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ID 1545 | SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES OF URBAN REGENERATION ON NEIGHBOURHOOD-SCALE: THE CASE OF SPANISH QUARTERS IN NAPLES

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1 INTRODUCTION

Social cohesion became a key issue for the European urban policies, supported by programmes aimed to the regeneration of deprived areas through a participatory approach (Fioretti, 2015). The social issue was definitely introduced into the debate about urban regeneration in the first half of 1990s, also because during the previous two decades, several urban areas across Europe experienced economic, social and environmental disadvantages (Wacquant, 2008; Cremaschi and Eckardt, 2011; et. al.). Within the urban regeneration policies and strategic planning cultural framework of the 1990s, «stakeholders involvements and civic participation in the public decision-making were often introduced by local governments as policy tools, through which to guide the urban transformation processes» (Saporito, 2016: 8). The trend was to convert participatory practices from episodic experiences to ordinary institutionalized practices in order to set up inclusive practices and collaborative tables among the complex network of stakeholders. Within this framework, the urban regeneration of those deprived urban areas looks at the social cohesion, in order to generate not only physical and urban transformations, but also to produce well-being, working on the improvement of local milieu and local resources, deterred by social exclusion processes that cross vulnerable neighbourhood. The attention to the participatory and inclusive practices paved the way for an acombined policy framework between urban renewal and social cohesion, where the urban regeneration process can be defined through an area-based approach focused on the social issues, looking at the local welfare system (Andreotti et. al, 2012; Bifulco, 2015), that can be developed in order to generate well-being. According to these assumptions, the paper grounds its reflection on the implementation of the well-known European Community Initiative called URBAN (1st edition, 1994-1999) in a particular vulnerable urban area of Naples: the Spanish Quarters (in Italy known as Quartieri Spagnoli). According to the focal points of the Programme, URBAN at Spanish Quarters was aimed to regenerate a particular deprived urban area, located in the historical city centre. Although URBAN did not generate the expected results, its main strengths, in line with a local welfare approach (based on the combination of place-based and people-based initiatives), provides findings for a social perspective of urban regeneration on the micro neighbourhood-scale. According to these assumptions, the paper looks for the answers to the following research questions: how can we look at the social aspects of the urban regeneration process in a deprived neighbourhood? How important is the role of local milieu in this regeneration process? How the urban planners can work to include citizens' in an urban regeneration process? In this respect, the case of URBAN implementation on Spanish Quarters in Naples – an experience concluded two decades ago – provides some indications. The theoretical framework is an analytical bridge between the capability approach (Sen, 1992) and the territorialisation of local welfare policies (Kazepov, 2009; Clarke, 2008; Bifulco, 2015, 2016, 2017). The third chapter introduces URBAN Community Initiative, and the rest of the

paper analyses its implementation at Spanish Quarters of Naples. The conclusions illustrate the main findings for further perspectives, which had already taken place in Napoli over the past decades.

The paper presents the outcomes of a qualitative fieldwork based on ethnographic observations and narrative interviews to some privileged actors involved in the Programme: professors Giovanni Laino, planner of URBAN at Naples, and Daniela Lepore, who contributed to the paper with an expert counsel, Immacolata Voltura, a local operator during the implementation of the Programme, and Daria Esposito, a social operator proficient in assistance programmes for NEETs. The paper does not evaluate the whole URBANI CI at European level, but it is more focused on the area-based planning on Spanish Quarters at Naples, analysed from a sociological viewpoint.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Following the participatory framework outlined during the 1990s, the 2014-2020 period of European policy-making has put the urban dimension at the centre of Cohesion Policy system, in an interwoven relationship with environmental, economic, cultural and social issues. A core point of the 2014-2020 agenda is the integration, seen as a keyword for the EU's Urban Agenda policies in order to cope with the urban deprivations and disadvantages emerged during the last three decades. It is not by chance that since the 1980s public policies in Europe have undergone «an increasing process of territorialisation, which has mainly concerned two intertwined phenomena: the territorial reorganization of public powers and the tendency to take the territory as the reference point for policies and interventions» (Bifulco, 2016: 628). The focus on the territory stimulated new approaches to tackle the high concentration of social, environmental and economic problems of certain urban areas. Since the first half of 1990s, European Union has started to promote communitarian initiatives dedicated to disadvantaged urban areas, «pursuing an integrated approach that takes account of all dimensions of urban life»¹, and looks at the regeneration of disadvantaged urban areas together with measures to combat social exclusion and to upgrade the quality of environments. A hybridization process has increasingly taken shape, and «in the 1990s and 2000s, policies to improve social cohesion and economic integration were complemented by physical restructuring and tenure conversion» (Uitermark, 2014: 1424).

This process is based on local welfare (Hall, 1993; Andreotti, et. al., 2012; Andreotti and Mingione, 2014; Bifulco, 2015, 2017; et. al.) and it implies «the discovery of the territory as a dynamic entity that is active and under construction» (Governa and Salone, 2004: 797), where to stimulate citizens' participation and inter-institutional relationships, working on the neighbourhood-scale of urban regeneration. This perspective takes into account citizens' needs, understanding and identifying the most critical problems that afflict a specific urban area, considering the voice² of its inhabitants. Hirschman (1970) identifies the voice-option as «a general outcry addressed to anybody willing to pay attention and listen to» (Hirschman, 1970: 13), trying to change the already existent practices. The voice-option is a dimension of the capabilities (Sen, 1992, et. al.) that activates citizens' agency, providing their positive freedom to choose. In the light of this paper the capability for voice (Sen, 1992, Bonvin and Farvaque, 2006) of inhabitants plays a role in the urban regeneration processes oriented to social inclusion. According to this perspective, the local welfare approach gives a fundamental role to the territory, seen as the best field to enhance the inhabitants' capabilities in the regeneration projects and processes. A local welfare system looks for the possible resources that can be activated for the renewal of an urban area within a combined empowerment of places and people. The core principle of this combination is that the policy for places must not be divided from those for people, but nevertheless, for several years these policy fields remained apart from each other, and the urban issue overwhelmed the social one (Donzelot, 2008). To overcome this distinction, the need of an integrated approach has arisen in order to promote «the action on the territorial scope as a leverage to rearrange what public policies treated separately in the past» (Bifulco and de Leonardis, 2006), assuming the urban areas as a resource and setting for the public action within an area-based perspective (Parkinson, 1998). This theoretical configuration between the capability approach and the territorialisation

¹ Source: http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/archive/urban2/urban/initiative/src/frame1.htm

² The term voice is used here in the Amartya Sen's perspective, as an instrument to carry out the positive freedom to choice and to do. Indeed, the capability for voice represents a fundamental key analytic of the local welfare approach (see Bifulco and Mozzana, 2011).

of welfare, introduces the case study which, where the importance of local actions and a strong relationship with the local milieu are enhanced. Before presenting the Neapolitan case, the paper introduces the analytical framework of the whole URBAN Community Initiative.

3 URBAN: AN OVERVIEW

URBAN Community Initiative (CI) was a European programme aimed to address «the economic, social and environmental disadvantage faced by neighbourhoods across the EU» (Carpenter, 2006: 2146). Two main assumptions influenced the Programme: on the one hand, the necessity to overcome both the housing growth and infrastructural policies, on the other hand, the intention to continue the successful urban requalification policies on neighbourhood-scale realised from the second half of 1980s, particularly in Central and Northern Europe. The initiative was destined to certain vulnerable urban areas where problems of poverty, unemployment and social exclusion were concentrated. The aim was to provide a spatial, social and economic revitalization of those areas through the involvement of local actors, on the one hand, and a learning-by-doing approach from the public administrations, on the other hand. The Programme was articulated in two editions (1994-1999; 2000-2006) and defined by five macro-objectives: (1) social cohesion, (2) economic competitiveness, (3) sustainable development, (4) promotion of equal opportunities and (5) integration of immigrants. The European Commission emphasized the role of the cities as territorial scope to set the social exclusion problems in a relationship with the urban renewal; 118 European cities were involved, of which sixteen Italians in the first edition and ten in the second one. A communitarian approach was designed «to address urban deprivation through an integrated approach to the problems faced by run-down neighbourhoods, using a partnership approach that involved local authorities and target communities to design and implement the programme» (Carpenter, 2006: 2148). Due to the heterogeneity of its objectives, the Programme was divided into five Objectives (Misure in Italian) (CEC, 1994):

1. Support of the already existent local businesses and encouragement for new activities
2. Promotion of employability among local populations
3. Support of new services and enhancement of those already existent
4. Urban spaces renovation and re-functioning of transport systems and accessibility
5. Involvement of local actors in communication and information about the on-going projects.

In the Italian context, the Programme was aimed to promote horizontal inter-institutional integration, and to overcome a sectorial and fragmented approach to the urban problems (Bricocoli, 2007) and «the interventions on the physical space was predominant» (Laino, 1999: 71). The first edition started an experimentation that yielded positive outcomes, both on the target areas and on the administrations that have rearranged themselves in an unprecedented ways (Palermo, in Balducci, 2001: 11). The contents of URBAN affected at the same time the physical city and the social city (Palermo, 2002). Moreover, the targeted areas – divided into four categories (see Table 1) – were different from one another, also in the Italian case¹.

Type of neighbourhood – URBAN 1 st Edition (1994-1999)	Number	Percentage %
<i>Peripheral urban area: districts in the edge of urban areas, with public housing estates from 1960s to 1970s</i>	44	37
<i>Inner city: the core of the city, characterised by abandoned industrial buildings, dilapidated housing and a neglected environment</i>	37	32
<i>Historical city centre: areas with historical architecture and the potential to develop cultural heritage</i>	23	19
<i>Mixed: areas which combines the above characteristics</i>	14	12
Total	118	100

Table 1 - Type of neighbourhood targeted by URBAN
Source: Carpenter (2006)

Although the inclusion of citizens was an important keyword of the programme, several experts (see Chorianopoulos, 2002; Carpenter, 2006) state that the community involvement was not

¹ Three main target-areas in Italy: Historical city centres (such as Spanish Quarters at Naples; Cosenza and Lecce), marginal peripheries (Syracuse, Reggio Calabria and Cagliari), and industrial areas in crisis (such as Genoa and Venice).

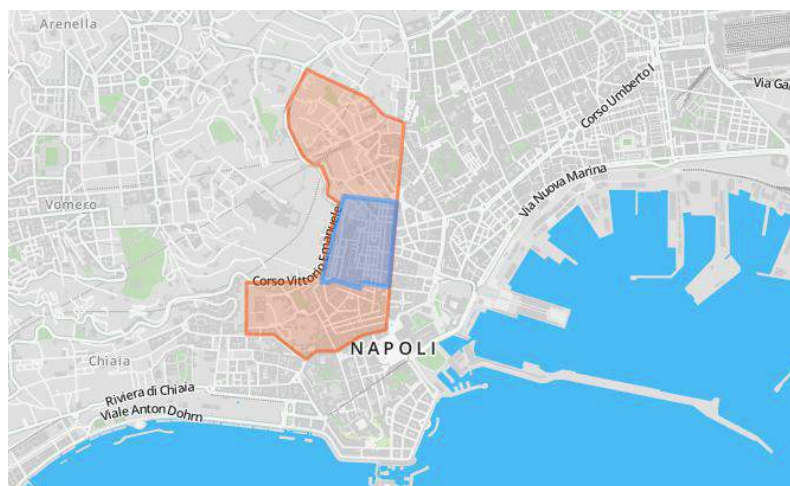
completely realised. The heterogeneity of the local contexts together with the stringent European guidelines affected the Programme, creating a conflict with the need of an error-friendly approach, i.e. the ability to re-arrange a re-define the practices during the planning activity (see Laino, 1999).

About the financing, a total of 900 million euros of EU investment was allocated, although European Commission has spent only 720 million euros by June 2003. The expenditure was divided as follows: 38% for physical and environmental regeneration, 32% for entrepreneurship activities, 23% for the social inclusion projects, 6% to technical and IT assistance, and 2% for «other types of initiatives», strictly related to the particularities of each city (Carpenter, 2006). About Naples, the European URBAN Commission identified two areas: Rione Sanità and Spanish Quarters.

4 CASE STUDY: URBAN AT SPANISH QUARTERS, A QUALITATIVE EXPOST EVALUATION

4.1 THE SPANISH QUARTERS AREA

Spanish Quarters (SQ) is a district located in a sloping area between Via Toledo and the hill of Certosa di San Martino, in Naples' historical centre. Its urban structure is «a dense gridiron founded during the Spanish domination (15th century) [...] unaltered over the centuries» (Lieto, 2013: 148). Figure 1 - Identification and boundaries of Spanish Quarters.



Legend. Blue area: historical Spanish Quarters; Orange area: large Spanish Quarters area.
 Source: author's construction with Open street map based on REVES data (2015).

Traditionally, «SQ is the area bounded by via Toledo to the east, Augusteo-Ponzano axis to the south, corso Vittorio Emanuele to the western side, and the axis Saint Pasquale-Concezione a Montecalvario, to the north» (REVES, 2015; see the blue area in Figure 1). Some of the local actors of the third sector identify a wider area with similar cultural identities from Chiaia at South to Montesanto at North (see the orange area in Figure 1). The area has 14.000 inhabitants. Viceroy Don Pedro from Toledo built the area in 1536, during a period of demographic increase.

Since their birth, Spanish Quarters has been considered an enclave separated from the rest of the city, despite its central position. Therefore, the area remained isolated from the urban dynamics and exposed to the criminal organisations. Since 20th century the neighbourhood has turned into a front door of Naples for heterogeneous social classes, from middle-classes to immigrants until new bourgeoisie (see Laino, 2001, 2012)¹.

¹ Spanish Quarters populations (Laino, 2001, 2012): eduardiani (simple middle class in rented accommodation), viviariani (vulnerable families exposed to poverty and social exclusion), low-middle working class (usually public servants), new immigrants (not only foreigners), and new bourgeoisie (the latest, new owners of renovated apartments).

The area is characterized by an historical handcraft tradition: a report done in 2008 (S.I.Re.Na) catalogued 209 basements (bassi), of which 76 used for craft activities and 82 for commercial activities. Previously, in 1998, an Infocamere census counted 350 craft activities. This means that services sector substituted handcraft activities over the past years (see REVES, 2015). Since 1980s Spanish Quarters became a laboratory of continuous planning between several uncertainties, due to three main features (Pirozzi and Rossi-Doria, 2010): social exclusion and poverty of some families, high presence of early school leaving, and the political instability of public institutions.

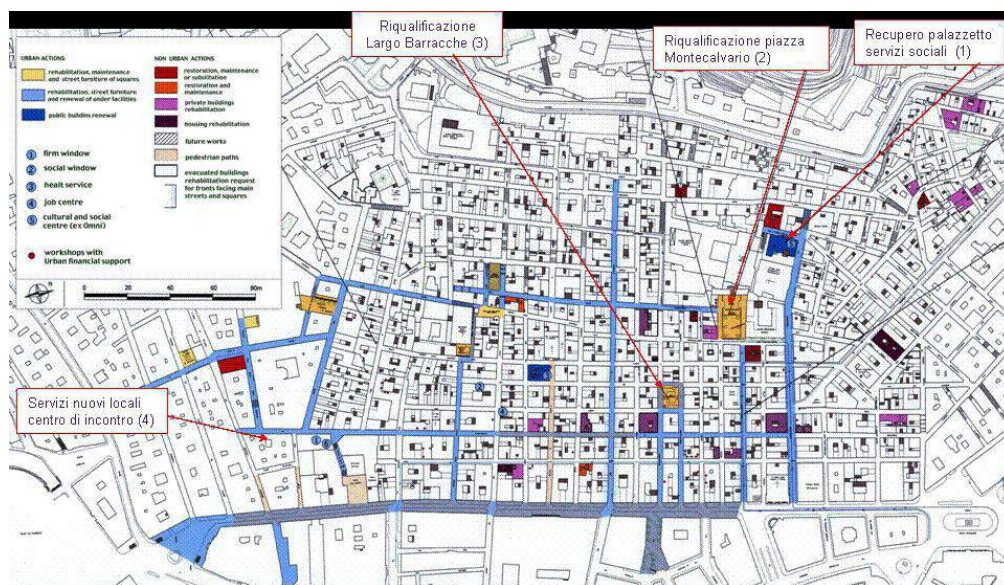


Figure 2 - URBAN implementation at Spanish Quarters.
 Legend: 1. Palazzetto URBAN; 2. Regeneration of piazza Montecalvario; 3. Regeneration of Largo Barracche; 4. New social services centre. Source: Laino (2012), REVES (2015)

During the 1990s the area turned into a construction site for place-based policies sustained by the Europeanization, during a phase of progressive local welfare, which represented the peak of a policy cycle not reproduced in the following years (Giovanni Laino, Interview, 20 October 2015). URBAN was an element of that important planning phase, it proposed some important spatial renewal to the area (see Figure 2), and produced heterogeneous outcomes.

4.2 URBAN AT SPANISH QUARTERS

URBAN CI at Naples was planned for the encouragement of local small-scale craft activities and the promotion of educational initiatives as area-based socio-health services, taking care the inhabitants' participation through a double-binded pathway: one related to social dimension, the other oriented to the regeneration of open public spaces (see Laino, 2012). On SQ, URBAN was influenced by Regie di Quartiere (Laino, 2002, 2012): a group of associations which act as local agency¹, promoting partnerships among municipalities, public housing operators and inhabitants' associations, and characterised by a strong territorial connotation and a pluralistic approach to the local economy. Here, the URBAN planning was much closer to the social policy field, in order to build relationships among local actors and public administrations. Indeed, the organisational structure was flexible and semi-informal (Lepore, 2002), whereas an intense partnership was designed as a guarantee of effectiveness, regarding the Measures 1 and 2 (support to local craft activities), and as a chance of empowerment, concerning the social activities of the fifth Measure (ibidem). Table 2 finds the main features of URBAN implementation at SQ (for a more detailed overview, see Lepore, 2002; REVES, 2015).

¹ Bonvin and Rosenstein, 2012 define the local agency as organisations that work for the inclusion and the activation of local population's *capability for voice*.

URBAN – SPANISH QUARTERS	
Programme	URBAN CI (I) 1994-1999
Sources of funding	Naples Municipality through EU funds
Financing	€ 693.214
Period of activity	1997-2001
Responsible of the implementation	Naples Municipality; delegation to the Alderman of social policy
Other stakeholders	Spanish Quarters Associations
Objectives 1-2: socio-economic	Support to local activities – support to education, formation, local employment, social services
Objectives 3: infrastructures - environment	Renovation of buildings dedicated to social services; Urban renewal
Objectives 4 -5: <i>weak-willed</i> (Lepore, 2002)	Seminars for maintenance and safety; Implementation and spreading of outcomes among inhabitants

Table 2 - Info about URBAN at Spanish Quarters of Naples
Source: author's construction based on REVES data (2015)

At SQ, URBAN paid more attention to the enhancement of the existing resources, «seen as ties with logical and formal rules repeatable or further improved through a good design» (Lepore, 2002: 156). The improvement of endogenous resources of the area was an idea by Professor Giovanni Laino, the planner of the Neapolitan URBAN experience:

The planner – Giovanni Laino – stimulated an intelligent thinking to the simple project of gentrification to attract trivial craft activities on the pretext of spreading new local enterprises, as happened in Cosenza or Salerno. However, in these two cities, the historical city centres has been emptied. On the contrary, here at SQ the idea was not to import craftsmen, but to reinforce the existing economies. Thus, through this idea the Objective 1 brought the best outcomes. (Daniela Lepore, Interview, 18 November 2015)

Despite the numerous initiatives and projects implemented by URBAN at SQ (see Figure 2, paragraph 4.1) only the first two Objectives brought the expected result, according to a locally based process. The support of local craft activities began in 1996 with a detailed research-action task aimed to an empirical census of local productive activities. Doctor Immacolata Voltura – who worked for the data-collection tasks – explained this census activity to me in an interview. Four local operators, two from SQ and two from Rione Sanità, three economists and an architect, composed the multidisciplinary team set up for the census, also to foster the integration between heterogeneous fields. The SQ area has been empirically examined street by street, with the aim to offer a complete overview of the economic situation, even reporting those activities which were not present in the Infocamere lists (provided by the Camera di Commercio), used as a preliminary document. Once concluded the empirical on-field census, planners promoted the renewal of craft workplaces through a call for financial aid and a contract notice for craftsmen. Meanwhile, a safety problem emerged in the area: the conformity with regulation 46/1990¹ obliged the provision of a new lighting rig to the streets of SQ that lead to via Toledo. Therefore, the need to secure the workplaces has prompted the former Alderman for Dignity – Maria Fortuna Incostante – to ask for the involvement of building supervisors and security experts in the renovation of craft activities. In this way, the renewal of workplaces was accompanied by an empirical evaluation of working conditions and security standards. Within six months, 148 renovation projects were successfully approved² and then finalised thanks to the EU funding and the credit institution Artigianacassa, which provided money for those craftsmen who could not guarantee 10% of the total expenditure, as requested by the Programme's guidelines. Alongside this research-action census activity, an initiative called sportello-impresa was developed «to create relationships of trust between URBAN administrative structure and the potential recipients» (Lepore, 2002: 75). This street-level office has been a great device to facilitate the relationship between the URBAN operators and the local craftsmen in the renovation project:

At the beginning, there was scepticism between the citizens. Once we obtained the sportello-impresa, we achieved more credibility and the inhabitants' understood the

¹ L. 3 March 1990, n. 46: Norme per la sicurezza degli impianti (Standard for the safety of installations)

² Immacolata Voltura, Interview (18 November 2015), see also Lepore (2002)

importance of the Programme. We were present on the area as “co-active” operators. (Immacolata Voltura, Interview, 17 November 2015)

The Spanish Quarters Association (SQA), lead by Professor Giovanni Laino and Anna Stanco, played an important role in the implementation of the socio-economic Objectives (1 and 2), promoting local actions strongly rooted with the urban area, thanks to a strong network. The close connection with the local context, channelled by the sportelli-impresa, had a positive impact on the calls for financial aids, which were ad hoc drawn up for QS. Sportelli-impresa together with the job centre was the main strength of the socio-economic Measure 2.

The job centres were temporary desks to help the inhabitants to find small jobs or training activities. The implementation of these devices has been possible thanks to SQA and its relationship with the area and its inhabitants. The micro-scale of the implementation of Objective 1 (renovation of craft activities) and 2 (sportelli-impresa and job centres) made possible a renewal of the area from the labour market side. For Measure 1, the voice of craftsmen has been stimulated by the street-level census, and the recipients of the renewal acts played an active role. Nevertheless, the support-services developed by Objective 2 declined over time, turning into an interim experience that did not generate a long-term planning to maintain a local welfare system (see Andreotti et. al., 2012; Bifulco, 2015, 2016) in SQ area:

URBAN at Naples was only an interlude concluded without a continuation in the following years. The whole programme not stimulated the start of a new welfare phase. Today, the only local welfare structures in the area are those of SQA planning. (Daniela Lepore, Interview, 18 November 2015)

This comment enables to introduce the weaknesses of URBAN at SQ that shows the reasons why it is possible to state a missed territorialisation process. The URBAN framework and guidelines were successfully applied for Objective 1 and – partially – Objective 2. However, Objective 3 (infrastructures and environment, i.e. urban renewal) and 4-5 (safety and citizens’ participation) reveal a lack of locally based planning, thus the results are incomplete – in the case of Objective 3 – or even non-existent.

4.3 A MISSED TERRITORIALISATION

The main differences between the first Objectives and the others can be found in the governance field. The renewal of craft activities was supported by a well-structured policy-making, where the Municipality (thanks to the Alderman Maria Fortuna Incostante) and the planners (led by Giovanni Laino) worked together. On the contrary, for the Measure 3 (infrastructures and environment) proposed urban renewal interventions with non-linear governance (Lepore, 2002b). Almost twenty years later, the aims of an urban requalification oriented to «caring of places», have not been realised.

The case of ex-OMNI building is an example of this inefficiency. In 1997 Antonio Bassolino – the former mayor of Naples – glimpsed a more dynamic period for SQ, thus he decided to expand the URBAN planning adding Palazzetto URBAN at the ex-OMNI building, an abandoned kindergarten acquired with URBAN funds and then transformed into a multifunctional structure with aggregating duties and service to citizens. It was opened in 1998 and its utilisation has still constantly increased: from 13.546 accesses in 2006 to 21.474 in 2009 (Cherubino, Pierce, 2011, in REVES, 2015). 12.151 entrances during the first months of 2010 were encouraging. However, in June 2010, the municipality of Naples decided to change the current structure into an accommodation service for evacuated families due to building collapses, cleaning out the previous social service activity.

The closing of Palazzetto URBAN was a watershed. The Palazzetto had become a reference point of the area, but its transformation in an accommodation area for displaced families demonstrated the institutional lack of interest to maintain Palazzetto URBAN, because actually other spaces were available for that emergency. (Daria Esposito, Interview, 14 October 2015)

In the governance of Objective 3 the municipality started the planning of social service and then it began to take over more and more spaces where to place not so innovative services, such as the police headquarter or the health service desk, that were already

existing. Afterwards, it also transformed the Palazzetto URBAN, deleting an innovative and inclusive street-level service. Moreover, the Objectives 4 and 5, dedicated to social inclusion and citizens' participation, were not implemented at all. The attention on Naples was more on the other Objectives, but in Objective 3, for instance, a lot of money was not spent, hence some architects decided to include the pedestrianisation of via Toledo in URBAN planning. Actually, it was not a specific project for Spanish Quarters and it brought some traffic problems to the historical area, temporarily solved by a local bus. (Daniela Lepore, Interview, 18 November 2015)¹

The pedestrianisation of Via Toledo was an ex-post side project desired more by the Municipality rather than by inhabitants. «It was planned with a loophole to bypass the spending efforts and underline the hidden aspects of the Programme» (Lepore, 2002b: 164), but in practice it overlapped the communitarian approach of URBAN with simple restyling aims. The more visible urban renewal project also had unexpected results. A demonstration is the renovation of Largo Barracche, an area previously dedicated to illegal traffics.

At the beginning, URBAN proposed the placement of a soccer field, but the consultation with inhabitants opted for a playground area dedicated to kids. Just one year after the requalification, the area returned to a state of abandonment (see Figure 3).

The renewal of Largo Barracche has gone wrong. Once the playground was built, the area has been damaged; the bench were burned due to unknown reasons, but I suppose it has something to do with organized crime. For the basement located under the square, a community centre with inclusive duties was designed, but it has never been realised. (Daniela Lepore, Interview, 18 November 2015)

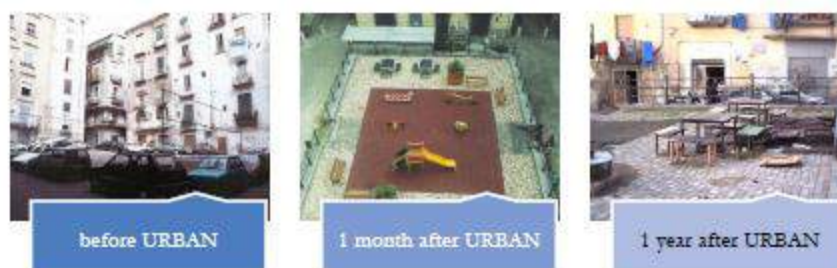


Figure 3. Evolution of Largo Barracche: before, 1 month after and 1 year after URBAN. Source: kind concession by Professor Daniela Lepore

Today, Largo Barracche comes as a square without any service, facilities or community centres (see Figure 4). The playground has never been renovated and the basement is empty since 2011. A significant European Programme did not completely develop an area-based planning due to a weak relationship with the local milieu in the governance of urban renewal projects, and the significant experience of Palazzetto URBAN was not reproduced elsewhere in SQ area. A territorialisation process did not completely take place.



Figure 4. Largo Barracche, October 2015. Source: author's photo

¹ For further details about the side-project of via Toledo, see Lepore (2002c), Approfondimento. Il Progetto sponda Via Toledo, in L'attivazione e l'uso dei progetti sponda a Napoli

Piazza Montecalvario, unlike Largo Barracche, has been completely transformed. During the 1980s, the square was used as a car-parking area without any criteria, then repaved and pedestrianized through URBAN. Shortly after, the square was vandalized, and a requalification project was completed in 2013 thanks to the opening of a subway exit (stop Toledo), which gave a new face to one of the biggest squares of Spanish Quarters. Moreover, Istituto Paisiello, the most important educational institute of the area, is located there, and it was the recipient of a PON 2007-2013, financed by European Social Funds. However, after this important renewal, Largo Montecalvario has not changed (see Figure 5). Overall, the implementation of URBAN at SQ was focused on a normalization of the area (Lepore, 2002), aimed to reconstruct the urban open spaces, to turn abandoned buildings into areas for social scopes, and to renovate public facilities (street lighting, traffic signs and public transports). However, in a framework characterized by both integration and Europeanization of the local practices, URBAN at SQ did not affect¹ the territorialisation process. A complete integration of social and urban issues within the local rescaling of welfare policies did not take place, except for those projects developed with the help of Spanish Quarters Association.



Figure 5. Largo Montecalvario, October 2015. Source: author's photo

URBAN at Spanish Quarters did not bring the expected results and twenty years later it can be identified as an important European planning disappeared into a simply useful but uneven requalification. The important opportunity of activating a new kind of planning influenced by URBAN practices was not exploited. The success of Measure 1 was due to a great understanding of specific characters of SQ area, made possible by the network of relationship built by SQA during several years, since the 1970s. In the European URBAN framework, Spanish Quarters Association has been able to catch its important economic resources, put into practice the URBAN guidelines where was possible. SQA played an important role in stimulating the participation of local-level groups in the implementation of the Programme. Indeed, «the inclusion of local authorities in partnership mechanisms with economic and social bodies as an essential was viewed as essential for tackling urban deprivation» (CEC, 1998: 6). This inclusive relationship was built just for the renovation of craft activities, but more generally, the regeneration of the area has been more urban than social, hence the combined regeneration of place and people did not happen, providing only short-term effects. The absence of long-term effects is due to the inability of local administrations to pursue an area-based planning and to learn from the approach proposed by URBAN. In Naples, as stated by professor Lepore, a new phase of integrated policy did not begin, and when the former mayor Antonio Bassolino moved to Regional government, followed by Alderman Maria Fortuna Incostante, a gap in Naples municipality was not filled, and the local welfare remained a weak topic in the urban agenda of the Municipality.

A territorialisation of social policies has partially taken place with URBAN CI. If we look at an integrated approach to the local areas, this happened in Naples on a small-scale. The Objective 1 triggered some labour activities reinvigorating their productivity. Today, new pathways for local approaches on local scale should be proposed by the

¹ PON 2007-2013 was a National Programme to renovate school buildings, financed through ESF (European Social Funds) and the European Regional Development Fund. A second 2014-2020 phase is established.

governmental institutions, but this has never happened, and SQA has been left alone in the local welfare planning for SQ. (Immacolata Voltura, Interview, 17 November 2015)

SQA is still the main local agency of the area, it launched an area-based social planning long time before URBAN, juggling among several uncertainties, due to three contextual factors: (1) the extent of premature social exclusion of NEET, (2) the absence of a vocational way out from compulsory education, and (3) the unreliability of local institutional administrations, unable to consolidate the existing good practices over time (Pirozzi and Rossi Doria, 2010). This pluralistic approach for urban regeneration implies «a research-action process [...] of designing and implementation of social spaces for regeneration, that can take years to occur, in a pathway not free of setbacks and re-definitions» (Laino, 1999: 79). This process did not precede the implementation of URBAN at Naples, except for Measure 1. Although the Programme was based on partnership principle (CEC, 1999), at Naples it put into practice a downgrading of local resources due to «an opposition to recognize and strengthen the already existing local actors» (Lepore, 2002: 164). This lack of local engagement was observed also for other URBAN implementations (see Carpenter, 2006: 2155).

5 CONCLUSION

The specificities of URBAN CI at SQ outline a framework where the territorialisation of local welfare was just partially developed, and the principles that drove the Programme were not fully applied, except for Objective 1, where the voice of craftsmen has been included in planning activity. This last part of the paper aims to identify the social perspectives of urban regeneration, in the light of the theoretical framework and the analysis of URBAN experience at SQ. The outcomes of the renovation of craft activities provide us a recommendation: to strengthen the social inclusion of inhabitants in planning projects designed to their neighbourhood, the role of a local agency which manages the relationship between the local milieu and the institutional programme is fundamental. In the governance of a programme like URBAN, focused on social cohesion within urban regeneration, local actors determine the effectiveness of the results. The lack experienced by Objectives 3, 4 and 5 shows that the focus on social cohesion is weak if not sustained by a strong knowledge of the specificities of each local context. As we saw for the renovation of Largo Barracche and Piazza Montecalvario, a European Programme is able to develop a top-down planning, even if it is focused on a communitarian approach. The rigidity of timeline and guideline of URBAN has met with the peculiarities of SQ, affecting the bottom-up aims. Therefore, it is important to look at the urban regeneration of deprived areas with a less naïve conceptualization. «Frequently, there is a research-action phase, characterized by the dissemination of opportunities, the ideation and implementation of requalification of social spaces, in a process that can take a long time, not without risks and possible mistakes» (Laino, 1999: 79). Except for Objective 1, this kind of process did not take place at the Neapolitan URBAN and the experts noticed «an opposition to acknowledge the existent local networks» (Lepore, 2002: 164), therefore the importance of social aspects was particularly limited. What was missed in URBAN at SQ was a shared definition of the main general aims and constraints. On the contrary, the governance of the programme preferred to work towards procedures instead of towards aims, i.e. without a more flexible policy-making adapted to the particularities of the neighbourhood. This approach, for instance, took place in the transformation of Largo Barracche, where the voice of some inhabitants pushed for the construction of a playground instead of a soccer field. Unfortunately, the following planning did not proceed on the same way.

The theoretical framework of the paper identifies the territorialisation of welfare (see Kazepov, 2009; Bifulco, 2015, 2017; et al.) as the best fit for area-based initiatives where to include the capability for voice (Sen, 1992) of inhabitants, but this frame has to be supported by a practice of adaptation to the local context, characterized by two features: on one hand, it needs a dancer planner, i.e. a «professional requirement for designing and planning urban regeneration among different re-elaborations, experimentations, negotiations and redefinition of the problems» (Laino, 1999: 96), opened to error-friendly practices and able to keep the attention more on the objectives of the programme than on the procedures of the planning activities. On the other hand, the adaptation on neighbourhoods' peculiarities needs a reflective practice (Schön, 1993) to cope with the agency of the inhabitants, that is not a precondition but the outcome of a training path which takes into account all the environmental characteristics of the area, the spoken communications of the inhabitants (Pirozzi and Rossi-Doria, 2010) and the local milieu where to stimulate capabilities in a pluralistic planning framework. Not by chance, «the participation of local-level interest-groups in all the phases of the programme» (CEC, 1998, in Choriantopoulos, 2002: 714), was a key

novel aspect of URBAN, viewed as essential «for tackling urban deprivation and promoting economic competitiveness» (ibidem). At SQ, the only Objective 1 and 2 experienced this approach, whereas the other Objectives were not enough focused on the local-level groups, indeed, the urban deprivation has been tackled just with physical projects that ended with the conclusion of URBAN. A reflexive practice was not developed for the entire URBAN, and the local administration did not reproduce the potentialities of the Programme in other subsequent initiatives. On the contrary, SQA (Spanish Quarter Association) has been able to develop a reflexive practice in the regeneration process of SQ, thanks to strong ties between its planner Giovanni Laino and the local milieu of SQ. It is not by chance that since late 1970s SQA produced several innovative projects aimed to strengthen the endogenous resources of SQ's inhabitants. This NGO association acts as a local agency for the co-production of social policies «taking into account local expertise and knowledge, as well as local circumstances [...] promoting a reflexive and situated view of public action» (Bonvin, Rosenstein, 2012: 75). Local agencies here are identified as important devices to promote a kind of planning like that proposed for URBAN.

The main weaknesses of URBAN implementation at SQ, i.e. a missed territorialisation of welfare which only produced a physical restructuring on the one hand, and the lack of a learning-by-doing approach in a reflexive way, on the other hand, fits with the limitations noticed also for the whole URBAN planning at European level. Indeed, the importance of more precise conceptualisation of urban governance differences in the EU policy-making process became increasingly apparent (Chorianopulos, 2002). URBAN at Naples confirms that area-based approach is useful policy tool to cope with urban deprivation, when applied in city policy framework that work in the same direction and aimed to concretely generate social inclusion and social cohesion through an on-going process. Area-based policies need support from local administrations and a deep knowledge of urban deprivations, to be most effective. This support and this knowledge were more in the hand of Spanish Quarters Association instead of Naples Municipality.

URBAN has contributed to demonstrating how is possible to create the conditions to improve wellbeing in deprived urban areas through an area-based planning. But it appears that the key to tackling deep-rooted disadvantage in urban neighbourhoods lies in complementary macro policies that address the structural causes of poverty and disadvantage. It is through a combination of macro and micro policies that those facing deprivation in Europe's most disadvantaged neighbourhoods have the greatest chance of moving out of poverty (Carpenter, 2006). Atkinson (2000), in the same way, argues that area-based initiatives need a support by wider policies (on the economy, employment, social protection)—in other words, place-based policies need to be integrated with people-based policies.

In Spanish Quarters, URBAN has been a significant European Programme that brought physical improvement to the area, but it yielded concrete outcomes only for the Objective 1, where Spanish Quarters Association played an important role for the social cohesion aims. In addition, the local administration did not plan other initiatives or projects based on URBAN framework. SQA continued, sometimes alone, the planning activity to deal with urban deprivation of SQ through participative processes aimed to social cohesion. Its long experience (see Laino, 2012, 2015) paved the way for new projects of social innovation within SQ area, developed from the third sector. The social perspectives of urban regeneration define an integrated approach between the physical renovations and the in-depth relationship with local environment, on one hand, and between European and local administration on the other hand, for a well-structured participatory governance, where the local institutions are informed about the patterns of deprivation of the fragile areas. Without these forms of integration, social cohesion and participation remain simple assumptions just added in the urban regeneration discourse, but not developed in planning activity.

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ID 1587 | LEVELS AND SCOPE OF PARTICIPATED PROJECTS: CASE STUDIES IN THE PORTUGUESE CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT: In Portugal, there has been a growing concern, in recent years, about the participation of citizens in architectural and political decisions. The ineffectiveness of the traditional processes of participation of the democratic system proves incapable of responding to the contemporary problems of the citizens. In parallel it has been seen in recent years the deepening of the economic and financial crisis of 2007/2008, which, in Portugal, led to a sharp rise in the levels of unemployment in the architecture market. The lack of commissioning of building projects and plans, that had previously generated work, led to new concepts and approaches in particular in newly formed architects. On the one hand, there have been numerous collectives of architects motivated by issues related to political intervention and dynamics of social and territorial innovation. On the other hand, political decision-makers implemented new participatory instruments to support decision, such as Orçamento Participativo (Participatory Budget). This program has been implemented widely among municipalities in Portugal. Citizens' participation in project decisions is a recurring theme in the 1960s and 1970s, which reappears with a new configuration at the beginning of the XXI century. These days are marked by years of economic crisis and the universe of facilitated circulation of information in a wide network system accessed by a large number of citizens. However, some questions arise concerning the levels and scope of participation. Since a conventional project involves a certain level of involvement of decision-makers, architects and users (Carlo, 2010), two questions arise: how can we now achieve a higher level of participation and involvement of stakeholders (citizens, Architects, policy-makers) in the project? How can we achieve a real bottom-up procedure, in which context problems find the best formal solution (Alexander, 1964), during a process implemented in most cases by groups of architects outside the community of citizens for whom they work? Starting from a reflection on SAAL, a housing program promoted by the Central Government in the post-revolution period of April 1974, research is carried out through the assessment of the participation level (Arnstein, 1969) of referred participated