THE DISPARITIES OF GOVERNANCE OF THE 
PERI-URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPE

Nicoleta TICANA
Angers University, Department of Geography, France,
Email: nicoleta.ticana@gmail.com

Abstract. For a long time the city attracted the population. At the end of the sixties it is the perि-urbanization, the process of “return” of the city-dwellers towards the countryside that replaces the rural exodus. This phenomenon occurred at first in the Western Europe, Central and Eastern Europe knowing the process from 1990s, once the communist regimes had fallen. If in the Western Europe the individual house is accessible to the middle class, in the East the new constructions are intended for wealthy population. If in the West land is serviced before construction, in the East, the land utilities miss. If the West is relatively rigorous in the respect for the rules and tools of town planning, in the East the legislation is not clear and the perि-urbanization manifests itself in a chaotic way. What are the modes of governance in the West, as well as in the East? What answer to the urban sprawling between the various European countries?

Pendant longtemps la ville a attiré la population. A la fin des années soixante c’ est la périurbanisation, processus de « retour » des citadins vers la campagne, qui remplace l’exode rural. Ce phénomène a été ressenti d’abord en Europe de l’Ouest, l’Europe Centrale et Orientale connaissant le processus à partir des années 1990, après la chute des régimes communismes. Si dans l’ouest européen la maison individuelle est accessible à la classe moyenne, à l’est les nouvelles constructions sont destinées à une population fortunée. Si à l’ouest les terrains sont viabilisés avant la construction, à l’est, les réseaux d’infrastructures manquent. Si l’ouest est relativement rigoureux dans le respect des règles et d’outils d’urbanisme, à l’est la législation n’est pas claire et la périurbanisation se manifeste d’une façon chaotique. Quels sont les modes de gouvernance à l’ouest, ainsi qu’à l’est ? Quelle réponse à l’étalement entre les différents pays européens ?

Keywords: peri-urbanization, historical context, communist regimes, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, governance, legislation, discrepancies

Mots-clés: périurbanisation, contexte historique, régimes communistes, Europe de l’Ouest, Europe de l’Est, gouvernance, législation, discordances

1. INTRODUCTION

Europe knows important urban and rural changes in terms of residences, equipments or utilities. But there are differences between Eastern and Western Europe and the management is not the same. So this paper talks about the disparities of governance of the peri-urban development in Europe. The purpose is to make comparisons of this
phenomenon and give solutions of governance in some countries contingent on the methods applied by others that seem to work.

Once the communist regimes had fallen, Central and Eastern Europe has experienced a converting of landscapes in rural zones. The introduction of new urban elements in rural areas is made ceaselessly since 1990. This occurred earlier in some countries. New challenges appeared. They are connected to the metropolitan expansion. Often this growth is not accompanied by an urban planning or sustainable development. With four examples: Bucharest, Warsaw, Budapest and Sofia we can demonstrate this point. Many questions appear. Urban sprawl manifests itself in the same way in all Eastern European countries? Are there coordination problems between planning tools and the reality? Are there similarities with Western Europe? What is the right governance for this emergent phenomenon? In terms of methodology we focused first on the bibliography. The purpose of this phase was the comprehension of this phenomenon, its evolution, transformation and the solutions to the management of this process. For the Romanian case we realised a field survey during four years in the context of a PhD thesis (field observation, photos, urbanism documents, interviews, discussions, questionnaires, statistic data etc.). For the French case there were also these field surveys, but to a lesser extent (the PhD thesis was realised in a French laboratory). There are limits of this methodology applied for this paper. For all others European examples we rest on studies realised by different European researchers or organisms.

We will expose firstly the historical context. Then we will present peri-urban phenomenon in the four Eastern Europe metropolises. We will finish with two Western Europe examples: France and Germany and their solutions to urban sprawl. This phenomenon seems to be better managed in these two countries than it is in the four Eastern European countries.

2. HISTORICAL CONTEXT: SOCIALIST IDEOLOGICAL HERITAGE

During a little more than forty years Central and Eastern Europe countries lived under communist regimes. Several characteristics of the communist period showed up in all the ex-soviet countries. It consist in the socialist ideology of the communist period, before 1990, based on the quasi-inexistence of the private ownership when everything belonged to the state, on the direct control of the state in land use, because at that time the policy was "anti-sprawl" (Gajdos, 2008). Other characteristics are: the restriction for one residence per family, heavy industrialization, supervision of town's growth and peri-urban process, local authorities lack of autonomy and the lack of democracy. The industrial sector is also over-represented in those European spaces and services are under-represented. The lack of a governance culture based on the partnership and the confidence between authorities is also present (Lepesant, 2008).

The Central-Eastern Europe countries are characterized by an average urbanization, between 50 and 70% (Coudroy de Lille, 2005). Big cities are modest in terms of demography. Among those capitals, Bucharest is the biggest with round about 1,95 million inhabitants in 2010. History played a very important role in the urbanization of this European corner. These countries knew conflicts in terms of occupation, and they were subjected to powers like Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman Empire or Russia. This creates
tensions that slow down their urbanization. This recent urbanization begins in the fifty’s, period which corresponds to the instauration of the communism. Cities become urbanized with the massive industrialization and the rural exodus which it entailed.

Since 1990 East opens to West. Migratory flows, that were almost inexistent before that date, begin to develop. Economy market is established and it permits a liberalization of commerce and exchanges. From town planning point of view cities organized it-selves in the same way : a hyper-center with offices, hotels and luxury residences. To the outskirts, residential peri-urbanization manifests itself in the form of imposing residences which are expensive. Commercial galleries and hypermarkets appear too. This process was accompanied by an accelerate motorization of cities. Yet, transport networks know an important delay. Soviet period mainly developed a railroad transport network turned to Russia and with a commercial vocation, limiting the road infrastructure to a little developed road network. Highways are also quasi-inexistent.

Few reasons make that certain ex-soviet capitals knew an economic boom. While Bucharest and Sofia occupied the last places on the podium, Budapest and Warsaw, capitals of the richest countries of in Central and Eastern Europe, know a higher concentration of activities and jobs. Besides, Poland and Hungary joined European Union earlier than Romania and Bulgaria. Closer to Austria and Germany, Budapest and Warsaw are more dynamic. Budapest enjoys, in the same time, a good touristic frequentation.

After losing a big number of inhabitants the four capitals know today a slight increase of their population, like their peripheries. We can find some causes to the origins of this phenomenon. The first answer is that peri-urbanization contributes to the growth of the population into the spaces that surround these metropolises. But these cities know a slight demographic boom (table n°1) because of their economic development that attracts population for work, most often young people, that at the end of their studies rest live and work in the capitals. Can we talk about re-urbanization? It is maybe too ambitious, because this demographic growth is insignificant compared to the large population losses that have affected these capital-cities over the past twenty years.

Table 1: Evolution of population at Bucharest, Budapest, Warsaw and Sofia between 2003 and 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bucharest</td>
<td>1932155</td>
<td>1927448</td>
<td>1940486</td>
<td>1943981</td>
<td>1944367</td>
<td>1944451</td>
<td>1937421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budapest</td>
<td>1719342</td>
<td>1697343</td>
<td>1696128</td>
<td>1702297</td>
<td>1712210</td>
<td>1721556</td>
<td>1733685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>1688194</td>
<td>1692854</td>
<td>1702139</td>
<td>1706624</td>
<td>1709781</td>
<td>1714446</td>
<td>1720398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sofia</td>
<td>1194164</td>
<td>1221157</td>
<td>1237891</td>
<td>1240788</td>
<td>1247059</td>
<td>1249798</td>
<td>1259446</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eurostat (The data from 1990 to 2003 were not available)

3. EASTERN EUROPE: PERI-URBANIZATION IN ROMANIA, HUNGARY, POLAND AND BULGARIA

The four countries that we study knew communist regime and the opening to the west in 1990. The migration flow begins to develop and the market economy is setting up, decentralization was produced. Population begins to leave the city to the countryside, but this residential peri-urban is for wealthy people, because the prices of land and housing are very high. Other dysfunctions exist: the public transit to those spaces is not developed, just
like the lack of the highways. For example the highway Warsaw-Berlin must be achieved this year, 22 years after the communism fall.

3.1. The Romanian case: Bucharest

Romania, like other East-European countries, presents all the characteristics of ex-soviet countries. Before 1990 the policy of urban planning was directed to “anti-sprawl” in the context of the “settlement systematization”. In this period urban sprawl was limited; the goal was to give the land to agriculture and every action was controlled by the central power. In 1990, the communist regime fell and the country knew a liberalization of energies. We attend the power decentralization. Local authorities are free to plan the organization of their administrative unit's land. If until 2000 the process shows itself quite shy, from that time peri-urbanization spread. Today we assist to a rise of population outside the big city, to an extension of built and building land through increasing number of building permits, to a spectacular growth of cars number and to an important dynamic of motorization. This fact leads to commuting. In the peri-urban space the result of the increasing number of construction authorizations is that the number of housing grew a lot. The rate of built housing between 1990 and 2008 exceed 35% of the total housings in some administrative units, mostly to the north or to the west of Bucharest.

Peri-urban space marks also the explosion of periphery shopping centers, office buildings, storage and logistic spaces and industrial zones. All this characteristics we can find it in other ex-soviet spaces. Some dysfunctions appear: construction on land non serviced, existence of bad and undersized roads that need some amelioration. These inconvenients exist because of the urban legislation that is not clear, because of the lack of a coherent strategy of urban development and because of the lack of dialogue between actors.

The extension of built space in the peri-urban of Bucharest is significant and we can observe an important urban pressure to the north of the capital, where the type of urban sprawl is “oil stain”. Most of the administrative units of the peri-urban present an urban sprawl in “glove's fingers”, throughout the major roads. Some administrative units present an extension in form of “panther skin” by the apparition of village housing estate or solitary constructions in the agricultural land. The residential peri-urbanization manifest itself in the form of gated communities with big private housing estate or with apartment buildings secured with the presence of a fence and a security guard. Today with the economic and the real-estate crisis we assist to a collapse of the real-estate construction in the peri-urban with halt or even abandonment of the residential projects. The real estate developers focus today on unexplored spaces, where the price is still low, to little apartment buildings with small accommodation accessible to a large variety of buyers.

But what is the response to this phenomenon in Romania? How do local authorities manage urban sprawl?
Fig. 1: The rate and the number of housing built between 1990 and 2008 in the peri-urban space of Bucharest


3.2. A Hungarian example \textit{peri-urbanization} at Budapest

In Hungary, Budapest is a case apart because the capital represents 17\% (1 733 685 inhabitants in 2011) of the country’s population (Bucharest is around 10\% and Warsaw about 5\%). The second city most populated in Hungary is Debrecen with 200 000 inhabitants. Hungary is marked by an urban macrocephaly. Old capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Budapest was booming during the XX century. The \textit{peri-urbanization} began in 1980. During the 1990 the city-center lost 14\% of its population, while the population of its periphery increased with 18\% (ANAH, 2009).

In the 1960, the leaders wanted to develop other cities in the country and they had proceeded to the investments decentralization with the intention of reducing the Budapest’s role in the country’s industrial development. Due to this changing Budapest oriented itself to the service sector. This thing allowed the development of an enterprise spirit, unknown until this time in this part of Europe, as well as good network and transport infrastructure. These two characteristics had a particular importance in the 1990, at the moment of passing to the market economy (Iszac, Probald, 2003). Today other advantages contribute to the radiance of Budapest: tourism and scientific exchanges. The city has welcome 150 conferences and international congresses in 2006 (ANAH, 2009).

For many decades, Budapest, just like Bucharest, has welcomed the rural population. To the end of communist period, the demographic reports had been inverted. Urban population begins to decrease while the number of inhabitants of the “villages” into the agglomeration begins to increase. The first function of these spaces became residential. Budapest loose 130 000 persons between 1990 and 1996, and 40\% of them were gone for living in the administrative units surrounding the big city (Dovenyi, 2003). Rich population chose verdant hills of Buda, while poor population, which is constrained to leave Budapest, because of the high prices, goes to the north-east, to less attractive administrative units, where life cost is lower. Just like in Bucharest the attraction to greenery is very important for the installing to new population.

So what is the response of Budapest and local authorities in the management of urban sprawl?

3.3. Urban sprawl in Poland: the example of Warsaw

Warsaw, Poland’s capital, one of the most populated East-European capitals does not benefit to a big demographic weight in its country like Bucharest and Budapest. Poland counts about 38 millions of inhabitants, and Warsaw counts about 5\% of total country population. This is the result of many reasons : the city destruction in 1945, the hard industrialization renewed ten years later to the peripheries (lack of housing into the city) or the position to the east of the country.

Warsaw exercised an influence on its peripheries between 50 and 100 km (Laignel, 2006). During the communism period, Warsaw and the periphery administrative units were managed together by the power, the goal was to control migration flow and an anarchical \textit{peri-urbanization}. After 1990 the administrative units became autonomous. They develop quickly a high competition in attracting developers. This thing provokes conflict between different local policies and in the end deficiency of global infrastructure policies.
After 1989 urban sprawl appears. Population leave the big city. Jobs are decentralized to the peripheries where we can see the apparition of commercial poles too. Often into the peri-urban space individual housing takes the form of gated communities or big buildings with luxury apartments. This offer takes away middle population of the real estate market. But urban sprawl manifest itself in a "wild way" in Warsaw too (Gaudray-Coudroy, 1997) and the surroundings of Warsaw do not have necessary services. This happens also into peri-urban space of Bucharest or Budapest.

Other dysfunctions, just like in Bucharest, exist: social and spatial segregation, because like we said, the residential peri-urbanization is for rich people. In terms of services, the number of schools and doctors isn’t enough for responding to an increasing demand of population in periphery administrative units of Warsaw. Projects for transport infrastructures were announced for 2011, but they still didn't become reality. In 2008 Gille Lepesant talks about a coming line Lodz-Warsaw in 45 minutes for 2011 unlike 2 hours in 2008. A simple research Lodz-Warsaw on driving directions sites the result is still the same like three years ago: it still needs 2 hours to link together the two towns.

All these aspects demand a good management of urban and peri-urban spaces. A first response is the creation of a metropolitan space. How this happens in Warsaw?

3.4. The example of Bulgaria: the peri-urbanization at Sofia

At Sofia peri-urbanization manifest itself in the same way. There is an attraction to certain spaces just like in Bucharest. This phenomenon manifests itself mostly in the south part of the capital, because here we can find Vitosha Mountains, privileged residence place for the Bulgarian nomenclature. The same phenomenon can be observed at Bucharest. Peri-urbanization spread to the north of the city, where we can find a lot of lakes and woods.

The north part of Sofia concentrates the most important industrial zones and this area is populated with a modest population. That’s why this part of the city does not attract real estate investments. The land pressure marks the southern part of the Bulgarian capital, where construction projects in the form of gated communities, occupied by rich population appear.

The north-south divide can also be observed with the land and real estate price’s maps made by Milena Guest (specialist of Bulgaria) in 2006. The land price can exceed 900 euros/m² to the south part and rarely more than 200 euros/m² to the north part. Respecting real estate price is about 500-750 euros/m² for the south and 200-500 euros/m² for the north. Just like in Romania, these new built spaces do not have utilities. Imbalances are occurring, firstly ecological, because of the advance of the urbanization to the mountains and the Natural Park of Vitosha.

This chaotic urban sprawl worries the authorities. What is the sofiopte answer to this phenomenon.

4. WHAT GOVERNANCE FOR URBAN SPRAWL IN EASTERN EUROPE?

If in Budapest the management goes into the direction of urban renewal, conversion of brownfields and occupation of free spaces between other constructions, Sofia gambled on the creation in 2007 of a master plan with tree objectives: limit urban sprawl, development
of the north land of Sofia and development of a polycentric structure. Warsaw manifests the desire for the creation of a metropolitan area, just like Bucharest. Planning tools exist but there is a huge contrast between the urban strategy orientations and the reality of the urban dynamic. Often it is because of the financial lack that local councils promote the construction and finally they encouraged urban sprawl.

The solution for a coherent expansion is the cooperation between local councils with common projects. But often the lack of confidence and the competition between local actors contribute to a chaotic sprawl. There are contradictions between what we want to do and what we really do. Cooperation between different actors at different levels is necessary. But how that will be possible in this context of non-confidence between authorities? The response can arrive with the European Union that will introduce common measures with a view to coordinate and control urban territorial evolutions in Europe.

5. WESTERN EUROPE: REFLECTION MODEL IN TERMS OF PERI-URBANIZATION

In Western Europe, peri-urbanization appears at the end of the sixties, and today the process seems to be controlled. This phenomenon is for everybody, in comparison with Eastern Europe where peri-urbanization is for wealthy people. Land is serviced before construction, in comparison with Eastern Europe where utilities and services miss. There is a realization of its negative consequences and authorities act in the way of the sustainable development. The legislation seems to be clear and the different actors respect it.

5.1. Peri-urbanization in France

The peri-urban dynamic in France translate itself under different forms. It is firstly residential, and it marks the end of the compact city. It is then economic. In France this dynamic present different forms of urban extension. Individual house is accessible to middle class and the “extremes are lacking” (Jaillet, 2004). The land is serviced before construction and rules and tools of urban planning are respected. These spaces are also depending of individual transport. During the last four decades, the peri-urban area in France grew faster than population. For example in the department of Loire-Atlantique in the west of France the urbanized land was multiplied by 3.3 between 1960 and 2008 and population was multiplied only by 1.5 (AURAN, 2009).

Urban sprawl is determined by the individual preferences of each one, by the incomes and the prices. When incomes increase households turn towards rather to individual house then apartments. One important motivation rests the price. As we go away from the city-center the land prices fall. The car cost has decrease, favoring the increase of the motorization rate and the development of road infrastructures. This thing permits the growth of the speed of travel and in consequence the decrease of the “distance-time”. Contrary of what happens in the East in France, like in other Western European countries, it is the construction of the transport infrastructures that attract new urban implantations near access roads and stations.

So what is the French answer to this process that nibbles agricultural land?
5.2. **Peri-urbanization in Germany**

In Germany there are differences between east and west. After the fall of the Berlin wall, cities of East Germany knew an important demographic decline, due first of all to the deindustrialization and unemployment which result. Between 1989 and 1995 70 to 90% of industrial jobs had disappeared in East Germany. Cities in this German part assist to a massive emigration to the west (Florentin D., 2009). The post-socialist transition, just like in other countries in Central and Eastern Europe, had effects for the time being in the spatial structure in East Germany. The peri-urbanization is concretized first by the construction of individual periphery houses. This is in opposition with the compact city specific to socialist towns. The state subventions for the real estate development helped this process. Other factors like the increase of the families’ income and the promotion of a new type of accommodation also had their contribution. The abundance of land just like legislation which is not so restrictive had also permitted the install of shopping centers and enterprises.

But the subventions for construction and for commuting for distances longer than 20 km have stopped. The decline of the peri-urban residential model, the attractiveness revalorization of the accommodation in town make that east-German peri-urbanization is today in decline. Between 2000 and 2005 83% of German administrative units registered negative demographic evolution (Herfert G., 2007).

West Germany like France knew in the sixties this phenomenon. Apparition of individual house can be observed at that time. Motorization was a key factor of more and more distant travels. But the pollution, the noise and the energy consumption made that at the end of the 1980 West Germany was engaged in a process of sustainable development by supervision of urban sprawl and an evolution of the regard that Germans had on their way of transportation (Hecker A., 2007).

5.3. **Governance in Western Europe**

In France SRU (Solidarité et Renouvellement Urbain) low with urban documents: SCOT (Schéma de Cohérence Territoriale) and PLU (Plan d’Urbanisme Local) were developed in 2000. This low demand reduction of the land use and densification of land already build. SCOT and PLU are tools that control peri-urbanization. The cooperation between local councils also exists for a coherent development. The strategies of control of the urban sprawl articulate around some principles: organize the agglomeration increase by limiting the land offer intended for the urbanization, by promoting polycentric development or by fixing density norms, invest in the urban renewal by the reconquest of the urban fallow lands or by the re-value of city centers, accompany periphery municipalities in their town planning projects, set up economic tools as the interest-free loan for the investments in the center or the preservation of the outer-urban agriculture (Stainteny, 2008).

Germany is a country that promotes re-urbanization. This country encouraged the urban renewal by a strict control of urban tools and the land occupation from the Länder. Those documents authorized urban sprawl only in case of lack of building spaces between other constructions and in presence of public transit deserving those new built spaces. (Delfau E. 2005).

France and Germany seem to control the peri-urban phenomenon, which is very consumer of space. The emergence of this process in the Western Europe gives more
coherence to the urban sprawl and to its control via the various planning tools and the
existence of the inter-municipal structures, compared with the East, where there is not yet
awareness on behalf of the actors regarding this process. In our opinion France and
Germany are two good examples of territory planning for Central and Eastern European
countries.

6. CONCLUSIONS

With these few examples we showed similarities and differences of the peri-urban
process dynamic and governance. Although these four big Eastern European cities have
different rhythms of development, the peri-urbanization expanded with the fall of the
communism and the characteristics are similar everywhere: residential rich peri-
urbanization towards green spaces, incoherence between the documents of town planning
and the reality, the mismanagement of the phenomenon on behalf of the local authorities,
lack of inter-administrative units projects, the main cause being the lack of a culture of
cooperation or the fear of the authorities to lose the autonomy on their territories.
Comparisons with Western European spaces were added to present solutions of governance
to the Eastern European peri-urbanization. In France, the model of governance is based on
the links between local authorities and in Germany the model of current development is
directed to the re-urbanization of the center having in mind a sustainable development. But
the economic development of these countries is not the same. The Eastern Europe has to
catch up a lot and twenty years after a centralist regime do not seem to have been enough
for making a successful transition.

So Germany and France show themselves like countries that control the phenomenon
with a rigorous legislation and sustainable development is also considered. Central and
Eastern European countries knew the process later and the management is not the same.
Legislation exists, but is not clear and the process can not be managed in an ordered way. If
Western Europe research solutions which consider a sustainable and harmonious
development, the Central-East Europe research an immediate development, and that’s why
there are discrepancies.

Some solutions to the management of this process in this European corner are the
inter-administrative units projects with the cooperation between different actors and the
emergency of a governance mode adapted to the Central-East European peri-urbanization.

REFERENCES

Agence d’Urbanisme de la Région Nantaise (AURAN), (2009), Evolution du territoire urbanisé et
Agence Nationale de l’Habitat (ANAH), (2009) Les politiques de renouvellement urbain des villes
d’Europe Centrale illustrées par la réhabilitation des quartiers existants. La ville de
Calberac, Y., (2003), L’intégration des villes de l’Est dans le système monde, animateur du sujet :
Lydia Coudroy de Lille, Cafés Géographiques, n°127, URL: http://www.cafe-
geo.net/article.php3?id_article=127

Coudroy de Lille, L., (2005), Entre est et ouest, entre tradition et modernité : la Pologne dans l’Europe d’aujourd’hui, Géocarrefour, [en ligne], volume 80/1, mis en ligne le 14 janvier 2008, consulté le 10 avril 2011, URL : http://geocarrefour.revues.org/897


