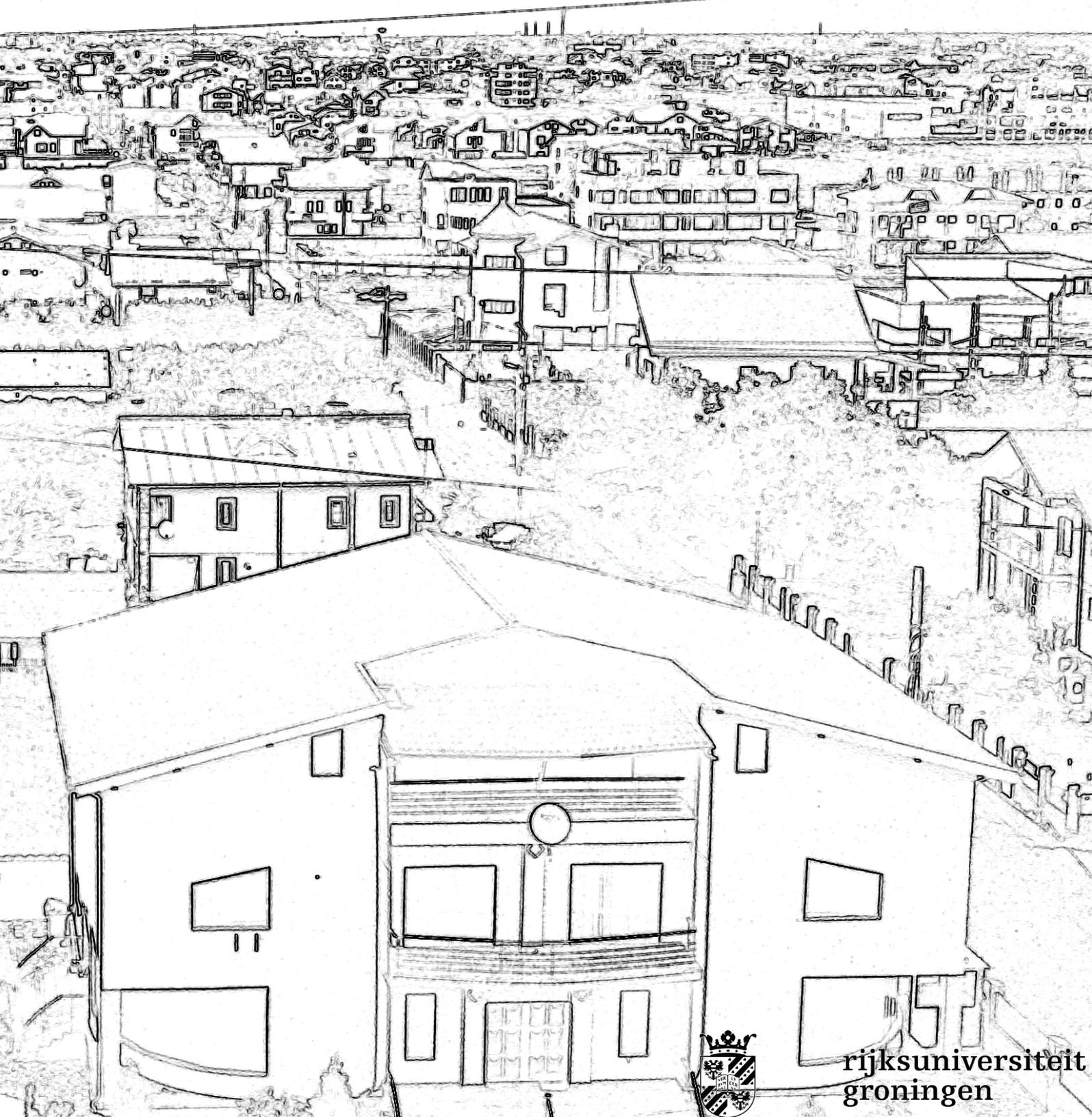


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Local Identity in Peri-Urban Areas

Conflicts, Problems and Solutions in the Bucharest Metropolitan Area



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Bucharest Metropolitan Area

PREFACE

This research is developed as a requirement for the completion of the Msc. Environmental and Infrastructure Planning, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. The main focus of this Master Thesis will be the concept of **local identity** and its applicability in the **peri-urban** areas of Bucharest.

For this research data such as urban planning regulations, zonal land-use plans, population data and interviews with interested parties are used. In addition, literature review on the **local identity** issues in Bucharest and peri-urban areas of Bucharest has proven to be very helpful and has provided very useful information regarding the past and current situation.

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisors: Stefan Hartman and Ward Rauws for guiding me through the process of writing this paper as well as for having patience and knowing how to listen to my ideas. Secondly, I would like to thank all the interested parties from Bucharest that agreed to be interviewed by me and provided me with interesting information for my research. In particular, I am very grateful to prof. Ioan Ianoş, from the Interdisciplinary Center for Advanced Researchers on Territorial Dynamics, University of Bucharest, whose main research focus includes the processes of local identity/building identity in the peri-urban areas of Bucharest. The informations obtained after the discussion with prof. Ianoş have proven essential to my research. Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends, as well all my special friends from the EIP master program for being supportive during the process of writing the Master Thesis.

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Dana Şova

ABSTRACT

In the development trajectory of the peri-urban areas of Bucharest patterns of rural-urban divide and rural-urban integration can be observed. This thesis analyzes the current development processes in the **peri-urban** areas of Bucharest with an emphasis on the **building identity** process. As the **peri-urban** environment of Bucharest Metropolitan Area can be characterized as a highly dynamic and unstable, the evolution of the **local communities** became dependent on the changes in the built environment. This research focuses on the fact that throughout all these changes, the **identities** of places have shifted or have disappeared completely and are unable to be reconstructed in some locations. The first ring of **peri-urban** areas are presented in detail, with examples of processes of **building identity** and with initiatives of the **local communities** which start to express the desire of being involved in the decision-making process. The findings of this study show the importance of a shift in the traditional top-down planning system towards a more communicative approach, by involving the **local communities** and by supporting processes of **building identity**.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ALPAB - Administration Lakes, Parks and Recreation Bucharest
- BMA - Bucharest Metropolitan Area
- ESPON - European Spatial Planning Observation Network
- EU - European Union
- GDP - Gross Domestic Product
- MEGA - European Metropolitan Regions
- NGO - Non-Governmental Organization
- NUTS -Nomenclature des Unités Territoriales Statistiques
- UAUIM - University of Architecture and Urbanism 'Ion Mincu'
- ZAC - Zones d'Aménagement Concertées

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INTRODUCTION

The main reason for focusing on **local identity** issues in highly dynamic spaces such as **peri-urban** areas is based on Magnaghi's (2005) argument about anonymous sites. *"The increasing liberation from territorial constraints (deterritorialization) has led in time to a loss of awareness about the relations between the human settlement and the environment. These relations once generated the history of places and their unique recognizable identity. The destruction of the memory and biography of the territory forces us to live in anonymous sites, reduced to supporting the functions of an instant society, which has brusquely interrupted relations with the history and memory of place."* (Magnaghi, 2005). Spaces without **identity** represent 'empty' spaces, where the potential to develop in terms of economy, environment and social structure is becoming more and more reduced and where the transformations of the built environment are observed with indifference by the **local communities**. Starting from this context, a study case in Eastern Europe - a region affected by several heavy transformations during the last decades - was chosen for this research, in order to illustrate the main theoretical issue discussed: **local identity**.

The study area chosen for this research is Bucharest Metropolitan Area, with a focus on the municipalities from the **peri-urban** spaces of Bucharest. BMA has experienced highly dynamic changes in past decades and it is of great interest to urban planners and architects, especially because of the vast land available for construction but also because of the problems or inconsistencies of the evolving urban pattern. In addition, several social problems have been identified in the area and amongst them the most remarkable is the lack of any relationship between the new inhabitants and the place where they have decided to move in. The choice of establishing a new dwelling/ changing the residency from another location to the **peri-urban** space is, in most of the cases, based on economic reasons (cheaper land price) or 'mentality' reasons (the 'escape' from the socialistic blocks - as during the communist regime, the main aim was increasing the urbanization degree of the country, most of the people were forced to live in low-income apartment blocks that lacked to reach the necessary comfort levels.)

The central line of argumentation will follow the development trajectory: from rural-urban divide towards rural-urban integration and from no **local identity** towards **building an identity** in the **peri-urban** areas of Bucharest. In order to prove the importance of the **local identity** in the context of rapid developments several aspects need to be taken into consideration: the current involvement of the market economy as well as the historical background of the region. Furthermore, in the involvement of the local authorities in the planning process as well as sociological and behavioral aspects need to be taken into account when analyzing the situation in Bucharest.

1.1 MOTIVE AND RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

The rapid development of the capital city of one of the newest EU members is becoming more and more a challenge for the urban planners. Taken into consideration the historical development of the city, throughout the major urbanization process from the communist period and the huge



impact of the shift to a democratic and capitalist regime, a rather problematic situation can be identified. This research will focus on the **peri-urban** areas, a typology wide-spread especially after 1989 (shift to democracy) and the impact that these areas had on the previously used agricultural land.

From a sociological perspective, the current situation of the outskirts of Bucharest is the result of a cultural and ethnographic mixture. At the same time, from an economical point of view, the situation is mostly the same: low income families live next to high income families, high-tech parks are build next to agricultural land and farms as well as completely new residential neighborhoods are developed over brownfields. Although one can observe a rather clear difference between the high-income areas and the low-income areas, because the space available for building is become more and more scarce, functions tend to be more and more mixt up, as well as social classes and different economic classes. One might suggest that this could be a rather equal development process which, at least in theory, should have a positive outcome. In reality, without a proper institutional and physical infrastructure to support all the changes that are happening so fast, a chaotic situation is bound to appear.

One important aspect that can be considered here is related to the social situation in the **peri-urban** and to what extent changes in the society can be related to the changes in the built environment. The main argument is that changes in the built environment generate changes in the society. One of the main issues is that in the **peri-urban** areas of Bucharest, the society is not involved in the decision-making process and all the changes in the built environment are decided by the market economy (Ianoş, 2013).

The expected result of this study is to provide the reader with enough information about the **peri-urban** environment, about issues of **local identity** and about the situation in Bucharest today, in order to be able to set the basis for proposing recommendations for the modification to the current urban planning policy system in Romania. In addition, the study aims at setting up a possible framework for the future development of the **local communities** of the **peri-urban** areas, as well as communication platforms between these **communities** and the authorities.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION AND SUB-QUESTIONS

Main research question:

- **To what extent can practices of building local identity enhance the development of urban policies concerning the peri-urban areas of the Municipality of Bucharest?**

In order to support my research several sub-question are stated below.

Sub-questions:

- What are the main components that define a peri-urban area and what are the conflicts/problems that are generated due to the interactions between these components?

- How can we understand the concept local identity and the process of building identity?
- Which actions/initiatives can be considered as examples that contributed to the strengthening of the local identity or to the process of building identity in specific neighborhoods part of the peri-urban areas of the municipality of Bucharest?

1.3 STRUCTURE

This paper is structured in several parts from which the first one is the current. After the introductory chapter (Chapter 1), the theoretical aspects are presented, with the main key concepts: **peri-urban** and **local identity**. These concepts are explained and the previously written literature approaching the chosen subject is analyzed and critiqued. The emphasis will be placed on the conflicts that appear between the two distinctive environments: urban and rural, the problems that emerged from these spatial and social conflicts and the possible solutions for them. Furthermore, an explanation for the necessity of a **local identity**, especially in **peri-urban** areas, is provided. In addition, examples of how this concept can help in finding viable solutions for the problems identified previously will be explained.

Chapter no. 3 focuses of the methodological framework, presenting the chosen research strategy in trying to obtain answer for the research questions as well as an analysis of the internal and external validity of this strategy.

The following part (Chapter no. 4) is represented by the empirical analysis with a focus on Bucharest – as an example coming from a developing country which still has difficulties in handling the rapid evolution and spreading of the city. A general description of the Bucharest Metropolitan Area as well as a presentation of the development trajectory of this part of Romania will help better understand the current situation and the current trends in building development as well as the implications of a **local identity** in these areas. A detailed example of **peri-urban** dynamics and **building identity** practices is exposed through the analysis of the municipalities part of the first **peri-urban** ring of Bucharest. As a detailed small scale example, these processes taking place in Pantelimon town are described and critiqued. Based on a previously done study by Sasaki and Kobayashi (2006), the analysis of the development process of the Pantelimon town and the implications of the rural/urban community in the planning process are described. As a conclusion to this analysis, general recommendations for future strategies are being made consisting also of examples of activities/initiatives that can also work as a platform in order to enhance the communication between the local stakeholders and the authorities.

The final part (Chapter no.5) aims at summarizing the main issues presented in this research as well as giving recommendations supported by examples found through literature review. This part would like to point out the importance of creating and maintaining a **local identity** in areas in transition (from rural to urban morphology) characterized by high dynamics and rapid changes: **peri-urban** areas.





Peri-urban Bucharest: Open view



THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins with a analysis of the term **peri-urban**, following different definitions and interpretations provided by other scholars (Rauws & de Roo, 2011; Rauws & van Dijk, 2013, Stan, 2009; Ianoş, 2013), including the processes that characterize this area and the different types of linkages that are established between the **peri-urban** space and the rest of the areas. These aspects are grouped under the headings of '**characterizing peri-urban dynamics**'. Taking into account these processes and types of linkages as well as their degree of dynamism, a general characteristic of the development process in the peri-urban space is defined, under the heading of '**characterizing local identity processes**'. Here, a detailed explanation of the term **coherent** development is presented as a central term for analyzing development processes in the **peri-urban**. The lack of **coherent** development and other problems related to this aspect lead to the of need to introducing the term **local identity** as a process taking place in the **peri-urban** space, a process shaped by local values as well as the **local communities**. Further on, based on the degree of implication of the **local community** in the planning process, the situation of **building identity** is presented here as a possible recommendation for improving the already identified and defined problems.

2.2 PERI-URBAN DYNAMICS AND THE LOCAL IDENTITY PROCESS

The main focus of this research is the **peri-urban** and the **local identity**. In order to understand these terms and their relevance in this present situation, a literature review has been made, presenting all the important characteristics of these concepts. It is to be mentioned that the **peri-urban** is considered the environment in which processes of **local-identity** take place. Therefore, **what are the main components that define a peri-urban area and what are the conflicts/problems that are generated due to the interactions between these components?**

2.2.1 Peri-urban

The **peri-urban** area is considered to be the link between the urban inner city areas and the rural landscapes surrounding it. Interactions between the urban and the rural 'parts' are manifested through the flows of traffic, capital and goods, therefore, the need for an environment that support s these interactions - the **peri-urban environment**. The advantages of such an area are accessibility, land price significantly lower than inner city areas, as well as the availability of large surfaces of land convenient to build on. In the same time, disadvantages of these areas such as instability, unpredictability and dependence on the market economy can have impacts at the local/regional level generating conflicts between interest and real estate speculation (Stan, 2009, p.30).

The distinction between urban and rural has been previously discussed by different scholars (Belsky and Karaska, 1990 ; Corbridge, 1989 ; Evans and Ngau, 1991 ; Gaile, 1992 ; Tacoli, 1998) in terms of

spatial and social dimensions. Using the size and the main occupation of the inhabitants, an area is defined as rural or urban. It is known and generally accepted that rural population uses agriculture as a main activity while urban population is expected to engage in industrial or service-related activities. However, real-life situations are more complex than this purely administrative separation. *“The boundaries of urban settlements are usually more blurred than portrayed by administrative delimitations”* (Tacoli, 1998, p. 147), therefore a new type of territory appears: the **peri-urban** space. However, a clear and generally agreed upon definition of **peri-urban** areas cannot be expressed, due to the fuzzy mix of rural and urban attributes of this type of space (Rauws and de Roo, 2011, p. 269). Nevertheless, some general characteristics and issues defining **peri-urban** areas can be observed.

2.2.1.1 Characterizing peri-urban dynamics

Boundary

A **peri-urban** area is created by the movement of the **boundary** between the urban and the rural space (Stan, 2009, p.33). This is a continuous and unstable process that is influenced by political, economical and social factors. Furthermore, the spatial processes happening in the city are constantly influencing the land price and the dynamics of the land-use system. To continue, the changes in land price and land-use have an impact on the social relations that are established between **communities** from the same territory. In this context, the **boundary** is partially dissolved in the city landscape and creates the perfect environment for communication between both sides: urban and rural (Stan, 2009, p.35).

When defining the **boundary** between urban and rural, a general aspect of fuzziness is clearly visible. In the case of growing metropolitan regions, the agricultural and non-agricultural land tends to intersect, generating this way a dynamic line between the urban and the rural (Firman, 1996; Hugo, 1996; Ginsberg et al., 1991). Furthermore, today's urban households are to some extent dependent on rural agriculture *“urban residents and enterprises depend for basic resources and ecological functions on an area significantly larger than the built-up area”* (Tacoli, 1998, p. 149). Moreover, researches have shown that *“the number of urban households engaging in agriculture and that of rural households whose income is derived from non-farm activities is far higher than usually thought”* (Abramovay and Sachs, 1996; Bhooshan, 1986; Bryceson and Jamal, 1997; Misra, 1986; Saint and Goldsmith, 1980). In addition, Tacoli presents a division connections across urban-rural **boundaries** based on the *„(...) local historical, political, sociocultural and ecological factors”* (Tacoli, 1998, p.3): **Linkages across space** (such as flows of people, goods, money and information and wastes) and **Sectoral interactions**, which include ‘rural’ activities taking place in urban areas (such as urban agriculture) or activities often classified as ‘urban’ (such as manufacturing and services) taking place in rural areas (Tacoli, 1998, p.3).

In short, mono-functional areas are not common today and their efficiency is questionable. Instead,



multi-functional areas are emerging and a large number of them can be identified in the outskirts of the cities (Stan, 2009, p.40). Therefore, from a planning perspective and taking into account the dynamics of the land-use system and the connections established across territory between different land-uses, a clear distinction between what is the area of influence of the urban and what is the area for the rural is not possible anymore.

Processes

Whereas, Allen (2003) argues that *"consensus on the definition of peri-urban area is lacking due to its fuzzy mix of rural and urban attributes"*, several types of **peri-urban** areas are identified by Stan (2009) in the book *"The Landscape of Urban Periphery"*. These types are: damaged industrial landscapes, hallway landscapes - choked by advertising banners, fragmented area landscapes and non-landscapes - landscapes without no behavioral changes and no dynamics (Stan, 2009, p.124). Each of these types of landscape can be characterized as mono-functional areas and conflicts appear at the point when these functions suddenly start overlapping or even get switched between the urban and the rural environment (for example: typical rural industrial areas become part of the inner city space due to legislation changes). This situation appears due to exterior factors such as massive and uncontrolled investment in the redevelopment of the **peri-urban** areas. In this general problematic context, three main spatial processes can be identified, based on the movement of the **boundary** between urban and rural. These spatial processes are **Segregation**, **Symbiosis** and **Integration** (Stan, 2009, p.44).

The **Segregation** appears when the **boundary** between the two environments is too strong to be crossed - the zoning principle of planning. This leads to the creation of different **local identities**, most often opposed or in conflict (Stan, 2009, p.44). This effect is often obtained by visually blocking elements, high fences, wide roads, insertion of highways or railways as well as isolating some parts of the territory using green spaces. This leads to clustered, segregated communities, with few contacts with the exterior world and vulnerable from the point of view of social problems. Advantages of such processes include the access to large natural green areas as well as increased accessibility due to the presence of highways/railways.

The **Symbiosis** process is the opposite of the **segregation**. It is considered to appear after longer time periods and it is a consequence of interaction between two different environments which end up relying one on another and start cooperating (Stan, 2009, p.45). The main result of this process is a new environment, with components from both interacted entities, where *"parts of the features of the initial environments are 'melted' together, with the risks that appear out of this: both sides are loosing some values, or, in the case of asymmetric symbiosis, the stronger environment includes the other, canceling its identity."* (translated by author after Stan, 2009, p.45). A similar process is identified by other scholars (Russwurm and Bryant, 1982; Bryant and Coppack, 1991; Dahms, 1995) and its result is known as the 'urban field'. Other proposed synonym terms include 'regional city' and 'city's countryside' and are used to describe similar areas situated in the metropolitan hinterland. This interpretation agrees that *"rural hinterlands are linked to*

metropolitan cores through daily commuting, migration, vacation trips and flows of money and information” (Coppack, 1988 in Dahms, 1995, p.23) and that rural hinterlands start depending on metropolitan cores as well as the metropolitan cores start relying on rural hinterlands. The advantages of such process include better connections and cooperations between inner city areas and their hinterlands. The disadvantages are based on the dependency relationship between the two environments: if one collapses/experiences some issues, the other is also affected.

The third type of process that can be observed is the **Integration**. This process is defined by having an optimal and balanced difference between two environments without having the risk of **segregation** and including the cooperation (part of **symbiosis**) between the environments. An example for this type can be found in France under the name of Zones d’Aménagement Concertées (ZAC) (the Massy-Antony residential area, the Montereau-Surville or the Pissevin from Nimes areas) (Stan, 2009, p.45). The advantages of an **Integration** process include balanced future development on all sectors and the disadvantages rely on the fact that in a future scenario, through complete integration, the loss of the particular characteristics/defining aspects of each environment is possible.

Links

Other scholars researching the condition of the **peri-urban** environment took the importance of these areas to a higher level. The idea of the **boundary** limiting the space and generating different processes in relation to its intensity is no longer the central issue. The peri-urban zone is *„no longer seen as just a boundary ‘in-between’ the city and the country; the interface is characterized as a process where identification and location, place and identity, are being contested and reconfigured”* (Kaiser and Nikiforova, 2006). In a paper published in 2011, Kaiser and Nikiforova are identifying three main types of land linkages in the **peri-urban** space:

- **Dynamic linkages** - involving the radical and massive transformation of the land, especially in the rural areas where huge land is being transformed from agricultural land to housing or industry.
- **Stable interaction linkages** - in the situations where the city doesn’t have the ability to attract major investments that lead to major changes in the land-use system. The impact in the rural areas is limited and the city is the main supplier of services for the people living in the surrounding municipalities.
- **Indifference linkages** - the city is unable to bring any transformation in the rural territories around it. Therefore, a peri-urban interface is mainly not existing in these situations.

Emergent peri-urban issues - Coherence

One major type of development processes can be identified when these different linkages start developing but the **peri-urban** space does is not able to accommodate and cope with the changes. This processes is characterized by the term: **not coherent**. The following paragraphs will define the concept of **coherence** in terms of spatial development in the **peri-urban** space.

“The coherence of urban form can be understood from the theory of complex interacting systems.” (Salingaros, 2000, p.155). Complex, large-scale units are composed of many interacting sub-units, respecting a certain hierarchy. Therefore, *“a variety of elements and functions on the small scale is necessary for large-scale coherence.”* (Salingaros, 2000, p.155). Applying this perspective in **peri-urban** evolution, one can admit that ‘small’ interventions could have a large impact on the environment’s development. The coherent type of development should be, therefore, divided into several categories - each category can be associated with a ‘small’ intervention. This division is clearly presented by Stan in *“Peisajul Periferiilor Urbane: Revitalizarea peisageră a zonelor periferice”* 2009 book. Taking into account the areas of influence, Stan identifies two main type of **coherence: ecological coherence** and **spatial coherence**. In addition to these, the **social coherence** is described as the result of the capacity of the society/community to adapt to the changes of the surrounding environment (Ianoş, 2013). For the social coherence to take place, several conditions of the build and natural environment need to be fulfilled. Without a basis of built and natural infrastructure designed taking into account the social aspects (the users of that infrastructure), the social aspect cannot evolve or adapt to the changing surrounding situation (Ianoş, 2013). Another way of reaching coherence is through the empowerment of citizens (Boonstra B. and Boelens, 2011). In terms of planning this would be translated through the involvement of the society and the local communities in the decision-making process.

The **ecological coherence** is defined as the capacity of an area to maintain all bioecosystems and food-chains in a functional and unaltered state. The most common treats to this state are deforestation and land-use changes from agricultural land to land for construction, leading to fragmentation of the food-chains and a general disturbance in the bioecosystems. (Stan, 2009, p.130)

The **spatial coherence** is referring to the physical visual mixture between structures of urban, rural and natural environment (Stan, 2009, p. 130). In the case of **peri-urban** areas, this can be threatened by highly dynamic processes or by the movement of the **boundary** between urban and rural. Because the **peri-urban** is often subjected to dynamic processes, coordinations is required to achieve coherence.

To conclude, *“losing one or both of these characteristics (ecological and spatial coherence), which are the basis of the healthy state of the landscape, brings with it several negative symptoms, which, neglected, can cause diseases”* (trad. Stan, 2009, p. 130). In short, in the **peri-urban** areas, four types of issues can be identified in terms of coherence. Without taking into account these issues during the planning process, several more severe problems might emerge in the future. The four main negative symptoms are explained below:

- **Disorder** - partially losing the **spatial coherence**. Possible causes: the existence of too many types of land-uses in the same areas, often in conflict, mainly divided in two parts: land-uses characteristic to urban environment, but that were transferred to the rural space, and older

rural type of land-uses; lack of continuity in urban planning rules and regulations or fragmented interventions with different purposes (local authorities vs. private investors).

- **Dysfunction** - can be defined as a disturbance of the territory caused by a mixture of too many land-uses and it easily recognized by the fact that it often uses green spaces to hide the unwanted visual negative landscapes.
- **Dismantling** - a severe form of **disorder**. It is expressed through the loss of the basic structures of a territory - its links and connections. The dismantling is basically the incapacity of maintaining these links between two areas leading to the disappearance of the differences between those areas.
- **Imbalance** - the state in which connections and relations with the environment cannot be established anymore. There are two cases of balance: stable and unstable balance, both assuring that the links with the environment are still possible.

These impacts are taken in consideration in this research, with an emphasis on the **dismantling** consequence - due to the fact that it can lead to the disappearance of the differences between areas, the **local identity** is put in danger. Moreover, this 'in-difference' (Stan, 2009, p.130) between areas leads to the "*cancellation*" (Stan, 2009, p.130) of any social relationships between people, decrease of the economical potential of the areas and losing all local values, traditions, cultural entities (Stan, 2009, p.130). Therefore, 'in-difference' in terms of development leads to the questioning of the existence of any type of **identity** in the affected territories. The **identity** of each location is relevant for future developments. The **coherent** development of peri-urban areas, especially in social terms, is the main link between the processes happening in the peri-urban environment and the **communities** that are directly affected. These **communities** can contribute to counter the 'in-difference' effect by involving in processes of building identity. **But how can we understand the concept local identity/building identity ?**

2.2.2 Local identity

As Haartsen (2000) argues, **identities** are by definition a social construct, based on specific characteristics of a certain area. Furthermore, as the future developments can always be unpredictable, these construction are, to a large extent, based on the past (Haartsen, 2000, p. 2). Therefore, following the development trajectory of a certain area offers data about past and present **identities** of the location. As the **identity** of a place can be associated with the changes happening in that place one can observed that there are several main actors involved in these changes. These actors "*may proclaim different identities*" (Haartsen, 2000, p. 3) and during time "*the power balance between claimants may change, their goals may change, new claimants may arrive in the arena*" (Haartsen, 2000, p. 3). In addition, new functions/land-uses may appear, this way changing the whole context. This way, the concept of **local identity** can be considered a process as it is an on-going phenomenon with direct implications on the build and social environment and generated by the social interactions at different levels: between members of the same **local**

community, between different **local communities** or between these **communities** and the local authorities.

A direct relationship between the humans and the environment they live is expressed through means of **local identity**. The life of the dweller is fragmented between sites such as: work, leisure, healthcare or shopping. Today, in the **peri-urban** areas, there are very few or no places where all these functions are located together, where activities coordinate one with another and where the traditional dweller can create its own connection with the environment. *“The disappearance of meaning in public spaces has led to the break-up of social life”* (Ilardi, 1990). The starting point of analyzing and explaining the issue of **local identity** is the following statement: *“Identity refers to the whole of feelings and representations built at the level of the inhabitants in a community”* (Ianoş et. al, 2008, p.2).

2.2.2.1 Characterizing local identity processes

From a theoretical point of view, Weigert’s (1986) work is the most explicit when dealing with **local identity**. Through his scheme with the three main basic approaches to **identity**, a relatively accurate

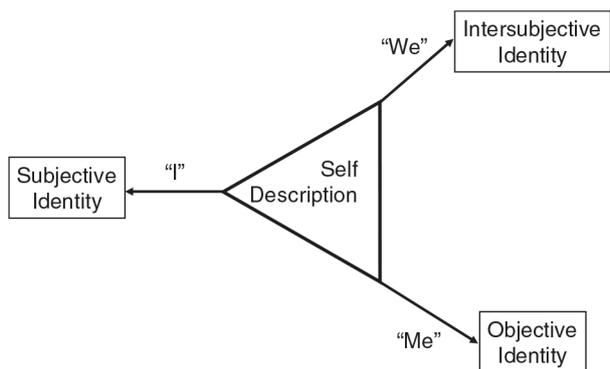


Fig. 1. Weigert’s (1986) basic approaches to identity.
Source: van Rekom and Go, 2006)

definition of this *“dynamic and ill-defined, amorphous concept”* (van Keken and Go, 2006, p.55) is developed. Weigert (1986) discusses three basic modes of **identity**: **subjective**, **objective** and **inter-subjective**, modes that are directly correlated with the personal pronouns ‘I’, ‘Me’ and ‘We’. Through processes of self-awareness, the questions that led to stating the existence of these three type of modes if identity were developed.

The main conclusion of Weigert’s research led to the fact that *“the identity of an object corresponds to its definition. The object’s characteristics are its defining features”* (van Keken and Go, 2006, p.55). In terms of spatial development, this would be translated to the fact that **identities** create a sense of belonging to one place or another. Furthermore, from a social point of view, *“a person’s or an organization’s ‘objective identity’ at any given point in time consists of his or its characteristics. These characteristics form the building blocks for a person’s being part of a group, that is his or her ‘inter-subjective identity.’”* (van Rekom and Go, 2006, p.81). So, the ‘We’ mode is dependent on the common established and agreed upon rules and assumptions regarding the group’s **identity**, the way this particular group is distinguished amongst others (van Rekom and Go, 2006, p.81). What is striking here is the power and the great degree of influence that psychological and social features have on the connection between the man and the environment he lives in. The debate than can evolve here is related to expressions of people connecting with the environment (**subjective** and

objective identity), and even more, people connecting with each other (**inter-subjective identity**).

Local communities

The **communities** are the ones that give a certain **identity** to a location - *“identity represents a permanent and collective construction, expressed by individuals who formulate it and spread it over the territory”* (Ianoş et. al, 2008, p.2). The people that are physically and emotionally related to certain geographical space give that space a meaning, transforming it into a place. These meanings differ from one situation to another and are interpreted subjectively by each person. *“The qualities of places exist both as experienced materialities and as mental constructs related to the construction of individual and collective identities.”* (Healey, 2004, p. 47). Also, the meanings are very little or not at all influenced and distorted by the passing of time, being amongst the few things that can be considered as a stable criteria when analyzing a location. From a social-constructivist perspective, we recognize the real, material objects through our own filter, based on the way we perceive those objects (Healey, 2004, p. 49). The disadvantages are, as mentioned, the subjectiveness of the observations that can be made in relation to the **identity** of that specific location.

Furthermore, *“a group’s ‘distinctive characteristics’ are unique from the viewpoint of the insider group; not necessarily from an outsider’s perspective”* (van Rekom and Go, 2006, p.82). These *‘distinctive characteristics’* are reflected in the behavior of the **community** members, behavior towards the environment they live and towards each other. This has a direct impact on the way **local identity** evolves: *“If the members of a group define themselves as the higher status group, it is likely to strengthen in-group identification, thereby enhancing local identity”* (van Rekom and Go, 2006, p.83). As a permanent and collective construction, the **local identity** is expressed in the territory through individual persons or **communities**. From the point of view of the person/**community**, it is important that the membership/affiliation to one or more territories is clearly visible (Ianoş et. al, 2008, p. 2). Therefore, the idea that *“identity is characterized by a community of values and cultural features, social goals, history and belonging to a certain territory”* (Ianoş et. al, 2008, p. 2) appears. Moreover, one can state that as long as a **community** has a clear personality, it has a clear and undoubted **identity** (Brunet and Ferras, 1992 in Ianoş et. al, 2008, p.2).

Building identity

A general phenomenon of **identity** crisis is taking place in the last decades, but this situation can be explained through the highly dynamic processes that have recently affected those particular areas. (Ianoş et. al, 2008, p. 2). In this situation, the idea of **building a local identity** appears. This is a process of interaction between the rural and urban environment and it implies an interaction between the physical and social structures of both the rural and the urban environment, an interaction that is also an on-going process, evolving simultaneous with the expansion of the urban into the rural (Ianoş et. al 2008, p.2).

Moreover, **building identity** is an adaptive process, shaped by a series of elements: social,

economical, cultural, political as well as dysfunctions in the relationships between urban and rural. Also, *“the mentality change can make more difficult the identity adaptation and re-adaptation processes since the conservative forces (stable ethnic and social structures) play an important role in the degree of their completion”* (Ianoş et al. 2008, p.2). The central item to the **building identity** process is usually represented by *“groups — both internal and external to a state — with competing, and often conflicting, beliefs, values and aspirations”* (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000, p. 18). The main idea expressed here is that a **community** creates a collective **identity** of, and for, itself (Light, 2001, p. 1055).

Identity, the environment and the communities

If the changes in the built environment are regarded as a continuous process, then the communities involved are forced to adapt to these changes (Haartsen, 2000, p. 38). In psychology terms, this ability to adapt is regarded as an ‘intrinsic motivation’ force (Lens et al. 1996) and is supported by *“people’s conviction in the competency of the organization responsible for the changing environment, the feeling that they are not losing control and the need to understand why change is necessary”* (Haartsen, 2000, p. 38). Nevertheless, if the necessity for change is not understood, conflicts appear - due to the fact that sometimes people just need/want stability and reorient towards a ‘conservative’ force (Haartsen, 2000, p. 39). During the changes in the built environment and in the **communities**, the existing/assumed **identity** of that space is also subject of changes and undergoes through the process of adapting to the new situation or through the process of **building a new identity**. As changes can occur both at a local and a regional level and still have the power to influence the built environment and the communities, a multi-scalar perspective is necessary in order to understand the evolution of the **local identity**.

When analyzing the issue of **identity** at different scales, as observed by van Rekom and Go, the **local community** is equal to the group of insiders while the global culture is the group of outsiders, *“which may or may not threaten the local identity”* (van Rekom and Go, 2006, p.83). In this context, people are bound to compare the **local identity** and the **global identity** and to decide to which side they feel more attracted to (van Rekom and Go, 2006, p.83). In this situation, three types of situations regarding the evolution of the **local identity** are possible.

- **Stable local identity:** locals choose the values of their own **local community** instead of the global values.
- **Decreasing local identity:** locals choose global values, leading to globalization and the disintegration of the **local identity**.
- **Increasing local identity:** the current status of the local community is low, but it has potential and it is not unlikely to be enhanced. (van Rekom and Go, 2006, p.82)

To conclude, the connections between the changes in the built environment, the behavior of the **local communities** and the impact that they have in shaping the **identity** of a place can be characterized as ‘chain reactions’. Therefore, each intervention in the built environment generates a

type of response from the **communities**. To continue, the **communities** de-construct and construct the **local identity** by changing values and meanings offered to places or by creating new ones.

2.3 CONCEPTUAL MODEL

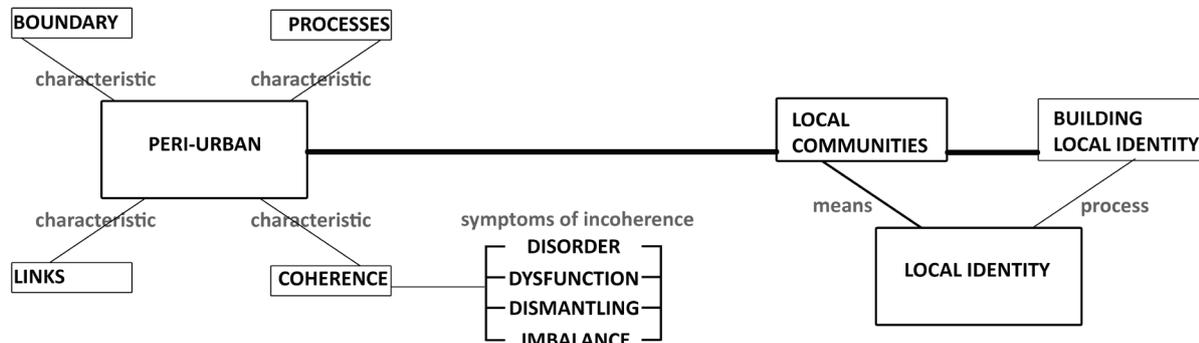
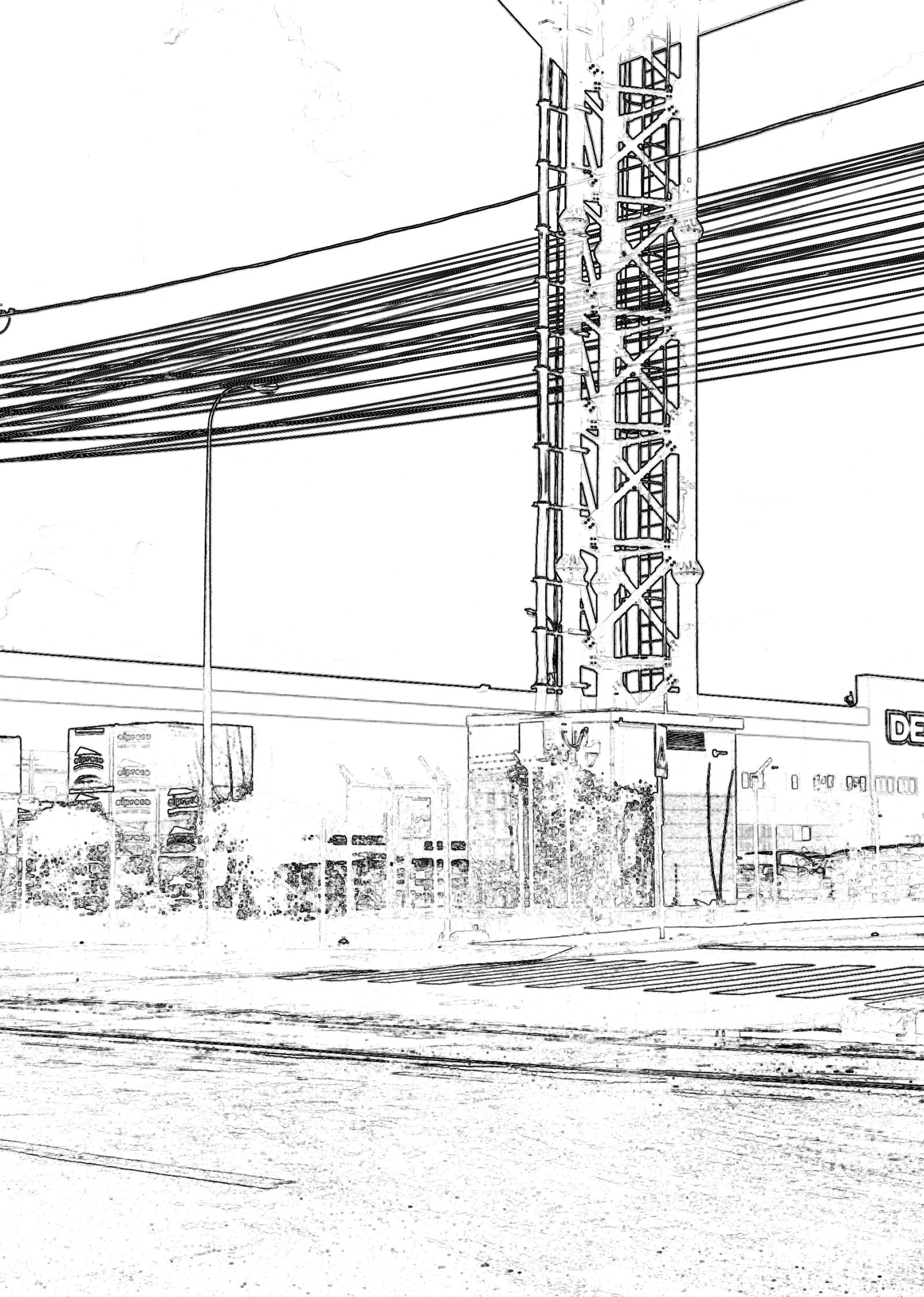


Fig. 2. Conceptual Model
Source: author.

In general terms, the conceptual models aims at showing the connections between all discussed theoretical concepts. These connections have been presented in detail in this chapter and this model helps visualizing them in an abstract way as well as a pointing out the major connections that will be investigated further on by using a study case as an example.

The characteristics of **peri-urban** space are linked with the idea of **local identity** through the existence of the **local communities** and the process of **building local identity**. As the **local communities** are present in the **peri-urban** space and they represent the very basis and the means through which the process of **local identity** takes place, their importance and their implication in the planning process is essential. Moreover, the **local communities** need an adequate built and natural infrastructure in order to be able to develop their activities and actions, therefore, the aspect of **spatial** and **ecological coherence** in terms of development in the **peri-urban** space needs to be analyzed. Provided that a coherent spatial and ecological structure exists, the coherent development of the social structures will have a chance to evolve.

The analyzed path in this research will start from the changes in the **peri-urban** (taking into account all the four main identified characteristics), through the impact on the **local communities**, the actions taken by these communities (**building identity**) onto the changes in **local identity**.





Peri-urban Bucharest: Chiajna. view

METHODOLOGY

The aim of this chapter is to explain the methodology of this study, to present the different types of data gathered for this research and their relevance for the analyzed issues. In order to do so, the research questions will be resumed here:

Firstly, the main research question addresses the **practices of building local identity** and their possibility of enhancing **the development of urban policies concerning the peri-urban areas of the Municipality of Bucharest**. Secondly, the subquestions deal with explaining *what are the main components that define a peri-urban area and what are the conflicts/problems that are generated due to the interactions between these components, how can we understand the concept local identity and the process of building identity and which actions/initiatives can be considered as examples that contributed to the strengthening of the local identity or to the process of building identity in specific neighborhoods part of the peri-urban areas of the municipality of Bucharest*. To provide answers to these questions, distinctions between different types of collected data have been made.

3.1 PRIMARY DATA COLLECTION

3.1.1 Study case

3.1.1.1 Advantages of using a study case

A case study approach is used to answer specific research questions by looking through all types of evidence that can be found in the case setting, evidence that *“needs to be abstracted and collated to get the best possible answers”* (Gillham, 2000, p.2). The main advantage is not starting with *a priori* theoretical concepts but rather get to know the situation and then decide what theoretical aspects fit most the context. In this particular situation, the use of a case study is done subjectively - meaning that the objective perspective is still used but that the main goal is following the qualitative element rather than the quantitative one. In short, *“the researcher is not a detached ‘scientist’ but a participant observer who acknowledges (and look out for) their role in what they discover”* (Gillham, 2000, p.7).

In terms of assessing the rigor of case studies, four criteria are most often used: internal validity, construct validity, external validity, and reliability (Campbell and Stanley, 1963; Campbell, 1975). The chosen study case tries to successfully address the issues of internal and external validity. The internal validity is also known as ‘logical validity’ (Cook and Campbell, 1979; Yin, 1994) and deals with the causal relationships between the variables and the results. This issue is addressed in this research through a clear formulation of the methodological framework and by using the theory of triangulation, which *“enables a researcher to verify findings by adopting multiple perspectives”* (Yin, 1994). In the Bucharest study case, the planner’s perspective is the dominant one but nevertheless, the community’s perspective is taken into account. The external validity, known as ‘generalizability’,

is based on “*the intuitive belief that theories must be shown to account for phenomena not only in the setting in which they are studied, but also in other settings*” (Calder, Phillips, and Tybout, 1982; McGrath and Brinberg, 1983). This issue is addressed in this research by collating a development trajectory for the Bucharest study case that takes into account cross-borders factors, international politics and social aspects that in the past decades have affected not only Bucharest or Romania, but a large part of Eastern Europe. This way, ample details on the study case are presented, allowing the reader to understand the current situation and to what extent the issues analyzed in Bucharest are present in other locations as well.

In order to obtain a clear overview of the chosen study case, primary and secondary data collection was necessary. To continue, the data analysis procedure included extracting the most important informations from both sets of data (based on established criteria - similar data was cross-referenced and connections between informations obtained from the primary data collection and informations obtained from the secondary data collection was made; therefore obtaining key-concepts, key geographical locations, key initiatives/processes taking place that were further on used as important information).

3.1.1.2 Selection of the study case

The Bucharest Metropolitan Area has been chosen as a study case for this researched based on both objective and subjective reasons. Firstly, the increasing **peri-urban** dynamics of Bucharest is well known phenomenon and currently of high interest both for the academic environment but also for the citizens and inhabitants of Bucharest. Secondly, the issues of identity, community empowerment, collaboration and communication between local authorities and the citizens (mostly, the nonexistence of any collaboration or communication) are almost constantly attracting media attention. In this whole unstable context, the urban planners are considered (by the society, politicians, etc) responsible and are expected to come up with efficient solutions immediately. Therefore, this study aims at providing the planners with enough data about a possible different approach on managing **peri-urban** dynamics - the **local identity/building identity** approach. In addition, as previously mentioned, the **identity** of a place is very much based on its development trajectory. As the political and economical and environmental changes suffered during the last decades by Bucharest are characteristic to all Eastern European capital cities, choosing this particular study case offers also the possibility for future comparisons with any of these capital cities.

3.1.2 Interviews

Several interviews have been conducted with urban-planners from Bucharest (from the institutional environment - planners at the municipality of Bucharest, from private urban planning companies and from the academic environment) and sociologists which work in collaboration with urban planners or that are involved in planning processes. In addition, interviews with leading persons from the local NGOs involved currently in urban planning process in Bucharest were realized, in

order to obtain data regarding the existing actions of stimulating and enhancing the **local identity/ building identity** in the neighborhoods of the city. Due to time limits and the size of the analyzed areas, surveys or interviews with the inhabitants were not possible. Furthermore, for the relevance of the obtained data, the parties that needed to be interviewed were the one who had access to the planning strategies, who had an overview of the situation and whose opinions were based on their own scientific/experimental knowledge. The observations from this research are based on the contacts/relationships between the planning and design specialists with the people living there, with the investors interested in developing those areas and with the local authorities.

In order to obtain the best results, the semi-structured and unstructured type of interview was used. Since the difference between the target parties were quite considerable, the interviews differed from each other, *“according to the interests, experiences and the views of the interviewees”* (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005). Since the issues addressed in this research are of a social matter, qualitative research methods are more suitable. The advantages of these type of interviews include the fact that by being more people-oriented, a conversation like this can flow much easier and the respondent has the chance of expressing his own ideas without having to stay in between the limits of an already defined type of answer. Moreover, a larger range of questions and problems is covered this way and the result is *“rich, detailed, multi-layered and producing a deeper picture”* (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005).

All the performed interviews were transcribed in the form of summaries of the discussed topics. Because of this, the data is mostly unstructured and the storyline not continuous. Therefore, in order to obtain a clear overview of the obtained information, the key concepts from each interview were identified in the form of words/phrases that were repeated/emphasized upon. These concepts were extracted from the original story together with the context they were mentioned and were afterwards cross-referenced with the identified key concepts from the literature review. The resulted concepts were divided in categories of aspects describing current issues and aspects relating to possible future recommendations. The general result was a list of relevant issues to be analyzed further on and a set of concepts that might represent a possible basis for the development of future strategies.

List of data* collected for the research:

Data such as statistics, land use percentages and so on from Bucharest was provided from the Urban Planning Department of the University of Urbanism and Architecture “Ion Mincu” Bucharest.

- Current condition of the built environment (very good condition, good, medium, low)
- Existing land-use system
- Public services provided
 - access to water supply, sewage, electricity and gas
 - access to educational and health facilities
 - access to local markets and food producers
- Number of existing green space and their quality (high, medium, low)
- Number of existing public spaces with a landscape design and their quality

- Degree of safety - lighting of public spaces during the night, protection of pedestrians and cyclists from the heavy-traffic roads, crime rates in the area)
 - Population data - age, education, medium income, connection with the place (family in the same neighborhood, etc), employment
 - Number and type of initiatives of projects which involved local communities in the analyzed areas
 - Number and type of actors (public parties, NGOs, local organizations, etc) involved in these projects
 - Number of projects with positive outcomes vs. number of projects with negative outcomes
- *Data extracted from zonal plans, master plans for Bucharest as well as the surrounding municipalities, CSB 3035 (Strategical Concept for Bucharest 2035).

List of persons/NGO-s contacted for interviews:

- **Dr. arh. Gabriel Pascariu** - lecturer at University of Architecture and Bucharest "Ion Mincu" - specialist in regional and territorial planning (Urban and Territorial Planning Chair, University of Architecture and Urbanism "Ion Mincu", Bucharest 1, Academiei 18-20, Tel. 021-3077180/0744689109, pascariugabriel@b.astral.ro www.uauim.ro)
 - Data obtained: general information about the development of BMA, its impact on the regional scale - Ilfov county and south Romania, issues faced along with this development process from the past years and ideas for future approaches towards these problems
- **Prof. Ioan Ianoş** - University of Bucharest – Interdisciplinary Center for Advanced Researchers on Territorial Dynamics (4-12, Regina Elisabeta Bd., Bucharest, Romania, e-mail: ianos50@yahoo.com)
 - Data obtained: information about the first encounters of **local identity** initiatives in the **peri-urban** space of Bucharest, their development and the current process of **building an identity** (as a direct result of previous economical, social and especially political influences of the last decades); data about the social situation in the **peri-urban** space of Bucharest, the needs and immediate problems of each municipality as well as possible examples of good practice and areas/municipalities that currently can be considered as 'examples' for others facing similar issues. The main conclusion was that Bucharest is experiencing a phase of **incoherent development** process affecting directly its peripheral and **peri-urban** areas and with direct impacts to the **local identity** of those specific areas.
- **Dr. arh. Florin Mureşanu** - lecturer at University of Architecture and Bucharest "Ion Mincu" - specialist in Integrated Urban Planning (University of Architecture and Urbanism "Ion Mincu", Bucharest 1, Academiei 18-20, Tel: +40723381446, E-mail: gomarchgo@yahoo.com)
 - Data obtained: general information about the economical and political situation of the municipalities in the **peri-urban** space of Bucharest as well as remarks about the effects of massive construction and extension of the build space in the landscape, the transformation of agricultural terrains into built surfaces and the change in the mentality of the people inhabiting these areas.
- **Prof. Dr. arh. Constantin Enache** - professor at University of Architecture and Bucharest "Ion



Mincu” - specialist in Romanian planning institutional and legal framework (University of Architecture and Urbanism “Ion Mincu”, Bucharest 1, Academiei 18-20, Tel. 0744152434)

- Data obtained: detailed information about the municipalities of Chitila, Mogoșoaia and Chiajna as well as general information of the evolution of constructions in the **peri-urban** space, the evolution of master plans and zonal plans affecting those areas, the main **local communities** existing in those areas and their involvement in the planning process as well as the initiatives and actions organized and coordinated by these communities.
- **Arh. Andreea Căplescu** - founder of LC43 Studio, involved in architecture and planning processes in the peri-urban areas of Bucharest. (office@lc43studio.ro)
 - Data obtained: information about the evolution of the housing units in the peri-urban space, the interior distribution of functions (which is a consequence of people’s priorities, desires, attitudes towards their neighbors and the separation between each housing unit and the ‘outside’ environment), the problems faced during the interaction with the municipality (when obtaining a building permit), the degree of self-organization (large number of construction sites started/completed and just afterwards an architect is involved so that the owner of the development can obtain the legal permits necessary)
- **ATU** - Association for Urban Transition - president Veronica Ileana Marin. ATU is a non-governmental organization that runs projects on issues of transparency in decision making and participatory democracy, improve living conditions, improving the quality of public spaces, identity and memory in urban areas, heritage protection, combating social exclusion in extreme poverty neighborhoods. (Architecture University Association for Urban Transition Academiei 18-20, Bucharest, Tel. +40 723 755 595, vera.marin@atu.org.ro)
 - Data obtained: information about the development of local communities, the initiatives of involvement in the planning process, examples of good practice regarding community involvement and actions, Bucharest activities/actions that can be considered a model for similar peripheral initiatives.

3.2 SECONDARY DATA COLLECTION

3.2.1 Literature review

3.2.1.1 Advantage of using literature review

The main advantage of using such method is related to the fact that it *“ensures the researchability of your topic before ‘proper’ research commences”* (Hart, 1998, p. 13). Furthermore, the literature review helps in progressive narrowing of the selected topic, this way avoiding *“broad, generalized and ambitious proposals”* (Hart, 1998, p. 13). For this particular research, the literature review help in obtaining more information about both the theoretical aspects as well as study case related information. The only possible disadvantages of using this method relate to the quantity of apparently relevant literature. However, after a more careful selection, the literature really

relevant for the topic was chosen based on qualitative criteria and taking into account the main key-concepts/phrases.

3.2.1.2 Choosing the relevant literature

Relevant literature dealing with issues of **peri-urban** development in Bucharest is used for analytic and deductive purposes. Scientific journals as well as planning and architecture books are providing enough information for the chosen topic and are clearly explaining the situation today in Bucharest as well as the historical development of the city and especially of its **peri-urban** space. Moreover, in terms of **local identity**, the scientific journal edited by the Faculty of Geography Bucharest and other similar sources have provided insights in the theory of **building identity**, the necessity and urgency of this process in the case of Bucharest and the means through which it can be achieved, facilitated and supported.

As the studied material comes from different sources (both from Romanian specialists in this subject and foreign scholars trying to understand and provide solutions for the situation in Bucharest) the handling of the information can prove to be problematic. Nevertheless, several aspects were taken into account when searching for relevant literature as well as when extracting the important informations from this literature. The main key-words/phrases used for searching through scientific data bases were: peri-urban, local identity, local communities, dynamics of the peripheral areas, Bucharest peri-urban & periphery, Romania, identity in Eastern Europe. Based on the established theoretical framework and the fact that similar historical development can be observed in all the East European countries in the last decades, the relevant scientific and non-scientific literature was selected and further on analyzed.

3.3 RESEARCH STRATEGY

3.3.1 Analyzing the development trajectory of the BMA peri-urban areas

The main steps followed in completing this research have as a starting point the issues of **peri-urban** dynamics. As the changes in the build environment have an impact on the evolution of the **local communities**, issues related to the **boundary** between the urban and the rural, the evolution of the different **linkages** - **dynamic/stable** and the diversity of **processes** - **segregation, symbiosis, integration** are relevant aspects that need to be taken into account. The next step is too look into the characteristics of the **local communities** followed by the connection with the **building identity** process. The degree to which this process is influencing the evolution of the **local communities** is analyzed and vice-versa. Taking into account the fact that the historical evolution of a certain place/society has a great impact on the current displayed **identity**, a development trajectory is necessary in order to create an accurate image of the analyzed situation.



Firstly, as Hartman & de Roo (2013) mention, *“planning objects (a neighbourhood, peri-urban area, region, city) are not only dynamic, but also that the characteristics, usages, meanings and values attributed to places may change fundamentally over time”*. When considering the **peri-urban** areas, their dynamics is a very important factor in shaping the development process in terms of built, natural and, consequently, social sector. In this context, the development trajectory of the analyzed study case (**peri-urban** areas of Bucharest) was realized, puzzling together relevant information from historical sources, scientific sources as well as data obtained from interviews. Based on this trajectory, the **local identity** and especially the occurrence of **identity building** processes were analyzed.

In the context of this development trajectory, four main phases can be distinguished. These phases describe the evolution of the peri-urban from the urban-rural divide towards the urban-rural integration. In terms of **local identity** and **identity building**, these phases express different stages of evolution and changes, all shaping the current situation of the **identity** in the **peri-urban**. Taking into account the fact that Romania is amongst the EU new member states and the fact that it is a former communist state, the processes of transition and globalization that were experienced by this country are very similar to other Central-East European countries. Therefore, *“the globalization process during the last 20 years has recorded specific features, in accordance with two distinctive sub-periods since 1990: the transition to the market economy that was accompanied by the preparations for accession to the EU and the post-accession period, which started on 1 January, 2007.”* (Constantin, 2011, p.53). In spatial terms, these two periods were defining for most of the urban and rural changes, land-use changes in the **peri-urban** environment and shifts in **local identity** - from the traditional village with its social structure and activities to suddenly urbanized society, expressing the same needs and following the same values as the typical inner-city inhabitant. In general terms, Bucharest Metropolitan Region was the most affected by these changes, and furthermore, another phase of development can be recognized as after 1 January 2007 - the period of massive investment continues and more international perspectives are opened now. In addition, this last phase shows recent practices of **identity building** - actions started by the **local communities**/NGOs/even local authorities that contributed to creating a sense of belonging and that can be considered as positive examples for future developments.

On the basis of the development trajectory, the important aspects in terms of **identity building** were defined, taking into account the main factors that influenced the changes in the **peri-urban**. As other scholars (Allen, 2003; Bocz et. al, 2008; Rauws & de Roo, 2011) previously observed, the **peri-urban** areas are bound to have an unstable and dynamic social structure due to high levels of migration. Also, the land-use system has an increasingly changing pattern, leading to property speculation or illegal building activities (Rauws & de Roo, 2011, p. 269). In this context, the role of the **local communities** can be very problematic. Without any initiative coming from these communities, any possible collaboration with the local authorities, planners or policy makers becomes hard to establish. Therefore, an identification of the existence/nonexistence of such **local communities** in the **peri-urban** areas analyzed was made. From the interviews several factors were

developed. These factors were used as criteria for identification and were based on the obtained information about the current situation of the **peri-urban** environment.

All this data supports the theory of **identity building** and helps establish under which conditions this process is taking place and to what extent this type of process can be currently identified in the **peri-urban** areas analyzed as well as to what extent its presence has positive impacts on the development of the specific areas.





Peri-urban Bucharest: Dobroesti view

BUCHAREST METROPOLITAN AREA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The Bucharest Metropolitan Area has experienced several important changes in terms of economic, spatial and social aspects in the last century. These changes have affected migration flows and the evolution of the **peri-urban** land-use patterns. The most visible effects were observed during and after the communist regime (1966-1989; 1989-today). As the degree of urbanization of the country was growing (while projected to continue this way in all planning documents from the last decades), the **peri-urban** areas were the first ones to be affected. Therefore, one could observe that during the shift from a socialistic approach towards a democratic approach, the **peri-urban** development trajectory is bound to move from the **urban-rural divide** to the **urban-rural integration** (Hartman & de Roo, 2013). In this context, Hartman & de Roo (2013) argue that, “*planning objects (a neighborhood, peri-urban area, region, city) are not only dynamic, but also that the characteristics, usages, meanings and values attributed to places may change fundamentally over time*”. Such changes of values and meanings may affect the **local identity**, its evolution, its transformation and the on-going process of **building an identity**.

4.2 CONTEXT

The Metropolitan Area of Bucharest is developed on the Romanian Plain relief unit, on a terrain with rich soils, proper for agricultural uses. The ratio between the agricultural surface and the number of people has an average value of 0,92 ha/inhabitant and some of the highest values of anthropic pressure because of agricultural use (over 2 ha/inhabitant) exist in the communes situated on the relief unit of the Mostistei Plain (Gurbănești, Belciugatele, Frâsinet, Valea Argovei, Sinesti, and Tărtăsești) (Balteanu and Grigorescu 2005, p.36). (Fig. 3). The used data regarding land-use system in the BMA is from 2000 due to the fact that no recent values are available.

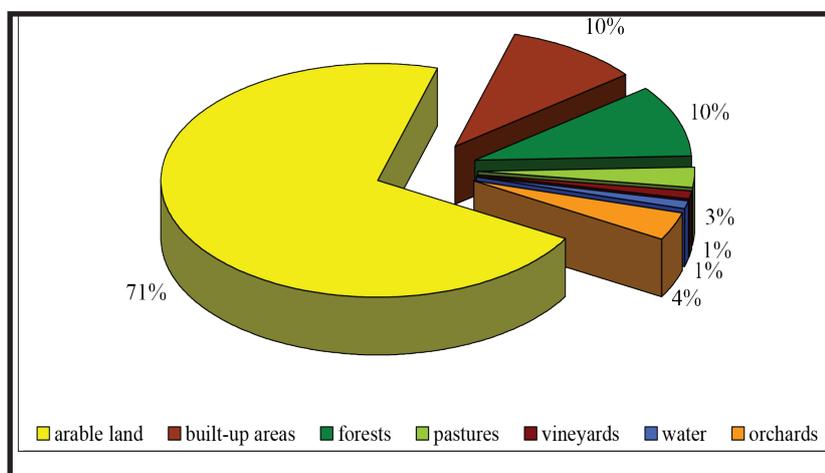


Fig. 3. Percentages of different land use categories in the BMA
Source: Corine Land Cover, 2000.

“Thus, out of the total of 513,056 ha, representing the total surface of the Metropolitan Area (without the Municipality of Bucharest itself), the highest percentage of land is for agricultural use, i.e. 71%, namely 4,081,873 ha (...). According to the land use map (Figure 3), the agricultural land

occupies most of the territory and this explains its impact upon the environment as a result both of the agricultural practices and the policies that impose its differentiated management.” (Balteanu and Grigorescu, 2005, p.36)

From the international point of view, the Bucharest Metropolitan Region is part of the growing (in economical terms) European Metropolitan Areas (MEGA-s). These areas are the most powerful and attract the most investment funds. Furthermore, the Bucharest Metropolitan Area includes the Bucharest-Ilfov NUTS 2 type of region. In economic terms, some particularities make this region different from other NUTS 2 regions of Romania - the fact that it has the smallest surface but still with the largest number of population. In addition, geographically, it is an enclave in the South-Muntenia region. *“In fact, Bucharest–Ilfov includes just two administrative-territorial units, namely Bucharest municipality, the capital of Romania, and its surrounding area, the NUTS 3 Ilfov County2. Ilfov County has 34 communes (rural localities) and eight towns, being the smallest Romanian county in terms of surface area and the last but two in terms of population.”* (Constantin, 2011, p.48)

Recent developments have helped the region gain a better ranking amongst other MEGA-s as expressed in the ESPON report for 2005. These developments had a huge impact especially in the surrounding areas of the Bucharest municipality, the main strategy being the *“distribution of the urban economy functions between the capital city and neighboring cities”* (Constantin, 2011, p.49). In addition, Bucharest Metropolitan Region’s strategic position allows an increased degree of international and national connectivity: meaning that two main European corridor roads and eight main railway lines link all other regions of Romania with the BMA. This advantage is clearly represented in economical terms as *“according to Eurostat (Eurostat 2010), in 2003 its GDP per capita represented 57.9 per cent of the EU average, while in 2006 it already reached 83.8 per cent of the EU 27 average, 5 of €23,600 (purchasing power standard (PPS)), indicating a significant competitiveness potential in the international arena.”* (Constantin, 2011, p.51).

4.2.1. Development trajectory

From the urban planning perspective, the development trajectory of the Romanian Plain had four phases, marked by important historical events.

4.2.1.1. First phase (1829 - 1966) - the beginnings of planning

Peri-urban dynamics

Before 1829, there were no major changes (that would still have an impact today) in the land-use system, economy or Romanian society. After **the Treaty of Adrianople** (1829), the interest in cereal production increased, the export activities were facilitated, therefore more agricultural land was needed. This resulted in a major change of the landscape characterized especially by massive

deforestation. Afterwards, a period of several small changes in the land-use system followed, mainly caused by political and administrative changes. Due to the fact that Romania was divided into three provinces (which had the same traditions and spoke the same language) which united in a single state only in 1918, the first official system of law and regimentations for urbanism was developed in 1917 (which resulted in the first organized and supervised planning legislation in Romania).

In 1918 Bucharest became the capital of the whole country, not just for the South Region as it was until then. In this context, the first models of increased peripheral development were easily observed during **the period between the two World Wars**, especially in the areas of Voluntari, Pipera, Militari and Prelungirea Ghencea (the last three are now districts of Bucharest city, being included in the inner-city space. Most of these areas were developed following the Western European model of pavilion-type area, promoted by a first generation of real-estate agencies and an elite group of land-owners (Stan, 2009, p.64).

Local Identity Issues

These type of developments had to face a series of problems caused by a process of ignoring the previous rules/regulations/traditions in urban and rural development. Amongst these problems, the most important were related to: not keeping a proper distance between buildings - diminished comfort of living; not respecting the regulations of locating a building close to the water - visual and physical pollution of water landscapes; lack of correlation between social status of the inhabitants and the building they lived in; massive presence of the non-architecture and the 'kitsch' style and implanting huge urban ensembles in rural areas. All these led to a phenomenon of erasing all previous memories and identities of those places (Stan, 2009, p.63).

This evolution pattern was followed in the same style until the next change of regime - 1966 - the communist party wins the elections and the country shifts from a monarchy to a socialistic state. With influences from the other already existing communist regimes, the urban planning system started to adopt new laws and regulations.

4.2.1.2 Second phase (1966-1989) - the communist regime

Peri-urban dynamics

The communist period of 1966-1989 was characterized by the collectivization of agriculture and its transfer to the state ownership, as well as by rapid urbanization and forced industrialization. As presented by Bălteanu and Grigorescu, the changes in the land-use system suffered during the communist period affected both the natural and the already build environment causing an almost complete reconfiguration of the landscapes and cityscapes: *"Large plots of land in the Romanian Plain, some of them included into the Metropolitan Area, were modified by building dams, drainage, and irrigation systems"* (Balteanu and Grigorescu 2005, p.37).

In this context, the most important moment for the evolution of the **peri-urban** space in Bucharest was the 1976 law that banned the rural population from settling in the inner city, in an attempt to encourage rural areas to be more urbanized. As a result, all the municipalities around Bucharest have transformed into 'dormitories' for people working in the capital city. Furthermore, the aim of this law was not only to keep the capital city from overcrowding (although this phenomenon was already present) but also to follow the idealistic view of a 100% urbanized country, where the agricultural and other rural activities were still to be present, but only to support the industrial needs and to provide raw materials for increasing the production. This way, the communist regime was very determining in where people lived, which were the dominant land-uses, which was the allowed behavior of the people and to which extent communication between the society and the regime was possible. As Suditu explains, the situation resulted after the implementation of this law was only the basis for the future development of the outskirts of the capital city of Romania. However *"immediately after the change of the communist regime, the rules concerning the unique property, the restriction of urban housing as well as the one regarding the sprawl of the built space of cities and towns have been abrogated"* (Suditu, 2009, p.80).

Local Identity Issues

From a social point of view, the major changes in the built environment have affected severely the mentality, traditions and general characteristics of both the urban and rural society. One of the most visible and radical change in the **identity** was caused by the physical fragmentation of the local communities (Căplescu, 2013). The communist vision showed a typical family which was living in one of the newly build apartment blocks (not enough privacy, natural light in the rooms, small dimensions - around 50-60 sqm / apartment with 3 rooms and extremely low height of the rooms), developed on usually 10 floors height; spending their Sunday (the only free day) in one of the local parks (expressing monumentality and dominance) as the only public space available for recreational activities.

Compared to the existing situation, this newly socialistic vision for the country constrained any aspects of personal or **local identity**, the individuals had no opportunities to express themselves and self-organizational type of activities were not possible. This shift in **identities** acted as a basis for the changes that the general behavior of the society suffered after 1989 when the regime changed to democracy (after 1989 several societal behaviors could be identified by sociologist and psychologists, behaviors that were associated with the constrains of the communist regime).

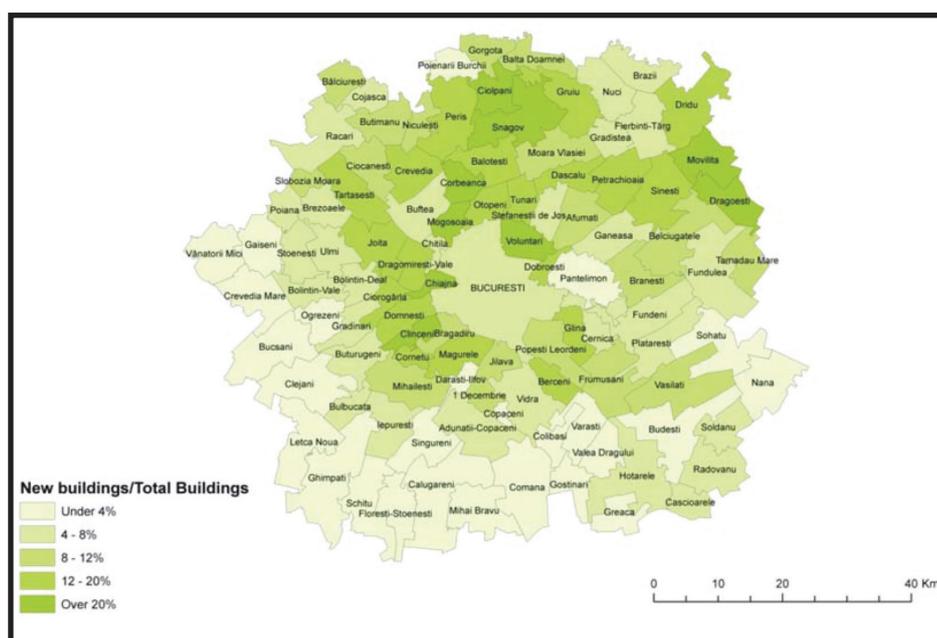
4.2.1.3 Third phase (1989-2007) - the shift to democracy

Peri-urban dynamics

The period after 1989 represented the shift from a planned economy to a free market economy. The land taken into state property by the collectivization process started to be given back to the former owners or their relatives. *"The enforcement of the laws on land (Law no. 18/1991 on Land,*

modified by Law no. 169/1997, and Law no. 1/2000 concerning the reconstitution of the ownership right for the agricultural and forested areas claimed according to Law no. 18/1991 on Land and Law no. 169/1997) in order to give agricultural land back to its (pre-collectivization) owners or to their heirs generated frequent structural changes in land dimensions and use. This process was accompanied by the destruction and the sales of the collective assets of the former Agricultural Production Cooperatives and State-owned Agricultural Farms.” (Bălteanu and Grigorescu 2005, p.37). The main effect of these historical processes was the fragmentation of the land, from a geographical point of view as well as from an institutional and law-related perspective. Most of the individual properties are not bringing any profit because of the small size of the plot. Therefore the owner, in most of the cases, prefers to sell the land to private investors, who end up turning several ‘pieces of land’ into one property. The main issue here is that the development projects conducted on such properties are in most of the cases chaotic and disconnected from the surrounding environment (Enache, 2013). The result that can be observed is the transition from a very fragmented (in terms of ownership) rural agricultural landscape to an urban landscape with the same level of fragmentation (in terms of functions, land-uses, activities).

The speed of the development process after 1989 is explained by Ianoş in the paper ‘The Present Day Identity Building of Rural and Urban Communities in the Bucharest Metropolitan Area’ (Ianoş, 2008, p.6). As presented in the paper, between 1989 and 2000 there was a single municipality recognized as a town near Bucharest - Buftea - although several other municipalities were above 10 000 inhabitants (population limit that divides town from communes in Romania). Nowadays, “the new localities declared towns after 2000 (Otopeni, Voluntari, Pantelimon, Chitila, Popeşti-Leordeni,



Măgurele, and Bragadiru) undergo an intensive process of urban agglomeration, but also a segregation tendency. Their identity tends to double, to split between the local population (with a traditional suburban way of life) and the newcomers having an arrogant and defiant behavior towards the local values.” (Ianoş, 2008,

Fig. 4. The proportion of New Buildings 1991-2005.

Source: Ioan IANOŞ, Andreea-Loreta CEPOIU, Radu PINTILII, 2008

p.6). The proportion of new buildings realized

between 1991 and 2005 is represented in Fig. 4. Municipalities with the most rapid development processes are marked with darker shades of green. These municipalities were declared as towns

and are expected to continue to suffer radical changes in the next decades.

After the shift to democracy, the need for change in the planning system concerning the dynamics of **peri-urban** areas was clearly visible. Several official studies have been conducted in the early 1990s amongst which one of the first studies related to **peri-urban** areas (1994). This study defined the term of **Peri-Urban Zone (ZPU - Zonă Peri-Urbană)** as *“a large equipped territory which surrounds an urban center with an important polarizing function and which is situated under the influence of the city”* (U.A.U.I.M., 1994). Furthermore, the concept of **boundary** used to define a **peri-urban** area, is considered to be flexible and adjustable to the increases/decreases of the urban and territorial influences and to the administrative changes (U.A.U.I.M., 1994). By coordinating this definition of the ZPU with the relationships between the city and the territory, two sub-divisions of the ZPU were defined: ZPU I and ZPU II.

- **ZPU I** (first Peri-Urban Zone) is considered the first intermediary area, situated immediately after the inner-city area. This territory is characterized by relationships of subordination to the city.
- **ZPU II** (second Peri-Urban Zone) expresses a larger influence of the city and is characterized by relationships of coordination and cooperation with the city. Furthermore, this area can include other smaller towns and cities with an important local influence.

(Stan, 2009, p.94)

The territories most affected by the changes in this period were situated in the ZPU I and are characterized by almost constant spatial conflicts around the **boundary** between urban and rural.

Local Identity Issues

From a social point of view, the evolution of the Bucharest Metropolitan Area can be considered an atypical one. Even after the shift to democracy, the increased population in the sub-urban and **peri-urban** areas continued to be generated by migration from other cities/villages in the country - long-distance migration and not by the relocation of the inhabitants of the inner city. In contrast, the phenomenon of depopulation of the **peri-urban** areas was generated by the migration on a rural-urban direction. The factors and processes that generated these changes in the societies were the dominance of the agriculture at the expense of other economical structures, rapid and sudden deindustrialization generated by the rapid shift from a planned, closed economy to a free market economy framed by the capitalistic system and, in addition, powerful administrative fragmentation at all levels: local, regional, national. (Berza and Ianoş, 2004). In this period, the **local communities** continued to be mostly separated, due to other type of changes in the build environment. People were now able to afford having their own house and therefore, decided to change their residence from the socialistic blocks towards the peripheral areas of the cities. This phenomenon is commonly known as the ‘escape from the blocks’ and explains also the usual attitude of isolation and the lack of collaboration between members of the same **community**. In the previous situation, the original



communities were separated and other **communities** were created artificially by placing several families in the same block.

Shortly after the shift to democracy, the possibility of joining the EU appeared. In order to achieve that, the country needed to reach several standards and some of them were related to changes in the regional planning system (more specific, the introduction of the regional type of planning and the urban management form of planning). The evolution of the society was again affected by the different changes of urban legislation. Still, the idea of a **local identity** was undefined, **local communities** continued to be fragmented and the market economy continued to dominate the land-use dynamics.

4.2.1.4 Fourth phase (2007-present) - entrance in EU

Peri-urban dynamics

Before 1989 the rigid economical and political system were a barrier against the expansion of the urban into the rural and borders between municipalities were very strict without any or very few cooperation initiatives between different administrative territories. The market economy led to the declaration of a few communes as towns, increasing this way the number of investments in the area (increase of land prices - land that was officially declared as 'rural' became 'urban' - real estate speculation, extension of the economical sector - from traditional agricultural municipalities to municipalities oriented towards commercial activities and development of services) creating more housing possibilities and providing alternative solutions of living, away from the crowded and polluted city of Bucharest. Lower land prices encouraged both companies and individuals to settle in these newly declared towns.

Unfortunately the city shortly started to extent into the open **peri-urban** environment and so the land price started to rise even more, motorways got even more developed and extended and pollution reached uncomfortable levels. Shortly, areas which used to be a quiet, green villages with a community of people strongly related to the place they live in grew apart and became the main arena for market and real estate speculation. (Ianoş, 2013). After 2007, the space in-between the rural and the urban suffered a continuous transition and major land-use changes took place every few months, shaping the image of the build and natural landscape of almost all open spaces in the **peri-urban**.

In short, due to the major role played by the market economy, the fragmentation of the land and the political and administrative changes, the development process after 2007 can be defined as **spatially and ecologically incoherent**. It is, therefore, bound to face the four critical **symptoms**: **disorder** - mixed and fragmented land-uses, **dysfunction** - green space used to hide negative visual aspects instead of being used for recreational and environmental purposes, **dismantling** -

links between spaces and activities taking place in these spaces start to fade away, the difference between areas starts to be unmeasurable and incomparable to a common framework, therefore leading to 'in-difference', **imbalance** - the possibility to create connections and a common working platform for the municipalities in the **peri-urban** space and the capital city is reduced to zero.

Local identity issues

The major changes experienced by the **peri-urban** environment after 2007 were not only regarding the built environment directly. The construction process continued as in the previous period, lead by the market economy and supported by the economical growth but the political and administrative changes (Romania became part of the EU) opened more opportunities (especially in terms of employment) in other locations. Therefore, the well-known phenomenon of migration for better income (which already started after the changes in 1989) became even more popular, affecting mostly the population of the low-income **peri-urban** areas.

Even if there are still some traces of **local identity** and some communities strongly related to their living environment, it is almost impossible for them to keep up with the rapid rhythm of the changes (highly **dynamic linkages** - see Theoretical Chapter). This, combined with the fact that more and more people are permanently and full-time employed in another country led to damage in social structure of the **peri-urban** (Ianoş, 2013). This damage refers mostly to young families where, as statistical data shows (INSSE, 2011) the parents are working in another country and the children are left at home, either with other relatives, either alone. Also, one main impediment in creating or maintaining the connections between the people and the places and between the people themselves is the lack of a communication platform, supported by the local authorities, through which locals are encouraged to participate in the decision-making process as well as the lack of public spaces and activities to attract people there.

In this situation, the newly residential areas emerged on the border of the former rural territories became impersonal places that offer housing facilities in very good condition but that lack to create the environment for interaction between the members of the same community. (**process of segregation** - see Theoretical Chapter).

As the peri-urban environment of Bucharest is affected by migration phenomenons, the cultural factor can be discussed. As argued by Magnaghi (2005), *"the direct 'peripheralization' of the masses who have immigrated from rural areas, without having any previous contact with urban culture, will lead by its very form, to growing material and cultural poverty on a world scale."* (Magnaghi, 2005). This is a strong statement that rises the current problems in **peri-urban** and peripheral areas all around the world and that is applicable to Bucharest region as well. The level of cultural poverty can be measured by objective means (such as population data: number of persons with higher education, number of cultural institutions/events in the area, etc) and it can be considered an indicator of **local identity**. The identity of certain locations is often associated with the cultural phenomenon present in that place (Ianoş, 2013). In addition, it is to be mentioned that high/low

levels of culture identified in a certain location do not express a high/low level of **local identity** or vice versa. The connection between the cultural phenomenon and the **local identity** is made through the people, the **local communities**, and the way they are 'creating'/ 'bringing' the culture in their neighborhood. From this perspective, the **peri-urban** areas of Bucharest can be described as a mixture of urban and rural cultures, in continuous change.

As argued by prof. Ianoş (2013) the **peri-urban** areas of Bucharest are not currently expressing any visible signs of **local identity**, but rather an ongoing process of **re-building local identity**. This process needs time and it is the effect of the chaotic suburbanization process. The integration of the 'new-comers' requires time and divides the town/village into two separate parts: new vs. old. The internal process that can be identified in such places are process of complementarity and opposition - in the idea that most of the old residents are employed by the new ones (for example for construction or maintenance activities). Also, related to the involvement of the population in the planning process or any manifestations of community activities, prof. Ianoş observes that there is a lack of 'culture' amongst the inhabitants of the discussed area. This, combined with what he calls 'primitive individualism' (a social phenomenon identified after the shift to democracy in 1989) leads to disparities amongst communities.

In conclusion, the **local identity** in the **peri-urban** areas of Bucharest can be described as instable, by being dependent on other processes in the society and on the change of the behavior of people. The scheme in Figure 5 presents this instable state, after a model proposed by Stan (2009) and showing how the transitional area, between what is clearly urban and what is clearly rural can be very problematic in terms of identity. Also, the process of **re-building local identity** is bound to take place in such locations and it has high chances of success, exactly due to this continuous dynamic process of interaction between the two main areas of influence.

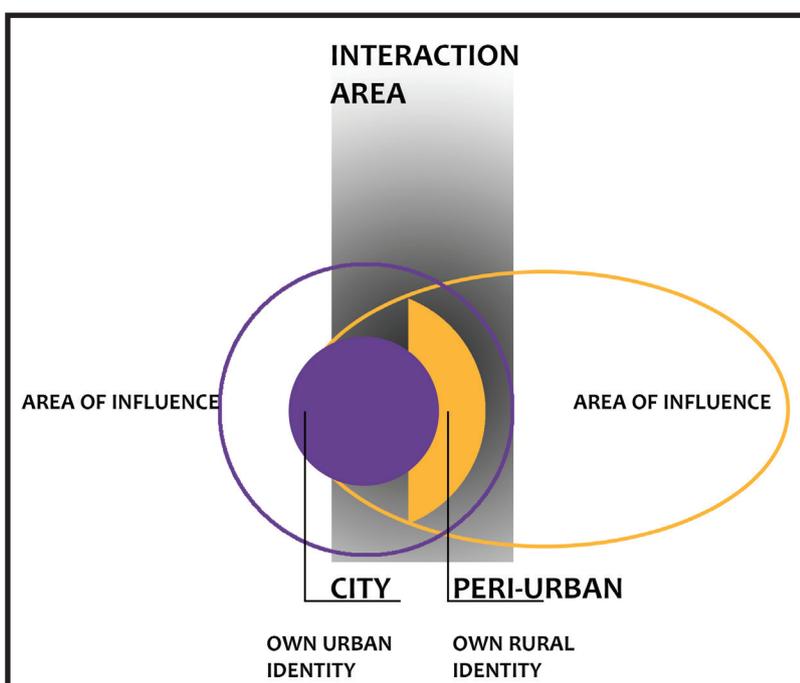


Fig. 5. Scheme of interaction between areas of influence
Source: author

4.2.2 Development trajectory - main issues

The main characteristics of the MBA area are strictly related to the recent development process. As part of MEGA-s, the MBA has experienced increased dynamics of the built space and in this context, a development trajectory has been presented.

4.2.2.1 Summary of peri-urban dynamics

Firstly, the increased interest in the agricultural land and production has firstly began after the Treaty of Adrianople. Secondly, the major changes (political, economical, social and physical) suffered due to the First World War have determined a raise in the number of housing units in and near Bucharest. The main issues were related to health and safety conditions as well as the general comfort provided by the new residential areas. In most of the cases, the landscape started to be slowly polluted by unplanned interventions and social issues started to be more and more emphasized. In addition to this already undesirable situation, the changes brought by communism contributed to the actual image of the **peri-urban** space. Here, the most important terms are collectivization, rapid urbanization and massive industrialization, all of these having a major visual and social impact on the territory. After 1989, the shift from a planned economy to a free market opened the opportunities for several parties to obtain large profits out of investments in **peri-urban** space of the capital. Due to this, the municipalities neighboring Bucharest have suffered an intensive process of urban agglomeration, forcing themselves to cope with the rapid changes and develop/or not their degree of adaptability.

4.2.2.2 Summary of local identity issues

From identity approach, several aspects are outstanding when analyzing the development trajectory of the BMA. The first visible changes in the environment in the 19th century were based on the desire for economical growth and expansion of the built environment, without taking into account safety and health related conditions of the newly build areas. Therefore, the population inhabiting these spaces was almost constantly exposed to fire and disease threats. Further on, when the communist regime became dominant (1966) and until the shift to democracy, the issues of **subjective identity** and **inter-subjective identity** were constrained. The social situation in the whole country was dependent on the political situation and on the boundaries established through it. Furthermore, when looking at the built environment, the main observation that can be made is that non of the public space designed/constructed in that period were done taking into account the population's needs and desires. These spaces were not equipped with adequate urban furniture (such as benches, lighting elements, green areas) and therefore, none of these space encouraged communication, meetings, activities (others than the ones organized by the Communist Party). In this context, any process of **building identity** was restrained. After the shift to democracy (1989) and after the year 2007 (Romania admitted as an EU member) the local identity processes can be described by the overuse of **subjective identity** and, still, almost no use of **inter-subjective**



identity. The main difference from the previous phase is that under a democratic regime, the **inter-subjective identity** is not constrained in any way, but in the same time, the local authorities are not encouraging/supporting it (through a communicative and collaborative approach towards planning issues; involving the **local communities** and creating discussion platforms; through offering the people enough possibilities to interact with each other and to actively participate in the neighborhood's life) .

In this general context, the municipalities situated closest to Bucharest in geographical terms had to face all the above mentioned issues at their maximum intensity. The following chapter deals with the case of these municipalities in particular, trying to identify examples of good practice and extracting lessons to be learned.

4.3 PRACTICES OF IDENTITY BUILDING IN THE PERI-URBAN AREAS

In the general context of **peri-urban** areas of Bucharest, the municipalities situated in the first ring have experienced the most rapid development process, especially in the last two decades. Moreover, the availability of open land and the closeness to the capital city of Romania have transformed these municipalities in main target for real estate investors. Though, the main issues here are the same as in the **peri-urban** areas from the Bucharest Metropolitan Region, these areas have experienced more dramatic changes and are in the middle of the transformation process - the shift of **identity** from the previous rural-type of **communities** to the more urban-type. In addition, strong social factors have a high influence on this transformation process, along with economical factors and also design-related issues.

Bucharest - list of neighborhood municipalities :

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------|
| – Towns: | – Communes: |
| • Otopeni | • Tunari |
| • Voluntari | • Dobroești |
| • Pantelimon | • Cernica |
| • Popești Leordeni | • Glina |
| • Măgurele | • Jilava |
| • Bragadiru | • Clinceni |
| • Chitila | • Domnești |
| | • Chiajna |
| | • Mogoșoaia |

The administrative-territorial division shows 16 municipalities as part of the first ring of **peri-urban** zones and the statistical data from 2011 shows that around 175000 people live in the analyzed area. The above list presents the names of all discussed municipalities together with their administrative status: town or commune. The first observation is that the number of communes is higher than the

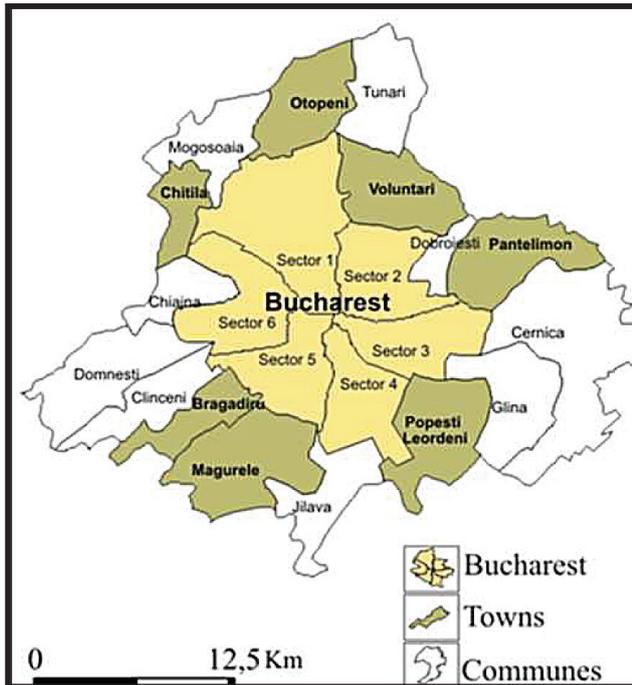


Fig. 6. The urban-rural interface of the Bucharest (mid-territorial level)
Source: Ilinca-Valentina STOICA, Cristian TĂLÂNGĂ, Cristian BRAGHINĂ, Daniela ZAMFIR, 2011

one of towns and, furthermore the statistical data (INSSE, 2011 - most recent data available) shows that most of the population lives in the rural area (the communes).

The main conflicts regarding the physical space and the land-use system appear at the edges between Bucharest Municipality and the above mentioned municipalities. Although, six of the mentioned municipalities are classified as cities, their degree of urbanization is very low compared to the municipality of Bucharest. There is also a big difference between the price of the land in the municipality of Bucharest and the surrounding municipalities, resulting in massive investments in the neighboring communes of the capital city. Most of the urban development in the past 20 years can be characterized as a market-driven process with negative impacts on the social and natural environment (**sectoral interaction - where typical urban function start to be observable in the rural landscape** - see Theoretical Chapter).

The social environment is therefore shaped and people’s habits, actions and desires are changing. These aspects reflect directly into the way the housing typology in the **peri-urban** is changing and how the newly residential areas (dominant in the **peri-urban**) are expanding. The image of the newly housing areas expresses the relationship the inhabitants of these area have with the environment they live in - if they feel open towards the landscape, attached to the place they decided to build/buy a house, attracted towards interacting with the neighbors, willing to open their door towards community activities and so on. As the urban planning field is relatively newly separated from the architectural field (1996 - first official separating between the practice of architecture and the one of urban planning - the university in Bucharest starts a new educational program dedicated exclusively to urban planning and urban design), an architectural perspective can offer more valuable information in this situation.

4.3.1 Architecture in the peri-urban areas

The architectural perspective offers insights about details of the typical **peri-urban** home build in the third and fourth phase of the development trajectory presented before. These details help not only to provide the reader with enough knowledge about recent architectural practices in the **peri-urban** but also in order to illustrate the link between these practices and **building identity** issue. When analyzing the existing situation from an architectural point of view, several aspects stand out to support the statements expressed before in this research concerning the situation in the **peri-urban** areas of Bucharest. In this situation, the point of view of an architect who had to deal with several projects locate in this area is highly interesting to mention. Arh. Andreea Căplescu mentioned which are the most common desires and practices of clients requesting a new home in the peri-urban space of Bucharest.

Firstly, it is to be mentioned that a most common practice is: first build, then start the architectural project - in order to obtain the building permit (having a professional architect design a building and obtaining from the municipality a building permit for this building is an obligatory procedure, prior to the actual construction of the building). Therefore, most of the architect's work is to 'repair' the mistakes done by the future owners of the house, rather than to design from zero a completely functional residential space. Secondly, another important aspect to be mentioned is the fact that most of the families who decide to move in such locations prefer to have very big houses (in terms of houses with many rooms - at least 3-4 bedrooms + living room, kitchen and storage facilities). These homes are designed for young families with children, none of them thinking that most probably the kids will move away when they start college and will rarely move back (population dynamics, better study and job opportunities in Bucharest). Then, the opposite process of moving to the **peri-urban** starts to be significantly noticeable: most of these families and up back where they started - in a small apartment in Bucharest, leaving their **peri-urban** houses empty. Probably the natural way of dealing with this dynamic movement would be that the now empty houses of the **peri-urban** are sold, bought and inhabited by another family (maybe going through the same process). The only problem is that, due to mentality reasons, financial reasons and land availability, a lot of families prefer to start building a new house from zero, instead of buying an already built one. This is the point where the land use system cannot be very well controlled anymore.

In addition, when looking at the interior design of the new houses, changes have been observed - deviations from the original architectural program of a villa in the **peri-urban** space. These changes have a direct relationship with the way people act towards the place they live in and the way people act towards each other in the same **community**. Therefore, the kitchen and living room are moved on the side facing the street - so the places where most of day is spent are strategically positioned in order to observe the neighbors. One of the most strongest feeling that is manifested amongst people is the so called 'fear of what other people say'. The exterior image of the house is the priority as well as the possibility to have the biggest house on the street. Again, mentality reasons are the explanation for this. If in the socialist period, people where forced to live and act

equally, after 1989, the strongest attitude that is overall expressed is the individualism - **subjective identity**. This attitude has negative impacts on social relations and on the relations between the people and the place they live in and tends, on a longer period of time, to create isolation - averison to any kind of **inter-subjective identity**. Moreover, high fences, even though not always made with opaque materials, are typical for these new developments. The sense of property is enhanced this way but the negative impact it has on the relations and communication between neighbors is very high.

In dealing with the local authorities and obtaining building permits, arh. Andreea Căplescu mentioned that most of them are relaxed towards the buildings started without a permit. This is mostly because every local authority is continuously trying to attract more permanent inhabitants and more activities in order to raise the amount of tax money obtained and gain a more favorable economic place in the Ilfov county. In contrast to this general attitude, the most conservative local authorities were the ones from Voluntari while the most relaxed were the ones from Berceni. From the planner's point of view, the Voluntari can be considered as a good example of following the legislative framework while the Berceni town is more close to self-organization processes. Nevertheless, it is to be mentioned that due to the unstable environment (political, social and economical - following the development trajectory) such self-organizational initiatives are very risky. Therefore, until a more stable context is developed, the building process should/could be monitored by experts and local authorities in order to avoid any conflict situations.

4.3.2 Examples of good practice

As presented in the theoretical chapter, a necessity in the process of **building** and **re-building an identity** is the presence and involvement of the **local communities**. In this situation, a several examples of good practice can be extracted from the current state of the Bucharest **peri-urban** areas. The identified good examples are grouped under two categories: on-line examples and real-life examples, according to the nature of the activities/initiatives presented. Firstly, the on-line examples are presented as important in the context of the current research due to the fact that although Internet access has become a common facility everywhere in Romania, the administrative system coordinated by the local authorities is still very bureaucratic (it involves too much paper work, not all information is digitalized, personal presence is obligatory in order to deal with any issues with the local authorities- including the tax system, payment of fines and so on). Therefore, the fact that some **peri-urban** municipalities have managed to improve this type of system and are interested in using the Internet as a way of keeping in touch with the **local communities/** promoting local events/inquiries about the new developments in the area can be considered as a positive example. As presented in Weigert's model (1986), the **inter-subjective** mode of **identity** is associated with the interaction between members of the same **community** or between the **community** and the local authorities. The local authorities who are taking a step towards this interaction can be, therefore, considered as potential positive models for other municipalities.

4.3.2.1 On-line examples

In the planning legislation, all future development strategies should be public (on the municipality website - if the municipality has one) and all citizens are encouraged to express their opinion regarding that certain strategy/project. Some of the projects that involved mostly the **local communities** are described in the following paragraphs.

In this context, the municipality Otopeni can be considered as a good example by displaying on-line polls and questionnaires addressing issues related to future investments in the municipalities and discussing the people's opinion about these future developments. The municipality of Otopeni is currently concerned with development issues regarding a possible new local landmark. Therefore on the web-site, a survey related to people's opinion towards the building of the Olympic Swimming Complex of Otopeni (a project involving the construction of an Olympic size swimming basin and other utilities) is posted. Here the opinions are divided between: very good, good and bad. Most of the people agreeing that this new investment will bring benefits to the town. The data provided through this survey will contribute to the decision making process and will, this way, tighten the connection between the **local communities** and the local authorities.

Another example can be considered the municipality of Chitila, with its own newspaper, distributed freely to every household. The major role of this newspaper is in promoting local activities. Here, media articles related to the local events, performances and extremely good results obtained by the children of the **community** in several national or international competitions, advertisements related to possible employment places offered by the local authorities and other useful information for the community are presented. This has a positive impact because, although it may not seem like a big intervention, it has the power to promote the culture and **identity** of Chitila municipality. Especially for its inhabitants, this plays an important role in their daily life, assuring in the same time that the bonds between the **local communities** are not loosen.

4.3.2.2 Examples from the everyday-life of peri-urban residents

Prof. Enache gives different interpretations of the **building identity** phenomenon by presenting some examples of 'good' and 'bad' practice from Chitila town, the commune of Chiajna and the commune of Mogoșoaia. In his description, the town of Chitila succeeded in organizing **community** events such as the celebration of the 'Days of the City', the annual Christmas Tree installation as well as the important positive educational results obtained by the local school and its students. Moreover, through the relocation of industrial production and storage from Bucharest to Chitila and other municipalities, the inhabitants suddenly had more job opportunities, which created a favorable environment for creating tighter bonds between members of the same community. Despite these positive examples, people still show not enough connectivity or relations with the place they live in. An example would be, as described by prof. Enache, the case of a elementary school teacher which had the well-intended initiative of taking his students to the forest and

guide them towards a more ecological and protect-the-environment approach. The kids were supposed to help cleaning the forest from the plastic bottles and other barbecue remains left there by irresponsible people. Although most of the kids were excited by this activity, the parents did not respond so well. The teacher in charge of this was publicly accused of transforming the kids into 'trash-persons' instead of observing the positiveness of this initiative and how it could help educate their children about the environment they live in. This is a clear example of the 'primitive individualism' mentality, mentioned by prof. Ianoş, especially because of the parents attitude and their lack of openness towards new ideas and practices.

Another 'good' example mentioned by prof. Enache is related to the main investments of the commune of Chiajna - in a professional football team, with a good stadium and facilities from training , attracting good players and coaches. This might seem rather surprising but football plays a very important role in almost any community in Romania and here it had a great success in gathering the community together. From the young kids dreaming to be professionals to their parents and grandparents, the whole training process as well as attending football games became one of the major local activities, involving all the inhabitants of the commune and even neighboring communes.

A 'bad' example is also presented here in order to argue against this type of practice. The most important negative example was the case of a part of newly developed residential area in the commune of Mogoşoaia. As the situation was described, this area is physically separated by the rest of the commune by a lake, without any proper road infrastructure connection. Therefore, the inhabitants of that part are more easily connected to the neighboring locality - the town of Chitila, with better commercial and recreational facilities. This is the main reason the people living there are neither inhabitants of the commune Mogoşoaia, nor the inhabitants of the town Chitila. Being force to commute constantly, although not for a long distance, these people have no direct connection to the actual place where they have their house. Also, the main reasons for purchasing/building a residential home there were related to economical advantages - low land price, and not because of a good location, accessibility or facilities provided.

4.3.3 Conclusions

All these are examples of small sized isolated interventions/actions/initiatives that managed to generate positive effects in terms of **community** empowerment and **building identity**. As observed, the initiative came from municipalities or individuals/communities and has as a main connecting factor the desire of **building identities** to which communities can relate to.

As an integrated example of good practice, the town of Pantelimon is presented next in order to provide the reader with enough knowledge about how **peri-urban** dynamics and **building identity** happens at a smaller scale, in a particular location of the peri-urban areas of BMA. The current situation and the potential of this municipality in terms of future development makes it

a representative example for a background layer upon which processes of **building an identity** can take place. From the information extracted through the interviews, arh. Andreea Căplescu mentioned that the Pantelimon town seems to have the overall most balanced development. By experiencing highly dynamic changes during its development trajectory, the Pantelimon town can be characterized by an overall visual image of an urbanized area, although there is still room for improvement (see photos in Fig. 9- 16). In comparison with other **peri-urban** towns where agricultural landscapes still represent the majority, Pantelimon is at a more ‘evolved’ stage of its development. In this context, the **building identity** process becomes more interesting to analyze and can offer more specific information regarding connections between the **peri-urban** dynamics and the **building a local identity**.

4.4 PANTELIMON TOWN

As an interesting detailed example of peri-urban dynamics and building identity processes take place, the situation of **Pantelimon** was previously researched by other scholars. A paper presented in 2006 by Lidia Sasaki (received a PhD from Tokyo Metropolitan University) and Koji Kobayashi (Faculty of Education, Gifu University) concerning the rural communities in the Metropolitan Area of Bucharest take as a study case the **Pantelimon** town (former commune, from 2005 upgraded as a town because of the increasing investments in the industrial sector). Their study takes into account data from 1997-2005 and is focused on the post-socialistic development of the area. This part will focus on the main findings of this research combined with the data results obtained from interviews.

4.4.1 Peri-urban dynamics

As Sasaki and Kobayashi (2005) observe, the Metropolitan Region of Bucharest was and still is the major concentration of work force, population and economic activities from the country. During the communist period, in the 1980s, a strategy focused on polycentric development was implemented and 4 communes from the Ilfov County (surrounding Bucharest city) were promoted to the status of towns. Besides them, other communities considered likely to have a promising future receive major investments, especially in the agro-industrial sector. **Pantelimon** village is included here. As Sasaki and Kobayashi (2005) conclude, *“the program fails to address the central issue of basic infrastructure development and is discontinued after 1989”*.

The main driving forces which had an impact on the evolution of **Pantelimon** after 1989 were market economy and democratization. Four sets of inter-connected internal and external driving forces are identified by the authors and a scheme explaining their position is presented in Fig. 7. The results of these driving forces were a shift in landownership transferring approximately 2/3 of the land in private sector in 2000 (Rusu, 2003, p. 10). The immediate consequence was the massive fragmentation of the land and the gradual transformation and diversification of the farms (Fig. 8).

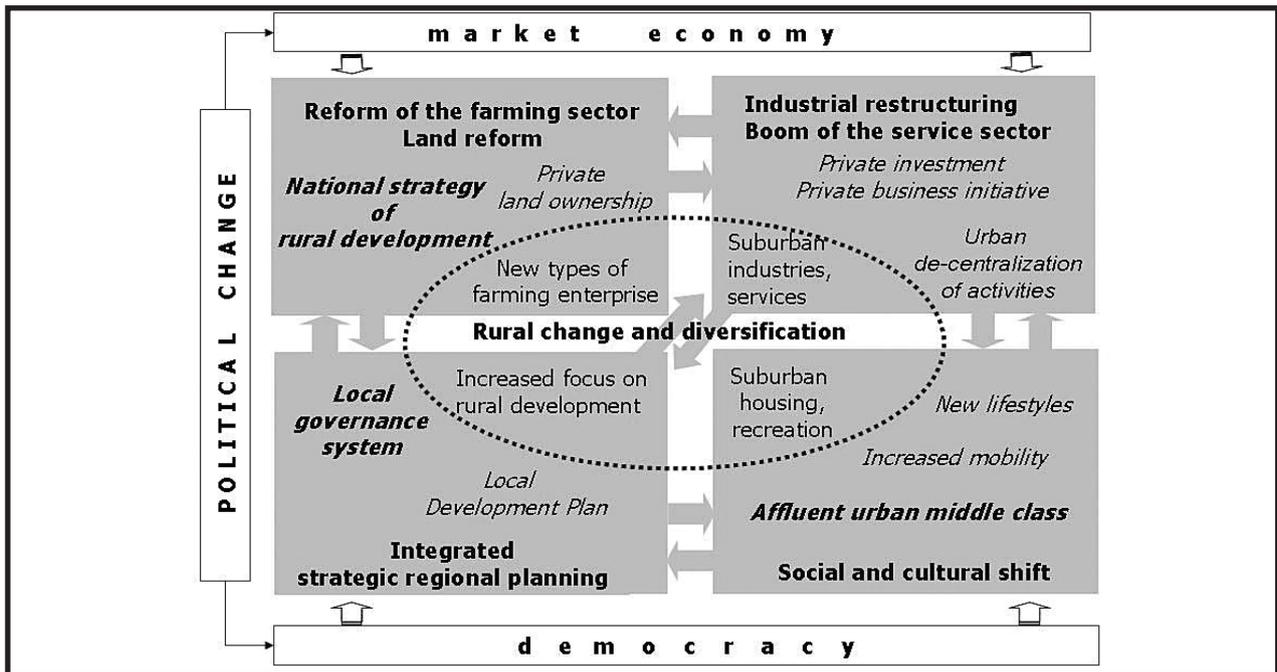


Fig. 7. Context of recent rural changes and diversification in BMA

Source: Lidia SASAKI, Koji KOBAYASHI. 2006

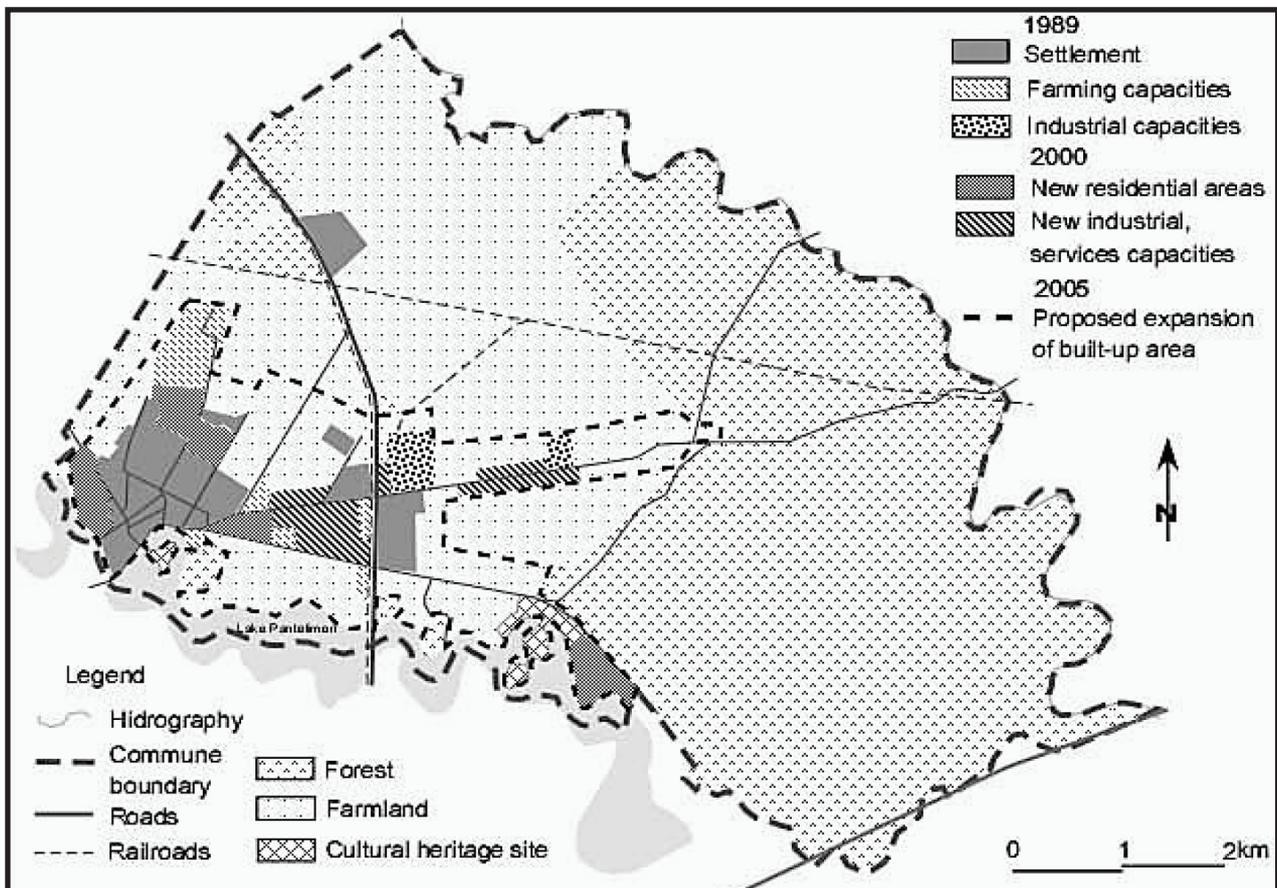


Fig. 8. Pantelimon commune: diversification of activities as reflected in land use changes post 1989

Source: Lidia SASAKI, Koji KOBAYASHI. 2006

The major disadvantage experienced by farm owners in the early 1990s was the little or no support provided by the state/local authorities. More recently, EU programs such as SAPARD* and funds such as EAFRD** (European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development) have come to the aid of local farmers and in support of the development and modernization of agricultural infrastructure.

The market economy influence was the most powerful, resulting in privatization of state industries and development of new privately-owned ones. As Sasaki and Kobayashi (2005) emphasize, after 1989 more than 2/3 of foreign investments in the country had as a target the Metropolitan Region of Bucharest. Once started, investments in the area were very welcomed by the local authorities who started stimulating local fiscality by lowering taxes. In addition, a strategy known as the Local Development Plan with short and mid-term strategies for the future was realized. *“Responding to such demand, local development plans identify and designate attractive land as develop-able land, usual under the flexible designation of <<areas for mixed activities>>. The magnitude of the process is well reflected by the recent urbanization trend in communities of the inner fringe of the Metropolitan Area, where the new businesses tend to concentrate, benefiting for the convenient location, relatively good infrastructure and local resources.”* (Sasaki and Kobayashi, 2005)

Several photos (Fig.9 - Fig.16) showing past and present situations from **Pantelimon** are presented here. These photos express the characteristics of urban expansion that is happening these days as well as the impact it has on the existing environment. The transport infrastructure has also been of aid in the attraction of housing development in the newly developed and restructured **peri-urban** areas. Bucharest is a radial-concentric type of city, pushing new business to locate around the ring roads or along the main motorways.

The General Urban Plan (establishes general rules and it presents a development strategy for 10-15 years) the from 2005 explained better the advantages of **Pantelimon** town(location, accessibility, resources) but also it highlighted the existing problems and the immediate need for adaptation to the rapid urban growth and social changes (Sasaki and Kobayashi, 2005). In conclusion, several Zonal Urban Plans (required in Romania in order to obtain the building permit for areas larger than one plot; it is based upon the Local Regulations from the General Urban Plan) were designed for large farmlands alongside the major transport corridors, transforming them into develop-able land. The cheap land price along with low taxes attracted major investments, mostly in the industrial sector of the economy and real estate.

The residential areas are being currently built without the basic road, electrical and water infrastructure and the consequences are visible especially from a social point of view. The basic need of a living environment with all the necessary facilities is not properly fulfilled and this creates even more misunderstandings and problems between members of the same community. The defining factor that influences a typical process of acquiring a housing property in the newly developed **peri-urban** environment is the price of the land/house: as lower the price is, as much interest it attracts. The facilities provided (access to fresh water, sewage, electricity) are not key-



Fig. 9. Pantelimon town: newly built house for sale
Source: Google Images, 2012



Fig. 10. Pantelimon town: newly built house for sale
Source: Google Images, 2012



Fig. 11. Pantelimon town: traditional 20th century house. Source: Google Images, 2013



Fig. 12. Pantelimon town: traditional 20th century house. Source: Google Images, 2013



Fig. 13. Pantelimon town: environmental pollution with waste. Source: Google Images, 2012



Fig. 14. Pantelimon town: newly built storage building
Source: Google Images, 2012



Fig. 15. Pantelimon town: Tuborg Beer Factory
Source: Google Images, 2012



Fig. 16. Pantelimon town: one central street
Source: Google Images, 2012

points for attracting new people. The most common process is that each family that decides to move in such a location is acquiring on its own these facilities from several market providers. Moreover, the location of the plot and its access to roads directly from the plot is also not a key-point for both the developers and the buyers. Unfortunately, the new residents of areas without any asphalt roads are, in most of the cases, relying on the local authorities to build them roads to be able to access properly their houses.

The main problem here is the lack of legislation that explains exactly in which conditions new residential facilities are to be built, what are the basic facilities that the investor needs to provide in order to be allowed to build on empty plots, away from the core center of the municipalities. There are certain legislations (Law no. 18/1991, art. 92) that explain in which conditions some plots can be changed from agricultural-use to residential/commercial-use and under which conditions some plots can be included in the inner-area of the municipality but still, they are not clear enough and investors can find ways to 'pass through' them.

Community	Distance to City <i>km</i>	Popula- tion 2002*	Total area** <i>ha</i>	Forest area** <i>ha</i>	Water bodies** <i>ha</i>	Farmland area** <i>ha</i>
Pantelimon	8	16034	6877	2961	678	2676

Table 1. Natural and human resources

Source: Lidia SASAKI, Koji KOBAYASHI. 2006

Today, food industry, beverages industry, the production of clothing and paper products are present in **Pantelimon**. In the same time, the new residential development covered a huge percent of the develop-able land. The conflicts between the industries and local residential neighborhoods are present in terms of pollution - if not necessary generated by the factories themselves, then from the large amount of cars and increasing traffic to and from the factories. The farmland (Table 1) is becoming less and less compared to the percentage of land designated for housing, storage or industries. Another issue is still the lack of an organized agricultural infrastructure. A huge negative influence is the lack of an proper irrigation system in the conditions of very hot dry summers (climate change, the phenomenon of desertification, lack of green belts, etc) and, more important, the lack of cooperation between farmers. Cooperation would mean more easier access to EU funds, split costs of investments in agricultural infrastructure and economic as well as social benefits for all parties involved. Furthermore, public space are neglected in terms of design and functional use. Because of this lack of **coherent** development, the evolution of the **local communities** and the process of **building identities** is hampered.

4.4.2 Local Identity Issues

Pantelimon is one of the communes with the largest concentration of natural resources such as fertile land, potential develop-able land, lakes, forests and cultural heritage sites. All these

resources are of high interest for investors, but most important - labor resources: more than half of the population is active. Even during the communist period, **Pantelimon** was one of the communes attracting a lot of investments especially in dairy farms, vegetable growing farms, and fruit growing farms (Sasaki and Kobayashi, 2005). Its geographical position, near the main transportation corridors contributed to its development, even after the socialistic period. In the 1980s, **Pantelimon** was a dormitory-commune with around 17000 people. Therefore, in the late 1980s a restructuring project was supposed to improve the aesthetics of the urban and public space from the commune. The main minus of this project was that it completely ignored the lack of basic water, sewage or gas infrastructure. Therefore, without providing the basic infrastructure, the **communities** could not evolve to higher level of organization and could not engage in any social activities (Ianoş, 2013)

After the shift to democracy (1989) several changes in the drivers of development process could be identified. As identified by Sasaki and Kobayashi (2005) as well as by prof. Ianoş (2013) the social mobility and cultural forces are another set of these type of drivers. After 1989, a new type of middle class appeared, people with higher ambitions, with access to more funds and with more 'westernized' needs for recreational activities and green spaces. Developments including public and private parks/gardens, weekend cottages, outdoor activities clubs emerge especially in the northern part of the region, with access to the existing forests and lakes system. These developments brought economical benefits both for the private sector - by creating new business opportunities, and for the local authorities - source of tax money. In this context, a potential for coherent development and a basis for **building an identity** was created.

From a social point of view, the effect of the chaotic spatial development process is the division of the existing **local communities** and the prevention of the formation of new ones. It is a well known thing that people have no trust in local authorities and a positive involvement of these local authorities in the development process is not visible enough. The lack of communication and public participation in the planning and designing process is having negative consequences on the overall development of **Pantelimon**.

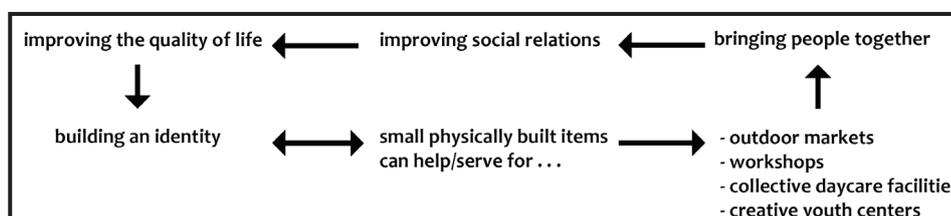
As a first step towards improving the communication between the local authorities and the **local communities**, currently, the municipality of Pantelimon is displaying a survey related to what should be the priorities of the local authorities in the near future: improving the pavement of the road surface, social housing, public parks and green areas and increasing the number of parking spaces. Until the present, a number of 449 voters were registered on the web-page and out of them, 78% chose the improvement of the pavement, 11% the social housing, 8% the parks and 3% increasing the number of parking spaces. The supremacy of the quality of the roads in the municipality is not surprising due to the fact that the car has a very important role in the Romanian society and is still used as the most common mode of transportation - especially for connection **peri-urban** areas - urban areas.

4.4.3 Conclusions

The combination of the mentioned drivers (both for urban planning issues and for local identity issues) led to a current situation where the transformations of the built environment have a direct impact on the actions/activities/behavior of the **local communities**. Having this context as a current background, issues of **local identity** and **local communities** tend to develop in a rather problematic way. Taking into account the potential of **Pantelimon** town (both in terms of spatial and social development) strategies and actions designed to create the proper environment for bringing together the local communities are needed. It is important to be mentioned that today, the planning system in Romania is using planning methods such as ‘scenario planning’ (the development of several future scenarios including best-case scenario and worst-case scenario for the evolution of the built and natural environment) and ‘policy planning’ (the development of urban policies, with programs and projects designed to reach a certain established aim in a certain period of time) (CSB - Conceptul Strategic Bucuresti 2035 - The Strategic Concept for Bucharest 2035, 2011). Therefore, the common aim of the designed strategies and policies should be the improvement of the quality of life in the newly built parts of **Pantelimon**, as well as in the older and continuously transforming ones. This aim can be achieved through programs based on bottom-up and grassroot-type initiatives. One main program coordinating these types of initiatives could be targeting the ‘*revitalization of the old town/village*’ with a strong emphasis on the **community**, the relation between people, between the people and the place they live and between different places of the same town. Several projects initiated by the local authority or NGO-s/creative groups can contribute in raising the overall level of activities in the area. In this situation, possible recommendations* include:

- campaigns of promoting local products (especially local food - outdoor markets),
- organizing and promoting local fairs (workshops, creative kindergartens and youth centers),
- several economical advantages offered by the local authorities (such as tax reduction for local food producers),
- learning programs supported by local authorities where farmers are trained and are given more information about ecological and modern agricultural infrastructure and processes.
- programs and activities such as “open days” in the local farms, where the locals and especially the children have access to the whole food production process and have the opportunity to learn more about it.

* These recommendations are based on my previous study and work experience in the field of urban planning -policy making in Bucharest and are designed following similar examples already implemented in other Eastern European/former communist countries (also see Chapter 5).



A scheme of the importance of such a development strategy is presented in Fig. 17. Here, the connection

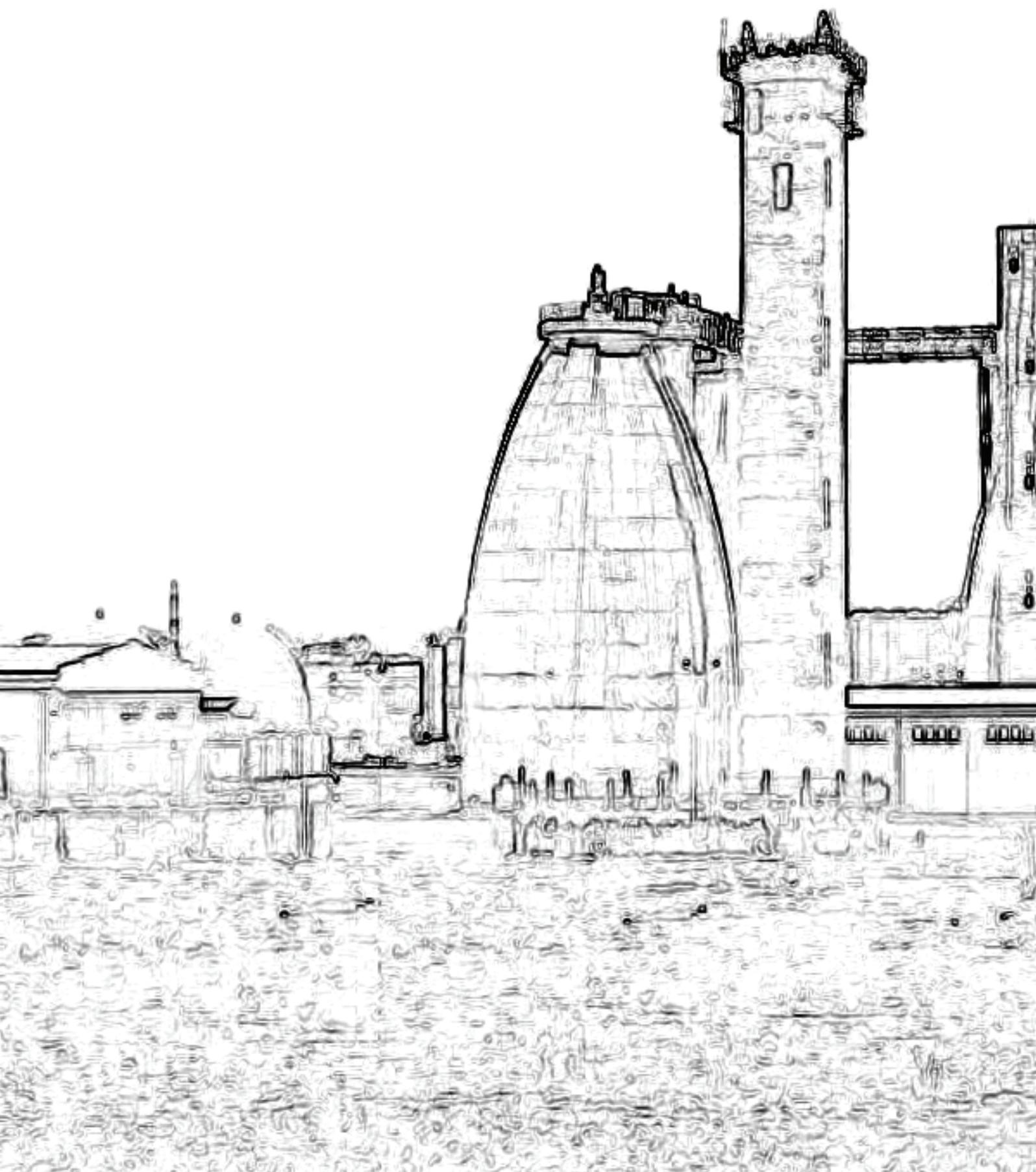
Fig. 17. General scheme for Pantelimon development strategy
Source: author

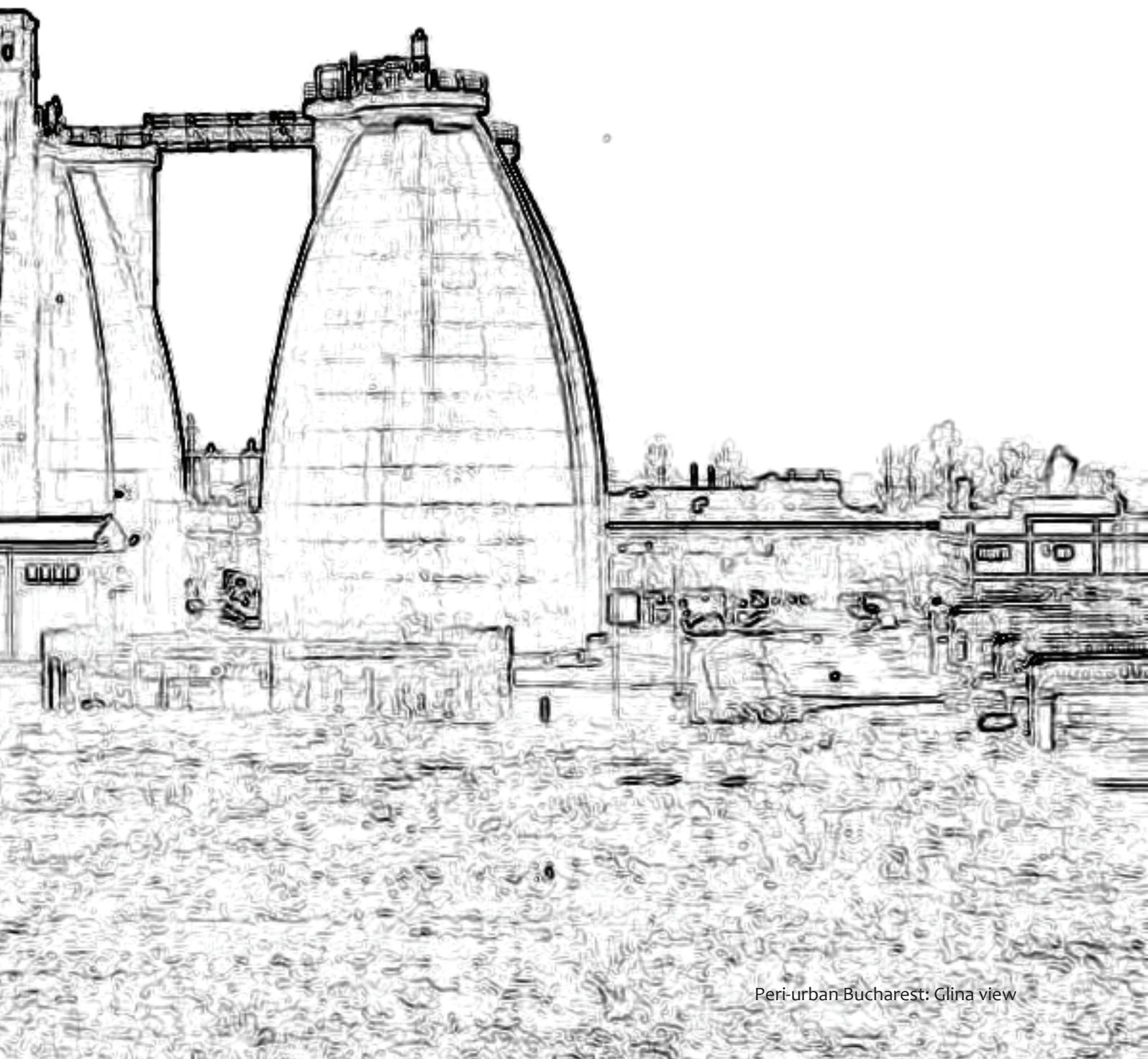
between the changes in the build environment and their impact on the social structures and the building identity process is highlighted. This type of scheme can be used as a possible model for planners and policy makers interested in designing future strategies for the **Pantelimon** town in the context of the current planning system in Romania.

4.5 CONCLUSIONS

Taking into account the data analyzed for the municipalities situated in the first ring of **peri-urban** areas of Bucharest, several aspects are outstanding. Firstly, from the 16 municipalities, only 7 are towns and, moreover, with a very low degree of urbanization compared to the surrounding areas - Bucharest city. In addition, the way these municipalities evolved through the time had a great impact on their current state: the law of 1976 banning the people coming from the rural areas to settle in Bucharest had a major impact on the rapid growth of the neighboring areas. This, related to recent massive investment helped in shaping the present visual, social and economical state of these places. Also, because of this dynamic process, conflicts are most likely to appear and the most problematic space is the **boundary** between the urban and the rural. In order to support the general idea that the **peri-urban** space still has hope and power to shape its own future as well as to adapt to the rapid changes while keeping its dynamic properties, several examples of good practice in relation to **community** and urban development have been presented. Although these examples are regarding specific locations in the **peri-urban** areas (certain municipalities or neighborhoods), they can, in the future, be generalized to the whole BMA. This generalization can be done due to the fact that **peri-urban** dynamics as well as **local identity** issues are similar in all the municipalities in the BMA. Finally, a more detailed example of **peri-urban** dynamics and **building identity** process in **Pantelimon** town has been presented, with an emphasis on the potential of this town as well as the current incompatibilities and risks. In order to deal with the mentioned issues, the problem of **inter-subjective identity** needs to be taken into account as well as the overuse of the **subjective identity** associated with common isolation from the community and no trust in local authorities. Therefore, future policies should be aimed at informing and involving the **local communities** in projects related to their neighborhood/town. Suggestions of possible policies/strategies have been presented in order to set the basis for a possible future policy framework that takes into account social and cultural aspects as a major catalyst for development, rather than focusing exclusively on economical factors.

When dealing with future development issues, the role of planners and policy makers is the one of mediators between the local authorities and the **local communities**. In the case of the **peri-urban** areas of Bucharest, the planners are also the ones expected (by the society in general) to get involved with the local communities, to make use of the local knowledge and also to come up with very efficient (economically) solutions for the future strategies. In doing this, the planners and policy makers ought to take into account the processes of **building identity** taking place in the **peri-urban** as well as the importance of the **local identities**. As currently, these issues are neglected by the planning system, the **coherent** future development of the **peri-urban** BMA is questionable.





Peri-urban Bucharest: Glina view

CONCLUSIONS

The general situation in the first ring of **peri-urban** areas in Bucharest can be characterized by market-driven developments, planning without proper involvement of the **local communities**, and communities with no tight bonds between members and with lack of desire to participate in the local life. Furthermore, in the situation of increasing market involvement in the planning process and without proper strategies developed in order to support the ongoing phenomenon of **building an identity**, the **peri-urban** environment of Bucharest is bound to face problems.

5.1 Development trajectory

The tradition of architecture and urban planning together with the political context and its evolution during the last century in Romania have shaped a **peri-urban** environment with larger potential for development inhabited by fragmented **communities** lacking common interests and bounding connections. Starting from the 19th century (when the first manifestations of planned urban developments in Romania appeared) a pattern can be observed: the spatial extensions were oriented towards economical development. Following the development line: rural-urban divide - rural-urban integration, the municipalities from the **peri-urban** areas are expected to continue developing until the state of new urban centers, attracting smaller villages and towns into their polarizing area. This can be seen as a possible alternative for current isolation and lack of connection problems. Moreover, Magnaghi argues about how *“improving the current economical and spatial situation of the existing **peri-urban** towns will give people reasons to self-organize their environment into a friendly environment, with green spaces and services situated in a walking distance”* (Magnaghi, 2005, p.143). The same situation could be observed in the case of **peri-urban** areas of Bucharest: the potential for self-organization based on **identity building** processes is visible but the lack of **inter-subjective identity** as well as no collaborative/communicative approach towards planning has a negative impact on future development strategies. Overall, a more **coherent** development process is necessary in order to avoid symptoms such as **disorder** - partially losing the **spatial coherence**, **dysfunction** - mixture of too many land-uses, **dismantling** - loosing the linkages across the space or **imbalance** - impossibility of establishing connections and relations with the environment. Furthermore, the increasing spending capacity of the people has contributed to developing barriers between different zones in the **peri-urban** (extremely low-income areas situated mostly in the south region in contrast with luxurious high-income areas situated more in the north part of Bucharest). Based on the data analyzed for this research, in a scenario where these barriers increase, the fragmentation, in social terms, of the **peri-urban** environment will be enhanced and the possibility of cooperation and collaboration between communities will decrease. In this situation, the **inter-subjective identity** is restrained and the **building identity** process is hampered.

During time, several factors have contributed to the inhibition / slowing down processes of **identity building**. These factors are related to the rapid increase in car use along with the development of

motorized infrastructure connecting the city center and the **peri-urban** space, the transformation in land-uses (rural activities are taking place on urban land and urban activities on rural land) and the diversification and fragmentation of the **communities** inhabiting the peri-urban spaces (from traditional rural communities to more 'urbanized' communities which today co-habit with what is left from the original rural communities but lack connections with the original population). An overview of these factors is presented in the following paragraphs.

5.1.1 Dynamics and linkages

From point of view of linkages, the **peri-urban** space has, on a vertical scale, rather **stable interaction linkages** with the city area but lacks in most of the cases, linkages between the municipalities part of this area. These linkages have developed during time, starting from the original infrastructure network of Bucharest and later on extending to the **peri-urban** areas. Together with the upgrading of some **peri-urban** municipalities as 'towns' (during the communist period), their degree of urbanization was supposed to increase as well (according to the communist vision). The image that can be observed today does not reflect this idea but instead it shows a hybrid mix between urban and rural environments. Areas where **sectoral interactions** take place are most common in the Bucharest area. As being a dynamic, developing space, rural functions are present in the urban space (agriculture as the main occupation of the inhabitants of a town) while the former traditional rural areas start manifesting urban characteristics (storage and industrial areas, logistic parks, office towers built in villages). On this basis, the evolution of the **local communities** was seriously affected. Today, people lack the reason to go to another **peri-urban** municipality and the city's influence is still the primary factor determining the movement of the masses. Likewise, the city's influence has a great impact even on the local movement of the people, it has negative impacts on local public spaces and inhibits the development of activities at the community scale (Magnaghi, 2005, p.70). In terms of **local identity**, this would be translated as a detachment of the local communities towards the place they live in.

5.1.2 Identity and communities

The expression of Weigert's (1986) three basic modes of identity: **subjective**, **objective** and **inter-subjective**, correlated directly with the personal pronouns 'I', 'Me' and 'We', can be observed in the actions of the **local communities**. Each individual creates a personal connection with the space he carries out his daily activities - **subjective identity/ 'I'**. In contrast, as an outsider of the community, the observation/study of the daily life is carried out from a different point of view, without any personal involvement - **objective identity/ 'Me'**. The interaction between these two perspectives appears when the actions of the community have effects on the surrounding environment (are, therefore, noticeable from the 'outside'), generating this way connections from the 'inside' of the community to the 'outside' world as well as connections between individual members of the community - **inter-subjective identity/ 'We'**. The **peri-urban** areas of Bucharest are outstanding mostly due to the lack of **inter-subjective identity**, as well as the overuse of the

subjective identity. This aspect is reflected and can be observed even just by analyzing the newly built environment. From an architectural point of view, public spaces are not designed in a way that encourages communication between people and are not equipped properly for hosting public activities. In addition, when analyzing typical newly build residential areas a clear feeling of isolation can be noticed through the high fences and sometimes very large distances between house (so that neighbors are not forced to interact with each other).

Furthermore, due to the continuous and rapid development process, a change in terms of **identity** can be observed through the increased bottom-up, grass-root initiatives (coming from NGO-s/ local associations). Nevertheless, these initiatives are still quite 'rare', and they do not account for all **peri-urban** areas - which are still very much oriented towards economical development and not towards qualitative and livable places (Ianoş, 2013; Stan, 2009). Based on the findings of this research, important ways of increasing the **inter-subjective identity** and supporting the **building identity** process are based on the involvement **local communities** and the creation of new linkages between members, as well as increasing the degree of communication between local authorities and **local communities** (more interest from the local authorities in establishing a connection). As the **building identity** process is usually represented by *"groups — both internal and external to a state — with competing, and often conflicting, beliefs, values and aspirations"* (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000, p. 18), the key-role played by the **local communities** becomes visible. In addition, the change in mentality in Romania (after 1989) makes the adaptation and re-adaptation processes more difficult, therefore extending this process of **building identity** to a longer period of time. Moreover, the **building identity** process requires economical resources which are currently limited in Romania.

5.2 Recommendations

The issues defining the general context of the **peri-urban** space and the different expressions of **local identity** can be perceived from different points of view: planners, architects, policy makers, (in Romania - role of the planner), local authorities, local communities. These different perspectives can be used in generating recommendations and future strategies for the identified issues.

5.2.1 Planners/policy-makers

In order to have a higher degree of certainty when designing a policy, the **aim** should be very clear and should address the most important issues previously identified by studies and research conducted in the area. In this case, as demonstrated in the past chapters, the lack of **coherent** development has negative effects (such as **disorder**, **dysfunction**, **dismantling** or **imbalance**) on the current and future state of the **peri-urban** areas in Bucharest. Furthermore, the lack of integration and an exclusive economic-oriented strategy of development have contributed to this negative state. At a higher scale, this issue of **peri-urban** space has implications on the general

development of the BMA. In addition, due to the fact that most of the spatial investments have focused on cheap **peri-urban** land, these areas are more vulnerable and more unstable than other. Investing in a **coherent** development of these areas is a strategy that will bring benefits in time, on all sectors and scales. In addition, **coherent** development implies a balanced development, based on concepts such as '**walkable neighborhoods, villages, towns**' - "*We are not too many but too fast: all the places a citizen goes to on a normal day must be within walking distance*" (Kohr, 1986 quoted in Magnaghi, 2005, p.143) and '**new urban centers**' - "*The process of reconfiguring the periphery requires extensive demolition operations, reconnecting open spaces, and reconstructing public space by offering incentives for demolition. (...). The older urban areas were gradually rebuilt as community ownership took hold - opened out with gardens and recreations, their specialization diminished, their infrastructure converted to new uses... New centers were built in the outer suburbs and the tidal wave of metropolis emerged.*" (Lynch, 1981).

A more apparently radical solution proposed in the attention of the planners/policy makers is the Ecopolis - "*The urban bioregion of Ecopolis is a large network city studded with small centers connected up in dense constellations - for example in the former metropolitan areas - or in more widely spread urban systems in each region following the historical territorial figures.*" (Magnaghi, 2005, p.145). Developed by Alberto Magnaghi, professor of Land Use Planning at the University of Florence, Italy, this urban bioregion aims at creating a comfortable living environment, integrating built spaces with green space with the model of separating each urban center from the others through agrarian lands interconnected and linked through a network of environmental friendly units - "*The urban region of Ecopolis is not a 'garden city', it is a compact city 'with gardens'*". (Magnaghi, 2005, p.145). This way, the city becomes less isolated by being surrounded by 'empty' **peri-urban** space and the **peri-urban** space becomes a lively source of food, energy and labor. In addition, the general perception about the place of living is shifted from 'home-town' to 'home-region'. This solution expresses an alternative to the classical approach towards **peri-urban** issues today by placing the **local communities** and the quality of living in a central position. In addition, from the point of view of the **identity building**, Ecopolis has the main advantage of being designed a region with whom its inhabitants will identify themselves quickly and where connections and **local communities** develop naturally.

5.2.2 Architects & Urban Designers

Currently, the most problematic practical aspect is that people chose to move in the **peri-urban** area having as the main reason the economical advantages and the 'escape from the communist blocks'). In detail, this is expressed through the lack of connections human-environment. A first step in achieving these connections is to make 'places' instead of 'spaces'. In order to do so, there is a need of involvement from the part of designers and architects. Their interventions in the build environment are decisive when it comes to shaping an area and offering it certain opportunities. By the increase of public spaces - especially recreational spaces - designed with a certain quality, the overall aesthetically qualities of the space are upgraded, giving a different feeling and being able



to attract more people. In this context the design of public space is bound to be inviting, open and therefore encouraging more communication opportunities between its users.

5.2.3 Local authorities & Local communities

As one of the main issues of current developments in the **peri-urban** space is the lack of communication between the **local communities** and the local authorities, the implementation of future strategies can be done through platforms of collaboration and communication **local authorities - local communities**. In order to actually shape the current environment, the inclusion of the people in the process is necessary. There are several ways in motivating and encouraging people to do so and based on the data and analyses done on this aspect, people from Bucharest's **peri-urban** municipalities need a practical reason to get involved in any **community**-related initiatives. Furthermore, as long as there is a positive example from a neighbor/friend living in the same area, people are more attracted to any action happening in their environment. The communication between members of the same **community** can be increased through such common events and actions. A huge bonus would be the fact that afterwards, the **community** can see physically the effect of their actions - this has proven very effective in neighborhoods with different social-related issues (for example - building an outdoor library in Magdeburg Germany: *"The open air library, we established in 2005 in an abandoned district centre in East Germany has been started with a public intervention, using beer crates as building material: On the fallow site of the former district library a 1:1 model of a possible Open-Air-Library has been build up for two days and the shelves have been filled with book donations. The residents took over the energy of the temporary project and opened up an informal district library near the site which now offers more than 20.000 books"*, Archdaily, 2009) and it is a method that has high changes of success in Bucharest.

In an attempt to improve the communication between local authorities and the people, several steps have already been taken in some municipalities from the **peri-urban** areas of Bucharest. Initiatives such as free newspapers with useful information and promotion of local individuals and actions, municipality and NGO-s organizing outdoor concerts and other similar events have proven very successful and can be considered a model to follow by local authorities and **local communities**. In a chain-reactions, this will lead to the improvement of the communication between members of the same **community**. In addition, more collective, bottom-up initiatives that can tighten the bounds within the community and strengthen the **building identity** through the use of the local knowledge (Harvey, 2000, p. 530) could appear.

To conclude, the **building identity** process can be considered as a transition following the line urban-rural divide - urban-rural integration. However, this process will still have to face opponents such as the market economy and the political/legislative system. Nevertheless, small initiatives, as the ones presented in this research, have the change of becoming local positive examples and could attract the development of more similar ones, making this transition recognizable even from this early stage.

5.3 Reflexion

The **peri-urban** areas of Bucharest has proven to be a remarkable and motivating study case, revealing information useful for planners/policy makers as well as for other scholars.

From the point of view of the methodological framework, this research has as main strong points the study-case approach as well as the external validity. The findings of this research can be generalized, firstly, to all **peri-urban** areas of metropolitan regions in Romania, and secondly, to **peri-urban** areas of former communist countries. Due to the fact that the main influencing factor in development trajectory of Bucharest was the communist period (and its impacts on the built, natural environment as well as on the society), the present day problems encountered in this location are very similar to issues that are to be found in other former communist states. Furthermore, the building identity process is part of a contemporary debate, which, unfortunately is not taken into account too much by the existing planning system in Romania. However, the weak point of this research is represented by the internal validity. Although a clear methodological framework was designed and followed, the theory of triangulation could not be implemented at its best. Multiple perspectives on the problem of **building identity** in the **peri-urban** are presented in this research but most of data is collected from urban planning specialists, architects, policy makers. This happened due to the fact that a **local community** perspective is not clearly visible/cannot be obtained in Romania (the concept of community involvement & empowerment is still very new) and the local authorities are still not cooperative when it comes to planning/policy-making issues.

The issues of **local communities** and **local identity/ building identity** have shown to be very important in the development process of the **peri-urban** areas in Bucharest. In contrast, these issues have not been fully analyzed by a larger group of scholars and their theoretical background is still unknown for most of the interested parties. The main conclusion that can be extracted after the interviews with planning specialists/policy makers in Romania is that currently, the issue of **local identity** is not taken into account in any future strategies, being considered as 'unimportant' compared to economical development.

This research proved that issues of **local identity/building identity** are important pillars for **coherent spatial, ecological** and **social** development. However, the time issue could not be taken fully into consideration. Although the development trajectory of the analyzed area provided useful information about possible future scenarios, the reliability on such scenarios is doubtful. The dependence on the economical situation will still be a major aspect in shaping future evolutions. Therefore, even if the general planning context evolves there is no certain way of telling how long will the market economy still be the main player in the development of **peri-urban** areas of Bucharest.

Taking all the mentioned aspects into account, a future scenario of **peri-urban** municipalities is presented here. This is a subjective perspective on the possible evolution of an area which I



personally know very well, as an inhabitant of Bucharest and as an urban planner and designer.

*“The future state of **peri-urban** areas of Bucharest is dominated by a shift from dormitory towns/communes to active urban centers, offering a balanced selection of living, working, education, health and recreational facilities. The main trigger for this balanced development is the involvement of **local communities** and the main role played by the **local identity** when designing policies concerning these areas. In this newly **peri-urban** space, deserted landscapes are now carefully designed with recycled materials and with the help and involvement of the **local community**. Neighbors work together and encourage each other in attending community events as well as in continuing the open and friendly relationship with the local authorities. Furthermore, the whole BMA profits out of this balanced development in the **peri-urban** and peripheral areas. The amount of investors is growing, better connections are realized between the city center of the Bucharest and other polarizing urban centers situated in the surrounding areas. Public transportation becomes dominant and the use of car is reduced only to longer distance trips. Overall, the region’s image is improved, the quality of living is increasing and the disparities between different areas of the **peri-urban** are reduced. “*



Fig. 18. Tunari village - existing situation
Source: author



Fig. 19. Tunari village - future situation
Source: author





Peri-urban Bucharest: Voluntari view

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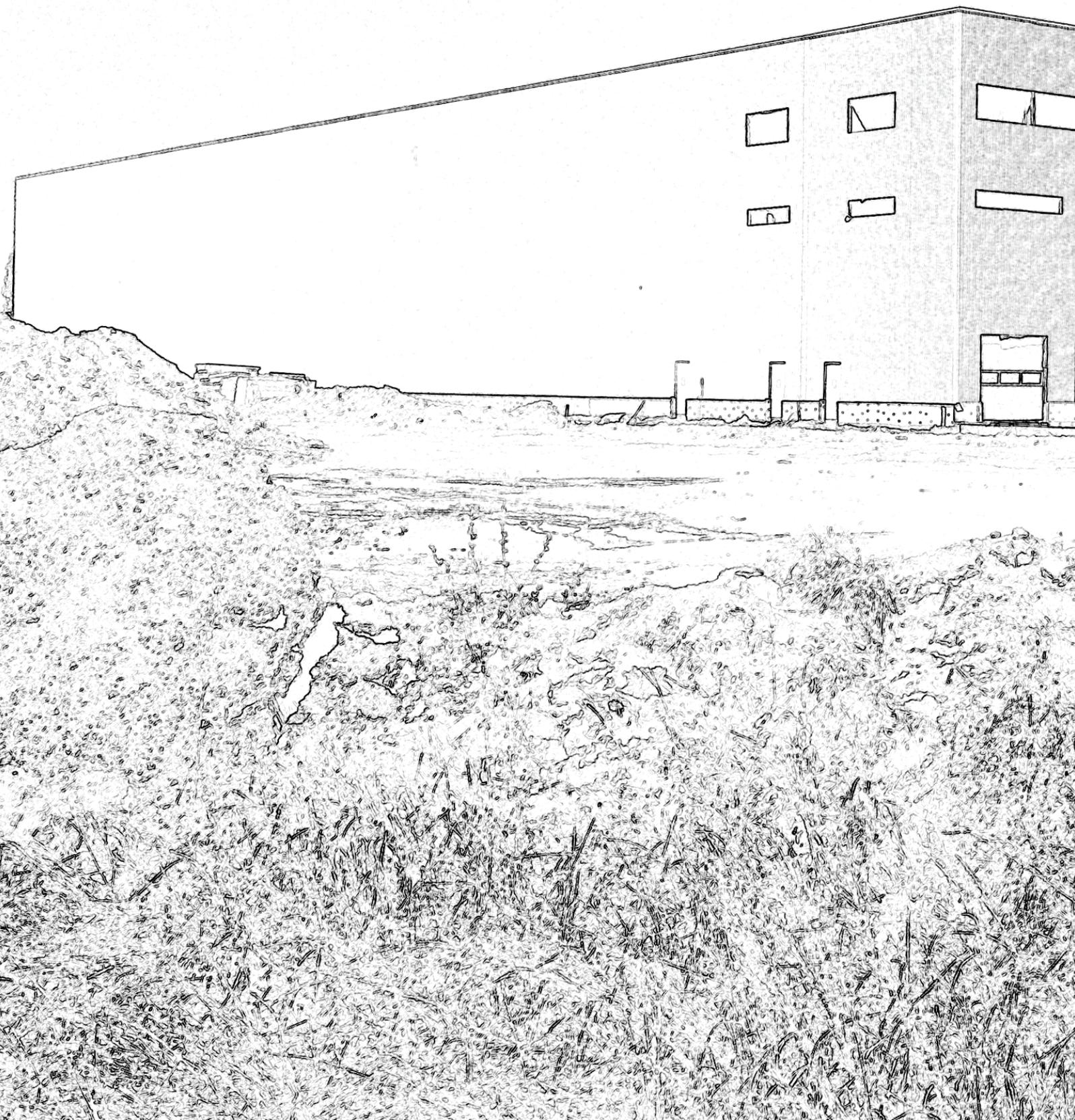
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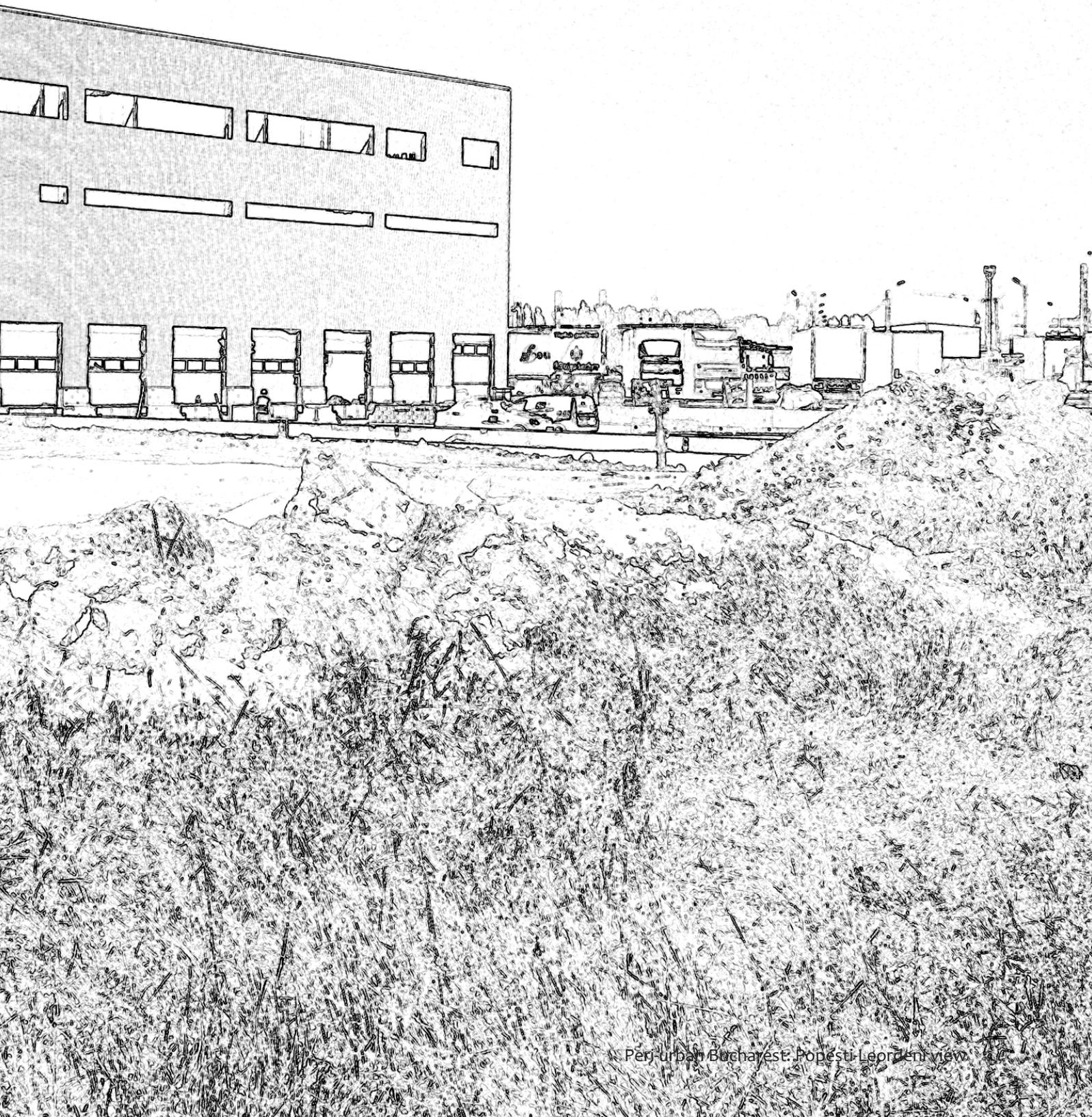
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ANNEXES

7.1. Interview guide

Firstly, I have to mention that since the number of urban planners is reduced compared to the number of architects in Romania, a rather compact group of specialists and students in this field is formed. Therefore, the persons interviewed were not at all strangers to me. More specific, they were either my former professors, either other Bucharest based specialists in planning with whom I previously had contact. Therefore, the questions presented below were used more as guidelines during the interviews and a more open and semi-structured conversation actually occurred.

Secondly, the issue of identity was not addressed directly in the interviews (except for the interview with prof. Ianoş and with prof. Enache) due to the fact that it is still a rather new and unknown/undefined issue and therefore, no relevant answers could have been obtained by including this item as central in the interviews.

- Are you aware of the current development process that is taking place in the peri-urban areas of Bucharest? (Have you done any studies/projects there?)
- How would you characterize this development process?
- Do you know if the natural environment and the farming lands are directly affected by this development? (if yes, do you consider that the urbanization of the rural areas is the best way to increase the capacity of the city to sustain new population?)
- Are you aware of the large number of former agricultural plots that were included into the inner part of the municipalities in the past years? IN terms of coherent development how would you describe this process? Can the development of the peri-urban areas be done in a different way?
- The development of new road infrastructure projects from Bucharest (highways, ring-road and over-passes) are meant to help improving motorized transport in the city and from the surrounding areas towards the inner city area. Do you think these new project will encourage even more people to settle down in the peri-urban areas? Is that a negative thing or a positive one and why?
- Do you think that the model of the compact city can be applied to Bucharest or do you think that urban sprawl should be encouraged due to the fact that there is enough empty land in the peri-urban areas?
- Have you heard about the involvement of NGO-s or local communities in the planning processed for the municipalities of the peri-urban area? Are the people aware and interested in the things being build in their neighborhood ?
- Have you ever had any experience or have you had to work together with NGO-s or local

communities when doing a certain project/research? (If yes, what can you tell about it?)

- Do you think the local authorities are encouraging the local communities in participating in the decision-making process when it comes to a project related to their neighborhood or do you think the authorities should be more involved and take the first step towards a more collaborative approach? Why?
- Do you know about the historical evolution/development trajectory of the Bucharest Metropolitan Area, about the fact that several municipalities were upgraded from communes to towns recently? Do you think it will attract more inhabitants and will create a more attractive environment for economical development?
- Do you think that the master plans for those municipalities are taking into account the local and historical characteristics? Do you think those plans focus on economical development or improvement of the existing social condition?
- If offered a better, inner city apartment, do you think that most of the people living in the poor areas of the peri-urban space would consider moving away? Or would they prefer to stay there and get more involved in the planning process for creating a better environment for themselves and their families?
- Are you aware of the huge difference in the income of the residents of some of the analyzed municipalities? (for example Otopeni compared to Gлина). How can poorer areas attract more investments and how can the huge investments in the richer parts be controlled in order to reduce the disparities between neighboring municipalities?
- What do you think about the legal framework referring to the peri-urban and rural areas? (Is it clear enough, does it need improvement, can it be surpassed by investors' will to achieve their goal through any ways?)

7.2. Population data

TAB2. POPULATIE, GOSPODARI SI CLADIRI LA RECENSAMANTUL DIN ANUL 2011 - REZULTATE PRELIMINARE										
ROMANIA PE JUDETE, MUNICIPII SI ORASE, COMUNE										
	POPULATIE STABILA			din care: Populatia stabila din gospodariile populatiei			Numarul gospodariilor populatiei	Numarul mediu de persoane pe o gospodarie a populatiei	Numarul cladirilor	din care:
	Ambele sexe	Masculin	Feminin	Ambele sexe	Masculin	Feminin				Cladiri cu locuinte ¹⁾
A	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Ilfov	364241	178387	185854	360222	175554	184668	116325	3.10	111463	111284
A. MUNICIPII SI ORASE	155039	75680	79359	154153	75239	78914	50583	3.05	40065	39995
ORAS BRAGADIRU	14410	6972	7438	14402	6968	7434	4914	2.93	3654	3649
ORAS BUFTEA	21960	10698	11262	21960	10698	11262	6908	3.18	3321	3321
ORAS CHITILA	13229	6445	6784	13211	6428	6783	4197	3.15	3341	3336
ORAS MAGURELE	10565	5163	5402	10190	4985	5205	3376	3.02	2809	2807
ORAS OTOPENI	12671	6074	6597	12671	6074	6597	4466	2.84	3040	3020
ORAS PANTELIMON	23309	11517	11792	23161	11372	11789	7152	3.24	7404	7392
ORAS POPESTI LEORDENI	20215	9840	10375	20055	9819	10236	6792	2.95	4507	4492
ORAS VOLUNTARI	38680	18971	19709	38503	18895	19608	12778	3.01	11989	11978
B. COMUNE	209202	102707	106495	206069	100315	105754	65742	3.13	71398	71289
1 DECEMBRIE	7251	3514	3737	7251	3514	3737	2380	3.05	1530	1530
AFUMATI	7254	3519	3735	7148	3483	3665	2071	3.45	2275	2273
BALOTESTI	7869	3806	4063	7849	3800	4049	2611	3.01	2281	2268
BERCENI	5818	2829	2989	5818	2829	2989	1820	3.20	2387	2384
BRANESTI	10020	4838	5182	9981	4835	5146	3173	3.15	3470	3468
CERNICA	10416	5102	5314	9803	4797	5006	2734	3.59	3042	3021
CHIAJNA	13261	6490	6771	13261	6490	6771	4563	2.91	3656	3651
CIOLPANI	4633	2170	2463	4633	2170	2463	1641	2.82	2115	2109
CIOROGARLA	5972	2943	3029	5972	2943	3029	1696	3.52	1972	1972
CLINCENI	6450	3090	3360	6450	3090	3360	2007	3.21	2365	2364
COPACENI	3048	1475	1573	3048	1475	1573	973	3.13	1045	1045
CORBEANCA	6585	3207	3378	6585	3207	3378	2131	3.09	3049	3049
CORNETU	6108	2974	3134	6088	2959	3129	1924	3.16	1544	1542
DARASTI-ILFOV	2957	1454	1503	2957	1454	1503	1022	2.89	1044	1044
DASCALU	3080	1530	1550	3080	1530	1550	1029	2.99	1402	1402
DOBROESTI	8688	4239	4449	8688	4239	4449	2868	3.03	2925	2925
DOMNESTI	8200	4016	4184	8183	4008	4175	2445	3.35	3025	3024
DRAGOMIRESTI-VALE	5123	2472	2651	5123	2472	2651	1480	3.46	1730	1730
GANEASA	4412	2128	2284	4412	2128	2284	1273	3.47	1300	1300
GLINA	8017	3942	4075	8017	3942	4075	2342	3.42	2409	2409
GRADISTEA	3182	1596	1586	3182	1596	1586	1114	2.86	1280	1280
GRUIU	7137	3438	3699	7137	3438	3699	2503	2.85	3367	3362
JILAVA	11485	6474	5011	9715	4724	4991	2889	3.36	2510	2503
MOARA VLASIEI	6149	3025	3124	6149	3025	3124	2077	2.96	2334	2334
MOGOSOIA	6870	3339	3531	6822	3326	3496	2245	3.04	2243	2237
NUCI	3038	1487	1551	3009	1461	1548	1210	2.49	1608	1605
PERIS	7301	3496	3805	7047	3354	3693	2392	2.95	2867	2861
PETRACHIOAIA	3372	1671	1701	3372	1671	1701	1095	3.08	1488	1488
SNAGOV	6773	3248	3525	6705	3217	3488	2471	2.71	3021	3003
STEFANESTII DE JOS	4961	2499	2462	4961	2499	2462	1506	3.29	1454	1454
TUNARI	5044	2444	2600	4895	2387	2508	1517	3.23	1704	1697
VIDRA	8728	4252	4476	8728	4252	4476	2540	3.44	2956	2955

Population, households and buildings from 2011 census



TAB12. LOCUINTE CONVENTIONALE DUPA DOTAREA CU INSTALATII SI DEPENDINTE LA RECENSAMANTUL DIN ANUL 2011 - REZULTATE PRELIMINARE ROMANIA PE JUDETE, MUNICIPII SI ORASE, COMUNE

A	Numarul locuinte lor conventionale	Locuinte conventionale care dispun de:								Locuinte conventionale care au:			
		Alimentare cu apa in locuinta		Instalatii de canalizare in locuinta ¹⁾		Instalatii electrice		Incalzire centrala ²⁾		Bucatarie in locuinta		Baie in locuinta	
		Numar	in % fata de total	Numar	in % fata de total	Numar	in % fata de total	Numar	in % fata de total	Numar	in % fata de total	Numar	in % fata de total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
Ifov	142325	109214	76.7	107347	75.4	138116	97.0	80988	56.9	132396	93.0	103582	72.8
A. MUNICIPII SI ORASE	61061	54402	89.1	53952	88.4	60335	98.8	43258	70.8	58246	95.4	51675	84.6
ORAS BRAGADIRU	7489	6922	92.4	6921	92.4	7392	98.7	5859	78.2	7310	97.6	6868	91.7
ORAS BUFTEA	6850	5986	87.4	5716	83.4	6748	98.5	4784	69.8	6485	94.7	5591	81.6
ORAS CHITILA	4871	4076	83.7	4059	83.3	4783	98.2	2803	57.5	4502	92.4	3837	78.8
ORAS MAGURELE	3981	2981	74.9	2961	74.4	3912	98.3	2290	57.5	3702	93.0	2912	73.1
ORAS OTOPENI	5675	5403	95.2	5377	94.7	5630	99.2	5033	88.7	5573	98.2	5305	93.5
ORAS PANTELIMON	8193	6899	84.2	6871	83.9	8030	98.0	4055	49.5	7602	92.8	6337	77.3
ORAS POPESTI LEORDENI	8772	8406	95.8	8370	95.4	8702	99.2	7014	80.0	8341	95.1	7958	90.7
ORAS VOLUNTARI	15230	13729	90.1	13677	89.8	15138	99.4	11420	75.0	14731	96.7	12867	84.5
B. COMUNE	81264	54812	67.4	53395	65.7	77781	95.7	37730	46.4	74150	91.2	51907	63.9
1 DECEMBRIE	3248	2965	91.3	2924	90.0	3173	97.7	1878	57.8	3187	98.1	2864	88.2
AFUMATI	2280	1718	75.4	1593	69.9	2143	94.0	876	38.4	2170	95.2	1526	66.9
BALOTESTI	3249	2749	84.6	2705	83.3	3194	98.3	2207	67.9	3107	95.6	2663	82.0
BERCENI	2400	1866	77.8	1824	76.0	2325	96.9	1351	56.3	2226	92.8	1821	75.9
BRANESTI	3493	2262	64.8	2250	64.4	3444	98.6	1476	42.3	3354	96.0	2223	63.6
CERNICA	3016	1168	38.7	1123	37.2	2839	94.1	645	21.4	2665	88.4	1101	36.5
CHIAJNA	5814	5300	91.2	5222	89.8	5720	98.4	4871	83.8	5414	93.1	5155	88.7
CIOLPANI	2113	1209	57.2	1205	57.0	1930	91.3	663	31.4	1998	94.6	1195	56.6
CIOROGARLA	2071	1334	64.4	1329	64.2	1890	91.3	886	42.8	1823	88.0	1300	62.8
CLINCENI	2367	1646	69.5	1635	69.1	2286	96.6	1293	54.6	2236	94.5	1629	68.8
COPACENI	1082	626	57.9	474	43.8	959	88.6	277	25.6	884	81.7	457	42.2
CORBEANCA	3062	2588	84.5	2550	83.3	2965	96.8	2207	72.1	2868	93.7	2525	82.5
CORNETU	2190	1751	80.0	1749	79.9	2137	97.6	1165	53.2	2081	95.0	1735	79.2
DARASTI-ILFOV	1049	484	46.1	434	41.4	1023	97.5	120	11.4	755	72.0	432	41.2
DASCALU	1399	619	44.2	570	40.7	1321	94.4	335	23.9	1181	84.4	570	40.7
DOBROESTI	3618	3285	90.8	3140	86.8	3485	96.3	2670	73.8	3429	94.8	2968	82.0
DOMNESTI	3082	2069	67.1	2003	65.0	2878	93.4	1476	47.9	2688	87.2	1974	64.0
DRAGOMIRESTI-VALE	1767	1247	70.6	1232	69.7	1596	90.3	851	48.2	1708	96.7	1224	69.3
GANEASA	1290	763	59.1	734	56.9	1126	87.3	225	17.4	1036	80.3	616	47.8
GLINA	2430	1357	55.8	1342	55.2	2302	94.7	881	36.3	2268	93.3	1243	51.2
GRADISTEA	1295	450	34.7	448	34.6	1217	94.0	182	14.1	1156	89.3	446	34.4
GRUIU	3454	1484	43.0	1418	41.1	3301	95.6	903	26.1	2918	84.5	1406	40.7
JILAVA	3171	2017	63.6	1982	62.5	3090	97.4	1302	41.1	2769	87.3	1910	60.2
MOARA VLASIEI	2381	1080	45.4	1055	44.3	2330	97.9	613	25.7	2123	89.2	1049	44.1
MOGOSOAIA	2637	2336	88.6	2273	86.2	2568	97.4	1900	72.1	2460	93.3	2087	79.1
NUCI	1614	252	15.6	250	15.5	1535	95.1	72	4.5	1428	88.5	237	14.7
PERIS	2989	1683	56.3	1596	53.4	2849	95.3	570	19.1	2516	84.2	1520	50.9
PETRACHIOAIA	1488	488	32.8	488	32.8	1422	95.6	270	18.1	1423	95.6	485	32.6
SNAGOV	4132	3518	85.1	3480	84.2	3859	93.4	2488	60.2	3995	96.7	3428	83.0
STEFANESTII DE JOS	2175	1610	74.0	1501	69.0	2126	97.7	1009	46.4	1826	84.0	1330	61.1
TUNARI	1922	1306	68.0	1297	67.5	1882	97.9	1198	62.3	1821	94.7	1291	67.2
VIDRA	2986	1582	53.0	1569	52.5	2866	96.0	870	29.1	2637	88.3	1497	50.1

¹⁾ Locuinte care au instalatii de canalizare la o retea publica, la un sistem propriu sau alta situatie.
²⁾ Termoficare si centrala termica proprie.
*) sub 0,05 %.

Conventional housing by provision of facilities and outbuildings

TAB10. LOCUINTE CONVENTIONALE PE FORME DE PROPRIETATE LA RECENSAMANTUL DIN ANUL 2011 - REZULTATE PRELIMINARE													
ROMANIA PE JUDETE, MUNICIPII SI ORASE, COMUNE													
A	Numarul locuintelor conventionale	Locuinte conventionale dupa forma de proprietate											
		Privata particulara		De stat		Privata de grup		Cooperatista		Asociativa		A cultelor religioase	
		Numar	In % fata de total	Numar	In % fata de total	Numar	In % fata de total	Numar	In % fata de total	Numar	In % fata de total	Numar	In % fata de total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
Ilfov	142325	139256	97.8	1638	1.2	1117	0.8	7	*	16	*	291	0.2
A. MUNICIPII SI ORASE	61061	59167	96.9	872	1.4	1008	1.7	2	*	1	*	11	*
ORAS BRAGADIRU	7489	7283	97.2	206	2.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ORAS BUFTEA	6850	6625	96.7	223	3.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	*
ORAS CHITILA	4871	4583	94.1	15	0.3	270	5.5	-	-	-	-	3	0.1
ORAS MAGURELE	3981	3934	98.8	45	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.1
ORAS OTOPENI	5675	5386	94.9	278	4.9	11	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-
ORAS PANTELIMON	8193	8047	98.2	85	1.0	57	0.7	2	*	-	-	2	*
ORAS POPESTI LEORDENI	8772	8743	99.7	16	0.2	12	0.1	-	-	-	-	1	*
ORAS VOLUNTARI	15230	14566	95.6	4	*	658	4.3	-	-	1	*	1	*
B. COMUNE	81264	80089	98.6	766	0.9	109	0.1	5	*	15	*	280	0.3
1 DECEMBRIE	3248	3244	99.9	4	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AFUMATI	2280	2280	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BALOTESTI	3249	3112	95.8	111	3.4	25	0.8	-	-	-	-	1	*
BERCENI	2400	2398	99.9	-	-	1	*	-	-	1	*	-	-
BRANESTI	3493	3342	95.7	93	2.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	58	1.7
CERNICA	3016	3001	99.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	0.4	4	0.1
CHIAJNA	5814	5707	98.2	106	1.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	*
CIOLPANI	2113	2015	95.4	35	1.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	63	3
CIOROGARLA	2071	2042	98.6	2	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	1.3
CLINCENI	2367	2364	99.9	2	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	*
COPACENI	1082	976	90.2	106	9.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CORBEANCA	3062	3057	99.8	3	0.1	1	*	-	-	-	-	1	*
CORNETU	2190	2177	99.4	13	0.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DARASTI-ILFOV	1049	1037	98.9	12	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DASCALU	1399	1395	99.7	1	0.1	2	0.1	-	-	-	-	1	0.1
DOBROESTI	3618	3607	99.7	7	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	0.1
DOMNESTI	3082	3077	99.8	2	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	0.1
DRAGOMIRESTI-VALE	1767	1761	99.7	3	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	0.2
GANEASA	1290	1263	97.9	23	1.8	-	-	-	-	2	0.2	2	0.2
GLINA	2430	2419	99.5	1	*	4	0.2	5	0.2	-	-	1	*
GRADISTEA	1295	1290	99.6	2	0.2	-	-	-	-	1	0.1	2	0.2
GRUIU	3454	3354	97.1	6	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	94	2.7
JILAVA	3171	3036	95.7	133	4.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.1
MOARA VLASIEI	2381	2375	99.7	5	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	*
MOGOSOAIA	2637	2596	98.4	21	0.8	18	0.7	-	-	-	-	2	0.1
NUCI	1614	1608	99.6	2	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	0.2
PERIS	2989	2969	99.3	19	0.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	*
PETRACHIOAIA	1488	1487	99.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.1
SNAGOV	4132	4082	98.8	49	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	*
STEFANESTII DE JOS	2175	2114	97.2	1	*	58	2.7	-	-	-	-	2	0.1
TUNARI	1922	1922	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
VIDRA	2986	2982	99.9	4	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 3. Classification of the local population by the native language

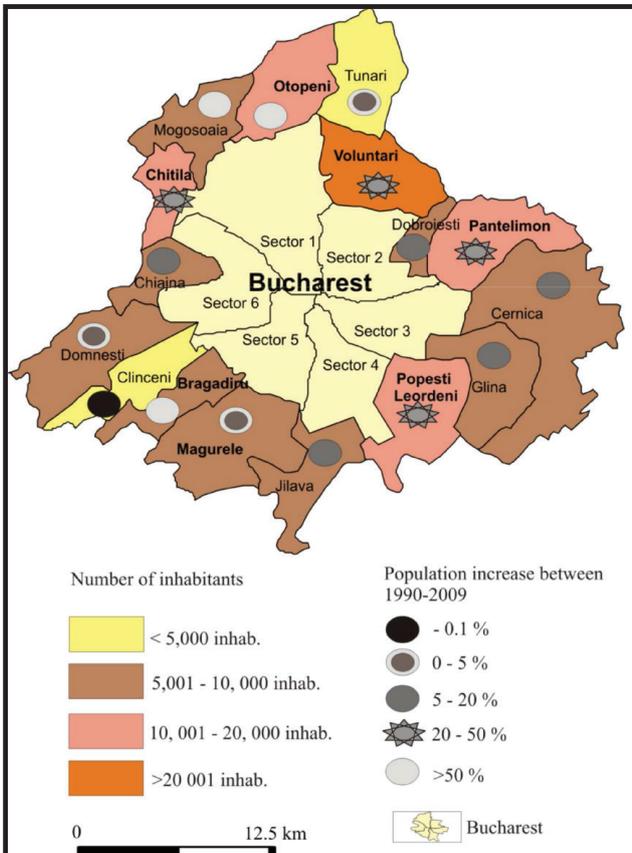
TAB6. POPULATIA STABILA DUPA PRINCIPALELE LIMBI MATERNE LA RECENSAMANTUL DIN ANUL 2011 - REZULTATE PRELIMINARE											
ROMANIA PE JUDETE, MUNICIPII SI ORASE, COMUNE											
A	POPULATIA STABILA TOTAL	Din care, limba materna:									
		Romana	Maghiara	Romani	Germana	Ucraineana	Turca	Tatara	Rusa	Alta limba materna ¹⁾	Limba materna nedeclarata
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Ifov	364241	355082	816	4103	104	31	509	29	84	2260	1223
A. MUNICIPII SI ORASE	155039	151038	402	762	65	14	267	24	54	1615	798
ORAS BRAGADIRU	14410	14275	11	10	*	3	22	-	*	39	47
ORAS BUFTEA	21960	21851	13	39	3	*	5	6	-	37	4
ORAS CHITILA	13229	13060	5	141	3	-	*	-	-	9	9
ORAS MAGURELE	10565	10493	11	39	3	*	*	-	*	9	7
ORAS OTOPENI	12671	12491	17	4	7	-	11	*	12	92	36
ORAS PANTELIMON	23309	22536	288	340	8	-	22	*	*	107	6
ORAS POPESTI LEORDENI	20215	19759	8	18	*	*	31	*	4	56	333
ORAS VOLUNTARI	38680	36573	49	171	38	6	173	14	34	1266	356
B. COMUNE	209202	204044	414	3341	39	17	242	5	30	645	425
1 DECEMBRIE	7251	7199	*	27	-	*	-	*	*	8	11
AFUMATI	7254	7004	4	145	-	-	23	-	-	65	13
BALOTESTI	7869	7659	10	145	6	*	4	-	*	38	3
BERCENI	5818	5770	4	8	*	-	23	-	4	7	*
BRANESTI	10020	9692	316	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	4
CERNICA	10416	10137	6	261	*	-	*	-	-	4	6
CHIAJANA	13261	13101	7	62	*	-	9	*	8	27	44
CIOLPANI	4633	4607	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
CIOROGARLA	5972	5928	-	40	-	-	-	-	-	*	*
CLINCENI	6450	6434	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	6	7
COPACENI	3048	3034	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	*	-
CORBEANCA	6585	6487	19	-	8	-	3	-	-	43	25
CORNETU	6108	5882	*	176	-	-	*	-	*	5	41
DARASTI-ILFOV	2957	2956	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-
DASCALU	3080	3042	*	31	*	-	-	-	-	*	3
DOBROESTI	8688	8402	-	-	*	*	20	-	-	229	35
DOMNESTI	8200	8106	3	71	*	-	*	-	-	8	9
DRAGOMIRESTI-VALE	5123	5118	*	-	-	*	-	-	-	*	*
GANEASA	4412	4353	3	23	-	-	*	-	-	3	29
GLINA	8017	7000	3	1002	*	-	6	-	*	*	-
GRADISTEA	3182	3178	3	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-
GRUIU	7137	7121	6	-	3	-	*	-	*	4	*
JILAVA	11485	11279	8	154	*	-	16	-	*	8	17
MOARA VLASIEI	6149	6097	-	7	-	-	4	-	-	-	41
MOGOSOAIA	6870	6767	6	51	5	-	*	-	-	29	11
NUCI	3038	3035	*	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-
PERIS	7301	7279	*	-	-	-	*	-	-	11	9
PETRACHIOAIA	3372	3344	-	24	-	-	*	-	-	3	-
SNAGOV	6773	6747	4	-	*	*	-	-	*	18	-
STEFANESTII DE JOS	4961	4720	*	6	5	-	128	*	-	97	*
TUNARI	5044	4833	3	102	*	-	*	*	3	13	86
VIDRA	8728	7733	-	993	-	-	-	-	-	*	-

¹⁾ cuprinde si toate limbile materne cu mai putin de 18.000 persoane declarate la nivel national, respectiv persoanele care au declarat ca limba materna: sarba, slovaca, idis, bulgara, ceha, croata, greaca, poloneza, armeană, ruteana, italiana, albaneza, macedoneana.

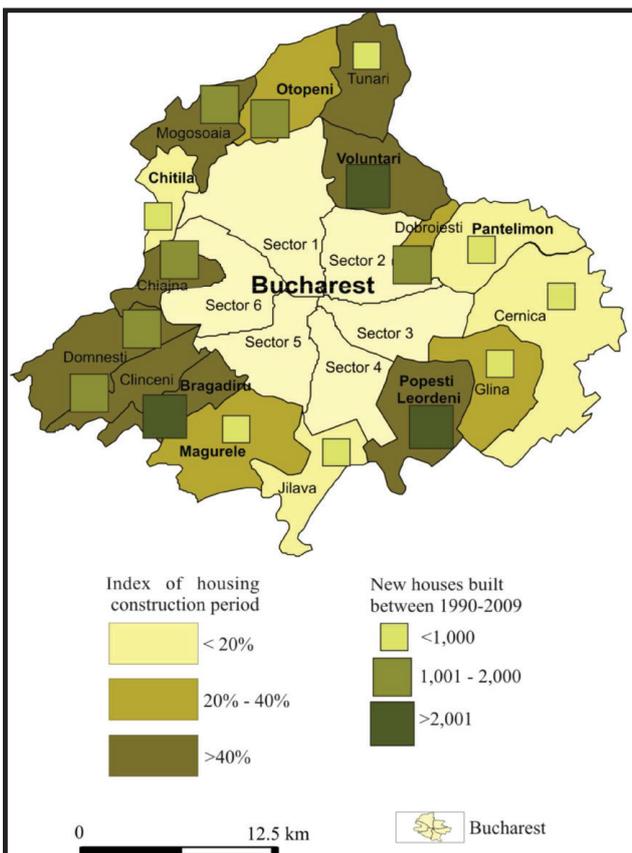
²⁾ rubricile marcate cu * semnifica numar redus de cazuri de observare (mai mic de 3)

Table 4. Conventional housing by ownership

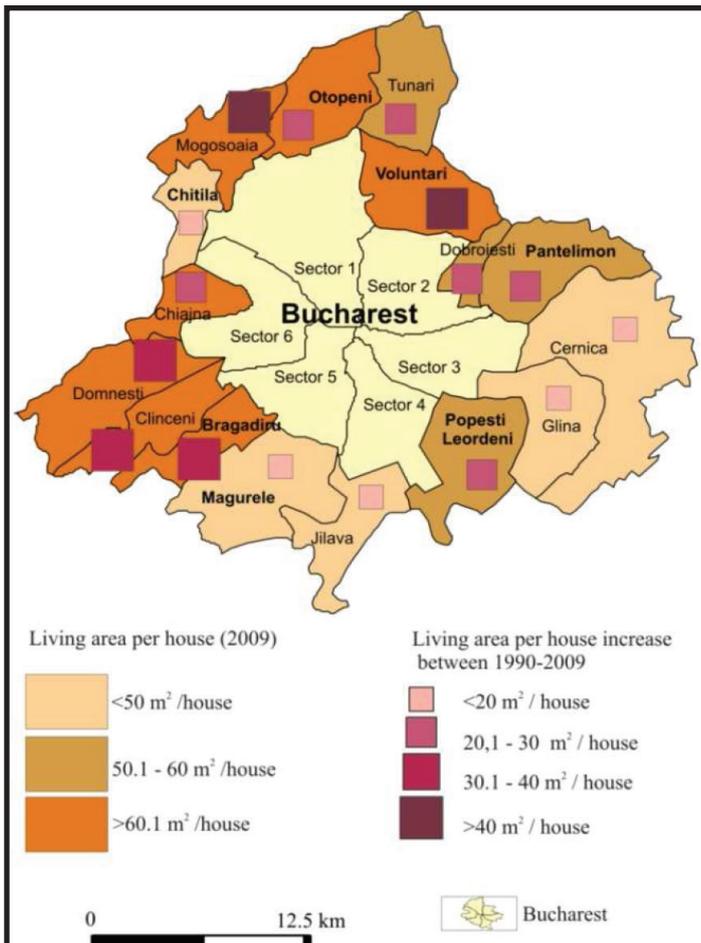
7.2.1 Maps with population data



The number of inhabitants (2009) and population increase between 1990 - 2009
Source: Ilinca-Valentina STOICA, Cristian TĂLĂNGĂ, Cristian BRAGHINĂ, Daniela ZAMFIR, 2011

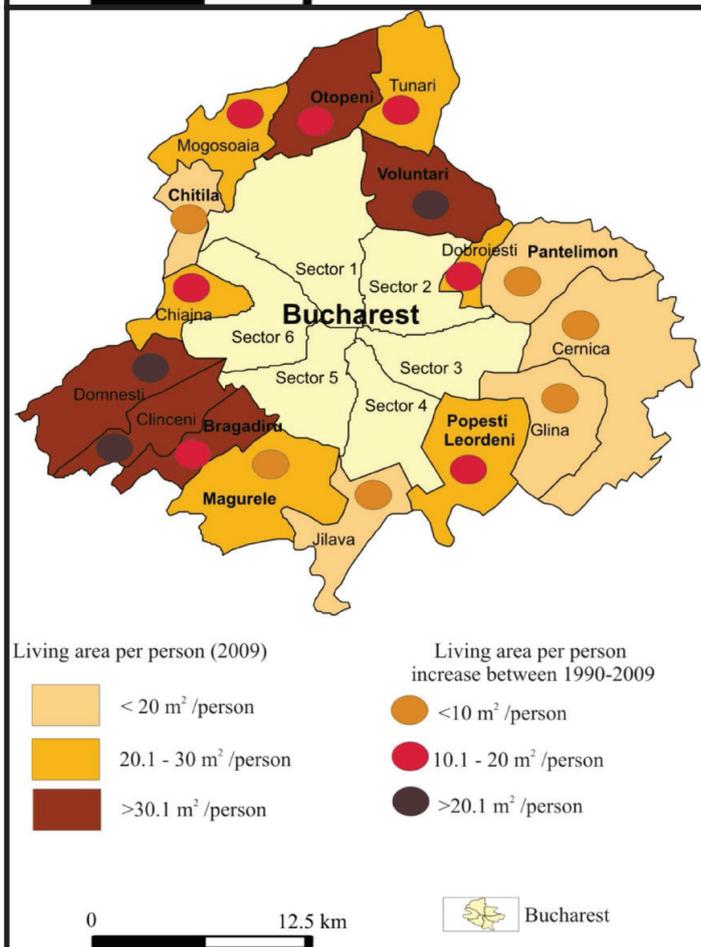


Index of housing construction period and the number of new houses built between 1990 - 2009
Source: Ilinca-Valentina STOICA, Cristian TĂLĂNGĂ, Cristian BRAGHINĂ, Daniela ZAMFIR, 2011



The evolution of living area per house (sqm per house)

Source: Ilinca-Valentina STOICA, Cristian TĂLĂNGĂ, Cristian BRAGHINĂ, Daniela ZAMFIR, 2011



The evolution of living area per person (sqm per person)

Source: Ilinca-Valentina STOICA, Cristian TĂLĂNGĂ, Cristian BRAGHINĂ, Daniela ZAMFIR, 2011

