ID 1545 l 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 programmesaimed to the regeneration of deprived areas through a participatory approach (Fioretti, 2015). The social issuewas definitely introduced into the debate about urban regeneration in the first half of 1990s, also becauseduring the previous two decades, several urban areas across Europe experienced economic, social andenvironmental disadvantages (Wacquant, 2008; Cremaschi and Eckardt, 2011; et. al.). Within the urbanregeneration policies and strategic planning cultural framework of the 1990s, «stakeholders involvements andcivic 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 convertparticipatory practices from episodic experiences to ordinary institutionalized practices in order to set upinclusive practices and collaborative tables among the complex network of stakeholders. Within thisframework, the urban regeneration of those deprived urban areas looks at the social cohesion, in order togenerate not only physical and urban transformations, but also to produce well-being, working on theimprovement of local milieu and local resources, deterred by social exclusion processes that cross avulnerable neighbourhood. The attention to the participatory and inclusive practices paved the way for acombined policy framework between urban renewal and social cohesion, where the urban regenerationprocess can be defined through an area-based approach focused on the social issues, looking at the local welfaresystem (Andreotti et. al, 2012; Bifulco, 2015), that can be developed in order to generate well-being. Accordingto these assumptions, the paper grounds its reflection on the implementation of the well-known EuropeanCommunity 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 historicalcity 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 asocial perspective of urban regeneration on the micro neighbourhood-scale. According to these assumptions, thepaper looks for the answers to the following research questions: how can we look at the social aspects of theurban regeneration process in a deprived neighbourhood? How important is the role of local milieu in thisregeneration process? How the urban planners can work to include citizens' in an urban regenerationprocess? In this respect, the case of URBAN implementation on Spanish Quarters in Naples – an experienceconcluded two decades ago – provides some indications. The theoretical framework is an analytical bridgebetween 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, andthe rest of the

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paper analyses its implementation at Spanish Quarters of Naples. The conclusions illustrate themain 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 andnarrative 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, asocial operator proficient in assistance programmes for NEETs. The paper does not evaluate the wholeURBANI CI at European level, but it is more focused on the area-based planning on Spanish Quarters atNaples, analysed from a sociological viewpoint.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Following the participatory framework outlined during the 1990s, the 2014-2020 period ofEuropean policy-making has put the urban dimension at the centre of Cohesion Policy system, in an interwovenrelationship with environmental, economic, cultural and social issues. A core point of the 2014-2020 agendais the integration, seen as a keyword for the EU's Urban Agenda policies in order to cope with the urbandeprivations and disadvantages emerged during the last three decades. It is not by chance that since the 1980spublic policies in Europe have undergone «an increasing process of territorialisation, which has mainlyconcerned two intertwined phenomena: the territorial reorganization of public powers and the tendency totake the territory as the reference point for policies and interventions» (Bifulco, 2016: 628). The focus on theterritory stimulated new approaches to tackle the high concentration of social, environmental and economicproblems of certain urban areas. Since the first half of 1990s, European Union has started to promotecommunitarian initiatives dedicated to disadvantaged urban areas, «pursuing an integrated approach that takesaccount of all dimensions of urban life»[1], and looks at the regeneration of disadvantaged urban areas togetherwith measures to combat social exclusion and to upgrade the quality of environments. A hybridization processhas increasingly took 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 andunder construction» (Governa and Salone, 2004: 797), where to stimulate citizens' participation and interinstitutionalrelationships, working on the neighbourhood-scale of urban regeneration. This perspective takesinto account citizens' needs, understanding and identifying the most critical problems that afflict a specificurban area, considering the voice[2] of its inhabitants. Hirschman (1970) identifies the voice-option as «a generaloutcry addressed to anybody willing to pay attention and listen to» (Hirschman, 1970: 13), trying to changethe already existent practices. The voice-option is a dimension of the capabilities (Sen, 1992, et. al.) that activatescitizens' agency, providing their positive freedom to choice. 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 tosocial 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 localwelfare system looks for the possible resources that can be activated for the renewal of an urban area within acombined empowerment of places and people. The core principle of this combination is that the policy for placesmust not be divided from those for people, but nevertheless, for several years these policy fields remained apartfrom each other, and the urban issue overwhelmed the social one (Donzelot, 2008). To overcome thisdistinction, the need of an integrated approach has arisen in order to promote «the action on the territorialscope as a leverage to rearrange what public policies treated separately in the past» (Bifulco and de Leonardis,2006), assuming the urban areas as a resources and setting for the public action within an area-basedperspective (Parkinson, 1998). This theoretical configuration between the capability approach and theterritorialisation

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[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 strongrelationship with the local milieu are enhanced. Before presenting the Neapolitan case, the paper introducesthe 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 thehousing growth and infrastructural policies, on the other hand, the intention to continue the successful urbanrequalification policies on neighbourhood-scale realised from the second half of 1980s, particularly in Centraland 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-doingapproach 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) economiccompetitiveness, (3) sustainable development, (4) promotion of equal opportunities and (5) integration ofimmigrants. The European Commission emphasized the role of the cities as territorial scope to set the socialexclusion problems in a relationship with the urban renewal; 118 European cities were involved, of which sixteenItalians in the first edition and ten in the second one. A communitarian approach was designed «to addressurban deprivation through an integrated approach to the problems faced by run-down neighbourhoods, usinga partnership approach that involved local authorities and target communities to design and implement theprogramme» (Carpenter, 2006: 2148). Due to the heterogeneity of its objectives, the Programme was dividedinto 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-institutionalintegration, 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 anexperimentation that yielded positive outcomes, both on the target areas and on the administrations that haverearranged themselves in an unprecedented ways (Palermo, in Balducci, 2001: 11). The contents of URBANaffected 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 case[1].

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

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[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).

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

About the financing, a total of 900 million euros of EU investment was allocated, althoughEuropean Commission has spent only 720 million euros by June 2003. The expenditure was divided asfollows: 38% for physical and environmental regeneration, 32% for entrepreneurships activities, 23% for thesocial inclusion projects, 6% to technical and IT assistance, and 2% for «other types of initiatives», strictlyrelated to the particularities of each city (Carpenter, 2006). About Naples, the European URBANCommission 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 ofCertosa di San Martino, in Naples' historical centre. Its urban structure is «a dense gridiron founded during theSpanish domination (15th century) […] unaltered over the centuries» (Lieto, 2013: 148).Figure 1 - Identification and boundaries of Spanish Quarters.
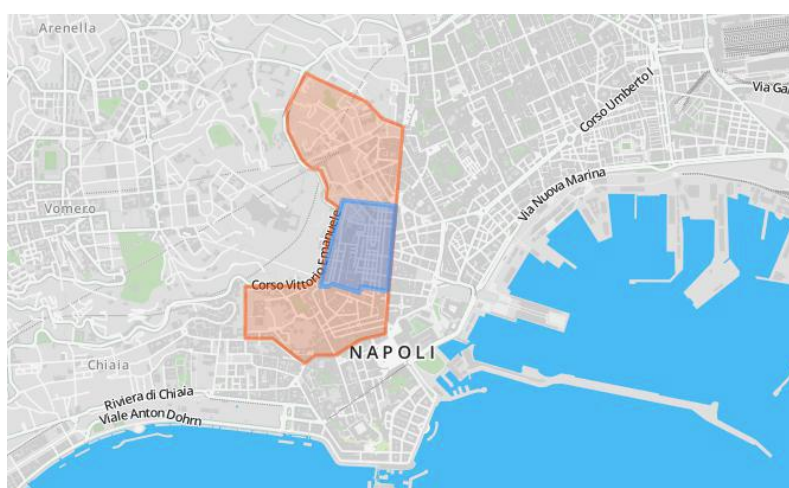
Legend. Blue area: historical Spanish Quarters; Orange area: large Spanish Quarters area.
Source: author's construction with Open street map based on REVES data (2015).

Traditionally, «SQ is the area bounded by via Toledo to the east, Augusteo-Ponzano axis to thesouth, 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-sectoridentify a wider area with similar cultural identities from Chiaia at South to Montesanto at North (see theorange 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, despiteits central position. Therefore, the area remained isolated from the urban dynamics and exposed to thecriminal organisations. Since 20th century the neighbourhood has turned into a front door of Naples forheterogeneous social classes, from middle-classes to immigrants until new bourgeoise (see Laino, 2001, 2012)[1].

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[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).

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The area is characterized by an historical handcraft tradition: a report done in 2008 (S.I.Re.Na) catalogued209 basements (bassi), of which 76 used for craft activities and 82 for commercial activities. Previously, in1998, an Infocamere census counted 350 craft activities. This means that services sector substituted handcraftactivities over the past years (see REVES, 2015). Since 1980s Spanish Quarters became a laboratory ofcontinuous 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 politicalinstability of public institutions.
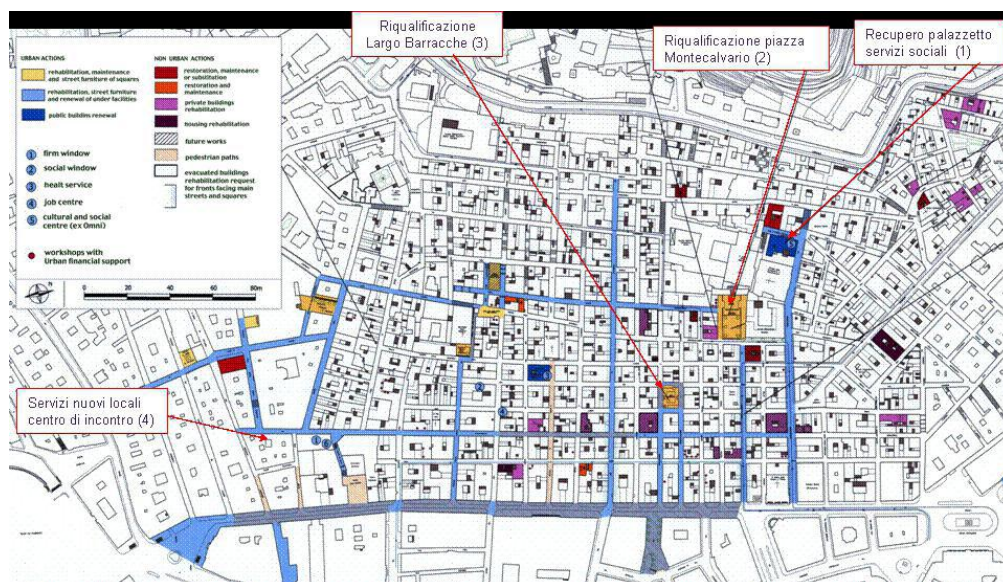

Figure 2 - URBAN implementation at Spanish Quarters.
Legend: 1. Palazzetto URBAN; 2. Regeneration of piazza Montecalvario; 3. Regeneration of Largo Barracche;
4. New social services centre. Source: Laino (2012), REVES (2015)

During the 1990s the area turned into a construction site for place-based policies sustained by theEuropeanization, during a phase of progressive local welfare, which represented the peak of a policy cycle notreproduced in the following years (Giovanni Laino, Interview, 20 October 2015). URBAN was an element ofthat important planning phase, it proposed some important spatial renewal to the area (see Figure 2), andproduced heterogeneous outcomes.

4.2 URBAN AT SPANISH QUARTERS

URBAN CI at Naples was planned for the encouragement of local small-scale craft activities andthe 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 theregeneration 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 agency[1], promoting partnerships amongmunicipalities, public housing operators and inhabitants' associations, and characterised by a strong territorialconnotation and a pluralistic approach to the local economy. Here, the URBAN planning was much closer tothe 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 partnershipwas designed as a guarantee of effectiveness, regarding the Measures 1 and 2 (support to local craft activities), andas a chance of empowerment, concerning the social activities of the fifth Measure (ibidem). Table 2 finds the mainfeatures of URBAN implementation at SQ (for a more detailed overview, see Lepore, 2002; REVES, 2015).

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[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*.

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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: *weak-willed* (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 tieswith logical and formal rules repeatable or further improved through a good design» (Lepore, 2002: 156). Theimprovement of endogenous resources of the area was an idea by Professor Giovanni Laino, the planner ofthe Neapolitan URBAN experience:

> *The planner – Giovanni Laino – stimulated an intelligent thinking to the simple project ofgentrification to attract trivial craft activities on the pretext of spreading new local enterprises, ashappened in Cosenza or Salerno. However, in these two cities, the historical city centres hasbeen emptied. On the contrary, here at SQ the idea was not to import craftsmen, but toreinforce the existing economies. Thus, through this idea the Objective 1 brought the bestoutcomes. (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 empiricalcensus 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 RioneSanità, three economists and an architect, composed the multidisciplinary team set up for the census, also tofoster the integration between heterogeneous fields. The SQ area has been empirically examined street bystreet, with the aim to offer a complete overview of the economic situation, even reporting those activitieswhich were not present in the Infocamere lists (provided by the Camera di Commercio), used as a preliminarydocument. Once concluded the empirical on-field census, planners promoted the renewal of craft workplacesthrough a call for financial aid and a contract notice for craftsmen. Meanwhile, a safety problem emerged in thearea: the conformity with regulation 46/1990[1] obliged the provision of a new lighting rig to the streets of SQthat 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 expertsin the renovation of craft activities. In this way, the renewal of workplaces was accompanied by an empiricalevaluation of working conditions and security standards. Within six months, 148 renovation projects weresuccessfully approved[2] and then finalised thanks to the EU funding and the credit institution Artigiancassa,which provided money for those craftsmen who could not guarantee 10% of the total expenditure, asrequested by the Programme's guidelines. Alongside this research-action census activity, an initiative calledsportello-impresa was developed «to create relationships of trust between URBAN administrative structure andthe potential recipients» (Lepore, 2002: 75). This street-level office has been a great device to facilitate therelationship between the URBAN operators an the local craftsmen in the renovation project:

> *At the beginning, there was scepticism between the citizens. Once we obtained the sportelloimpresa, we achieved more credibility and the inhabitants' understood the*

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[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 theProgramme. 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, playedan important role in the implementation of the socio-economic Obejctives (1 and 2), promoting local actionsstrongly 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 upfor 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. Theimplementation of these devices has been possible thanks to SQA and its relationship with the area and itsinhabitants. 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 Measure1, the voice of craftsmen has been stimulated by the street-level census, and the recipients of the renewal actsplayed an active role. Nevertheless, the support-services developed by Objective 2 declined over time, turninginto an interim experience that did not generated a long-term planning to maintain a local welfare system (seeAndreotti 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 localwelfare structures in the area are those of SQA planning. (Daniela Lepore, Interview, 18November 2015)*

This comment enables to introduce the weaknesses of URBAN at SQ that shows the reasons whyis possible to state a missed territorialisation process. The URBAN framework and guidelines were successfullyapplied 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 theresults 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 governancefield. 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) workedtogether. On the contrary, for the Measure 3 (infrastructures and environment) proposed urban renewalinterventions with non-linear governance (Lepore, 2002b). Almost twenty years later, the aims of an urbanrequalification 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 withURBAN funds and then transformed into a multifunctional structure with aggregating duties and service tocitizens. It was opened in 1998 and its utilisation has still constantly increased: from 13.546 accesses in 2006to 21.474 in 2009 (Cherubino, Pierce, 2011, in REVES, 2015). 12.151 entrances during the first months of2010 were encouraging. However, in June 2010, the municipality of Naples decided to change the currentstructure into an accommodation service for evacuated families due to building collapses, cleaning out theprevious social service activity.

> *The closing of Palazzetto URBAN was a watershed. The Palazzetto had become a reference pointof the area, but its transformation in an accommodation area for displaced families demonstratethe institutional lack of interest to maintain Palazzetto URBAN, because actually other spaceswere 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 thenit began to take over more and more spaces where to place not so innovative services, such asthe police headquarter or the health service desk, that were already*

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existing. Afterwards, it alsotransformed the Palazzetto URBAN, deleting an innovative and inclusive street-level service.Moreover, the Objectives 4 and 5, dedicated to social inclusion and citizens' participation, werenot implemented at all. The attention on Naples was more on the other Objectives, but inObjective 3, for instance, a lot of money was not spent, hence some architects decided toinclude the pedestrianisation of via Toledo in URBAN planning. Actually, it was not a specificproject 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 Municipalityrather than by inhabitants. «It was planned with a loophole to bypass the spending efforts and underline thehidden aspects of the Programme» (Lepore, 2002b: 164), but in practice it overlapped the communitarianapproach of URBAN with simple restyling aims. The more visible urban renewal project also had unexpectedresults. 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 astate of abandonment (see Figure 3).

The renewal of Largo Barracche has gone wrong. Once the playground was built, the area hasbeen damaged; the bench were burned due to unknown reasons, but I suppose it has somethingto do with organized crime. For the basement located under the square, a community centrewith inclusive duties was designed, but it has never been realised. (Daniela Lepore, Interview, 18November 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 (seeFigure 4). The playground has never been renovated and the basement is empty since 2011. A significantEuropean Programme did not completely develop an area-based planning due to a weak relationship with thelocal milieu in the governance of urban renewal projects, and the significant experience of Palazzetto URBANwas not reproduced elsewhere in SQ area. A territorialisation process did not completely take place.

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

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[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

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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 throughURBAN. Shortly after, the square was vandalized, and a requalification project was completed in 2013 thanksto the opening of a subway exit (stop Toledo), which gave a new face to one of the biggest square of SpanishQuarters. Moreover, Istituto Paisiello, the most important educational institute of the area, is located there, and itwas the recipient of a PON 2007-2013[9], financed by European Social Funds. However, after this importantrenewal, 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 frameworkcharacterized by both integration and Europeanization of the local practices, URBAN at SQ did not affected[1] the territorialisation process. A complete integration of social and urban issues within the local rescaling of welfare policies did not took 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 beidentified 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 notexploited. The success of Measure 1 was due to a great understanding of specific characters of SQ area, madepossible by the network of relationship built by SQA during several years, since the 1970s. In the EuropeanURBAN framework, Spanish Quarters Association has been able to catch its important economic resources, putinto practice the URBAN guidelines where was possible. SQA played an important role in stimulating theparticipation of local-level groups in the implementation of the Programme. Indeed, «the inclusion of localauthorities in partnership mechanisms with economic and social bodies as an essential was viewed as essentialfor tackling urban deprivation» (CEC, 1998: 6). This inclusive relationship was built just for the renovation ofcraft activities, but more generally, the regeneration of the area has been more urban than social, hence thecombined regeneration of place and people did not happened, providing only short-term effects. The absenceof long-term effects is due to the inability of local administrations to pursue an area-based planning and tolearn from the approach proposed by URBAN. In Naples, as stated by professor Lepore, a new phase ofintegrated policy did not begin, and when the former major Antonio Bassolino moved to Regionalgovernment, 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 anintegrated 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 localapproaches on local scale should be proposed by the

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

governmental institutions, but this hasnever happened, and SQA has been left alone in the local welfare planning for SQ. (ImmacolataVoltura, Interview, 17 November 2015)

SQA is still the main local agency of the area, it launched an area-based social planning long timebefore URBAN, juggling among several uncertainties, due to three contextual factors: (1) the extent ofpremature 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 practicesover time (Pirozzi and Rossi Doria, 2010). This pluralistic approach for urban regeneration implies «aresearch-action process […] of designing and implementation of social spaces for regeneration, that can takesyears to occur, in a pathway not free of setbacks and re-definitions» (Laino, 1999: 79). This process did notprecede the implementation of URBAN at Naples, except for Measure 1. Although the Programme wasbased on partnership principle (CEC, 1999), at Naples it put into practice a downgrading of local resources dueto «an opposition to recognize and strengthen the already existing local actors» (Lepore, 2002: 164). This lackof 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 localwelfare was just partially developed, and the principles that drove the Programme were not fully applied,expect for Objective 1, where the voice of craftsmen has been included in planning activity. This last part ofthe paper aims to identify the social perspectives of urban regeneration, in the light of the theoreticalframework and the analysis of URBAN experience at SQ. The outcomes of the renovation of craft activitiesprovide us a recommendation: to strengthen the social inclusion of inhabitants in planning projects designedto their neighbourhood, the role of a local agency which manage the relationship between the local milieu andthe institutional programme is fundamental. In the governance of a programme like URBAN, focused onsocial cohesion within urban regeneration, local actors determine the effectiveness of the results. The lacksexperienced by Objectives 3, 4 and 5 shows that the focus on social cohesion is weak if not sustained by astrong knowledge of the specificities of each local context. As we saw for the renovation of Largo Barraccheand Piazza Montecalvario, a European Programme is able to develop a top-down planning, even if it is focusedon a communitarian approach. The rigidity of timeline and guideline of URBAN has met with thepeculiarities of SQ, affecting the bottom-up aims. Therefore, is important to look at the urban regeneration ofdeprived areas with a less naïve conceptualization. «Frequently, there is a research-action phase, characterizedby the dissemination of opportunities, the ideation and implementation of requalification of social spaces, in aprocess that can takes a long time, not without risks and possible mistakes» (Laino, 1999: 79). Expect forObjective 1, this kind of process did not take place at the Neapolitan URBAN and the experts noticed «anopposition to acknowledge the existent local networks» (Lepore, 2002: 164), therefore the importance ofsocial 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 programme preferred to work towardsprocedures instead of toward aims, i.e. without a more flexible policy-making adapted to the particularities of theneighbourhood. This approach, for instance, took place in the transformation of Largo Barracche, where thevoice 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 filed 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 fordesigning and planning urban regeneration among different re-elaborations, experimentations, negotiationsand redefinition of the problems» (Laino, 1999: 96), opened to error-friendly practices and able to keep theattention more on the objectives of the programme than on the procedures of the planning activities. On theother hand, the adaptation on neighbourhoods' peculiarities needs a reflective practice (Schön, 1993) to cope withthe agency of the inhabitants, that is not a precondition but the outcome of a training path which takes intoaccount all the environmental characteristics of the area, the spoken communications of the inhabitants (Pirozzi andRossi-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 Chorianopoulos, 2002: 714), was a key

novel aspect of URBAN, viewed as essential «for tacklingurban deprivation and promoting economic competitiveness» (ibidem). At SQ, the only Objective 1 and 2experienced 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 ofURBAN. A reflexive practice was not developed for the entire URBAN, and the local administration did notreproduced 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 thatsince late 1970s SQA produced several innovative projects aimed to strengthen the endogenous resources ofSQ's inhabitants. This NGO association acts as a local agency for the co-production of social policies «takinginto account local expertise and knowledge, as well as local circumstances [...] promoting a reflexive andsituated view of public action» (Bonvin, Rosenstein, 2012: 75). Local agencies here are identified as importantdevices 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 welfarewhich only produced a physical restructuration one the one hand, and the lack of a learning-by-doing approachin a reflexive way, on the other hand, fits with the limitations noticed also for the whole URBAN planning atEuropean level. Indeed, the importance of more precise conceptualisation of urban governance differences inthe EU policy-making process became increasingly apparent (Chorianopulos, 2002). URBAN at Naplesconfirms that area-based approach is useful policy tool to cope with urban deprivation, when applied in citypolicy 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 adeep knowledge of urban deprivations, to be most effective. This support and this knowledge were more inthe hand of Spanish Quarters Association instead of Naples Municipality.

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

In Spanish Quarters, URBAN has been a significant European Programme that brought physicalimprovement to the area, but it yielded concrete outcomes only for the Objective 1, where Spanish QuartersAssociation played an important role for the social cohesion aims. In addition, the local administration didnot plan other initiatives or projects based on URBAN framework. SQA continued, sometimes alone, theplanning activity to deal with urban deprivation of SQ through participative processes aimed to socialcohesion. Its long experience (see Laino, 2012, 2015) paved the way for new projects of social innovationwithin SQ area, developed from the third sector. The social perspectives of urban regeneration define anintegrated 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-structuredparticipatory governance, where the local institutions are informed about the patterns of deprivation of thefragile areas. Without these forms of integration, social cohesion and participation remain simple assumptionsjust 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 inarchitectural and political decisions. The ineffectiveness of the traditional processes of participation of thedemocratic system proves incapable of responding to the contemporary problems of the citizens. In parallel ithas been seen in recent years the deepening of the economic and financial crisis of 2007/2008, which, inPortugal, led to a sharp rise in the levels of unemployment in the architecture market. The lack ofcommissioning of building projects and plans, that had previously generated work, led to new concepts andapproaches in particular in newly formed architects. On the one hand, there have been numerous collectivesof architects motivated by issues related to political intervention and dynamics of social and territorialinnovation. On the other hand, political decision-makers implemented new participatory instruments tosupport decision, such as Orçamento Participativo (Participatory Budget). This program has beenimplemented widely among municipalities in Portugal. Citizens' participation in project decisions is a recurring theme in the 1960s and 1970s, whichreappears with a new configuration at the beginning of the XXI century. These days are marked by years ofeconomic crisis and the universe of facilitated circulation of information in a wide network system accessedby a large number of citizens. However, some questions arise concerning the levels and scope ofparticipation. 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 participationand involvement of stakeholders (citizens, Architects, policy-makers) in the project? How can we achieve areal bottom-up procedure, in which context problems find the best formal solution (Alexander, 1964), duringa process implemented in most cases by groups of architects outside the community of citizens for whomthey work? Starting from a reflection on SAAL, a housing program promoted by the Central Government inthe post-revolution period of April 1974, research is carried out through the assessment of the participationlevel (Arnstein, 1969) of referred participated