Commissioner for Regional Policy.
- Barnaud, J., & Renaud, C. (2015). *Porto Ville Aux 1000 Îles* (MSc Thesis, Université Grenoble Alpes).
- Becker, S. O., Egger, P. H., & von Ehrlich, M. (2018). Effects of EU Regional Policy: 1989-2013. *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, 69(November 2017), 143–152. doi:10.1016/j.regsciurbeco.2017.12.001
- Bianchini, F., & Parkinson, M. (Eds.). (1993). *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration. The West European Experience*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Börzel, T. A., & Risse, T. (2000). When Europe Hits Home: Europeanization and Domestic Change. *European Integration Online Papers*, 4(15), 1–20.
- Branco, J. F. (2006). Uma Nova Metodologia para a Reabilitação Urbana: Uma Nova Oportunidade para o Centro Histórico e a Baixa do Porto. *Cidades, Comunidades e Territórios*, (12/13), 35–52. doi:10.7749/citiescommunitiesterritories.dez2016.012-13.art02
- Branco, R., & Alves, S. (2017). Models of Urban Rehabilitation Under Neoliberalism and Austerity: the case of Porto. In *Spaces of dialog for places of dignity: Fostering the european dimension of planning, 11 to 14 july*, Lisboa: AESOP.
- Branco, R., & Alves, S. (2018). Urban rehabilitation, governance, and housing affordability: lessons from Portugal. *Urban Research & Practice*, 13(2), 157–179. doi:10.1080/17535069.2018.1510540

- Branco, R., & Alves, S. (2020). Outcomes of Urban Requalification Under Neoliberalism: A Critical Appraisal of the SRU Model. In *Inequality and uncertainty* (pp. 139–158). doi:10.1007/978-981-32-9162-1_8
- Breda-Vázquez, I., & Alves, S. (2004). The critical role of governance structures in Oporto city-centre renewal projects. In *City futures - international conference in globalization and urban change, eura-uaa, 8-10 july*, Chicago: University of Illinois.
- Breda-Vázquez, I., Conceição, P., Baptista, L. M., & Branco-Teixeira, M. (2000). *Contributos para a Definição de Intervenções de Regeneração Urbana*. Porto: Universidade do Porto, Faculdade de Engenharia.
- Breda-Vázquez, I., Conceição, P., & Fernandes, R. (2009). Partnership Diversity and Governance Culture: Evidence from Urban Regeneration Policies in Portugal. *Urban Studies*, 46(10), 2213–2238. doi:10.1177/0042098009339433
- Brenner, N. (2004). *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brenner, N. (2013). Theses on Urbanization. *Public Culture*, 25(1), 85–114. doi:10.1215/08992363-1890477
- Brenner, N. (2019). *New Urban Spaces. Urban Theory and the Scale Question*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brunazzo, M. (2016). The history and evolution of Cohesion policy. In S. Piattoni & L. Polverari (Eds.), *Handbook on cohesion policy in the eu* (pp. 17–35). doi:10.4337/9781784715670
- Brunet, R. (1989). *Les Villes Européennes*. Paris: La Documentation Française.
- Câmara Municipal do Porto. (1969). *Estudo de Renovação Urbana do Barredo (ERUB)*. (F. Távora, Ed.). Porto: Direcção de Serviços de Habitação – Repartição de Construção de Casas.
- Câmara Municipal do Porto. (1996a). *Bairro da Sé do Porto. Contributo para a sua Caracterização Histórica* (M. Barroca, T. Carvalho, & C. Guimarães, Eds.). Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto.
- Câmara Municipal do Porto. (1996b). *Porto, Projecto Piloto Urbano da Sé. Urban Pilot Project of Sé* (R. R. Loza, A. Borges, & J. Repolho, Eds.). Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto.
- Câmara Municipal do Porto. (1998). *Relatório Final Projecto Piloto Urbano da Sé, Porto* (A. Borges, Ed.). Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto.
- Câmara Municipal do Porto. (2015a). *'Ilhas' do Porto – Levantamento e Caracterização* (I. Breda-Vázquez & P. Conceição, Eds.). Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto.
- Câmara Municipal do Porto. (2015b). *Plano Estratégico de Desenvolvimento Urbano do Porto. Versão da Candidatura Submetida ao Programa Operacional Regional Norte 2020. Setembro* (Quaternaire Portugal, Ed.). Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto.
- Câmara Municipal do Porto, & PortoVivo. (2010). *Management Plan. Historic Centre of Porto World Heritage* (A. P. Delgado, R. R. Loza, M. M. Guimarães, & A. Moura, Eds.). Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto e Porto Vivo, SRU.
- Campos, V., & Ferrão, J. (2015). Ordenamento do Território em Portugal: Uma Perspectiva Genealógica. *ICS Working Papers*, (1).

- Cardoso, R., & Breda-Vázquez, I. (2007). Social Justice as a Guide to Planning Theory and Practice: Analyzing the Portuguese Planning System. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 31(2), 384–400. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2007.00729.x
- Carpenter, J. (2006). Addressing Europe’s urban challenges: Lessons from the EU URBAN Community Initiative. *Urban Studies*, 43(12), 2145–2162. doi:10.1080/00420980600990456
- Carpenter, J. (2010). Integrated Urban Regeneration and Sustainability: Approaches from the European Union. In A. Colantonio & T. Dixon (Eds.), *Urban regeneration and social sustainability: Best practice from european cities* (pp. 83–101). doi:10.1002/9781444329445.ch5
- Carpenter, J. (2013). Sustainable urban regeneration within the European Union: A case of ‘Europeanization’? In *The routledge companion to urban regeneration* (pp. 138–147). doi:10.4324/9780203108581-24
- Carpenter, J., Medina, M. G., Huete García, M. Á., & De Gregorio Hurtado, S. (2020). Variegated Europeanization and urban policy: Dynamics of policy transfer in France, Italy, Spain and the UK. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 27(3), 227–245. doi:10.1177/0969776419898508
- Carvalho, L., Chamusca, P., Rio Fernandes, J., & Pinto, J. (2019). Gentrification in Porto: floating city users and internationally-driven urban change. *Urban Geography*, 40(4), 565–572. doi:10.1080/02723638.2019.1585139
- Castells, M. (1977). *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Cavaco, C., Florentino, R., & Pagliuso, A. (2020). Urban Policies in Portugal. In S. Armondi & S. De Gregorio Hurtado (Eds.), *Foregrounding urban agendas. the new urban issue in european experiences of policy-making* (1st ed., Chap. 3, pp. 49–72). doi:10.1007/978-3-030-29073-3
- Chamusca, P. (2011). Polis XXI, governância e planemanento urbano no norte de Portugal: impactos do programa de Regeneração Urbana. In N. Santos & L. Cunha (Eds.), *Trunfos de uma geografia activa: Desenvolvimento local, ambiente, ordenamento e tecnologia* (pp. 453–460). doi:10.14195/978-989-26-0244-8_50
- Chamusca, P. (2012). *Governança e regeneração urbana: entre a teoria e algumas práticas* (PhD Thesis, Universidade do Porto). Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/10216/67273>
- Chamusca, P., Rio Fernandes, J., Carvalho, L., & Mendes, T. (2019). The role of Airbnb creating a “new”-old city centre: facts, problems and controversies in Porto. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, (83). doi:10.21138/bage.2820
- Cheshire, P. (1995). A New Phase of Urban Development in Western Europe? The Evidence for the 1980s. *Urban Studies*, 32(7), 1045–1063. doi:10.1080/00420989550012564
- Cheshire, P., & Hay, D. (1989). *Urban Problems in Western Europe: An Economic Analysis*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Chorianopoulos, I. (2000). *Urban governance and territorial competition in Europe: An analysis of the north-south diversity in the EU urban policy networks* (PhD Thesis, University of London). Retrieved from <http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/id/eprint/2644>

- Chorianopoulos, I. (2002). Urban Restructuring and Governance: North-South Differences in Europe and the EU URBAN Initiative. *Urban Studies*, 39(4), 705–726. doi:10.1080/00420980220119534
- Clark, G. (2016). *Global Cities: A Short History*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press.
- CoE. (2006). Annex to Council Decision (2006/702/EC): Community strategic guidelines on economic, social and territorial cohesion, 2007-2013. Luxembourg: Council of the European Union.
- Colantonio, A., & Dixon, T. (Eds.). (2010). *Urban Regeneration & Social Sustainability: Best Practice from European Cities*. doi:10.1002/9781444329445
- Colini, L., Pecoriello, A. L., Tripodi, L., & Zetti, I. (2008). Museumization and transformation in Florence. In L. Porter & K. Shaw (Eds.), *Whose urban renaissance? an international comparison of urban regeneration strategies* (Chap. 6, pp. 50–59). doi:10.4324/9780203884539
- Commission of the European Communities. (1988a). Council Regulation (EEC) No 2052/88 on the tasks of the Structural Funds and their effectiveness and on coordination of their activities between themselves and with the operations of the European Investment Bank and the other existing financial instruments. In *Official journal of the european communities* (Chap. L 185, pp. 9–20). Publications Office of the European Union.
- Commission of the European Communities. (1988b). Council Regulation (EEC) No. 4253/88 laying down provisions for implementing Regulation (EEC) No 2052/ 88 as regards coordination of the activities of the different Structural Funds between themselves and with the operations of the European Investment Ban. In *Official journal of the european communities* (Chap. L 374, pp. 1–14). Brussels: Publications Office of the European Union.
- Commission of the European Communities. (1994). COM(94) 61 final/2, 20 April. Community Initiative concerning Urban Areas (URBAN). Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Commission of the European Communities. (1996). *Structural Funds and Cohesion Fund 1994–99. Regulations and commentary, January 1996*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Commission of the European Communities. (1997). COM(97) 197 final, 6 May. Towards an urban agenda in the European Union. Brussels.
- Commission of the European Communities. (1998). COM(1998) 605 final, 28 October. Sustainable urban development in the European Union: a framework for action.
- Commission of the European Communities. (1999). *ESDP – European Spatial Development Perspective. Towards Balanced and Sustainable Development of the Territory of the European Union*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Corvacho, N. (2002). Desmoronamento em edifício no Bairro da Sé. *Jornal Público*. Retrieved from <https://www.publico.pt/2002/10/02/jornal/desmoronamento-em-edificio-no-bairro-da-se-175020>

- Costa, C. (2015). *Quando nos (des) Envolvemos em Projetos de Desenvolvimento Local... Análise Crítica da Prática Profissional* (MSc Thesis, Instituto Superior de Serviço Social do Porto).
- Costa, J. P. (2011). Urban rehabilitation societies: The Oporto case as a reference in the Portuguese practice. In L. Colini & F. Eckardt (Eds.), *Bauhaus and the city: A contested heritage for a challenging future* (pp. 88–112). Würzburg: Verlag Königshausen & Neumann.
- Costa, J. (2014). *As Intervenções Urbanísticas e a Qualidade de Vida no Centro histórico do Porto (1975-2012) Políticas do CRUARB e da SRU-Porto Vivo* (MSc Thesis, Universidade do Minho).
- Cotella, G. (2019). The Urban Dimension of EU Cohesion Policy. In E. Medeiros (Ed.), *Territorial cohesion. the urban dimension* (Chap. 7, pp. 133–151). The Urban Book Series. doi:10.1007/978-3-030-03386-6
- Cotella, G. (2020). How Europe hits home? The impact of European Union policies on territorial governance and spatial planning. *Géocarrefour*, 94(3). doi:10.4000/geocarrefour.15648
- D'Aguiar, M. M. (1954). *Reconstrução a longo prazo. Estudo de um velho bairro do Porto* (Concurso para a Obtenção do Diploma de Arquitecto, Escola Superior de Belas Artes do Porto). Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/10405/48070>
- De bairro da droga a zona in. (2006). *Jornal Público*. Retrieved from <https://www.publico.pt/2006/12/05/jornal/de-bairro-da-droga-a-zona-in-110786>
- De Gregorio Hurtado, S. (2017). Is EU urban policy transforming urban regeneration in Spain? Answers from an analysis of the Iniciativa Urbana (2007–2013). *Cities*, 60, 402–414. doi:10.1016/j.cities.2016.10.015
- De Gregorio Hurtado, S. (2018). The EU urban policy in the period 2007–13: lessons from the Spanish experience. *Regional Studies, Regional Science*, 5(1), 212–230. doi:10.1080/21681376.2018.1480903
- De Gregorio Hurtado, S. (2019). Understanding the influence of EU urban policy in Spanish cities: the case of Málaga. *Urban Research & Practice*, 1–26. doi:10.1080/17535069.2019.1690672
- De Gregorio Hurtado, S. (2020). ¿CONVIVEN DOS AGENDAS URBANAS EN LA UE? LA AGENDA URBANA PARA LA UNIÓN EUROPEA VERSUS EL ACERVO URBANO. In M. R. A. Ibáñez, S. De Gregorio Hurtado, & M. G. Medina (Eds.), *Las agendas urbana y el gobierno de la ciudades. transformaciones, desafíos e instrumentos* (Chap. 6, pp. 143–170). Madrid: Reus.
- Devvisch, O., Huybrechts, L., & De Ridder, R. (Eds.). (2018). *Participatory Design Theory. Using Technology and Social Media to Foster Civic Engagement*. doi:10.4324/9781315110332
- Dijkstra, L., Garcilazo, E., & McCann, P. (2014). The effects of the global financial crisis on European regions and cities. *Journal of Economic Geography*. doi:10.1093/jeg/lbv032
- Dijkstra, L., & Poelman, H. (2012). *Cities in Europe. The New OECD-EC Definition*, European Commission.

- Domingues, Á., Portas, N., & Sá Marques, T. (2007). Portugal: urban policies or policies with an urban incidence? In L. van den Berg, E. Braun, & J. van der Meer (Eds.), *National policy responses to urban challenges in europe* (pp. 311–332). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Dossi, S. (2017). *Cities and the European Union: Mechanisms and Modes of Europeanisation*. Colchester: ECPR Press.
- Dukes, T. (2006). *Place, Positioning and European Urban Policy Discourse: examples of politics of scale in 'Brussels' and the Netherlands* (PhD Thesis, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam). Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/11245/1.303366>
- Dukes, T. (2008). The URBAN programme and the European urban policy discourse: Successful instruments to Europeanize the urban level? *GeoJournal*, 72, 105–119. doi:10.1007/s10708-008-9168-2
- Dutch Presidency of the Council of the European Union. (2004). Rotterdam Urban Acquis. In *Informal meeting of eu ministers on policy "cities empower europe", 6–7 december*, Rotterdam.
- Dutch Presidency of the Council of the European Union. (2016). Establishing the Urban Agenda for the EU. "Pact of Amsterdam". In *Informal meeting of eu ministers responsible for urban matters, 30 may*, Amsterdam.
- Ecorys. (2010). *The urban dimension of the ERDF in the 2007–2013 period: Implementation and practice in five European cities. Final Report*. On behalf of DG for Regional Policy of the European Commission. Brussels.
- ECOTEC. (2010). *URBAN II Evaluation. Case Study: Porto–Gondomar. An isolated success story?* ECOTEC. Birmingham.
- EESC. (2013). Opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee on the "Amended proposal for a Regulation of the EP and of the Council laying down common provisions on the ERDF, the ESF, the CF, the EARD and the EMFF covered by the Common Strategic Framework and Ia. In *Official journal of the european union* (Chap. 2013/C 44/, pp. 76–82). Brussels: European Economic and Social Committee.
- EUKN. (2017). *One Year Pact of Amsterdam*. European Urban Knowledge Network. The Hague.
- European Commission. (1998a). *Article 10 ERDF. Urban Pilot Projects – Annual Report 1996*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- European Commission. (1998b). Article 10 of the European Regional Development Fund. Urban Pilot Projects. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/regional%7B%5C_%7Dpolicy/archive/urban2/urban/upp/src/frame1.htm
- European Commission. (1999). Historic Restoration in the Bairro da Sé, Porto. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/regional%7B%5C_%7Dpolicy/archive/urban2/urban/upp/src/frame5.htm
- European Commission. (2000a). Communication from the EC to the MSs of 28 April, laying down guidelines for a Community initiative concerning economic and social regeneration of cities and of neighbourhoods in crisis in order to promote sustainable urban development (URBAN II). In *Official journal of the european communities* (Chap. C 141, pp. 8–16). Brussels.

- European Commission. (2000b). *The EU compendium of spatial planning systems and policies. Portugal*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- European Commission. (2002). Portugal: URBAN I in Porto. Brussels.
- European Commission. (2003a). *Ex-post Evaluation. Urban Community Initiative (1994–1999). Final Report*. GHK on behalf of European Commission: DG REGIO. Brussels.
- European Commission. (2003b). *Partnership with the Cities: the URBAN Community Initiative* (S. Haertel & D. Mouqué, Eds.). Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- European Commission. (2008). *Fostering the urban dimension: Analysis of the operational programmes co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund (2007-2013). Working Document of the DG for Regional Policy*. DG for Regional Policy. Brussels.
- European Commission. (2009). *Promoting sustainable urban development in Europe. Achievements and opportunities*. doi:10.2776/85168
- European Commission. (2010a). Communication from the EC, COM(2010) 2020, EUROPE 2020. A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth EUROPE 2020. A European strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. In *Official journal of the european communities*. Brussels.
- European Commission. (2010b). *Ex post evaluation of URBAN II. Case Study: Porto – Gondomar. An isolated success story?* ECOTEC on behalf of DG for Regional Policy. Brussels.
- European Commission. (2010c). *Ex-Post Evaluation of Cohesion Policy programmes 2000–2006: The URBAN Community Initiative. Evaluation report*. ECOTEC on behalf of DG for Regional Policy. Brussels.
- European Commission. (2011a). *Cities of Tomorrow. Challenges, Visions, Ways Forward*. doi:10.2776/41803
- European Commission. (2011b). *Desenvolvimento Urbano Sustentável em Portugal: Uma Abordagem Integrada* (S. Barroso, E. Marques da Costa, & I. Andrade, Eds.). Brussels: DG Regio.
- European Commission. (2013). COM(2013) 216, 16 April. An EU Strategy on adaptation to climate change. In *Official journal of the european communities*.
- European Commission. (2014). COM(2014) 490 final, 18 July. Urban Dimension of EU Policies – Key Features of an EU Urban Agenda. Brussels.
- European Commission. (2017). Report from the Commission to the Council on the Urban Agenda for the EU, COM(2017)657 final. Brussels.
- European Commission. (2019). *Explanatory Memo: European Urban Initiative, Post 2020*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- European Economic Community. (1957). Trattato che istituisce la Comunità Economica Europea: Trattato di Roma. Roma.
- European Economic Community. (1987). Single European Act. In *Official journal of the european communities* (Chap. L 169, pp. 1–29). Brussels.
- European Economic Community. (1988). Regulation (EEC) No 4254/88 laying down provisions for implementing Regulation (EEC) No 2052/ 88 as regards the European

- Regional Development Fund. In *Official journal of the european communities* (pp. 15–20). Brussels: Publications Office of the European Union.
- European Investment Bank. (2010). *JESSICA – Holding Fund Handbook* (PricewaterhouseCoopers, Ed.).
- European Parliament. (2007). *Follow-up of the Territorial Agenda and the Leipzig Charter: towards a European Action Programme for spatial development and territorial cohesion*. DG for Internal Policies. doi:10.2861/42657
- European Parliament. (2014). *The Role of Cities in Cohesion Policy 2014-2020*. doi:10.2861/6801
- European Union. (n.d.). The 2004 enlargement: the challenge of a 25-member EU. Retrieved June 10, 2020, from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM%7B%5C%%7D3Ae50017>
- European Union. (2013a). Regulation (EU) No. 1301/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17 December 2013 on the European Regional Development Fund and on specific provisions concerning the Investment for growth and jobs goal and repealing Regulation (EC) No. 1080/. In *Official journal of the european union* (Chap. L 347, pp. 289–302). Brussels: European Parliament and Council of the European Union.
- European Union. (2013b). Regulation (EU) No. 1303/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17 December 2013 laying down common provisions on the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund, the Cohesion Fund, the European Agricultural Fund for Rural. In *Official journal of the european union* (Chap. L 347, pp. 320–469). Brussels: European Parliament and Council of the European Union.
- Eurostat. (2016). *Urban Europe. Statistics on Cities, Towns and Suburbs, 2016 Edition* (T. Brandmüller, I. Lupu, & Å. Önnersfors, Eds.). doi:10.2785/91120
- Eurostat. (2018). *Methodological manual on territorial typologies, 2018 Edition* (V. Angelova-Tosheva & O. Müller, Eds.). doi:10.2785/930137
- Faculdade de Engenharia da Universidade do Porto. (2004). *Estudo Estratégico para o Enquadramento de Intervenções de Reabilitação Urbana na Baixa do Porto*. Laboratório de Planeamento do Território e Ambiente. Porto.
- Faludi, A., & Waterhout, B. (2002). *The Making of the European Spatial Development Perspective. No Masterplan*. doi:10.4324/9780203378878
- Faria, N. (2004). A droga voltou ao bairro portuense da Sé. *Jornal Público*. Retrieved from <https://www.publico.pt/2004/09/29/jornal/a-droga-voltou-ao-bairro-portuense-da-se-193500>
- FDVC. (2001). *Urban do Vale de Campanhã. Relatório Final*. Porto: Fundação para o Desenvolvimento do Vale de Campanhã.
- Featherstone, K. (1998). ‘EUROPEANIZATION’ AND THE CENTRE PERIPHERY: THE CASE OF GREECE IN THE 1990S. *South European Society and Politics*, 3(1), 23–39. doi:10.1080/13608740308539524
- Featherstone, K., & Radaelli, C. M. (Eds.). (2003). *The Politics of Europeanization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Fedeli, V., Carpenter, J., & Zimmermann, K. (2021). National urban policies in Europe: does the EU make the difference? In K. Zimmermann & V. Fedeli (Eds.), *A modern guide to national urban policies* (Chap. 15, pp. 306–319). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Fedeli, V., Lenzi, C., Briata, P., & Pedrazzini, L. (2020). *EU Regional and Urban Policy* (1st ed.). SpringerBriefs in Applied Sciences and Technology. doi:10.1007/978-3-030-34575-4
- Fernandes, M. C. (2010). A Reabilitação na Cidade do Porto (em 17 pontos). In *Seminário more – mais reabilitação, cidades mais vivas, 26 outubro*, Lisboa: Recer.
- Ferrão, J. (2010). Ordenamento do território: 25 anos de aprendizagem. *Europa: Novas Fronteiras*, (25), 77–84.
- Ferreira, S. (2013). *Relatório de estágio realizado na PortoVivo, SRU* (MSc Thesis, Instituto Politécnico de Tomar, Tomar). Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10400.26/5821>
- Ferreira, V. M., & Indovina, F. (Eds.). (1999). *A cidade da EXPO'98: uma reconversão na frente ribeirinha de Lisboa?* Lisboa: Bizâncio.
- Fioretti, C., Pertoldi, M., Busti, M., & Van Heerden, S. (Eds.). (2020). *Handbook of Sustainable Urban Development Strategies*. doi:10.2760/32842
- Flores, J. (2017). Estudo de Renovação Urbana do Barredo, Porto 1969. In A. Costa, A. Velosa, & A. Tavares (Eds.), *Congresso da reabilitação do património, crepat 2017*. Aveiro: Universidade de Aveiro.
- Fonseca, M. (2004). Até os turistas deixaram de passar pelo Bairro da Sé. *Jornal de Notícias*. Retrieved from <https://www.jn.pt/arquivo/2004/interior/ate-os-turistas-deixaram-de-passar-pelo-bairro-da-se-468204.html>
- Frank, S., Holm, A., Kreinsen, H., & Birkholz, T. (2006). *The European URBAN Experience – seen from the academic perspective. Study Report*. Berlin.
- Freire, A. F. R. (2016). *Reabilitação urbana no centro histórico do Porto* (MSc Thesis, Universidade Lusíada de Lisboa). Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/11067/2200>
- Gato, M. A. (2013). *Dinâmicas Populacionais e Habitacionais na Área Metropolitana do Porto*. Lisboa: DINÂMIA'CET, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa.
- German Presidency of the Council of the European Union. (2007). Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities. In *Informal meeting of eu ministers responsible for urban development, 24-25 may*, Leipzig.
- Gibbs, J. P., & Schnore, L. F. (1960). Metropolitan Growth: An International Study. *American Journal of Sociology*, 66(2), 160–170.
- Glaeser, E. (2011). *Triumph of the City: How Our Greatest Invention Makes Us Richer, Smarter, Greener, Healthier, and Happier*. The Penguin Press.
- Gomes, M. (2002). Habitação dominou debate sobre Plano de Emergência para o Bairro da Sé. *Jornal Público*. Retrieved from <https://www.publico.pt/2002/11/22/jornal/habitacao-dominou-debate-sobre-plano-de-emergencia-para-o-bairro-da-se-176778>
- Goulet, R. (2008). EU Cohesion Policy 1988-2008: Investing in Europe's future. *Inforegio Panorama*, (26), 8–25.
- Grazi, L. (2006). *L'Europa e le città. La questione urbana nel processo di integrazione europea (1957-1999)*. Bologna: Il Molino.

- Grazi, L. (2012). L'Agenda Urbana Europea in Costruzione. Il contributo del Parlamento Europeo (1979–2011). In L. Grazi (Ed.), *Le città e l'unione europea. la dimensione urbana tra percorsi storici e dinamiche di europeizzazione* (pp. 157–196). Bologna: Il Molino.
- Green Cowles, M., Caporaso, J. A., & Risse, T. (Eds.). (2001). *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Gros, M. (1993). Luta Contra a Exclusao Social: Assistencialismo ou Desenvolvimento Local? In *Estruturas sociais e desenvolvimento – actas do ii congresso de sociologia*, Lisboa: Fragmentos.
- Guedes, H. (2013). *Soluções de Melhoria de Desempenho Térmico na Reabilitação de Edifícios* (MSc Thesis, Instituto Politécnico do Porto). Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10400.22/4969>
- Guerra, P. (2004). O bairro do Cerco do Porto: cenários de pertenças, de afectividades e de simbologias. In *V congresso português de sociologia. sociedades contemporâneas: Reflexividade e acção* (pp. 51–56). Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10216/25498>
- Guidoum, Y., & Soto, P. (2010). *Cities and the economic crisis. A survey on the impact of the economic crisis and the responses of URBACT II cities*. European Union, European Regional Development Fund, URBACT.
- Gusman, I., Chamusca, P., Rio Fernandes, J., & Pinto, J. (2019). Culture and tourism in Porto City Centre: Conflicts and (Im)Possible solutions. *Sustainability*, 11(20). doi:10.3390/su11205701
- Haddock, S. V. (2004). *La città contemporanea*. Bologna: Il Molino.
- Hall, P. (1993). Forces Shaping Urban Europe. *Urban Studies*, 30(6), 883–898.
- Hall, P. (1996). *Cities of Tomorrow. An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design Since 1880* (4th ed.). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hall, P., & Hay, D. (1980). *Growth Centres in the European Urban System*. London: Heinemann.
- Hamedinger, A., Bartik, H., & Wolffhardt, A. (2008). The impact of EU area-based programmes on local governance: Towards a 'europeanisation'? *Urban Studies*, 45(13), 2669–2687. doi:10.1177/0042098008098199
- Hamedinger, A., & Wolffhardt, A. (Eds.). (2010). *The Europeanization of Cities. Policies, Urban Change & Urban Networks*. Amsterdam: Techne Press.
- Harvey, D. (1973). *Social Justice and the City*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Healey, P. (1997). *Collaborative Planning. Shaping Places inn Fragmented Societies*. doi:10.1007/978-1-349-25538-2
- Healey, P. (2004). The Treatment of Space and Place in the New Strategic Spatial Planning in Europe. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, (28), 45–67.
- HeRe Lab. (2019). *World Heritage Site experiences in managing Governance, Population and Tourism issues. Thematic Study on Common Challenges*. Firenze: Heritage Research Lab, University of Florence and UNESCO Office of the Municipality of Florence.

- Hooghe, L. (1996). Building a Europe With the Regions: The Changing Role of the European Commission. In L. Hooghe (Ed.), *Cohesion policy and european integration: Building multi-level governance* (pp. 89–128). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana. (2018). *Levantamento Nacional das Necessidades de Realojamento Habitacional*. Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana. Lisboa.
- Jacobs, J. (1961). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House.
- Janin Rivolin, U. (2004). *European Spatial Planning*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.
- Johansson, R. (2012). Case Studies in Renovation and Urban Regeneration: Learning by Doing. In R. J. Lawrence, H. Turgut, & P. Kellett (Eds.), *Requalifying the built environment: Challenges and responses* (pp. 51–66). Göttingen: Hogrefe.
- Kazepov, Y. (Ed.). (2005). *Cities of Europe. Changing Contexts, Local Arrangements, and the Challenge to Urban Cohesion* (1st ed.). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Knieling, J., & Othengrafen, F. (Eds.). (2015). *Cities in Crisis. Socio-spatial Impacts of the Economic Crisis in Southern European Cities*. doi:10.4324/9781315725048
- Knieling, J., Othengrafen, F., & Vladova, G. (2016). Learning from each other. Planning sustainable, future-oriented and adaptive cities and regions. In J. Knieling & F. Othengrafen (Eds.), *Cities in crisis: Socio-spatial impacts of the economic crisis in southern european cities* (Chap. 17, pp. 313–326). doi:10.4324/9781315725048
- Krugman, P. (1991). *Geography and Trade*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Kunzmann, K. R., & Wegener, M. (1991). The Pattern of Urbanization in Western Europe. *Ekistics*, 58(350/351), 282–291.
- Lains, P. (1994). O Estado e a industrialização em Portugal, 1945-1990. *Análise social*, 29(128), 923–958. doi:10.2307/41011194
- Lains, P. (2019). Convergence, divergence and policy: Portugal in the European Union. *West European Politics*, 42(5), 1094–1114. doi:10.1080/01402382.2018.1522833
- Le Galès, P. (2002). *European Cities. Social Conflicts and Governance*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Leary, M. E., & McCarthy, J. (Eds.). (2013). *The Routledge Companion to Urban Regeneration*. doi:10.4324/9780203108581
- Leite, E. (2019). *Pedagogy of the streets, Porto 1977*. Porto: Pierrot le Foue.
- Leonardi, R. (2005). *Cohesion Policy in the European Union: the Building of Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Leonardi, R. (2006). Cohesion in the European Union. *Regional Studies*, 40(2), 155–166. doi:10.1080/00343400600600462
- Liesbet, H., & Marks, G. (2001). *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Lira, J. (1999). Havia uma casa setecentista no Quarteirão do Largo do Colégio. *Pedra & Cal. Revista do GECORPA*, (1), 21–23.
- Lobato, I. R., & Alves, S. (2012). Urban Decay in Porto – Strengths and Weaknesses of Portuguese Regeneration Programmes. In *Enhr 2012 conference: Housing: Local*

- welfare and local markets in a globalised world. 24 to 27 june. Lillehammer: European Network on Housing Research.
- Luz, C. S. (2004). Abandono e vandalismo destroem Viela do Anjo. *Jornal de Notícias*. Retrieved from https://24.sapo.pt/2004/11/01/grande%7B%5C_%7Dporto/abandono%7B%5C_%7De%7B%5C_%7Dvandalismo%7B%5C_%7Ddestroem%7B%5C_%7Dviela.html
- Luz, C. S. (2005). Abandono e vandalismo destroem Viela do Anjo. *Jornal de Notícias*. Retrieved from <https://www.jn.pt/arquivo/2005/futuro-do-bolhao-sera-decidido-na-camara-512647.html>
- Magone, J. (2006). The europeanization of Portugal (1986–2006). A critical view. *Nação e Defesa*, 115(3a Série), 9–28.
- Mamede, L., & Tavares, A. F. (2010). O Programa POLIS no processo de Governança Urbana. In *4º congresso luso-brasileiro para o planeamento urbano, regional, integrado, sustentável (pluris): The challenges of planning in a web wide world, 6–8 outubro*. Faro: Universidade do Algarve.
- MAOT. (2002). *POLIS em números*. Ministério do Ambiente e Ordenamento do Território. Lisboa.
- MAOT. (2008). *Política de Cidades POLIS XXI*. Lisboa: Ministério do Ambiente e do Ordenamento do Território, Gabinete do Secretário de Estado do Ordenamento do Território e das Cidades.
- MAOTE. (2015). *Cidades Sustentáveis 2020* (C. Cavaco, Ed.). Lisboa: Ministério do Ambiente, Ordenamento do Território e Energia, Governo de Portugal.
- Marmelo, J. (2002a). Bairro da Sé vai ter Estrutura de Gestão. *Jornal Público*. Retrieved from <https://www.publico.pt/2002/12/20/jornal/bairro-da-se-vai-ter-estrutura-de-gesto-177681>
- Marmelo, J. (2002b). Câmara do porto decide em Janeiro o que fará aos seus prédios na Sé. *Jornal Público*. Retrieved from <https://www.publico.pt/2002/12/24/jornal/cmara-do-porto-decide-em-janeiro-o-que-far-aos-seus-predios-na-se-177812>
- Marmelo, J. (2002c). Intervenção imediata na Rua dos Pelames. *Jornal Público*. Retrieved from <https://www.publico.pt/2002/07/25/jornal/intervencao-imediata-na-rua-dos-pelames-173086>
- Marmelo, J. (2010). Associação do Bairro da Sé desanimada com incumprimento da reabilitação. *Jornal Público*. Retrieved from <https://www.publico.pt/2010/01/15/jornal/associacao-do-bairro-da-se-desanimadacom-incumprimento-da-reabilitacao-18590093>
- Marques, R. G. (2013). *(Re)Pensar um centro esquecido. A acção da Porto Vivo, SRU no processo de reabilitação urbana do Morro da Sé* (MSc Thesis, Universidade do Porto). Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/10216/80265>
- Marshall, A. (2005). Europeanization at the urban level: Local actors, institutions and the dynamics of multi-level interaction. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12(4), 668–686. doi:10.1080/13501760500160292
- McCann, P. (2015). *The regional and urban policy of the European Union: Cohesion, results-orientation and smart specialisation*. doi:10.4337/9781783479511

- McCarthy, J. (2007). *Partnership, collaborative planning and urban regeneration*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Medeiros, E. (2014a). Assessing Territorial Impacts of the EU Cohesion Policy: The Portuguese Case. *European Planning Studies*, 22(9), 1960–1988. doi:10.1080/09654313.2013.813910
- Medeiros, E. (2014b). The ‘europeanization of spatial planning processes in Portugal within the EU cohesion policy strategies (1989-2013). *Geography and Spatial Planning Journal*, (6), 201–222. doi:10.17127/got/2014.6.012
- Medeiros, E. (Ed.). (2019). *Territorial Cohesion. The Urban Dimension*. The Urban Book Series. doi:10.1007/978-3-030-03386-6
- Medeiros, E., & van der Zwet, A. (2019). Evaluating Integrated Sustainable Urban Development Strategies: a methodological framework applied in Portugal. *European Planning Studies*, 4313(0), 1–20. doi:10.1080/09654313.2019.1606898
- Medina, M. G., & Fedeli, V. (2015). Exploring European urban policy: Towards an EU-national urban agenda? *Gestión y Análisis de Políticas Públicas*, (14), 8–22. doi:10.24965/gapp.v0i14.10287
- Molle, W. (2007). *European Cohesion Policy*. doi:10.4324/9780203945278
- Moniz, G. C., Correia, L. M., & Gonçalves, A. (2017). Fernando Távora Oporto’s Urban Renewal: A Changing Moment in Urban Rehabilitation Policy Debate. *Journal of Urban History*, 1–21. doi:10.1177/0096144216688453
- Moreira, P. (2013). *O efeito das intervenções urbanas no centro histórico do Porto: Pertinência e Impertinência das mesmas* (MSc Thesis, Universidade do Porto). Retrieved from <http://repositorio-aberto.up.pt/handle/10216/71554>
- Mourão, J. (2019). Regeneração urbana integrada, proteção do património cultural e eficiência ambiental como objetivos divergentes nas políticas urbanas em Portugal (2000–2020). *Cidades, Comunidades e Territórios*, (38), 79–95. doi:10.15847/citiescommunitiesterritories.jun2019.038.art02
- Mourão, J., & Marat-Mendes, T. (2015). *Urban planning and territorial management in Portugal. Antecedents and impacts of the 2008 financial and economic crisis* (J. Knieling & F. Othengrafen, Eds.). doi:10.4324/9781315725048
- Neto, L., Pinto, N., & Burns, M. (2014). Evaluating the Impacts of Urban Regeneration Companies in Portugal: The Case of Porto. *Planning Practice and Research*, 29(5), 525–542. doi:10.1080/02697459.2014.973685
- Newman, P., & Thornley, A. (1996). *Urban Planning in Europe*. doi:10.4324/9780203427941
- OECD. (2012). *Redefining “Urban”: A New Way to Measure Metropolitan Areas*. doi:10.1787/9789264174108-en
- OECD. (2020). *Cities in the World*. OECD Urban Studies. doi:10.1787/d0efcbda-en
- Oliveira, A., Ferreira, F., & Dias, R. (2019). A Cidade (Euro)Governável: Políticas e Instrumentos de Governação Urbana no Portugal 2020. In P. C. Seixas (Ed.), *Ativar cidades. modelos de políticas de cidades* (pp. 39–53). Lisboa: Caleidoscópio.
- Oliveira, C., & Breda-Vázquez, I. (2011). Territorial Governance in Portugal: Institutional Change or Institutional Resilience? *disP - The Planning Review*, 47(186), 64–76. doi:10.1080/02513625.2011.10557145

- Oliveira, C., & Breda-Vázquez, I. (2012). Europeanisation of territorial policies in Portugal and Italy: a cross-national comparison. *Policy & Politics*, 40(1), 87–103. doi:10.1332/030557310X520261
- Oliveira, V., Martins, A., & Cruz, S. S. (2013). Evaluating Urban Policies from a Resilience Perspective: The Case of Oporto. In A. Eraydin & T. Taşan-kok (Eds.), *Resilience thinking in urban planning* (pp. 161–178). doi:10.1007/978-94-007-5476-8
- Olsen, J. (2002). The Many Faces of Europeanization. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40(5), 921–52.
- Oosterlynck, S., & González, S. (2013). 'Don't Waste a Crisis': Opening up the City Yet Again for Neoliberal Experimentation. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37(3), 1075–1082. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.12064
- Othengrafen, F., & Knieling, J. (Eds.). (2009). *Planning Cultures in Europe*. doi:10.4324/9781315246727
- Parkinson, M. (2006). Cohesion policy and cities in Europe. *Inforegio Panorama*, (19), 7–10.
- Parkinson, M., Bianchini, F., Dawson, J., Evans, R., & Harding, A. (Eds.). (1992). *Regional Development. Studies. Urbanization and the functions of cities in the European Community*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Paulus, S. W. C. (2000). *“URBAN”: A CRITICAL CASE STUDY OF THE FORMULATION AND OPERATIONALISATION OF A COMMUNITY INITIATIVE* (PhD Thesis, University of London). Retrieved from <http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/id/eprint/2247>
- Pereira, A. C. (2001). Tráfico de Droga Resiste no Bairro da Sé. *Jornal Público*. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10216/10905>
- Pereira, G. M. (2014). SAAL: um programa de habitação popular no processo revolucionário. *História - Revista da FLUP Porto*, 4, 13–31.
- Piattoni, S., & Polverari, L. (Eds.). (2016). *Handbook on Cohesion Policy in the EU*. doi:10.4337/9781784715670
- Pieterse, E. (2008). *City Futures. Confronting the Crisis of Urban Development*. Lansdowne: UTC Press.
- Pinho, A. (2009). *Conceitos e Políticas Europeias de Reabilitação Urbana. Análise da experiência portuguesa dos Gabinetes Técnicos Locais*. (PhD Thesis, Universidade Técnica de Lisboa). Retrieved from <http://repositorio.lnec.pt:8080/jspui/handle/123456789/17172>
- Pinho, A., & Campos, V. (2012). A Dimensão Urbana nas Políticas Europeias. Uma abordagem na perspetiva da I&DT. In *Jornadas Inec: Engenharia para a sociedade, investigação e inovação: Cidades e desenvolvimento, 18–30 junho*, Lisboa: Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil.
- Pinto, L. V., & dos Santos, T. C. (2011). Porto, Património Mundial – A Classificação e a Intervenção. Encontra-se o título “Porto, Património Mundial” em risco? In *Actas do seminário centros históricos: Passado e presente* (pp. 221–244). doi:978-972-8932-84-8

- Pinto, M. C. (2019). Câmara do Porto veda entradas na Viela do Anjo. *Jornal Público*. Retrieved from <https://www.publico.pt/2019/10/30/local/noticia/camara-porto-veda-entradas-viela-anjo-so-moradores-podem-passar-1891830>
- Pipa, H., de Brito, J., & Oliveira Cruz, C. (2017). Sustainable Rehabilitation of Historical Urban Areas: Portuguese Case of the Urban Rehabilitation Societies. *Journal of Urban Planning and Development*, 143(1), 05016011. doi:10.1061/(asce)up.1943-5444.0000348
- Portas, N. (1986). O Processo SAAL: Entre o Estado e o Poder Local. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, (18/19/20).
- Porter, L., & Shaw, K. (Eds.). (2008). *Whose Urban Renaissance? An International Comparison of Urban Regeneration Strategies*. doi:10.4324/9780203884539
- PortoVivo. (2005). *Urban and Social Renewal of the Baixa District of Oporto. Masterplan (Executive Summary)*. Porto: Porto Vivo, SRU.
- PortoVivo. (2006). *Programa de Reabilitação da Sé – Proposta* (J. P. Martins, P. d. Q. Valença, & R. R. Loza, Eds.). Porto: Porto Vivo, SRU.
- PortoVivo. (2008a). *Estudo de Desenvolvimento Estratégico para a Unidade de Gestão de Área Urbana do Centro Histórico do Porto* (LTM Consultoria & PortoVivo, Eds.). Porto: Porto Vivo, SRU.
- PortoVivo. (2008b). *Programa de Ação para a Reabilitação Urbana do Morro da Sé_ CH.1 – Memória Descritiva*. Porto: Porto Vivo, SRU.
- PortoVivo. (2010). *Reabilitação de Edifícios do Centro Histórico do Porto. Guia de Termos de Referência para o Desempenho Energético-Ambiental* (AdEPorto, Universidade do Porto, & J. P. Martins, Eds.). Porto: Porto Vivo, SRU.
- PortoVivo. (2011). *Morro da Sé: De Porta a Porta* (A. P. Delgado, P. d. Q. Valença, & M. M. Guimarães, Eds.). Porto: Porto Vivo, SRU.
- PortoVivo. (2012). *Relatório de Monitorização, 2011* (A. P. Delgado & M. M. Guimarães, Eds.). Porto: Porto Vivo, SRU.
- PortoVivo. (2013a). *Relatório de Monitorização, 2012* (A. P. Delgado & M. M. Guimarães, Eds.). Porto: Porto Vivo, SRU.
- PortoVivo. (2013b). *Relatório e Contas 2012*. Porto: Porto Vivo, SRU.
- PortoVivo. (2014a). N°35 Porto (Portugal): Action Program of Urban Rehabilitation of Morro da Sé District – CH.1. In *Developing historic cities. keys for understanding and taking action. book of case studies*. Lyon: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, France-UNESCO Cooperation Agreement.
- PortoVivo. (2014b). *Relatório de Monitorização, 2014* (P. d. Q. Valença, Ed.). Porto: Porto Vivo, SRU.
- PortoVivo. (2015a). *Morro da Sé: um passado para o futuro* (P. d. Q. Valença, Ed.). Porto: Porto Vivo, SRU.
- PortoVivo. (2015b). *Reabilitação Urbana Sustentável. O caso do Centro Histórico e da Baixa da cidade do Porto*. Porto: Porto Vivo, SRU.
- PortoVivo. (2019a). *Instrumentos de Gestão Previsional. 2020–2024*. Porto.
- PortoVivo. (2019b). *Urban Renewal Programme of Morro da Sé. In World heritage site experiences in managing governance, population and tourism issues. thematic study*

- on common challenges* (pp. 83–86). Florence: Heritage Research Lab, University of Florence and UNESCO Office of the Municipality of Florence.
- PortoVivo. (2020). Relatório e Contas 2019. Porto: Porto Vivo, SRU.
- Purkarthofer, E. (2019). Investigating the partnership approach in the EU Urban Agenda from the perspective of soft planning. *European Planning Studies*, 27(1), 86–105. doi:10.1080/09654313.2018.1527294
- Queirós, J. (2007). Estratégias e discursos políticos em torno da reabilitação de centros urbanos: Considerações exploratórias a partir do caso do Porto. *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas*, 55(1966), 91–116.
- Queirós, J. (2013). Precariedade habitacional, vida quotidiana e relação com o Estado no centro histórico do Porto na transição da ditadura para a democracia. *Análise Social*, 48(206), 102–133.
- Queirós, J. (2015). *No Centro, à Margem. Sociologia das intervenções urbanísticas e habitacionais do Estado no centro histórico do Porto*. Porto: Afrontamento.
- Queirós, M. (2014). Desarrollo urbano sostenible en la agenda de cohesión territorial europea: Política de Ciudades Polis XXI, Portugal. *Perspectiva Geográfica*, 18(2), 303. doi:10.19053/01233769.2680
- Queirós, M., & Vale, M. (2005). Ambiente Urbano e Intervenção Pública: O Programa POLIS. In *Comunicações do x colóquio ibérico de geografia: A geografia ibérica no contexto europeu, 22 a 24 de setembro* (pp. 1–16). Évora: Universidade de Évora.
- Radaelli, C. (2003). The Europeanization of Public Policy. In K. Featherstone & C. M. Radaelli (Eds.), *The politics of europeanization* (Chap. 2, pp. 27–56). doi:10.1093/0199252092.001.0001
- Ramsden, P., & Colini, L. (Eds.). (2013). *Urban Development in the EU: 50 projects supported by the European Regional Development Fund during the 2007-13 period*. doi:10.2776/72074
- Reis, J. (1987). A industrialização num país de desenvolvimento lento e tardio: Portugal, 1870-1913. *Análise Social*, 23(96), 207–227. doi:10.2307/41010620
- Riddell, R. (2004). *Sustainable Urban Planning. Tipping the Balance* (1st ed.). doi:10.1002/9780470773703
- Rio Fernandes, J. (2011a). Area-based initiatives and urban dynamics. The case of the Porto city centre. *Urban Research & Practice*, 4(3), 285–307. doi:10.1080/17535069.2011.616747
- Rio Fernandes, J. (2011b). Centro histórico e urbanismo: questões, reflexões e inquietações, a propósito do Porto. In *Actas do seminário centros históricos: Passado e presente* (pp. 12–25). doi:978-972-8932-84-8
- Rio Fernandes, J., & Seixas, J. (2018). Cities and urbanisation in democratic Portugal. *Mediterranee*, 130. doi:10.4000/mediterranee.10698
- Rio Fernandes, J., Teles, F., Chamusca, P., & Seixas, J. (2020). The power of the cities and the power in the cities: a multiscale perspective from Portugal. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, (87). doi:10.21138/bage.2978
- Roberts, P. (2008). *Urban Regeneration: A Handbook* (P. Roberts & H. Sykes, Eds.). doi:10.4135/9781446219980

- Roberts, P., & Sykes, H. (Eds.). (2008). *Urban Regeneration: A Handbook*. doi:10.4135/9781446219980
- Robson, B. T. (1973). *Urban Growth. An Approach*. doi:10.4324/9780203716649
- Rosa Pires, A. (2005). The fragile foundations of European Spatial Planning in Portugal. *European Planning Studies*, 13(2), 237–253.
- Rosa, F. (2018). *O Desenvolvimento Urbano Sustentável na Política de Coesão. Working Paper No. 2*, Agência para o Desenvolvimento e Coesão, I.P., Lisboa.
- Sá Marques, T. (Ed.). (2006). *Lagarteiro. Uma Intervenção Alicerçada na Participação* (Porto). Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10216/53706>
- Salet, W., & Faludi, A. (Eds.). (2000). *The Revival of Strategic Spatial Planning*. Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Art and Science.
- Sani, A. I., & Nunes, L. (2012). *Relatório do Inquérito. Diagnóstico Local de Segurança na Freguesia da Sé (Porto)*. Porto: Universidade Fernando Pessoa.
- Santos, Á., & Branco-Teixeira, M. (2020). The contribution of tourism to the regeneration of cities: a route for change. *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*. doi:10.1108/WHATT-07-2020-0074
- Sassen, S. (1991). *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Saunders, P. (1981). *Social Theory and the Urban Question* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Schneider-Sliwa, R. (Ed.). (2006). *Cities in Transition. Globalization, Political Change and Urban Development*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Seixas, J., & Mota, J. C. (2015). Planning and governance in the Portuguese cities in times of European crisis. In F. Eckardt & J. R. Sánchez (Eds.), *City of crisis. the multiple contestation of southern european cities* (pp. 215–256). Bielefeld: transcript.
- Seixas, P. C. (2008). *Entre Manchester e Los Angeles. Ilhas e novos condomínios no Porto: paradigmas sócio-espaciais, políticas da diferença e estruturas antropológicas urbanas*. Porto: Edições Universidade Fernando Pessoa.
- Sequeira, J. P. (2011). Ruptura(s) e Continuidade(s): A Reabilitação da Baixa e Centro Histórico do Porto. In *Diálogo cultural entre iberoamérica y europa – patrimonio urbanístico ilustrado: Experiencias y proyectos en brasil, cuba, guatemala, portugal y españa* (pp. 63–73). Valencia: Associação Internacional de Cidades e Entidades do Iluminismo. Valencia: Associação Internacional de Cidades e Entidades do Iluminismo.
- Silva, A. T. (2011). Oporto, Portugal. In E. Rojas & F. Lanzafame (Eds.), *City development. experiences in the preservation of ten world heritage sites* (pp. 215–253). New York: Inter-American Development Bank.
- Silva, A. M. (2010). Ocupação da época romana na cidade do Porto. Ponto de situação e perspectivas de pesquisa. *Gallaecia, Revista de Arqueología e Antigüidade*, (29), 213–262.
- Silva, C. N. (2015). Sub-National Government in Portugal: a brief outline. *Assembly of European Regions Study on Regionalism*.
- Simmel, G. (1903). *The Metropolis and Mental Life*. Dresden: Petermann.

- Sousa, S., & Pinho, P. (2016). O planeamento de cidades em contração: o caso do Porto. *Boletim Regional, Urbano e Ambiental*, (14), 93–106.
- Sousa, S. (2008). Iniciativa Bairros Críticos: Uma experiência em torno de modelos de governança na gestão do território. *Cidades, Comunidades e Territórios*, (16), 69–75. doi:10.7749/citiescommunitiesterritories.jun2008.016.art04
- Spanish Presidency of the Council of the European Union. (2010). Toledo Declaration. In *Informal meeting of eu ministers on housing and urban development, 21-22 june*, Toledo.
- Stewart, M. (1994). Towards a European urban policy. *Local Economy*, 9(3), 266–277. doi:10.1080/02690949408726240
- Taylor, N. (1998). *Urban Planning Theory since 1945*. London: SAGE.
- Teles, F., Romeiro, P., & Pires, S. M. (2021). Thirty years of urban policy in Portugal: challenges and multilevel governance. In K. Zimmermann & V. Fedeli (Eds.), *A modern guide to national urban policies* (Chap. 9, pp. 176–194). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Thoidou, E. (2011). The territorial approach to EU cohesion policy: Current issues and evidence from Greece. *Spatium*, (25), 7–13. doi:10.2298/SPAT1125007T
- Tisdale, H. (1942). The Process of Urbanization. *Social Forces*, 20(3), 311–316. doi:10.1093/sf/20.3.311
- Tofarides, M. (2003). *Urban Policy in the European Union: A Multi-Level Gatekeeper System*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Tosics, I. (2016). Integrated Territorial Investment. A missed opportunity? In J. Bachtler, P. Berkowitz, S. Hardy, & T. Muravska (Eds.), *Eu cohesion policy: Reassessing performance and direction* (Chap. 19, pp. 284–296). doi:10.4324/9781315401867
- Tribunal de Contas. (2001). *Avaliação Global dos Impactos da Intervenção Operacional Renovação Urbana – QCA II*. Tribunal de Contas. Lisboa.
- Tulumello, S., Cotella, G., & Othengrafen, F. (2019). Spatial planning and territorial governance in Southern Europe between economic crisis and austerity policies. *International Planning Studies*, 25(1), 72–87. doi:10.1080/13563475.2019.1701422
- United Nations Statistical Commission. (2020). A Recommendation on the Method to Delineate Cities, Urban and Rural Areas for International Statistical Comparisons. In *51st meeting of the un statistical commission, 3-6 march*, New York: EU, ILO, OECD, UN-Habitat, World Bank.
- URBACT II. (2010). *JESSICA 4 Cities: How cities can make the most from Urban Development Funds. Final Report*. Firenze: URBACT and Regione Toscana.
- van den Berg, L., Braun, E., & van der Meer, J. (Eds.). (2007). *National Policy Responses to Urban Challenges in Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- van den Berg, L., Drewett, R., Klaassen, L. H., Rossi, A., & Vijverberg, C. H. T. (1982). *Urban Europe. A Study of Growth and Decline (Volume 1)*. doi:10.1016/C2013-0-03056-3
- van der Meer, L. (1998). Red Octopus. In W. Blaas (Ed.), *A new perspective for european spatial development policies* (pp. 9–19). Aldershot: Ashgate.

- van der Zwet, A., & Ferry, M. (2019). Integrated Sustainable Urban Development Strategies in the European Union: Added Value and Challenges. In E. Medeiros (Ed.), *Territorial cohesion. the urban dimension* (pp. 111–129). doi:10.1007/978-3-030-03386-6_6
- Vilaça, E., & Ferreira, T. (2018). Os anos de crescimento (1969 – 2002). In R. C. Agarez (Ed.), *Habituação: Cem anos de políticas públicas em Portugal 1918-2018* (pp. 317–363). Lisboa: Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana.
- Vinci, I. (2002). *Politica Urbana e Dinamica dei Sistemi Territoriali. Attori e strategie nell'Europa degli anni novanta*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.
- Vinci, I. (Ed.). (2010). *Pianificazione Strategica in Contesti Fragili*. Firenze: Alinea.
- Vinci, I. (2019). How the EU regional policy can shape urban change in Southern Europe: learning from different planning processes in Palermo. *Urban Research & Practice*, 1–26. doi:10.1080/17535069.2019.1672083
- Vinci, I. (2021). Cities and Regional Disparities in the European Union: evolving geographies and challenges for Cohesion Policy. *Urban Research & Practice*, (forthcoming).
- Vinci, I., & Igreja, J. (2018). Urban change and regional development at the margins of Europe: an introduction. In *Eura conference 2018, reconciling past and future urban and regional strengths, 21–23 june*, Tilburg.
- Warnaby, G., Alexander, A., & Medway, D. (1998). Town centre management in the UK: A review, synthesis and research agenda. *The International Review of Retail, Distribution and Consumer Research*, 8(1), 15–31. doi:10.1080/095939698342850
- Weber, M. (1921). *The City (D. Martindale & G. Newwirth Trans.)* New York: Free Press.
- Williams, R. H. (1996). *European Union Spatial Policy and Planning*. London: Paul Chapman.
- Wirth, L. (1938). Urbanism as a Way of Life. *American Journal of Sociology*, 1–24.
- Wolffhardt, A., Bartik, H., Meegan, R., Dangschat, J. S., & Hamedinger, A. (2005). Explaining the European engagement of cities – Factors, motivations and effects on local governance. In E. Antalovsky, J. S. Dangschat, & M. Parkinson (Eds.), *European metropolitan governance cities in Europe – Europe in the cities. final report* (Chap. 2.5, pp. 391–436). Vienna: Europaforum Wien.
- Zimmermann, K., Galland, D., & Harrison, J. (Eds.). (2020). *Metropolitan Regions, Planning and Governance*. Cham: Springer.

List of Figures

2.1	EU urban policy process milestones and phases.	13
2.2	Urban dimension of EU policy evolution.	14
2.3	UPP and URBAN CI projects across the EU.	28
2.4	Europeanisation at the urban level.	47
3.1	Location of Portugal within the EU.	50
3.2	Urban policies in Portugal, URBAN Community Initiatives.	59
3.3	Urban policies in Portugal, POLIS programme.	62
3.4	Urban policies in Portugal, PRU and PEDU.	66
3.5	Portugal, the AMP and Porto.	68
3.6	Population trend in Portugal.	68
3.7	60 years of urban transformations in Porto 1940–2020.	70
3.8	Before and after physical interventions under UPP.	72
3.9	POLIS waterfront rehabilitation.	74
3.10	IBC Lagarteiro.	76
3.11	Spatial delimitation of the main urban policy tools in Porto during the 1990s.	79
3.12	Spatial delimitation of the main urban policy tools in Porto between 2000 and 2014.	80
3.13	Spatial delimitation of the main urban policy tools in Porto since 2014.	81
4.1	Bairro da Sé aerial view.	84
4.2	Porto substandard housing in the 1960s.	86
4.3	Bairro da Sé critical social and environment conditions.	88
4.4	Sé civil parish population.	90
4.5	Bairro da Sé main urban functions.	92
4.6	Bairro da Sé physical characterisation.	93
4.7	Porto UPP target area.	94
4.8	UPP street works.	98
4.9	Porto UPP new Duque da Ribeira square.	100
4.10	Porto UPP housing rehabilitation.	101
4.11	Porto UPP head office project.	101
4.12	Sé URP target area.	104
4.13	Sé URP operation 1.	108
4.14	Sé URP operation 2.	108

4.15	Sé URP operation 4.	110
4.16	Sé URP operation 5.	111
5.1	Porto UPP organisational structure.	132
5.2	Action Programme_CH.1, organisational structure.	135
5.3	Porto UPP before and after physical intervention.	141
5.4	Porto UPP new square, before and after.	142
5.5	Social degradation on Anjo alley.	143
5.6	Porto UPP community centre.	144
5.7	Bairro da Sé public space rehabilitation.	145
5.8	Porto UPP rehabilitation of facades.	146
5.9	Sé URP uncompleted intervention.	148
5.10	Bairro da Sé physical condition in 2014.	149
5.11	Urban regeneration in Pena Ventosa square.	150
5.12	Sé URP suspended intervention in Pena Ventosa.	151
5.13	Sé URP intervention in Doutor Pedro Vitorino square.	152
5.14	Changing reality in Bairro da Sé.	156
A.1	Orthophoto of the Sé area.	187
A.2	Area of Sé, Porto.	188
A.3	Bairro da Sé location.	189
A.4	Population density at Sé area.	190
A.5	Reconstructions in the context of Portugal.	191
A.6	Building permits in the context of AMP.	192
A.7	Building permits and completed works.	192
A.8	Building completed works in the context of Porto.	193
A.9	Bairro da Sé touristic accommodation capacity.	193
B.1	Demolitions at Sé in the 1940s.	196
B.2	Demolitions at Sé in the 1940s.	197
B.3	Demolitions in Bairro da Sé.	198
B.4	Delimitation of SAAL operation at Bairro da Sé.	200
B.5	Wash house built during SAAL operations.	202
B.6	Morro da Sé within the 1985 ACRRU.	203

List of Tables

2.1	EU regional policy stages and urban dimension of EU policy.	12
2.2	URBAN I strengths and weaknesses.	22
2.3	URBAN II areas, eligibility preconditions and priorities for action.	27
2.4	2014–2020 new levels of intervention and tools.	33
2.5	Pact of Amsterdam, list of reference documents.	36
2.6	Urban Pilot Projects lessons and insights.	39
2.7	URBAN II, key findings.	42
2.8	Europeanisation mechanisms and modes.	47
3.1	Instruments of the Portuguese planning system.	54
3.2	Portuguese urban policy tools during the 1990s.	60
3.3	Strategic Instruments for Urban Integrated Approaches in Porto.	77
4.1	Sé civil parish building’s state of conservation.	91
4.2	Porto UPP objectives and outcomes	96
4.3	Sé URP methodology.	105
4.4	Sé URP projects.	106
5.1	EU influence on local governance.	126
5.2	Porto UPP budget distribution.	129
5.3	Sé URP budget distribution.	130
5.4	Sé URP building rehabilitation incentives.	138
5.5	EU influence on planning innovation.	139
5.6	Bairro da Sé rehabilitations between 2008 and 2014.	148
A.1	General demographics of Sé civil parish.	191
B.1	SAAL operation at Bairro da Sé.	201

Acronyms

ACRRU	Área Crítica de Renovação e Reabilitação
AIDT	Abordagem Integrada de Desenvolvimento Territorial
AIDU	Ações Inovadoras para o Desenvolvimento Urbano
AIDUS	Ações Integradas de Desenvolvimento Urbano Sustentável
AIUD	Ações Inovadoras de Desenvolvimento Urbano
AMP	Área Metropolitana do Porto
ARU	Área de Reabilitação Urbana
ARU-CH	Área de Reabilitação Urbana do Centro Histórico
CCDR	Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional
CI	Community Initiative
CLLD	Community-Led Local Development
CMP	Câmara Municipal do Porto
CoE	Council of Europe
CP	Community Programmes
Cruarb	Comissariado para a Renovação Urbana da Área Ribeira-Barredo
CSF	Community Support Framework
DG	Directorate General
EC	European Commission
ECF	European Cohesion Fund
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
ECU	European Currency Unit
EEA	European Economic Area
EEC	European Economic Community
EIB	European Investment Bank
EIDT	Estratégias Integradas de Desenvolvimento Territorial
EMU	European Monetary Union
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund

ESDP	European Spatial Development Planning
ESF	European Social Fund
ESPON	European Spatial Planning Observation Network
EU	European Union
FDVC	Fundação para o Desenvolvimento do Vale da Campanhã
FDZHP	Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Zona Histórica do Porto
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IASUD	Integrated Actions for Sustainable Urban Development
IBC	Iniciativa Bairros Críticos
IDO	Integrated Development Operations
IFRU	Instrumento Financeiro Reabilitação e Revitalização Urbana
IHRU	Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estatística
IORU	Intervenção Operacional de Renovação Urbana
ISUD	Integrated Sustainable Urban Development
ITI	Integrated Territorial Investment
IUDP	Integrated Urban Development Plans
JESSICA	Joint European Support and Sustainable Investment in Urban Areas
LAU	Local Administrative Unit
LDR	Less Developed Region
LEADER	Liaison Entre Actions de Développement de l'Économie Rurale
MS	Member State
NPCI	National Programmes of Community Interest
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OP	Operational Programme
PAICD	Plano de Ação para as Comunidades Desfavorecidas
PARU	Plano de Ação de Regeneração Urbana
PDCT	Pactos de Coesão e Desenvolvimento Territorial
PDM	Plano Director Municipal

PEDU	Plano Estratégico de Desenvolvimento Urbano
PER	Plano Especial de Realojamento
PIOT	Plano Intermunicipal de Ordenamento do Território
PMUS	Plano de Mobilidade Urbana Sustentável
PNPOT	Programa Nacional da Política de Ordenamento do Território
POLIS	Programa de Requalificação Urbana e Valorização Ambiental de Cidades
POLIS XXI	Política de Cidades POLIS XXI
PortoVivo	Porto Vivo, Sociedade de Reabilitação Urbana do Porto
PRAUD	Programa de Reabilitação de Áreas Urbanas Degradadas
PRID	Programa Recuperação de Imóveis Degradados
Procom	Programa de Apoio à Modernização do Comércio
Prosiurb	Programa de Consolidação do Sistema Urbano Nacional e Apoio à Execução dos PDM
PROT	Plano Regional de Ordenamento do Território
PRU	Parcerias para a Regeneração Urbana
PT	Portugal
QREN	Quadro de Referência Estratégico Nacional
RECI	Regions for Economic Change Initiative
RECITE	Regions and Cities of Europe
RECRIA	Regime Especial de Participação na Recuperação de Imóveis Arrendados
Recriph	Regime Especial de Participação e Financiamento na Recuperação de Prédios Urbanos em Regime de Propriedade Horizontal
Rehabita	Regime de Apoio à Recuperação Habitacional em Áreas Urbanas Antigas
RUCI	Redes Urbanas de Competitividade e Inovação
SAAL	Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local
SEA	Single European Act
SEM	Single European Market
SF	Structural Fund
SME	small and medium-sized enterprise
SRU	Sociedades de Reabilitação Urbana
UAEU	Urban Agenda for the EU
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UPP	Urban Pilot Project
URBAN	URBAN Community Initiative

URP Programa de Reabilitação Urbana

ZIP Zona de Intervenção Prioritária

Appendix A

Contextualising Bairro da Sé do Porto



Figure A.1: Orthophoto of the Sé neighbourhood in the Historic Centre of Porto. Source: modified from Google Earth, July 2019.



(a) 1892.



(b) 2020.

Figure A.2: Urban transformation of the Sé area, Porto. Source: figure A.2a elaborated from Cartas Históricas Interactivas do Porto, Câmara Municipal do Porto. and figure A.2b elaborated from Mapa Interactivo do Porto, Câmara Municipal do Porto.

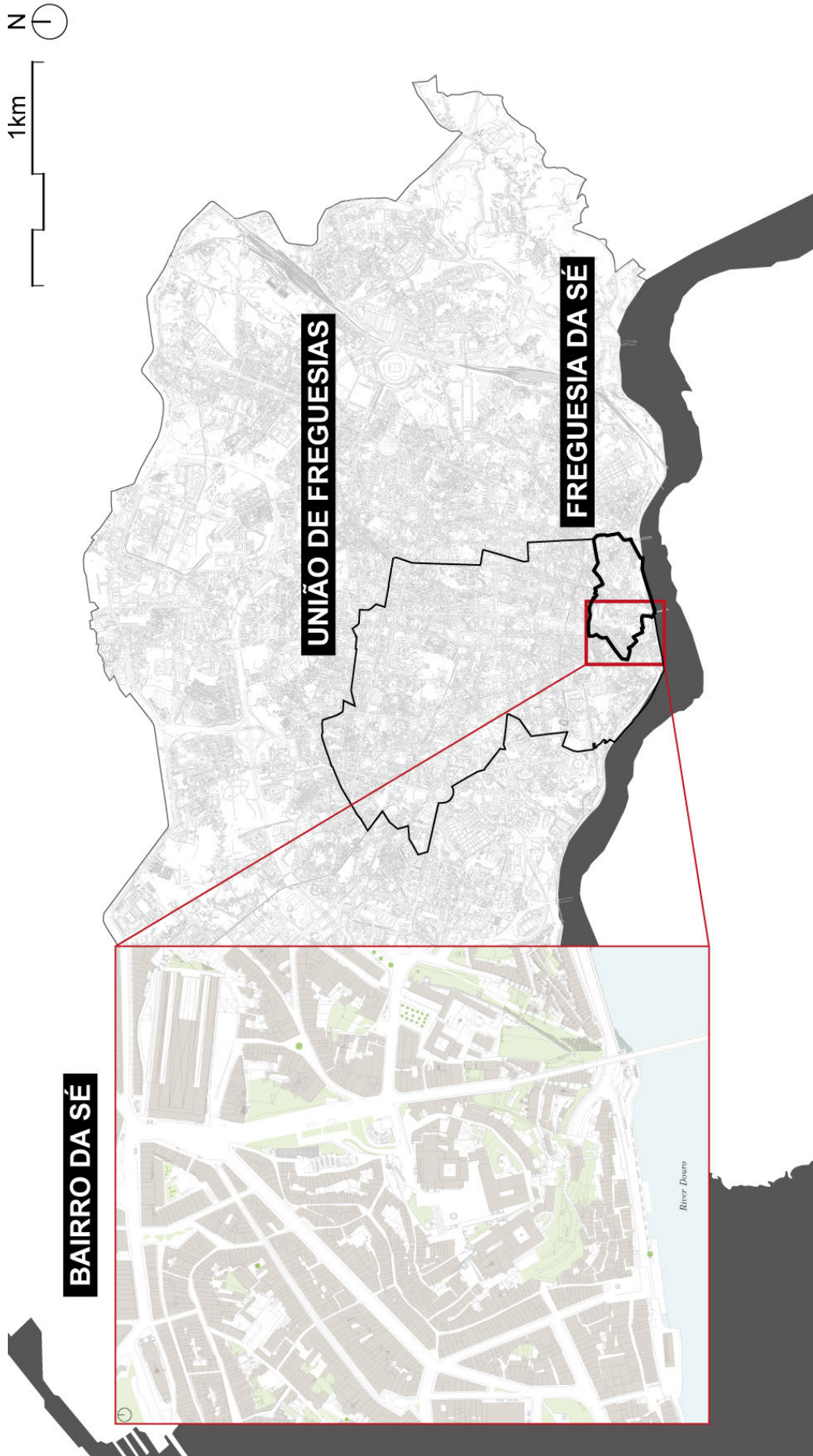
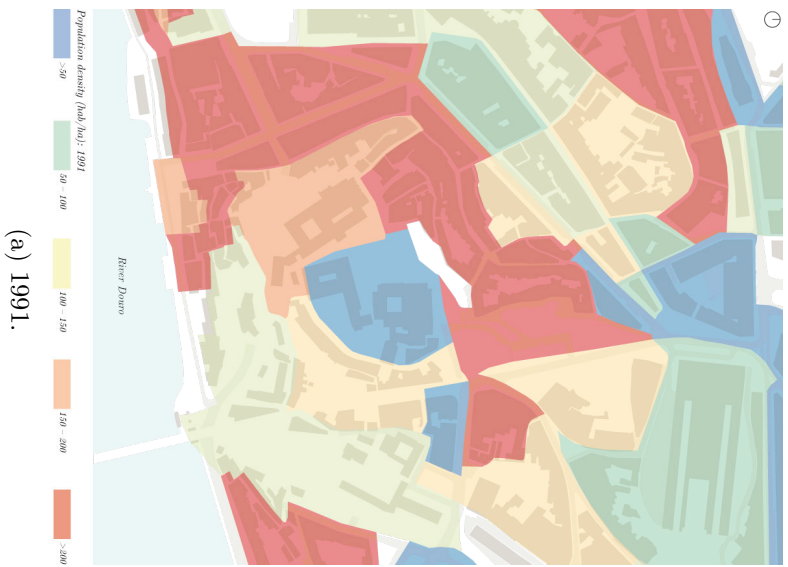
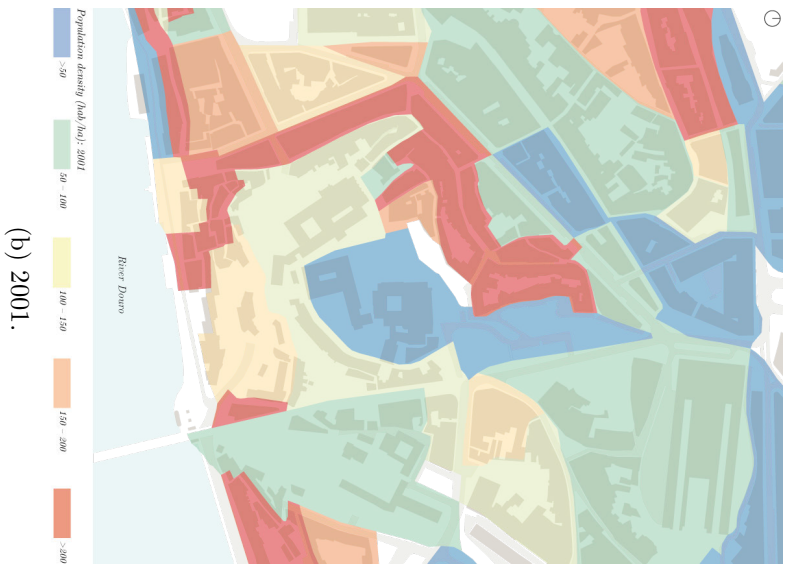


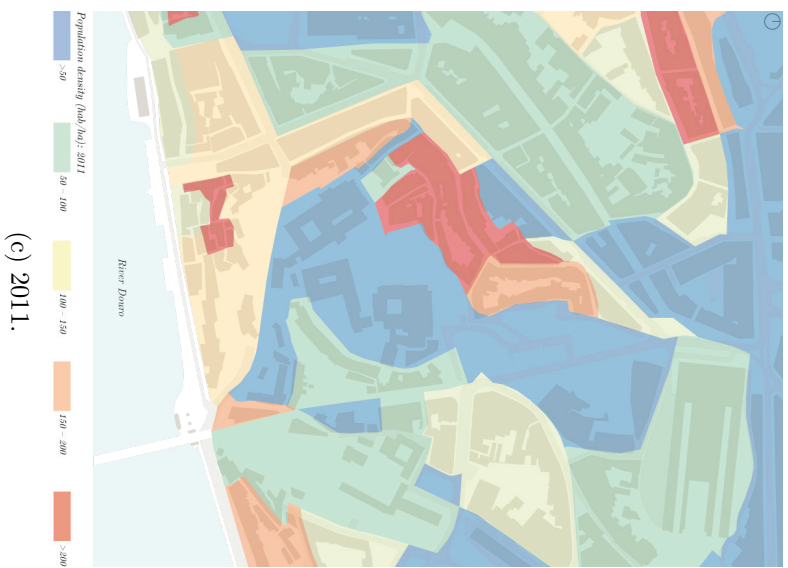
Figure A.3: Location of Bairro da Sé within Porto and former Sé civil parish and current União de Freguesias de Cedofeita, Santo Ildefonso, Sé, Miragaia, São Nicolau and Vitória and Sé civil parish. Source: author.



(a) 1991.



(b) 2001.



(c) 2011.

Figure A.4: Population density at Sé area. Source: author, data from XIII, XIV, XV Recenseamento Geral da População, Instituto Nacional de Estatística.

Table A.1: Evolution of general demographics of Sé civil parish. Source: author, data from Instituto Nacional de Estatística.

Year	Residents	Families	Dwellings	Buildings
1950	15 827	3 795	n/a	n/a
1960	14 651	4 470	4 710	2 013
1970	12 968	3 801	3 117	1 973
1981	10 483	3 412	3 356	1 303
1991	7 343	2 766	3 345	1 704
2001	4 751	1 889	2 618	1 399
2011	3 460	1 590	2 788	1 178



Figure A.5: Weight of reconstruction in Portugal, the AMP and Porto. Source: author, data from Portuguese National Institute of Statistics.

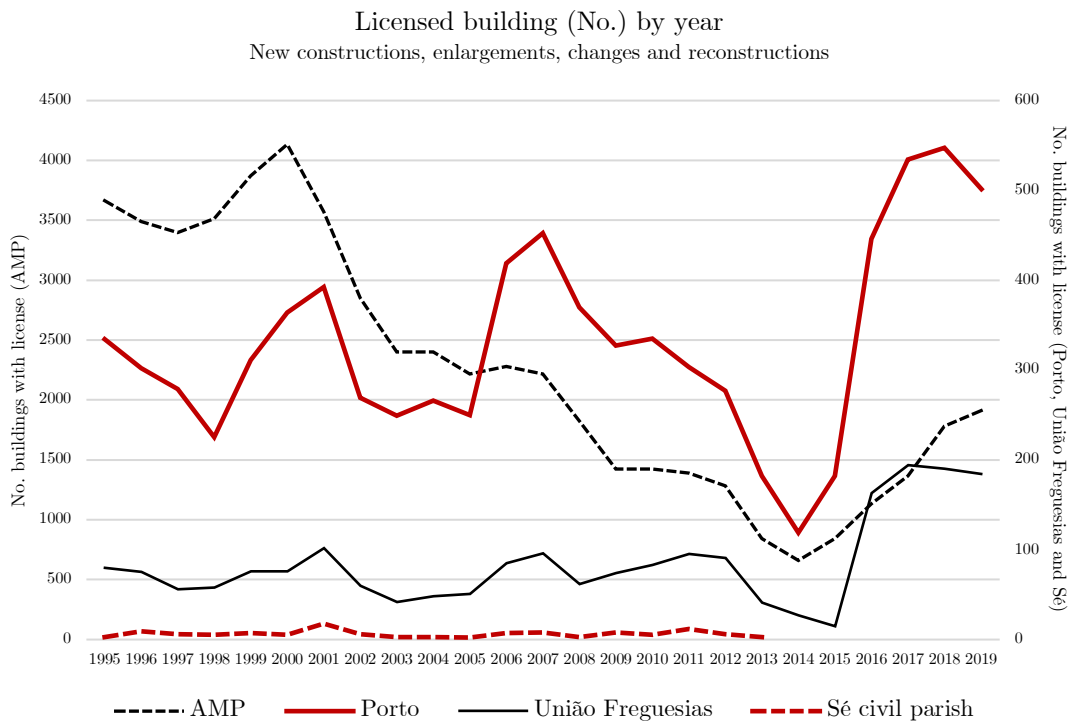


Figure A.6: Number of building permits by year in the AMP, Porto, União de Freguesias de Cedofeita, Santo Ildefonso, Sé, Miragaia, São Nicolau and Vitória and Sé civil parish. Source: author, data from Portuguese National Institute of Statistics.

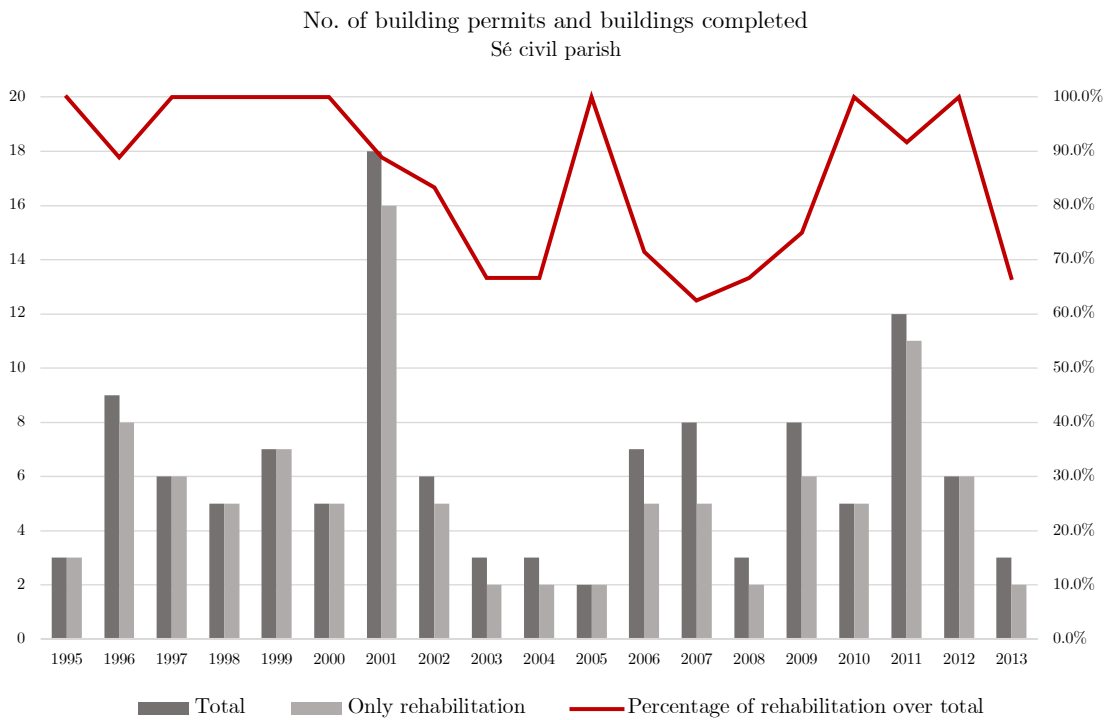
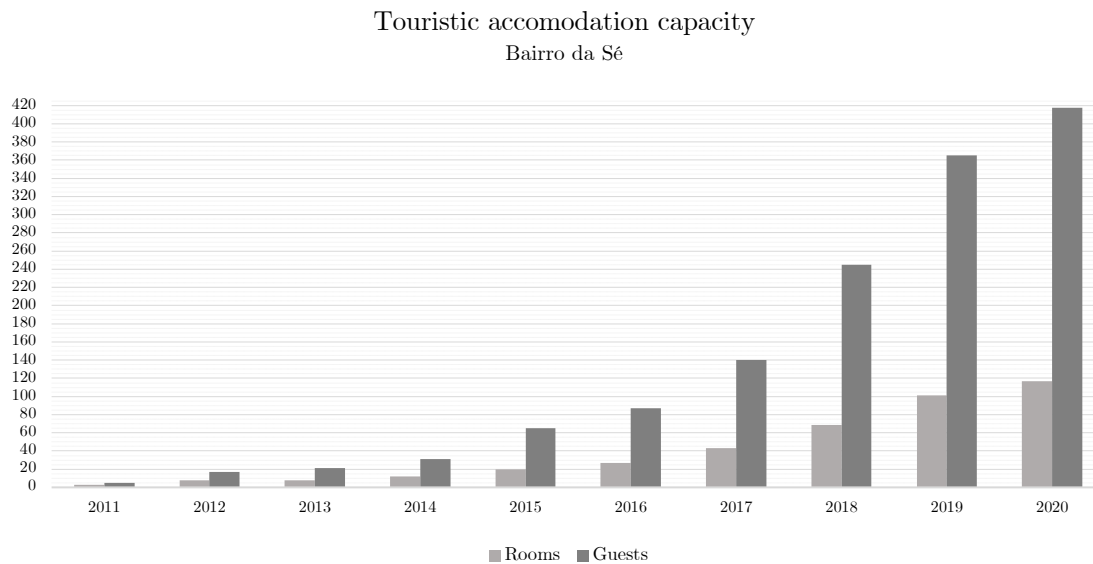


Figure A.7: Number of building permits by type of works and completed works at Sé civil parish. Source: author, data from Portuguese National Institute of Statistics.



Figure A.8: Number of completed building works in Porto and Sé civil parish. Source: author, data from Portuguese National Institute of Statistics.



Note: data extracted from *Alojamento Local, Registo Nacional de Turismo*.

Figure A.9: Bairro da Sé touristic accommodation capacity. Source: author, data from Turismo de Portugal.

Appendix B

Early interventions in Bairro da Sé

B.1 Renovation of run-down areas between 1930 and 1970.

The area of Sé witnessed on several occasions its urban fabric being dramatically modified. As part of the National Direction Office for Buildings and Monuments (Direção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais) strategy to expand the area public space around the cathedral, several blocks were demolished. This meant a redesign of the urbanistic profile of the area outside the cathedral, without an appropriate archaeological works or survey of the demolished heritage (Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1996a) (see Figures B.1, B.2).

Another example is related to the road connection between Dom Luís I bridge and city centre which is commonly termed as *Avenida da Ponte*. This project was (and still is) subject great discussion and various studies and solutions were proposed. Although there hasn't been a definitive project, several demolitions were carried.

Regarding the urbanistic transformations on the Sé area and in Porto's city centre, see among others Assunção (2010), Câmara Municipal do Porto (1996a).

Under the coordination of Fernando Távora, the city council office responsible for housing developed between 1968 and 1969 the *Study for the Urban Renewal of Barredo* (see Câmara Municipal do Porto (1969)). The study focused on an area with high levels of social and physical problems between Morro da Sé and Ribeira riverside.

However, the the higher goal was to promote a new approach for the rehabilitation of Porto's run-down areas, clearly opposing the ruling renovation policies. According to A. Pinho (2009) it was «the first Portuguese initiative aiming to promote a true urban rehabilitation policy» (p. 805, author's translation). Although the concept of integration has been evolving, the author argues that the 1969 Study «addresses aspects that go from the integration of policies and levels of action, participation and accountability of actors, continue monitoring and evaluation, the need of planning flexibility in order to answer the changing contexts and the development of a city-level strategic vision» (ibid., p. 808, author's translation).

Thus, the engagement of the academic community in the study and the influence of the Venice Charter, stimulated this *different* approach, based on rehabilitation, instead of reconstruction (i.e., rather than demolishing and erecting new buildings).

The Study sustained the idea that physical interventions were to be accompanied by an



(a) Before demolitions.



(b) After demolitions.



(c) Current situation, 2019.

Figure B.1: Demolitions at Sé during the 1940s. Creation of new public spaces: Calçada Dom Pedro Pitões, Doutor Pedro Vitorino Square and extension of Terreiro da Sé. Source: photos B.1a, B.1b retrieved online from Arquivo Histórico do Porto, photo B.1a by author.



(a) Before demolitions.



(b) During demolitions 1940s.



(c) After first demolitions.

Figure B.2: First set of demolitions at Calçada da Vandoma, Sé, in the 1940s. Source: photos by Platão Mendes retrieved online from Arquivo Histórico do Porto.



(a) Demolitions: plan.



(b) Aerial view of demolitions.

Figure B.3: Major demolitions in Bairro da Sé area and surroundings. Source: figure B.3a modified from Câmara Municipal do Porto (1996a) and photo B.3b modified from Assunção (2010).

actions tackling social concerns related to substandard living conditions, thus representing an initial effort to enhance the quality of the area, avoid expropriations and maintain the cultural heritage of the neighbourhood. Somewhat, this suggested the awareness for the need of wider and integrated strategies in order to tackle urban challenges.

The area-based approach endorsed by the Study (for additional information regarding the Study see, among others, Flores (2017), Moniz et al. (2017), A. Pinho (2009)) would guide the following works carried by Cruarb in the renovation of the historic centre, as well as in the Sé area.

B.2 1974: SAAL's intervention—Operação Sé

The SAAL which ran between 1974 and 1976 was one of the first post-revolutionary policy approaches related to urban issues launched by the late Secretary of State for housing and urbanism. It represented a pilot experience to deal with the issue of informal settlements and housing needs through the regeneration of the built structure and involving the interaction of professionals with the local population the experience seek to help dealing with the housing issues and necessities mentioned above.

According to A. Pinho (2009) the *modus operandi* of the SAAL was based on a set of principles that would later be incorporated into the EU urban regeneration policies of the 1980s. Despite the need to address the problematic housing conditions of the country (one out of four families did not have a dignified house), Allegra et al. stress that «the new constitutional provisions and the SAAL ultimately failed to meet the challenge»(2020, p. 6).

The revolution of 25 April 1974 mirrored the people's spirit to take action and fight against the multiple issues that the country's had accumulated. In particular, inadequate housing and living conditions (as the ones characterising Morro da Sé) were one of the issues to be tackled. As a response, the late Secretary of State for housing and urbanism launched the SAAL 1974–1976 as an approach to deal with the issue. This pioneering approach tried to give a quick response to immediate needs by introducing collaborative urban renovation processes which combined architects, engineers and the residents. At the same time it encouraged citizens to counteract precarious living conditions, poverty and high rate of illiteracy.

Due to the particular poor conditions of the historic centre, at the Sé area, the intervention began in October 1974 under the name Operation Sé (*Operação Sé*) (see Table B.1.). Despite facing real needs the programme was not able to deliver noticeable impacts, in part due to its short duration but also due to administrative issues related to the property owners and expropriations. In the early-stage, a street-cleaning activity was carried and the technical team developed a two stage strategy with the help of the resident's association (*Associação de Moradores da Zona da Sé*). The first stage included a diagnostic of the area and several programmatic arrangements for the operation (i.e., renovation agreements with the landlords, the creation of temporary and definitive programme due to overcrowding and the selection of priority works) that was to be implemented over the following years Although the second stage was rejected by the central administration and difficulties were



Figure B.4: Delimitation of SAAL intervention at Bairro da Sé. Source: elaborated from Bandeirinha (2007).

Table B.1: SAAL Operation Sé information sheet. Source: elaborated from Bandeirinha (2007).

Service:	SAAL/NORTE
Municipality:	Porto
Neighbourhood name:	Bairro da Sé
Project:	Architects Carlos Guimarães, José Manuel Gigante, Carlos Prata and Henrique de Carvalho
Technical team:	Manuela Antunes, Jofre S. Bispo, António Trindade, Maria Estrela Vieira, António Ribeiro, João Sousa, Carlos Ribeiro, António Silva Costa, Miguel Henriques
Resident's association name:	Zona da Sé
Operation start:	October 1974
Constitution of resident's association:	25 th February 1976
Publication of the statutes in regional decree:	31 st August 1976

faced with the need to relocate residents (which prevent building works) it was possible to create public baths and a wash house for the community (Bandeirinha, 2007; Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1996a).

With the creation of the first constitutional government the SAAL operations would ceased and the responsibility to carry urban renovation actions were transferred to the municipality. Thus, during the 1970s, under the co-ordination of Cruarb which had been created in 1974 as a central state/municipality institution, interventions anchored in social and housing strategies were carried to tackle the critical situation of the historic centre, particularly the Ribeira-Barredo area (cf. Appendix B). They aimed to provide better living conditions while recovering the cultural and built heritage (J. Queirós, 2013).

The SAAL pioneering experience carried at the national scale between 1974 and 1976 is one example worth noting. The operations introduced a strong participatory model of implementation which translated the need of support from all the key actors and participants in the area. As mentioned above, this was also one of the aspects that characterised the governance model of the UPP. In collaboration with local resident's associations, a technical team would build a strategy which sought quick answers to eminent problems. In many cases, and due to the critical substandard living conditions at that time, the operations were related with providing better housing by carrying works on buildings. Although the physical nature of the actions is undeniable, the social motivation must be noted.

Housing and health issues were not perceived in the UPP which instead pursued actions on the public sphere as a catalyst for further public and private investment. The strategy put together for the SAAL operation in Morro da Sé was, to a certain extent, an example of such idea.

After an initial diagnostic of the area, several renovation agreements with the building owners were established and a resettlement programme was created. In addition the proximity with the local resident's association (Associação de Moradores da Zona da Sé) highlighted the need of a public facility (public baths and a wash house). The structure was financed with municipal funds and contributed to the well-being of the community

(see Appendix B, Figure B.5). As mentioned above, the second stage of the long-term strategy, which encompassed the integration of other actions was not achieved. Despite not integrating all urban regeneration realms (i.e., it didn't perceive economic and/or cultural actions), the SAAL modus operandi was based on a set of principles that would be incorporated into the EU urban regeneration policies of the 1980s (A. Pinho, 2009). Moreover it was embraced by the urban policy actors in the historic centre of Porto, in particular by the Cruarb which would later be responsible for managing the implementation of the Porto UPP.



(a) Date.



(b) 2020.

Figure B.5: Wash house built during SAAL operations at Bairro da Sé. Source: photo B.5a by Antonin Pons Braley, retrieved from Barnaud and Renaud (2015) and photo B.5b by Maria José Dias, retrieved online at picturyphototours.com.

Regarding the SAAL interventions in Portugal see among others Bandeirinha (2007), Portas (1986), and for the specific case of Sé neighbourhood see also Assunção (2010), Câmara Municipal do Porto (1996a), Leite (2019).

B.3 1985: Critical Area for Urban Renewal

In 1985 the Morro da Sé neighbourhood was almost entirely delimited as a critical area in need of regeneration (i.e., Área Crítica de Renovação e Reabilitação (ACRRU)). The implementing decree DR No. 54/85 officially recognised the existence of buildings in advance state of decay and in risk of structural collapse, which didn't met the minimum living standards. In addition, the area was marked by a poor infrastructural system and the city council could benefit from special land-use regulation (decree-law DL No. 794/76 of 5 November, Land Law: Lei dos Solos) to take action.

In order to rectify the degradation, the Porto city council was granted the right to carry demolitions, make expropriations and taking possession of properties, whenever the situation required act. Figure B.6 reveals that almost the entire Sé area was marked as a critical area (ACRRU).



Figure B.6: Morro da Sé within the ACRRU delimitation of 1985. Source: elaborated from decree DR No.54/85