

National Policy Responses to Urban Challenges in Europe

Edited by
Leo van den Berg, Erik Braun
and
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NATIONAL POLICY RESPONSES TO URBAN CHALLENGES IN EUROPE

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Chapter 15

Portugal: Urban Policies or Policies with an Urban Incidence?

Álvaro Domingues, Nuno Portas and Teresa Sá Marques¹

15.1 Introduction – General Issues on Recent Portugal Urban System Evolution

During the 1990s, when there was a low demographic growth of about 5 per cent, the Portuguese urban system demonstrated distinct dynamics, even though the urbanisation process intensified and vast areas of the territory suffered continuous population drain, affecting about 69 per cent of Portugal's total area. Schematically, we can group the patterns of urbanisation into three types: the Metropolitan Conurbations of Lisbon and Porto; the non-Metropolitan Conurbations (diffuse urbanised areas with a polycentric urban structure in the northwest, on the western seaboard and in the Algarve), and the small and medium-sized cities located in regions marked by strongly regressive economic and demographic trends. The urban tendencies of the 1990s reinforced this pattern, maintaining a strong imbalance in the Portuguese 'urban condition', in which we can highlight the following:

- the predominant weight of the two metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto, which register growth of 5.6 per cent (Lisbon Metropolitan Area – LMA) and 4.6 per cent (Porto Metropolitan Area – PMA), especially as a result of the dynamism of their peripheral municipalities;
- the intensification of diffuse urbanisation in the non-metropolitan conurbations (the largest, the northwest seaboard which includes the PMA, registered a population growth of about 11 per cent);
- the intensification of processes of 'urban centrifugation' particularly around the PMA, where the administratively considered metropolitan area stretches along the whole of the northwest seaboard, without any perceptible boundaries. This area represents about 2.4 million people (3 million, if other measurement criteria of the urbanised continuum are used) which, added to that of the LMA, corresponds to a concentration of 53 per cent of the total Portuguese population in the two metropolitan regions;

¹ University of Porto.

- the fragility of the medium-sized city system (only three cities with about 100,000 inhabitants: Braga, Coimbra, and Funchal in the Autonomous Region of Madeira) and the unequal dynamics of the small-sized city network. For example, Guarda and Leiria register growth between 30 per cent and 35 per cent; Coimbra and Beja only about 6 per cent to 7 per cent; Portalegre registers negative change. This unequal behaviour was observed in very distinct contexts of urban dimension and geographic situation, due to their more or less favourable location in terms of proximity or inclusion in large urbanised sprawls (metropolitan conurbations or not), or of strategic location in the main mobility corridors. In the vast territories marked by population drain, the urban network remains fragile and diffuse, if we exclude Viseu and Évora with about 40,000 to 50,000 inhabitants each.

Taking into account the main 'engines' of urban transformation, a strong duality persists between the LMA and the PMA. Considering the inertia of political and administrative decentralisation policies (regionalisation was not approved in a 1998 referendum), the LMA reinforced its leadership capacity, heightened by positive discrimination in the globalisation process (public administrative sector, large facilities, R&D resources and institutions, financial sector, foreign investment, etc). The PMA continued to experience difficulties in modernising and stabilising its sector of advanced services, and in asserting its economic fabric (metropolitan and regional). For this reason, despite its quantitative importance and being a major exporting region, it is currently suffering a problematic loss in competitiveness and has difficulty modernising its most characteristic industrial sectors (textiles and clothing, footwear, timber and furniture). Positive signs are found in higher education, the health sector and cultural dynamics, despite recent restrictions on public funding. The three cities in the 100,000 inhabitant bracket, Braga, Coimbra and Funchal, remain excessively dependent on public sector employment, and no appreciable dynamics have been registered in terms of private investment in the manufacturing industry and producer services.

Also in terms of urban policy, the administrative and financial framework remains excessively polarised between local institutions that are fragile from an organisational and financial viewpoint, and the top-heaviness of central administration. The MAs themselves, created in 1991 by decree, are associations of municipalities without resources and proper powers. The Administrative Regions of Madeira and the Azores have not developed significant initiatives in terms of urban policy. A paradoxical framework thus exists, in which initiatives with greater urban incidence are a result of the central government's sectoral policies or of special programmes and projects, which are limited in scope and articulation. The proportion of the state budget attributed to the municipalities represents about 10 per cent of the total. During the execution of the 2nd Community Support Framework, CSF II 1994–1999, only 18.5 per cent of the total investment corresponded to programmes managed by the Committees

Table 15.1 Demographic trends, 1991 and 2001

	Area (km ²)	Resident population 1991	Resident population 2001	Weight in the country (%)	Variation in resident population 1991/2001 (%)
Metropolitan Region of Lisbon	8,757.6	2,897,316	3,062,482	29.6	5.7
Metropolitan Area of Lisbon	2,956.9	2,520,708	2,661,850	25.7	5.6
Municipality of Lisbon	84.6	663,394	564,657	5.5	-14.9
Other municipalities in the LMA	2,872.3	1,857,314	2,097,193	20.3	12.9
Other municipalities in the MRL	5,800.7	376,608	400,632	3.9	6.4
Metropolitan Region of Porto	4,168.4	2 215 734	2,413,262	23.3	8.9
Metropolitan Area of Porto	812.8	1,167,800	1,221,339	11.8	4.6
Municipality of Porto	40.1	302,472	263,131	2.5	-13.0
Other municipalities in the PMA	772.6	865,328	958,208	9.3	10.7
Other municipalities in the MRP	3,355.6	1,047,934	1,191,923	11.5	13.7
Cities with over 100,000 inhabitants	575.4	395,711	416,596	4.0	5.3
Coimbra	318.8	139,052	148,443	1.4	6.8
Braga	183.4	141,256	164,192	1.6	16.2
Funchal	731	115,403	103,961	1.0	-9.9
Other municipalities in Continental Portugal	75,609.3	3,982,568	4,080,964	39.4	2.5
municipalities with medium-sized cities	13,726.2	1,444,950	1,545,253	14.9	6.9
municipalities with urban centres with >10,000 inhab.*)	34,760.9	1,899,204	1,952,244	18.9	2.8
Other municipalities	27,122.3	638,414	583,467	5.6	-8.6
Total for Continental Portugal	89,037.6	9,375,926	9,869,343	95.3	5.3
Total for the country	92,151.8	9,867,147	10,356,117	100	5.0

Notes

The Metropolitan Regions of Lisbon and Porto include the respective Metropolitan Areas and surrounding territory with contiguous urbanisation. In the case of the Metropolitan Region of Porto, the Population count in 2001 could reach 3 million inhabitants, if we consider other mapping criteria.

* Excluding medium-sized cities.

Source: INE, Censuses 1991 and 2001.

for Regional Coordination and Development (CCDRs) and the Autonomous Regions of Madeira and the Azores (DPP, 2002a). The main urban policies were managed by central government, which also retains a large part of the jurisdiction in matters of transport and housing infrastructures, and in decisions involving the location of public health facilities, middle and higher education, administration, culture, etc.).

15.2 Summary of National Urban Policies Until the Mid-1990s

Due to decades of cumulative underdevelopment, urban growth in Portugal has generally taken place against a background of a severe deficiency in infrastructures – mobility, water supply systems, public facilities. The 40 years of dictatorship before the revolution of April 1974 correspond to a long period in which the country remained poor, rurally illiterate and politically and economically isolated. The absence of democracy and the construction of a Welfare State indelibly marked underdevelopment in Portugal, from which the country has yet to recover despite the impetus given by entry into the EEC in 1986. This sociopolitical context also explains the high rate of emigration registered after the end of the war, largely responsible for rural desertification and also for the lack of urbanisation (it was frequently said that the second Portuguese city was Paris!).

If we exclude the plans for larger cities (1940s), Portugal enters the 1990s with an unbalanced, top-heavy urban system, lacking urban policy guidelines. From 1990, the first physical plans for the zoning and regulation of land use (Municipal Master Plans – PDMs) are approved during a phase in which previous urbanisation had been taking place chaotically, with intensive construction that was not accompanied either by planning or the production of urban infrastructures.

Thus, and with a highly significant financial contribution from the EU, urban policies until the middle of the 1990s are characterised by:

- consolidation of a Planning System, with special emphasis on the PROTs, (Regional Physical Plans, 1988) and the PMOTs (Municipal Plans), mainly PDMs, PU (Urbanisation Plans), and PP (Detailed Plans); under the CCDRs, (Regional Coordination Committees, RCCs), the Operational Regional Programmes were put into execution or initiated. These Programmes were instruments of regional coordination through which EU funds and programmes and investments from central government were applied. In 1992, with the Lisbon Strategic Plan and immediately afterwards, with that of Évora, the execution of this type of plan was initiated in Portugal. The results proved to be extremely limited due to a lack of institutional coordination and operability;
- In 1994, PROSIURB was created, a programme with the explicit objective of developing the urban centres which have a strategic role in the organisation

of the national territory. Although only limited funding was available, the programme's objective was to serve as a fundamental instrument in urban system policies for small and medium-sized cities, and obliged those involved to implement Strategic Plans and coordinate investments and public and private agents.

- Massive investment in mobility infrastructures. The prime objective of the National Road Plan was to link all the district capitals, the large logistic infrastructures and cross-border connections. In the new areas of urban expansion, investment in roads was largely translated into the construction of ring-roads and accesses to the main road network. If we exclude the LMA, railway investment did not have a structuring role in the design of the urban form.
- Some interventions in critical areas: rehousing, PER (Special Rehousing Programme – 1993, for the MAs), combating poverty, regeneration of degraded areas, PRAUD (Programme for the Recovery of Degraded Urban Areas – 1988), including historical zones and funding for social housing. These policies resulted from state initiatives, from contract programmes with municipalities and cooperatives, and from the URBAN I and II programmes, centred on the two MAs. PRU (Urban Rehabilitation Programme) ran between 1995–2004 with a framework similar to URBAN. In some programmes significant intersection between social and employment policies and housing policies was achieved.
- As a consequence of the state's sectoral policies (education, health, social welfare, etc), there was an intensive programme to construct new facilities (universities, polytechnics, middle-level education schools, hospitals, cultural and sports structures, etc). Despite a lack of coordination at the local-urban level, these investments had a significant impact on modernisation and boosted the polarisation of some cities in the national urban system. The PROCOM/URBCOM programme (Ministry of Economy) is the most important initiative for commercial urban planning in historic city centres.
- The project for EXPO'98 in a derelict area of the Tagus waterfront (300 ha.) on the Lisbon municipality. This was to be the first great Urban Project in Portugal, similar to other international waterfront renewals. Thus a practice of urban intervention was introduced, justified by the holding of big events and operable through Urban Projects with proper regulations, funding and management institutions;

The principal driving force behind these policies was the state, either directly or through contracts with the municipalities, and strong support provided by the EU through the CSF I, 1989–1993, and the CSF II, 1994–1999. Public–private partnerships were few in number (with the exception of non-governmental organisations in the social initiatives). Private investment in the cities, apart from the real estate sector, was mostly focused on hypermarkets and shopping centres. Office real estate was highly polarised in Lisbon, where foreign investment

combined with the re-composition of economic groups, after the privatisation of the state enterprise sector (nationalised in the post-revolutionary period of 1974).

In terms of the administrative and financial framework, there were no developments in relation to that which has already been mentioned. Most of the budget is channelled by the central government, through public investment boosted by EU funds (annual or pluriannual, managed directly by ministries or by de-concentrated regional bodies, the Regional Coordination Committees at the NUT II level). The weight of direct transfers from the central government to the municipalities is only around 10 per cent per year.

15.3 The State of the Cities

Problems

- *Infrastructures and mobility*

Despite the high funding registered, by the middle of the 1990s strong infrastructural deficiencies persisted (sanitation, roads and railways, public transport), in part due to the existing extremely high deficit.

- *Lack of control over peripheral urbanisation*

The absence of plans (approval of PDMs occurring above all from 1993–1995) and strong real estate growth, inherited from the past, explain the chaotic character of the ‘urban explosion’. Thus a type of duality was produced, between the ‘historic’ city and the peripheral, discontinuous and fragmentary urbanisation (high environmental and infrastructural deficits, which posed great access difficulties to public transport).

- *Degradation of old centres*

Old centres are faced with several problems, despite the rehabilitation policies: a freeze on rents (since the 1950s), which explains lack of investment on the part of landlords; the physical degradation of older social neighbourhoods; difficulties in adapting to the growing use of the automobile; the appearance of new central areas connected to the new road network; difficulties in modernising collective transports, etc.

- *Persistence in processes of social polarisation*

Despite the fact that the 1990s were fertile in experimental policies of social reintegration, combating poverty, the guaranteed minimum income, rehousing of shanty towns (especially in the LMA), compulsory nine years of schooling, etc., the social problems that are specific to large cities persist. Immigration, the growing inflation of land prices, scarcity of public resources, polarises ‘old poorness’ and ‘new richness’ in the central municipalities of the MAs.

- *Excessive asymmetry between central government and the municipalities*

The emancipation of local power (municipal) after 1974 took place unequally: insufficient municipal financial resources for increasing responsibilities. The

absence of regionalisation (except for the islands of Madeira and the Azores) and the fragility of intermunicipal institutions, notably in the two MAs, created obstacles to the sectoral cooperation of central government policies and, in their turn, their integration with local policies.

- *The growing gap between the MAs and the unequal dynamics in the three larger cities, Coimbra, Braga and Funchal*

The asymmetrical shock of EU integration, globalisation, and the persistence of a centralist government, favoured competitiveness in Lisbon and the LMA (EXPO'98, R&D parks, concentration of directional services, etc.). Coimbra and Braga, meanwhile, are excessively dependent on large public investments in the university and hospitals, and were penalised by a process of deindustrialisation without the emergence of a modern tertiary sector, despite a clear economic upsurge in real estate, and in the commercial and consumer services sectors. Funchal relies essentially on tourism, its status as a regional capital and its logistic infrastructures (port, airport and free-trade zone).

Opportunities

- *Public investment*

The great infusion of public investments supported by the CSF I (1990–1994) generically favoured the urban centres. The new universities and polytechnic institutes, hospitals, the extension of compulsory education, the cultural, sports and social welfare facilities, have brought new opportunities for skilled employment and income, mainly in medium-sized cities. The investments in road networks and in the Lisbon-Porto railway have drastically reduced the problems of interurban connections that had been worsening since the 1960s. In terms of environmental infrastructures (water supply and sanitation) important steps were taken, even though the process was far from concluded by the mid-1990s (2006 is seen as the deadline for resolving these problems).

- *General improvement in standards of living*

Despite the drawbacks of a fragile national economy, the improvement in standards of living accompanied the urbanisation process and caused great transformations in daily habits. This fact is very clear in the dynamics of private investment in residential real estate and large shopping centres. At the same time, public investment in infrastructures and functions democratised access to essential services. However, problems with schooling persist, as does a deficit in professional qualifications, bearing in mind the challenges of the economic restructuring and strong competitiveness posed by the new countries entering the EU.

- *Boosting the modern tertiary industry*

The period 1985–1990, particularly in the two MAs and especially in the LMA, corresponded to clear tertiarisation dynamics, despite its tardiness in comparison with other European countries. Public investment contributed to this, especially in the sectors of education, health and administration, as well

as private investment in information economy, producer services, commerce and personal services.

- *International integration*

Although Portugal has had difficulty in ending its twin peripheral status (within the context of the Iberian Peninsula and the EU), the 1990s were a fairly positive period. The LMA was, as we have said, the prime beneficiary of this situation, in terms of both quantity and quality. In the PMA and in other cities there was a lack of stable specialisation with self-reproductive capacity and there was also a lack of a critical mass capable of creating truly 'innovative resources'.

In summary, we can state that the impact of urban policies, or more specifically, sectoral policies with a strong urban incidence, in the 1990s, does not by any means point to a consistent and lasting strategy. If we exclude the exceptional character of EXPO'98, taken as an opportunity to project Lisbon internationally, everything else can be summed up as sectoral investments commanded by the central government, responding to basic priorities providing infrastructures and expanding the coverage of social policies (new facilities, rehousing programmes, combating poverty and intervention in critical areas). The consolidation of the planning system at a regional and urban level (PROTs and PMOTs) took off slowly and with very modest results in terms of the definition of a strategy for the consolidation and competitiveness of the national urban system. Municipal initiatives were rapidly used up on the basic needs of infrastructure and facilities; responsibilities delegated by the central government were accumulated, but there was a great deficit in experience, qualified human capital and appropriate financial resources.

15.4 National Urban Policies from the Mid-1990s

The second half of the 1990s practically coincided with the implementation of the CSF II. The availability of public investment allowed for some innovations in Urban Policy and the sectoral policies of urban incidence, especially in terms of infrastructures, facilities (particularly education and health) and housing.

Strictly in terms of national urban policies in this period, we draw attention to the EXPO'98 project (about €2,500 million invested directly in the event's area); the PROSIURB – Programme for the Consolidation of the National Urban System and Support for the Execution of Municipal Master Plans (€150 million in supported investment); the POLIS programme – National Programme for Urban Renewal and Environmental Enhancement of Cities (with a budget of €800 million between 2000 and 2006); the IORU – Operational Intervention Urban Renewal initiative (about €485 million); the EU initiative URBAN (€70.6 million); Porto 2001 – European Capital of Culture (about €250 million); and PROCOM – Reviving Traditional Small Commerce in Old Centres (€173.5 million).

CSF II (including the Cohesion Fund)

Between 1994 and 1999, the CSF II (including the Cohesion Fund) supported total investments of about €38.8 million, representing an average of 8.5 per cent of the national GDP. Of this total in public expenditure, the EU contribution was about 38.5 per cent (cf DPP, 2002a).

Basic infrastructures were highly relevant (53.2 per cent) and had a strong urban incidence, explaining the enormous changes observed at that level, particularly in the construction of high capacity road networks (31.5 per cent); Telecommunications, Energy, Water/Environment, and Health infrastructures (21.7 per cent). At the end of 1999, expenditure included in the Urban Renewal policies reached a total expenditure volume of €2613.7 million, applied chiefly to the EXPO'98 project.

Operational Intervention Urban Renewal – CSF II, IORU

The Operational Intervention Urban Renewal – CSF II, IORU, corresponded to an initiative of the 13th Government aimed at boosting the implementation of a housing policy, namely the PER (Special Rehousing Programme) (Decree Law no. 163/93). The IORU thus appears as complementary to housing and social policies, especially in the Metropolitan Areas of Lisbon and Porto, financing initiatives by the central government, municipalities and Private Social Solidarity Institutions (PSSI). In this way, the better integration of rehousing policies was the objective. The IORU was structured by several measures, presented in Table 15.2.

Table 15.2 IORU, public expenditure 1994–1999 (€ million)

Measures	€ million	%
1 – Renewal of Zones Occupied by Shanties	140.43	29.0
2 – Rehabilitation of Depressed Zones	78.31	16.1
3 – EXPO'98	261.85	54.0
4 – Technical Assistance	4.39	0.9

Total 484.97 100.0

* ERDF contribution rate of 62.5%.

Source: TC, 2001, p. 55.

Measure 1 financed above all the PERs in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (111,600 people rehoused, of whom 37,322 in the municipality of Lisbon) and of Porto (50,917 people, of whom 5,000 in the Porto municipality). Of the total of 27 municipalities in both MAs, seven concentrated about 71 per cent of the total

number of shanties registered, and about 70 per cent of the rehoused population. Measure 2 was aimed at actions in deprived zones. The beneficiary was the IGAPHE (Institute for the Management and Transfer of State Housing Stock). Measure 2 covered about 45,600 people, 67.4 per cent of the LMA. Measure 3, which by itself represented 54 per cent of the total expenditure of IORU, was exclusively aimed at financing urban and environmental renewal programmes related to EXPO'98.

At the level of social and rehousing policy, the IORU was combined with some complementary programmes.² The Community Initiative URBAN mobilised about €70.56 million distributed through six measures, 4 in the LMA and 2 in the PMA (DGDR, 2002). In terms of total public expenditure, the URBAN interventions in the LMA corresponded to about 63.6 per cent of the total. Together, the IORU and URBAN channelled investments largely directed at the LMA.

PROSIURB

PROSIURB (1994–1999) was particularly aimed at rebalancing the national urban system (excluding the Metropolitan Areas). PROSIURB sums investments from regional and sectoral programmes, from central and local administration, also involving partnerships with other institutions and agents represented in City Offices which, together with the Municipal Assemblies were responsible for preparing and ratifying Strategic Plans. For the first time, the 'medium-sized cities' were an objective concern of urban policies (MEPAT, January 1994).

Subprogramme 1 of PROSIURB, 'Enhancement of Medium-sized Cities' covered 40 medium-sized cities, either individually or as part of city networks. The main areas of intervention were: basic infrastructures (38.9 per cent of co-financed investment); urban rehabilitation and renewal (36 per cent); public facilities (14.7 per cent); economic infrastructures and support facilities (8.3 per cent); and detailed plans (2.1 per cent).

² URBAN (1995) – Community Initiative Programme aimed at supporting the revival and restoration of deprived urban areas, by improving housing, infrastructures and facilities, and by supporting measures to combat poverty. PER (1993) – Special Rehousing Programme for the Lisbon and Porto MAs, particularly aimed at eradicating shanties. PRU (1995) Urban Rehabilitation Programme similar to URBAN. INTEGRAR (1994) – Programme for the economic and social integration of vulnerable groups, especially the long-term unemployed, the handicapped and other disadvantaged groups. REHABITA (1996) – Programme aimed at housing recovery in old urban areas, applied exclusively to historic urban centres declared critical areas. RECRÍA (1999) – Programme providing financial support to improve housing in run-down real estate. Programme to Combat Poverty (1990) – several measures to support underprivileged households and individuals. Minimum Wage (1996) – Creation of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage as a measure to combat poverty and social exclusion.

In terms of the overall assessment of the programme (cf. MAOT, 2000), the contracts concluded numbered 70, that corresponded to €150 million in the volume of investment supported. In terms of funding sources, PROSIURB corresponded with about 25 per cent (42 per cent from municipalities; 30 per cent from Community Funds; 3 per cent from Central Administration).

Despite these positive aspects, the inadequacy of the financial resources involved and the interruption of the programme, cut off processes and methodologies with a medium- long- term time-frame, and devalued the dynamics generated by strategic planning and by partnership solutions. However, there remained a more or less embedded experiment, and a series of synthesis-documents on an integrated and prospective approach to urban policies. As for harmonisation mechanisms – the City Offices – the results were more modest, as was the contribution of non-public funds.

The POLIS Programme

The Regional Development Plan 2000–2006 chose urban restoration and environmental enhancement of cities as one of its strategically important objectives. Thus, in November 1999, a working group was created, directly dependent on the Ministry of Environment and Territorial Planning. POLIS has its own management under the jurisdiction of the present-day MCOTA (Ministry of Cities, Territorial Planning and Environment), and is executed in partnerships involving municipalities and private entities. Detailed plans have to be approved for the intervention areas. It was expected about €800 million of total investment (57.5 per cent from EU Funds including CSF III, 16.3 per cent from Central Administration, 16.3 per cent from municipalities, and 10 per cent from self-financing). The POLIS programmes, inspired by EXPO'98, correspond to intensive and multipurpose interventions in restricted areas, in accordance with objectives of urban requalification that include a significant environmental enhancement component. At the beginning of 2004 there were long delays in the programme's execution, in part due to budgetary restrictions, in part due to the complexity of the public–private partnerships necessary for the approval of Detailed Plans.

Urban Project EXPO'98

The Urban Project EXPO'98 involved the direct investment (coordinated by the company PARQUE EXPO) of €2,500 million (TC, 2000). The opportunity to hold the World Exhibition of 1998 in Lisbon justified wide-ranging national consensus and strong investment in a highly depressed riverside area. The infrastructural needs (pollution clearing of the Trancão River and land previously occupied by a rubbish dump and abandoned industrial plots; the construction of an urban household refuse processing plant; the construction of a new Tagus River crossing and road accesses; the expansion of the metro; the new intermodal railway station;

etc.) represented an important enhancement of this area of the LMA. After the event was concluded, important facilities remained (among others fair and exhibition pavilion, multi-purpose pavilion, the Oceanarium, the Living Science Centre, the Camões Theatre, the Pavilion of Portugal), as did high-quality public spaces. Furthermore, private investment was concentrated in the PARQUE EXPO land sites, particularly in residential real estate and hotel facilities. There are as yet no important effects in terms of urban 'catalysis' on the surrounding area.

Porto 2001: European Capital of Culture

The project Porto 2001 – European Capital of Culture (about €250 million), apart from the cultural events programme, also resulted in urban regeneration interventions in the areas surrounding the historic centre (public space, tramway network, underground parking lots, etc). The project included the restoration and new construction of a number of cultural facilities: among others the Portuguese Photography Centre, Soares dos Réis Museum, Library and Auditorium, S. João and Carlos Alberto Theatres and the Music Hall. Managed by a public funds Society, the Porto 2001 SA, this intervention represented a sort of closure of the large-scale construction works of urban renewal in Porto, continued by the construction of the metro network (project of the Metropolitan Council, financed by the central government) and the Antas Plan (intervention involving the new football stadium for the European Championship in 2004).

PROCOM

The PROCOM, about €173.475 million, is a programme aimed at reviving traditional small commerce in old centres (42.4 per cent co-financed by ERDF within the scope of the CSF II 1994–1999). Of the total actions financed, about 18.5 per cent of the funding was directed at interventions in public spaces and projects of environmental qualification. The remaining quota was directed at entrepreneurial investment (companies and Trade Associations). The PROCOM projects, led by the Ministry of Economy, are bottom-up in character, involving traders and their associations, and the municipalities. It is also an example of implementation of a sectoral policy that is well articulated with a policy of economic and physical rehabilitation of old urban areas in crisis (DGDR, 2002).

In brief, these were the main initiatives in urban policy funded mostly by the central government and Community Funds. Apart from these, we should also consider the urban impact of the PIDDAC (Central Administration Investment Plans), the Regional Operational Programmes (coordinated by CCDRs within the scope of the CSFs), and the municipalities.

PIDDAC (Annual Plan of Investments of the Central Administration)

Between 1994 and 2000, the weight of the PIDDAC in GDP was 3.7 per cent. The sectoral impact of the PIDDAC was particularly directed at construction and public works, 14.8 per cent of the average (annual) GVA in the period 1994–2000. In the same time period, growth at real expenditure prices was 3.6 per cent, with strong fluctuations: 14.3 per cent in 94/95, and –15.4 per cent in 1999/2000. Of the total amount – €20,711 million – 33.5 per cent corresponded to EU funding (DPP, 2001).

By expenditure sector, the 1994–1999 PIDDAC was particularly concentrated in three types of investments: transport and communications (32.1 per cent); agriculture (15.5 per cent) and industry and energy (11.4 per cent). The NUT II Lisbon and Tagus Valley absorbed about 31.3 per cent of the expenditure, and the NUT II North 22.3 per cent (DPP, 2001; DPP, 2002b). The values per capita (€464.6 million, national average for the 1995–2000 period) for the LMA were €167.8 million, and 166.6 for the PMA; for the municipalities of Lisbon and Porto, the values were 860 and 759 respectively; for Coimbra and Braga 317 and 168 respectively (DPP, 2001).

In conclusion, the PIDDAC was particularly important for the cities in the construction of infrastructures in transport and communication, education, environment and urban revival, health and public administration, although there were significant regional fluctuations.

POR-LVT

In terms of the Regional Operational Programmes, we will give the example of the POR-LVT 1994–1999 (Operational Programme of the Lisbon and Tagus Valley Region). During its lifespan, the POR-LVT approved a total of 789 projects, amounting to about €570.8 million in investment, of which 71.5 per cent were co-financed by EFRD and 27.3 per cent by the national government. This operational intervention was divided into three programmes with the following objectives:

- Subprogramme A: Reinforcement of Regional Territorial Cohesion and Improvement of Standards of Living (favouring small and medium-sized urban centres).
- Subprogramme B: Actions for the Development of Regional Strategic Value (favouring the intermunicipal level in matters concerned with accessibility, environment and socio-economic facilities).
- Subprogramme C: Regional Dynamisation (boosting the competitiveness of productive and innovative systems).

The POR-LVT was mostly executed by the municipalities (87 per cent of the eligible investment in the total NUTS II Region – Lisbon and Tagus Valley, and 90 per cent in the case of the LMA). The environmental sector, including the

Table 15.3 Operational Programme, NUTS II Lisbon and Tagus Valley Region 1994–1999

	Eligible investment			LMA/LTVR		
	No. of projects	€ million	%	%	€ million	% AML
Subprogramme A	359	246,371	43.2			
NUTS III LMA	85	101,444	17.8	17.8	101,356	43.3
West	113	60,405	10.6			
Tagus Valley	161	84,521	14.8			
Subprogramme B	177	287,718	50.4	19.8	113,060	48.3
Accessibilities	35	97,94	17.2	12.2	69,755	29.8
Environment	78	149,401	26.2	5.6	31,835	13.6
Facilities	64	40,376	7.1	2.0	11,236	4.8
Subprogramme C	253	36,657	6.4	3.4	19,663	8.4
Economic Support	125	21,659	3.8	1.8	10,534	4.5
Technical Support	128	14,997	2.6	1.6	9,129	3.9
Total	789	570,746	100.0	41.0	234,078	100.0

Source: CCDR-LVT, 2001a.

construction of three integrated waste treatment systems, is the favoured domain, corresponding to about 36.8 per cent of the total investment (subprogrammes A and B). The sector of accessibility infrastructures, 32 per cent of total investment, allowed for the construction of the Multi-modal Terminal of the Tagus Valley and a number of roads in the LMA arterial road system.

LMA received a 41 per cent quota of the programme (77 per cent of the inhabitants of the Lisbon and Tagus Valley region); Lisbon's largest urban project, EXPO'98 did not have a direct expression in POR-LVT. However, in terms of urban refuse processing, the installation of a composting plant and an incinerator were important contributions to closing down the rubbish dump formerly located on EXPO'98 grounds. This intersection was also the case of the arterial road axes in the LMA that would, normally, be the responsibility of the central government.

Local Finances

For the purposes of comparison, we will use the example of the LMA local/municipal finances. Although the used figures refer only to 2000 (CCDR, 2003), we can estimate the total investments for the 1994–1999 period at about €2,235 million. As to the structure of the revenue, the largest slice goes into direct taxes, 61 per cent of current revenue. Capital transfers correspond to about 18.6 per

cent (namely, 3 per cent of EU funds and 14.1 per cent of transfers from central administration). Housing and urbanisation correspond to the majority proportion of the investments, 34.8 per cent, especially due to municipal contribution in the respective national programmes (see IORU). Infrastructure provision works comes next with 33.5 per cent. The remaining portions are particularly aimed at the construction of local social facilities (education, sport, leisure, culture, social support).

15.5 Urban Policies – Prospective

In terms of defining a structured strategy for urban policy, Portugal is at a crossroads. In general terms this can be identified as the pressing need to define a more flexible administrative architecture for the conception and operability of more sectorally and territorially integrated urban policies, in accordance with the general directives contained in EU documents (EDEC; Green Book on Urban Environment, Europe 2000+, etc).

In the absence of strong local institutions (municipalities and inter-municipal associations), or administrative regions, the sectoral policies of greatest urban incidence (infrastructures and public facilities, for example) are dependent on ministerial or Council of Ministers decisions. This decision-making structure, fragmented and mostly top-down, is not coherent with the need to appropriately integrate the challenges of structuring the urban system and policies. Let us look at some of the major issues at several government and public administration levels.

1 Central Level

- 1 After dividing responsibilities between the Ministry of Planning and the Ministry of Environment, the present government created the Ministry of Cities, Territorial Planning and Environment, MCOTA. This reorganisation, apparently more efficient for integrating urban policies, has come to prove highly inadequate, in part because resources are scarce (budgetary restrictions and compliance with the Stability and Growth Pact), in part because institutional cultures create difficulties in coordinating inter-institutional projects and resources.
- 2 Jurisdiction as important as road infrastructures, and other decision areas of strong urban incidence (health facilities, education and vocational training, R&D, housing, etc.) remain in other ministries and are organised according to sectoral logics that are not integrated at an urban and territorial level.
- 3 This lack of collaboration is reproduced in the institutions that are hierarchically dependent on the ministries and is worsening because of privatisations. In the recent past, two programmes aimed at urban regeneration, PROSIURB and POLIS were separate initiatives run by two ministries, the first within the

scope of the CSF II 1994–1999, and the second under the CSF III. The two programmes, however, do not intersect in any way. Meanwhile, the contents of the PNDES (National Plan of Economic and Social Development) and, later, the third, PDR (Regional Development Plan) (MEPAT 1998, 1999), are aimed at boosting the role of cities in development, environment and territorial planning, without there having been, however, any appreciable changes in terms of Urban Policy. The special operations like EXPO'98, Porto 2001 – European Capital of Culture, or EURO 2004, resulted from opportunities, involving specific interventions and urban projects, whose urban impact is very distinct and which have ended up being seen as very high endowments if compared with the rest of the country.

- 4 A recent resolution from the Council of Ministers No. 76/2002 on the definition of the PNPOT (National Programme of Territory Planning), is highly expressive of the need to integrate sectoral policies with territorial policies, including the urban policies. The main strategic options also emphasised

the need to harmonise options, policies and territorial management instruments, including the sectoral one, so as to promote the vertical coherence between the national, regional and local levels, and the horizontal coherence between distinct sectors with spatial incidence.

The guidelines proposed for structuring the urban system specifically mention

the affirmation of the metropolitan areas as hubs of strategic resources with national and international influence... and the consolidation of the regional urban sub-systems.

2 Regional Level

The CCDRs – bodies decentralised from MCOTA by NUTS II – suffer from a deficit in decision-making capacity, autonomy and resources. With institutions mediating between the municipal and central levels, very close to the former but very dependent of the latter, the CCDRs are, above all, techno-structures that manage regionalised community funds and accompany the PDMs. As a consequence of the Strategic Plan for the Lisbon and Tagus Valley Region (CCDR-LVT, 1999), the PROT for the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, PROT-AML, is a pioneering, strategic document, 'systematizing the norms that should guide the decisions and plans of Central and Local Administration and constitute a reference framework for the elaboration of Territorial Management Instruments' (CCDR-LVT, 2001b, p. 7). The essential priorities of the PROT-AML are: *environmental sustainability* (metropolitan structure for environmental protection and the enhancement and management of water resources), *metropolitan improvement* (planning, new centralities, accessibility network, logistics), *socio-territorial cohesion* (regeneration of depressed residential areas and suburban

zones, improvement of access to facilities and services), and organisation of the *metropolitan transport system* (creation of the Metropolitan Transport Authority). The PROT-AML also contains clear guidelines in terms of urban policy.

The future will show if this document finds the appropriate political conditions for better cooperation between central, regional, metropolitan and local administration, based on the principle of subsidiarity. The PMA and the metropolitan region in which it is included have not so far been an object of strategic planning similar to the PROT-AML.

3 Local Level: Municipal and Inter-municipal

The municipal and inter-municipal levels, despite the fact that the average size of the municipalities is far superior to those in countries in the south of the EU, and the positive evolution of the legal framework of local finances, are marked by great fragility. The municipal level possesses strong visibility and political legitimacy, although with limited powers (direct transfers from the general state budget to municipalities correspond to about 10 per cent of the revenue). The municipalities retain strong jurisdiction in terms of land management and use (Municipal Master Plans), but they have a highly limited investment capacity. Of the about €573 million of municipal investment in the 19 municipalities of the LMA in 2000, about 35 per cent corresponded to rehousing accommodation (funding contributions from national funds and programmes and the EU); 33.5 per cent, to road infrastructures and basic sanitation; and about 20 per cent to the construction of local facilities, especially schools, sports, cultural, leisure and social amenities.

This precarious financial situation (aggravated by the levels of indebtedness) hinders the prosecution of activity plans in the medium term, even if we do not include the upheavals caused by electoral cycles (four years). Even after the Strategic Plans were approved (a prerequisite for admission to PROSIURB 1994–1999), the investment priorities and the action and programme schedules ended up particularly dependent on the availability of other sources of funding, in other words, those coming from the Regional Operational Programmes (CCDRs), the central government Sectoral Programmes and applications to the EU's Structural Funds and Community Initiatives (CSFs). This situation strongly compromises the coherence of Urban Policies, if we take into account the fact that, especially in the metropolitan areas and the larger cities, the main structuring public investments are the responsibility of the central government (high-capacity transport infrastructure, middle and higher education, hospitals, courts, etc), subject to a sectoral logic and possessing a weak level of territorial/urban cooperation.

At the inter-municipal level, there are only the two Metropolitan Areas of Lisbon and Porto, in existence since 1991, and in the rest of the country, voluntary municipal associations. As we have mentioned before, these inter-municipal associations do not have their own resources, and are limited to coordinating

inter-municipal projects with co-financing from State and Community Funds. The experiences of the LMA and the PMA practically only involved projects related to water, sanitation and the collection and treatment of urban waste, and in the case of Porto, the metro project (directly financed by the central government).

In February 2004, a new administrative map was under discussion, which foresaw the formation of Metropolitan Areas (minimum of nine contiguous municipalities and 350,000 inhabitants), Urban Communities (minimum of three municipalities and 150,000 inhabitants) and Municipal Communities (Law No. 10/2003).

The new Metropolitan Areas and the Urban Communities will both result from the free decision of the municipal bodies (according to information in the media, Braga and Coimbra, among others, will be integrated in new Metropolitan Areas). The executive body – the Metropolitan Council – and assembly are to be elected indirectly by the municipalities, as direct elections are not envisaged.

Apart from powers in terms of the coordination of public transport – creation of the Metropolitan Transport Authorities – Law No. 10/2003 foresees a series of general competences, namely the promotion and elaboration of regional territorial planning schemes (currently part of the CCDRs' functions). There are, therefore, still many doubts about the final format of these administrative bodies.

In terms of the vast set of powers the law admits, the new Metropolitan Areas do not as yet possess a stable financial framework, nor are transfers from municipalities or Central Administration clear. In public debates minimalist theses are defended on some occasions – the new entities will be little more than Municipal Associations – while on others there are those who argue that the Metropolitan Areas and Urban Communities will be the bases for regional decentralisation.

15.6 Relevance of European Policies for Portuguese National Urban Policy-making

In the strict sense, the only European Urban policies are URBAN and UPP – Urban Pilot Projects. Given the success of those programmes it is hoped they will be continued, having in mind trans-sectoral incidence and the targeted objectives and goals.

Even so, direct European policies and subsidies for cities are scarce. In accordance with EU policies it will be necessary to have stronger (decision oriented) initiatives to reduce the strong imbalances, which characterise the Portuguese urban system. This implies the adoption of more explicit national urban policies, namely policy integration and decentralised implementation evolving contractual arrangements between ministries or/and different levels of government.

The effects of EU policies on cities are above all the indirect consequences of the application of Structural Funds with a significant urban impact mainly in the

areas of transport, sewage and waste disposal. A more directed policy is necessary, supporting ‘immaterial’ investments on economic urban competitiveness, as well as on the enhancement of social cohesion and development of human capital. The EU should contribute to a more integrated trans-sectoral response to urban problems according with the principle of subsidiarity and governance practices.

Given the strong trends in urban sprawling, an urban policy that enables municipal associations to propose multisectoral actions comprised in Strategic Plans should be strengthened and made explicit at the EU level. Strategic urban planning should become more emphasised under Structural Funds. The most urgent domains are, among others: qualification of environment and landscape resources, public transportation and mobility, and structuring the enlarged urban territory (urban axes and polarities).

Larger MAs and medium-sized cities are the hubs of social, economic and territorial organisation. Given the fragility of Welfare State system, it's necessary to design innovative policies on public-private task forces to promote social accessibility to the network of collective facilities and equipment. The ‘Welfare City’ side of governance must be the strategic arena for coordinating sectoral and central government policies.

15.7 Summary and Conclusions

- The problems found in evaluating the impact of the national/central urban policies (directly or indirectly supported by EU funds) are explained by the chronic difficulty that the Central Administration has in implementing and financing coherent programs at a local level, and in programming national priorities in accordance with a more articulate local framework. As a consequence of successive ministerial reorganisations, the jurisdiction of the de-centralised regional bodies also varies, even though they should perform the essential role of regional coordination between the central level and the municipalities. The most recent novelty in creating a Ministry of Cities (Ministry of Cities, Territorial Planning and Environment) does not seem to have strengthened this coordination, since it only covers the departments of Regional Planning and Environment. However CSF III (2000–2006) supports €410 million (ERDF and ESF) for city and metropolitan qualification measures in the scope of CCDRs Regional Programmes. In addition, the Urban Environment Improvement programme (MCOTA), the Digital City Projects, URB COM, URBAN II and Urban Rehabilitation Programme PRU, hold for more €418 million of public expenses with a strong urban incidence.
- In terms of the organisation of public administration and the government, there is excessive asymmetry in jurisdiction and resources between the central and local levels, with large gaps and deficiencies in matters concerning the

horizontal coordination of the national sectoral plans. The inter-municipal level, particularly in the Metropolitan Areas, is very fragile in terms of powers and resources. These powers depend exclusively on municipal finances and contract programmes with the central administration.

- Due to Portugal's delayed development, the priorities of the CSF are centred on the construction of infrastructures and facilities (transports, environment, health, education, etc) with a sectoral and national logic. Urban policies dependent on EU initiatives have little expression, being excessively matter-specific and directed only at the urban rehabilitation of critical areas (URBAN).
- Urban policies have taken on a discontinuous character, with the exception of housing policies, directed especially at rehousing, renewal of historic centres, and the rehabilitation of deprived areas (with support, among others, from the Community Initiative URBAN). CSFs Regional Operational Programmes, PIDDAC and urban EU initiatives along with local authorities programmes, plans and projects include a significant number of strategic investments in infrastructures and facilities, urban renewal, as well as incentives for the location of industry and services.
- From the accomplishments of this period, exceptional projects justified by the holding of events stand out. The case of EXPO'98, an acknowledged organisational success, does not camouflage some negative side effects on other programmes in other cities, which consequently suffered the diversion of resources they desperately needed.
- An inability on the part of central administration to consolidate practices of strategic urban planning. The excessively isolated character and problematic execution of special programmes aimed at urban regeneration and environmental enhancement. However, the exceptional nature of these programmes, in relation to current projects, has meant overcoming difficulties in bringing together sectoral measures, in accordance with already-developed strategies and projects, in order to obtain more robust results within the established deadlines.
- Incidence on historic centres and the older city, to the detriment of interventions in the extensive suburbs of those cities, where most of the population lives and where we (still) find the greatest deficits in terms of transport infrastructure (especially public transport) and protection of the environment and landscape.
- The studies developed about the national urban system have an important contribution to make to a more clearly urban policy. These documents – including separate studies on the dynamics and role of medium-sized cities, metropolitan regions and the small cities and towns, as well as an integrated forward-looking synthesis – provide a basis for better defining roles of the different components of the national urban system. Those roles can be supported and enhanced through an adequate and efficient integrated urban policy. The approval of the National Spatial Planning and Urbanism Act

in 1998, which laid down a number of fundamental principles and goals for spatial planning and urban development, is an important issue pointing to more integration of social and economic development and environment protection and establishing a comprehensive, coordinated multi-layer territorial management system.

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