

Trans European Network (TENs) V in Slovenia: EUization or strategic planning?

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Introduction

Trans European Networks are having a significant impact not only on post-socialist countries but also on the Eu.

These European infrastructural strategy aim at fostering peace, democracy, respect of human rights and economic prosperity, through a shared strategy of stability and cooperation among the involved countries.

In this sense, the construction of TENs – also known as Multimodal Transport Network – plays a central role in such a strategy, but it has raised controversial issues at the local level.

The “Trans-European Corridors” aim at making exchange of goods, people, energy supplies easier between the EU, the East and South-East European states and other areas of the world. They also aim at implement stability in historically troubled regions of Europe.

My research will address the territorial changes that are occurring throughout Europe in relation to the construction of the Corridors and their impact at local and urban level. In particular, I will focus my analysis on the urban change, the new identities and the methodological issues raised by carrying out research in this new geo-political situation.

The progressive enlargement of the EU and the subsequent “restructuring” has led to a redefinition of identities and boundaries, including, political, economic and symbolic boundaries.

The construction of the TENs has stressed the critical aspects of this question.

While the dominant political rhetoric has defined the Corridors as a great opportunity for economic development and EU integration, the context at the local level seems to be different.

A series of conflict have been determined, particularly by the growing participation of the private sector in urban affairs. Too many questions remain unsolved in important fields, such as the conflict between sovranational and national spatial governance.

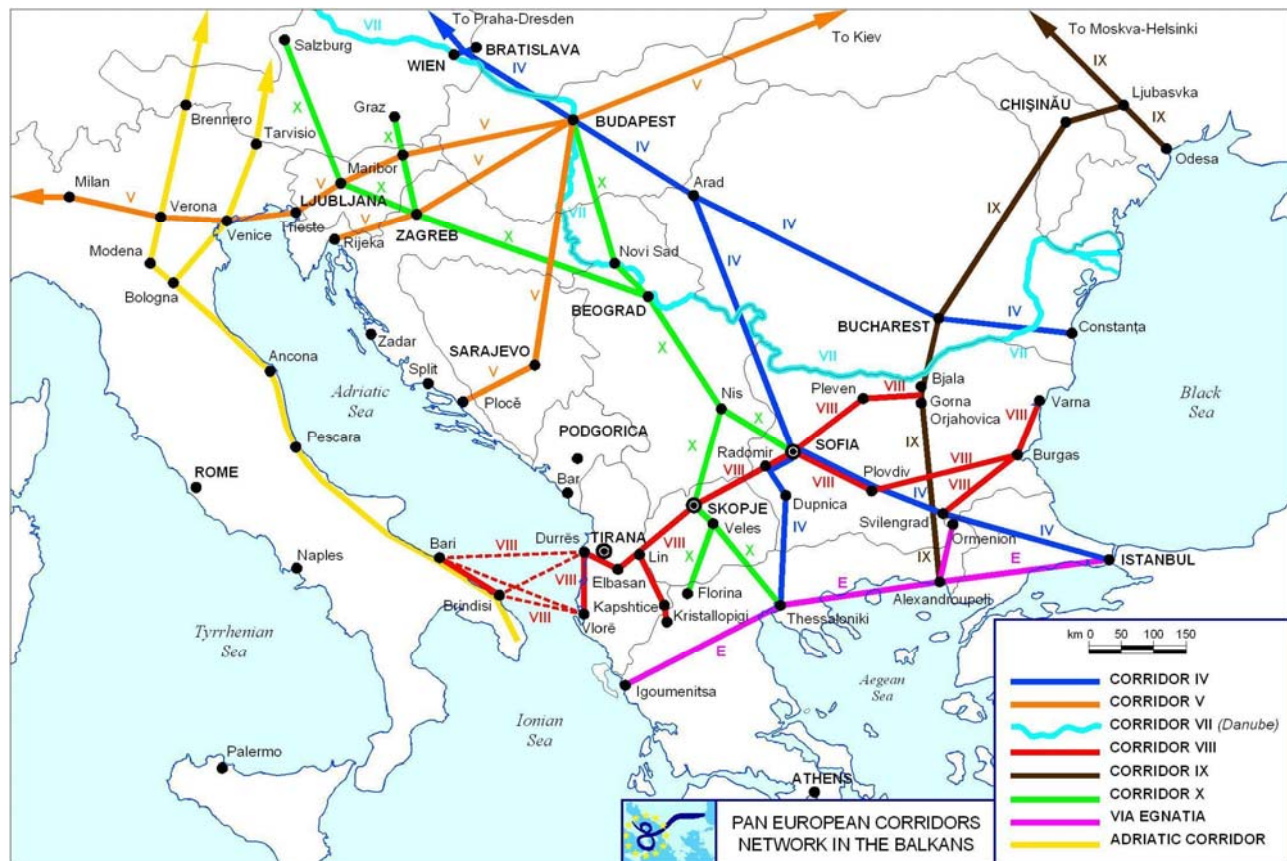
I would analyse the various levels of the decision-making process determined by the EU spatial policies and questions on how this process is experienced at the local level, particularly in the urban case of Ljubljana.

My principal interests invests, in particular, the urban change, on whether the new social, economic and spatial situation is contributing to entrenching or to solving existing problems and on whether new forms of inequality and exclusion or new opportunities and forms of integration are instead taking shape.

TENs play a fundamental rule in the EU economic and political relations related with the enlargement.

These roads are perceived as the source of livelihood for many communities for this reason people who lived near them choose to transform their space and their urban relations. For the EU discourse these roads could encourage new trades but it is important reflect not only on the economical aspects but also on the social and urban changes in terms of new flows of population and new urban settings determined by the great infrastructures.

The development of the Trans-European Transport Network: an historic and legislative preview



Map TENs, 2005

Source: http://www.balkanionline.it/archivio/corridoio8/pan_european_corridors.jpg

The concept of Trans-European Transport corridors was developed after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. They are meant to facilitate the exchange of goods, persons, oil and other energy supplies, and telecommunications systems between Europe and the Balkans countries. In particular, the Trans-European Transport Corridors were established during three Pan-European Transport conferences. The overall concept was developed at the first conference in Prague in 1991. Nine long-distance transport corridors as priorities for infrastructure development were defined at the second conference in Crete in 1994. A tenth corridor and the Pan-European Transport Areas for

maritime basins were added at the third conference in Helsinki in 1997. The Transport Corridors included cross-border road and rail traffic routes between the EU15 and the Central and Eastern European countries as well as airport, sea and river ports along the routes serving as intermodal nodes. On July 1996, the European Parliament and Council adopted Decision N° 1692/96/EC1 on Community guidelines for the development of the Trans-European transport network (TEN-T). These guidelines were focused on the global infrastructural system which would serve the entire continent, carry the size of the long distance traffic and bring the geographical and economic areas of the Union closer together. The legal basis for the TEN-T were provided in the Treaty on the European Union².

Under the terms of Title XII of the Treaty (Articles 129b, 129c and 129d)³ and under the Title XIV of the Treaty (Articles 130a, 130b, 130c, 130d)⁴, the European Union promotes the development of trans-European networks as a key element for the creation of the Internal Market and the reinforcement of Economic and Social Cohesion.

This development includes the interconnection and interoperability of national networks as well as access to such networks. In accordance with these objectives, the Community developed these guidelines, as a general reference framework for the implementation of the network and identification of projects of common interest. The deadline to complete the network was 2010.

The Decision 1692/96/EC⁵ illustrates the outline of the Trans-European Transport Network as planned for 2010. This Decision is addressed primarily to Member States who are mainly responsible to realise the TEN-T. A number of financial instruments have been set up at Community level, each with their own legal basis, in order to conduct the development of the TEN-T and to support Member States financially in specific cases.

Nevertheless, infrastructural works are not advanced rapidly as expected when the idea of Trans-European networks was launched. One of the problem was linked with the financial support. As indicated in the 1998 by the *TEN-T implementation report*⁶, the investments in the Trans-European Network projects in 1996-1997 was about €38 billion, while the financial resources needed to complete the network in 2010 are estimated to be €400 billion. For this reason, the European Parliament and the Council adopted in May 2001 the Decision N° 1346/2001/EC⁷ which amended the TEN-T guidelines

¹ Decision No 1692/96/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 July 1996 on Community guidelines for the development of the trans-European transport network.

² **TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION**, *Official Journal C 191 of 29 July 1992*.

³ “Article 129b: 1. To help achieve the objectives referred to in Articles 7a and 130a and to enable citizens of the Union, economic operators and regional and local communities to derive full benefit from the setting up of an area without internal frontiers, the Community shall contribute to the establishment and development of trans-European networks in the areas of transport, telecommunications and energy infrastructures.

2. Within the framework of a system of open and competitive markets, action by the Community shall aim at promoting the interconnection and inter-operability of national networks as well as access to such networks. It shall take account in particular of the need to link island, landlocked and peripheral regions with the central regions of the Community” in Treaty on European Union, *Official Journal C 191 of 29 July 1992*.

⁴ “Article 130 a: In order to promote its overall harmonious development, the Community shall develop and pursue its actions leading to the strengthening of its economic and social cohesion.

In particular, the Community shall aim at reducing disparities between the levels of development of the various regions and the backwardness of the least-favoured regions, including rural areas.

Article 130 d. The Council, acting in accordance with the same procedure, shall before 31 December 1993 set up a Cohesion Fund to provide a financial contribution to projects in the fields of environment and trans-European networks in the area of transport infrastructure.”, in Treaty on European Union, *Official Journal C 191 of 29 July 1992*

⁵ Decision No 1692/96/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 July 1996 on Community guidelines for the development of

the trans-European transport network (*Official Journal of the European Communities* No L 228 of 9 September 1996)

⁶ Commission of the European Communities, 19/02/2004, Commission Staff Working Paper Trans-European Transport Network. Report from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee, and the Committee of the Regions on the implementation of the guidelines for the period 1998-2001. Pursuant to Article 18 of Decision 1692/96/EC, Brussels, SEC(2004) 220.

⁷ Corrigendum to Decision No 1346/2001/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 22 May 2001 amending Decision No 1692/96/EC as regards seaports, inland ports and intermodal terminals as well as project No 8 in Annex III (OJ L 185 of 6.7.2001)

as regards seaports, inland ports and intermodal terminals specifying also more in detail the criteria of projects of common interest in relation to these infrastructures.

As observed by the General Directorate for Energy and Transport of European Commission: *“In view of the delays in completing the planned network, the Commission considers that a headlong rush to create new infrastructure routes cannot be the answer to the capacity requirements. Instead, the planned revision of the guidelines should confirm that it is necessary to complete what was decided in 1996 by focusing Community activities and projects on reducing the bottlenecks on major routes and on a small number of major projects”*⁸.

On the basis of this perspective, the EU Commission started in October 2001, a first revision of TEN-T Guidelines in the lines of the *White Paper on the European Transport Policy for 2010*⁹ to undertake the new transports scenario facing transport and to respond the objectives of the new transport policy as described in the White Paper. Moreover, the Commission proposed to amend Regulation (EC) 2236/95¹⁰, laying down general rules for the granting of Community aids in the field of trans-European networks. It concentrates on raising the current maximum level of Community support of 10% to 20% for specific projects, namely cross-border rail projects in areas with natural barriers and projects in frontier regions of the candidate countries.

As regards our articles’s subject, it is fundamental start from the revision of the TEN-T Guidelines¹¹ that was proposed by the Commission at the end of 2003, to take account of Enlargement and the future changes in all kind of the Trans-European flows.

As written in the summary of the Commission Proposal of 2003, there is an important amendment concerning the deadline of the TENs projects that take in account the peculiar transition context in which the TENs trans-national project had to be developed : *“Extended the deadline for completing the TransEuropean Networks to the 2020; this is in view of the time which has passed since the initial proposal was presented in October 2001 and also the time it will take to build the transport infrastructures”*¹¹.

On these basis, new outline plans for 2020¹² will be drawn up with the aim of efficiently channelling future trans-European flows in the enlarged Union.

In this context, the Commission will look at the idea to concentrate on a primary network, made up of the most important infrastructure for international traffic and cohesion on the European continent, introducing the concept of “sea motorways” and including sections of pan-European corridors situated on the territory of candidate countries, including those which will still not be members of the Union at that time.

In our opinion it is important reflect on a first interesting aspect of this scenario.

⁸ http://ec.europa.eu/ten/transport/guidelines/index_en.htm .

⁹ Commission of the European Communities, 12/09/2001, White Paper. European transport policy for 2010: time to decide, Brussels, COM(2001) 370 final.

¹⁰ Council Regulation (EC) No 2236/95 of 18 September 1995 laying down general rules for the granting of Community financial aid in the field of trans-European networks, *Official Journal L 228* , 23/09/1995 P. 0001 - 0007

¹¹ Commission of the European Communities, 01/10/2003, Extended Impact Assessment of the proposal amending the amendable proposal for a decision amending decision No 1692/96/EC on the Trans European Transport Networks, SEC(2003) 1060.

¹² Commission of the European Communities, 01/10/2003, Extended Impact Assessment of the proposal amending the amendable proposal for a decision amending decision No 1692/96/EC on the Trans European Transport Networks, SEC(2003) 1060, p. 54.

As wrote by R. H. Williams in 1996: “TENs are seen by some to have the potential to be the latest “big idea” that might capture the public imagination in the way that the 1992 single-market programme did. They are also seen as essential is the objective of ensuring economic and social cohesion of the EU is to be achieved, and they will also play a vital role in the programme to transform the economies of the CEE and reorientate them westwards”¹³.

It's obvious that in the context of spatial planning TENs have a determinant role.

Their key futures are that they should be interoperable, sovranational and trans-national.

The EU institutional, and in such cases, rhetoric position tends to considerate the TENs as a powerful force for formal integration.

Thanks to the analysis conducted on different Eu documents related with the TENs, written from the 1992, I observed that the Eu main stream demonstrates a peculiar hierarchy of geoeconomy and geopolitics based on the assumption of the centrality of the first one.

In this sense, TENs are intended to facilitate the *Europeanisation* of national economies, to improve mobility by promoting the exchanges and the flows of capitals of the member-States and to create a “Europe of networks”.

As geographer, I'm interested in investigating the territorial scenarios determined by this policy approach.

It is clear that the Commission give great emphasis to theory that the infrastructures create development, but the question is: it is sufficient to build infrastructures to create *social and economic cohesion*?

This question is particularly relevant if we observe what it happened in the eastern Europe, in particular in Slovenia, after the enlargement perspective opened after the end of the 1990s.

As observed by Vesna Goldsworthy, “the kind of symbolic geography which opposes Europe and the Balkans seems to have become more pervasive in the 1990s”¹⁴. The 1989 was assumed by various analysts as “the end of history” came a kind of “rebirth of geography”. This kind of “born-again” geography is fundamental to understand the reasons of the “Eu falling in love” in the Central and East Europe.

While Yugoslavia fell apart, the peninsula around, it gradually emptied as (formerly) Balkan countries sought to demonstrate that their true allegiance lay elsewhere (in Central or even in Western Europe) in what the Romanian politician Elena Zamfirescu described as “Flight from the Balkans”¹⁵.

This syndrome, during the 1990's was pervasive: Romanians argued to belong to Central Europe. Croatian President Franjo Tudjman made his 1997 campaign slogan “*Tudjiman not Balkans*”. This cultural and political state founded itself on the superiority of Europe in opposition to the Balkans who were perceived as metaphor of incivility, conflict and violence.

A decade after the 1990s, the possibility of a full Eu membership in the Central and Eastern European Countries have galvanized the political discourse on the access, changing the relation between sovranational and national governance.

The predominance of supranational Eu policies in questions related with project of great infrastructures like the “Corridors” demonstrates the absence of a participative and democratic discourse on the spatial planning.

Such gap between the supranational and national level of decision-making has raised important issues of legitimacy at different levels of the decision-making process, in particular as regards on how this process is experienced at the local level.

¹³ R. H. Williams, 1996, *European Spatial Policy and Planning*, London, Paul Chapman Publishing, p. 168.

¹⁴ V. Goldsworthy, *Invention and In (ter)vention, in the Balkans* I. Dušan I Bjelić O. Savić (eds), 2005, *Balkan as methaphor between globalization and fragmentation*, Cambridge, The Mit Press, p. 32.

¹⁵ V. Goldsworthy, p. 34.

If in context as Val di Susa in Italy¹⁶ the Construction of Corridor V have determined localist reaction and form of insurgent citizenship against a “top-down infrastructural planning” inspired by the environmental justice¹⁷; in the Eastern European Countries there are not social movements critically involved in the question. In the enlargement’s area, the multilevel governance and the difficult dialogue between the local politicians and the communitarian elites, raise questions about the legitimacy of Eu spatial planning policies and about their effects at urban level.

TEN-T V: Who’sWho

Trans-European Corridor 5, the infrastructural network that the European Union is committed to building by 2015 was projected during the Pan-European Transport Conference in Crete (1994) and Helsinki (1997).

This corridor could become the major east-west artery linking Barcelona (Spain) and Kiev (Ukraine) passing from Turin, Venice, Trieste, Koper, Postojina, Ljubljana, Budapest, Uzgorod, Lvov.

In particular, we want analyse the "Central-eastern European segment" of the Corridor 5 running east-west in the northern Adriatic region, that could involve complex infrastructures in the border area between Italy, Slovenia, Croatia and Hungary also known as Euroregion. The route should cover 1,600 km, not to mention its branches: one leading from Fiume to Budapest via Zagreb, another from Bratislava to Izgorod, and the third from Ploce to Budapest capital via Sarajevo.

The multimodal Pan-European Corridor 5 is planned along three axes:

1. "A" axis, Venice-Trieste/Koper-Ljubljana-Budapest-Lvov,
2. "B" axis Rijeka (Fiume)-Zagreb-Budapest,
3. "C" axis, Ploce-Sarajevo-Osijek-Budapest.

Two major links have been identified between north-eastern Italy and the western border of Hungary, one running in the direction Venice-Trieste- Ljubljana-Maribor- (Slovenian-Hungarian border) and the other in the direction Fiume-Zagreb-Croatian- (Hungarian border).

Axis "b" and "c" converge near Letenje in Hungary, continuing towards the Ukraine via Budapest, Gyongyos and Nyiregyháza. The Axis "c" fulfils the commitment of the Dayton Agreement for the integration of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the framework of the pan-European network .

As for the rail system, the direct link recently built between Slovenia and Hungary avoids having to route traffic through Austria and Croatia as in the past. Consequently, in the institutional projects, the Corridor 5 rail route includes Trieste-Koper-Ljubljana section that goes directly to the Hungarian border and continues to Budapest via Zalaegerszeg, Bóba and Székesfehérvár.

This infrastructure is an east-west artery south of the Alps, and Eu believes that it is fundamental for the development of Central and Eastern European countries in the general scenario of the Enlargement. For the Eu, the corridor V demonstrates on one hand, the need of an expansion of the already existing road and rail structures. On the other, the need of new infrastructures.

In 2003, with the aim of involving the States from the outset of this extensive exercise, given the important territorial and financial impacts of major infrastructure projects, a High-Level Group on the

¹⁶ See D. Dalla Porta G. Piazza, 2008, *Le ragioni del no. Le campagne contro la TAV in Val di Susa e il Ponte sullo Stretto*, Milano, Feltrinelli.

¹⁷ D. Scholsberg, 2002, *Environmental justice and the new pluralism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

TEN-T has been set up by the Commission under the chairmanship of Karel Van Miert, former Commission Vice- President, previously responsible, for transport policy.

The Group's mission was to identify by the summer of 2003 the priority projects and horizontal key issues for the trans-European transport network up to 2020 on the basis of proposals from the Member States and the acceding countries. The Group consisted of one representative from each Member State, one observer from each acceding country and an observer from the European Investment Bank.

This Group indicated the Multimodal Corridor 5 as an "European priority".

Van Miert's Tran-European Transport Network (TEN-T) Plan¹⁸ also calls for a Lyon-Turin-Trieste-Ljubljana-Budapest rail network that includes construction of a 52-kilometre tunnel through the Alps (at a cost of 5.9 billion euro). The entire project should be completed by 2015. Overall cost is estimated at 20.64 billion euro.

The Group identified a set of new crucial priorities and projects to facilitate trans-national exchanges in a single internal market and to promote inter-modality leading to a rebalancing of the territory of the enlarged Union.

Countries	Italy, Slovenia, Croatia, Hungary, Slovakia, the Ukraine and Bosnia and Herzegovina
Transport modes	Road, rail, aviation, navigation
Infrastructure figures: Railways Roads Inland waterways	approx. 3.000 km approx. 2.850 km Intersection with CVII (Danube) in Bratislava and Budapest, running parallel from there southwards for approx. 180 km to Mohacs
Number of airports	5 airports 5 seaports 2 inner harbours (Danube)
Number of border crossings	16
Road	Venice – Trieste – Ljubljana – Maribor – Cakovec – Budapest – Miskolc – Uzhgorod – L'viv
Railway	Venice – Trieste/Koper – Ljubljana – Ptuj – Zalaegerszeg – Budapest – Miskolc – L'viv
Branch a	Bratislava – Kosice – (Uzhgorod) – L'viv
Branch b (road)	Rijeka – Zagreb – Cakovec

¹⁸ European Union, 27 June 2003, *High Level Group on the Trans European Transport Network Report*, in http://ec.europa.eu/ten/transport/revision/hlg/2003_report_kvm_en.pdf.

Branch b (railway)	Rijeka – Zagreb – Koprivnica – Dombovar -
Branch c	Ploce – Mostar – Sarajevo – Osijek – Budapest
Border Crossing	Villa Opicina – Sezana (IT – SI) Railway Ferneti – Sezana (IT-SI) road Hodos - Bajansenye(SI – HU) railway Tornyiszentmiklos – Lendava (HU-SI) road (SI – HR) road Letenye-Goričan (HR – HU) road - planned two border crossings by 2007 Gyekenyes – Gola (HU-HR) rail Vysné Nemecké – Uzhgorod (SK – UA) road Zahor - Uzhorod (SK – UA) railway Zahony (Eperjeske) - Chop (HU – UA) (HR – BA) Slovenski Samac – Bosanski Samac (BA – HR)- Beli Manastir – Udvar (HR – HU) road (5c) Beremend – Baransko Petrovo rail (5c)

Source: HB-Verkehrsconsult GmbH, VTT Technical Research Centre of Finland, European Commission DG Energy and Transport, 24 November 2005, Pan-European Transport Corridors and Areas Status Report Project N° TREN/B2/26/2004 Final Report Developments and Activities between 1994 and 2003 / Forecast until 2010.

As regard the state of the implementation of the corridor V some points have to be stressed regarding the Slovenia's case.

The entrance of Slovenia in the EU in 2004 has demonstrates that a number of spatial planning issues are raised by the enlargement

When the Commission considers the priority infrastructures programme, thinks in terms of the European Scale, so the routes that EU proposes are in general planned to link the major cities with the regional centres. As observed by R. H. Williams *“the regional and local planning authorities in the member-states must be aware of the need for the secondary networks, which may be crossborder but often will not, in order to ensure that the smaller towns and rural communities have adequate infrastructure linking them to access point of the TENs.”*¹⁹.

It is clear that a first risk determined by this kind of spatial planning approach, could be represented by the creation of a sort of “territorial dualism”: the regional cities with good outside communication may prosper, allowing the disparities between them and the smaller places.

Since the first years of the Nineties Slovenia's transport routes represent a central interest of the EU.

The opening of borders towards central and eastern Europe has introduced new markets and zones of development linked with the priority given to plans for the improvement of traffic conditions and construction of highways along the South to the central European Barcelona-Kiev corridor. Koper,

¹⁹ R.H. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

Trieste, Venice, Rijeka, would support the central part of this development artery stretching from Spain and France through Italy, Slovenia and Hungary to the Ukrainian and Russian lowlands.

One of the effects of this spatial planning could be the development of the Slovenian Population Centre and the implementation of the axis Ljubljana-Maribor.

As observed by Anton Gosar²⁰ the start-up of this project was the 1993, two years after the independence of the young country and three years before the memorandum of understanding signed in Trieste on 16 December 1996 by the Ministers of Transport of Corridor V Member States and by a representative of the European Commission.

“In 1993 an agreement was reached to construct a 19 km stretch of railway (Murska Sobota- Hodoš-Zalalovec) which would establish for the first time since the Second World War a direct linkage between the Slovenian and the Hungarian rail system. The World Bank is supportive of this construction and other improvements to the Slovenian railway system. In 1993 the train timetable for the first time in the history introduced a direct Budapest-Trieste-Venice passenger train. In Slovenia, plans are underway to construct 318 km of four-lane highway between 1995 and 1999. All link Italy with Hungary and southeastern Austria”²¹. These data suggest an other element of reflection given by the trans-border dimension. Usually the EU is considered as the leader promoter of the development of the transnational functional regions. But the origins of this process are dated at the 1970s when the Italian province of Friuli Venezia Giulia Slovenia and Austria provided special funds to create an area of trans-border economic growth. “Information on the complementarity of production was jointly offered to the border provinces of Italy, Austria and Slovenia. Joint ventures of Slovenes in Italy and Austria and of Italians and Austrians in Slovenia now have almost a quarter-century-long tradition”²².

In Slovenia most foreign investments are located in cities along the V-shaped Jesenice-Ljubljana-Maribor central manufacturing axis. While, foreign businesses seldom choose locations in peripheral, rural areas and particularly not along borders.

Since the 1990s the Slovenia is basing her spatial policies on the basis of the cross-border spatial development planning.

This approach, well analyzed by the research network ESPON, *European Spatial Planning Observation Network*²³ considers the cross-border spatial development planning as a kind of territorial policy who deals with the effects of society, economy and the natural, structural and social environment on the territorial development of smaller or larger areas immediately located along a commonly shared border. In this sense, cross-border spatial planning involves actors from all levels of governance (i.e. national spatial planning, regional planning, county and local level planning for land-use and building) in various constellations and at different levels of intensity along the EU-borders.

One result of such activities is very often the elaboration of comprehensive strategic planning documents for the cross-border territory, which is considered as a single geographical unit (Euro-region). In ideal terms, these cross-border spatial development concepts provide a summary assessment of the current situation and spatial trends in the cross-border territory, define general principles/

²⁰ A. Gosar, 1996, *Slovenian Responses to New Regional Development Opportunities*, in D. Hall D. Danta, 1996, *Reconstructing the Balkans*, New York, John Wiley & Sons,.

²¹ A. Gosar, *Slovenian Responses to new regional development opportunities*, in D. Hall D. Danta (edited by), 1996, *A Geography of the new south-east Europe*, London, John Wiley and Sons Ltd, p. 104.

²² A. Gosar., *op.cit.*, p. 104.

²³ See www.espon.eu

guidelines as well as a strategic cross-border development perspective with related objectives, and an application strategy with policy options for joint spatial development²⁴.

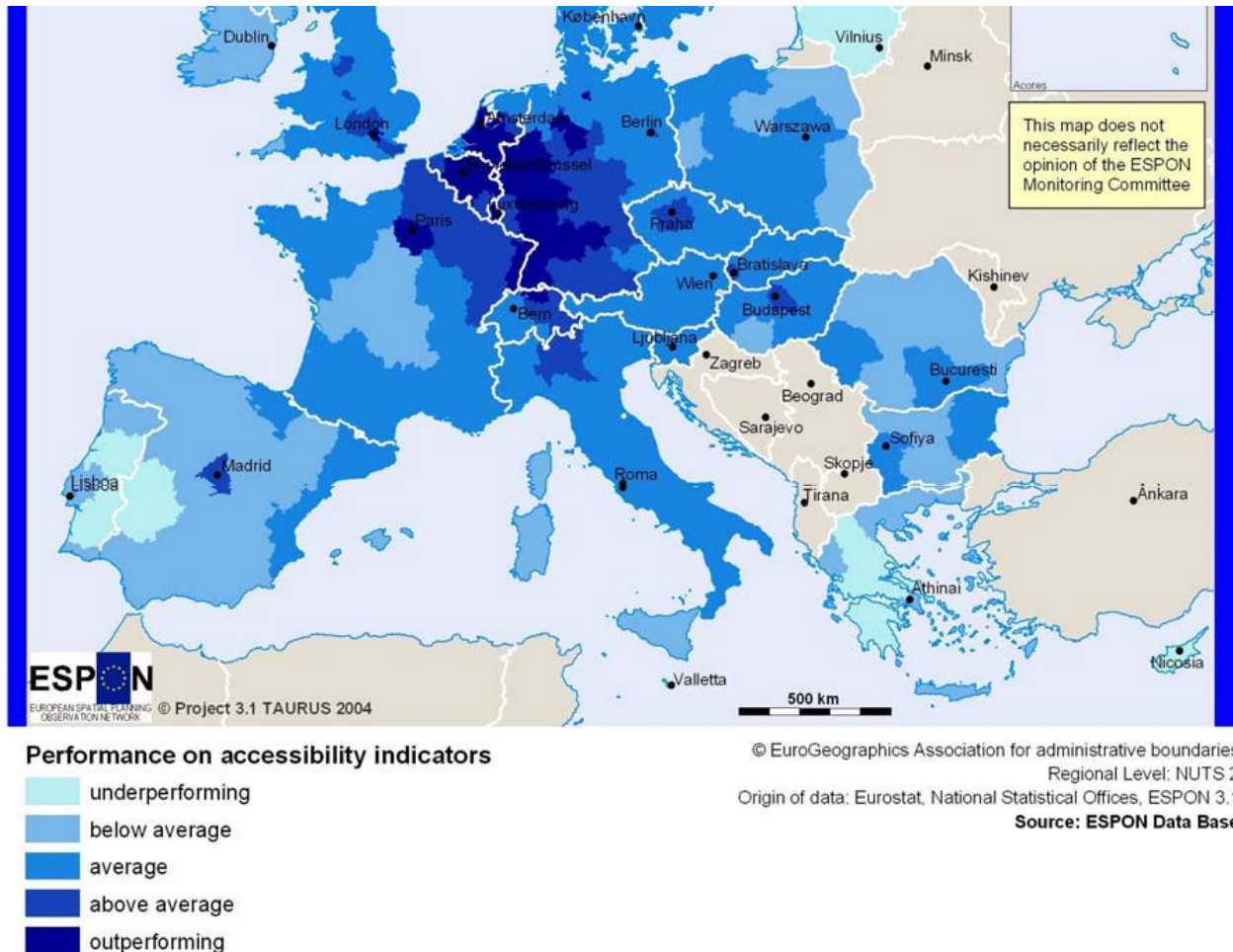


Source: M. Fouchèr, *Fragments d'Europe et Ministère des Affaires étrangères*, La Documentation française

²⁴ See Espon, 2006, *Territorial matters for competitiveness and cohesion. Facets of regional diversity and potential in Europe*, Espon synthesis report III, results by autumn 2006, Strasbourg; and Espon, 2006, *Mapping the structure of the European territory*, Strasbourg.

Besides the cross-border policies and the great infrastructures (Corridor V): the case of Ljubljana

The corridor V has determinants effects at the urban level. My aim is to analyse the changes occurred at the urban scale in the case of Ljubljana, the capital city of Slovenia.



Source: Espo Database

Those effects are perceived as a successful consequence of the Eu enlargement. It is well known that the globalization has also enhanced the position and the role of cities as the most important locations of economic activities, political institutions, and civic organizations. As observed by Saskia Sassen²⁵, cities are nowadays the place in which flows of capitals, labour, and goods interacting each other, creating new networks and spatial hierarchies. Also Ljubljana by the 1990s was influenced by these external pressures.

After the independence from Yugoslavia, Slovenia lives the transition to privatization, deregulation and new patterns of socio-economic development. In particular, Nataša Pichler-Milanović²⁶ has explained the features of both global (external) pressures and specific local (internal) responses on the

²⁵ S. Sassen, 2000, *Cities in the world economy*, Thousand Oaks, Pine Forge Press.

²⁶ Andrews N.Pichler-Milanović, *Ljubljana: from beloved city of the nation to the Central European capital*, in I. Hamilton K.D. Andrews N.Pichler-Milanović, 2005, *Transformation of cities in central and eastern Europe towards globalization*, New York, United Nations University Press, p. 318- 363.

transformation of Ljubljana from “socialist to post-socialist” city and from the regional centre to the capital city, and the position and the role of the city in the national and international context analysing the particular institutional transition and its territorial and urban effects from the FRY to the Eu membership

Population of Ljubljana by groups and sex. 31 December 2007

TOTAL Ljubljana 267.920

Sources: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Ministry of the Interior - Central Population Register, Ministry of the Interior - Administrative Internal Affairs Directorate

Population by groups and sex, Slovenia, 31 December 2007

	30. 9. 2007	31. 12. 2007
Population		
Total	2 024 335	2 025 866
men	999 442	1 000 624
women	1 024 893	1 025 242
Citizens of the Republic of Slovenia, excluding citizens temporarily residing abroad		
Total	1 957 352	1 957 245
men	949 145	949 140
women	1 008 207	1 008 105
Foreigners with permanent residence in Slovenia		
Total	32 310	32 043
men	21 919	21 686
women	10 391	10 357
Foreigners with temporary residence in Slovenia		
Total	34 673	36 578
men	28 378	29 798
women	6 295	6 780
Citizens of the Republic of Slovenia		
Total	1 988 696	1 988 723
men	965 274	965 322
women	1 023 422	1 023 401

Sources: SORS, Ministry of the Interior - Central Population Register and Register of Foreigners

According with the data elaborated by the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia²⁷, in the third quarter of 2007 Ljubljana's population was 267.920. In the European context, Ljubljana far from to be only a medium-size city represents an important cross-road between Central Europe, the Mediterranean and the South-east Europe.

Despite differences in spatial, temporal and local policy contexts, Ljubljana urban development remembers is very similar to others Central European cities in terms of their commune experiences of historical dominance of the Austro-hungarian Monarchy until 1918.

During the Habsburg period Ljubljana started the political administrative cultural and economic development of Ljubljana. The railway linking the capital Vienna with its port Trieste on the Adriatic Sea reached Ljubljana in 1849 and encouraged industrialization in the town. By 1880, the city, despite its 25.000 inhabitants, was already multinational in its ethnic structure. The break-point in the administrative and political structure was in 1882, when was elected the first Slovene mayor in the city council. By that time several financial institution were established, such as City Saving Bank and the Ljubljana City Bank, both in the hand of the local capital. The Union Bravery and the Tobacco factory represents some of the important factories built during these times. At the same times Ljubljana have had electricity, water system, telephones, public transports. After the end of the First World War and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918, the Slovenes joined Croats and Serbs to forms the Kingdom of Serbs Croats and Slovenes under the Serbian Royal Family (Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 1929-1941). The Slovenes entered the new state with a reduced territory about, 500.000 people being left in Austria, Hungary or Italy. Ljubljana became the third largest city after Belgrade and Zagreb. This scenario determined Ljubljana's former close connection with towns in Italy (Trieste, Udine, Gorizia) and Austria (Klagenfurt, Graz, Villach) and confirms the pre-existence of a shared euro-region in that geographic area, before the Eu legitimacy of this kind of territorial configuration.

These years represent for the city's memories the "golden age" of the city. The inter-war period saw an acceleration of the cultural development and the transformation of Ljubljana from a provincial centre in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy into a national Slovenian Center. Ljubljana became the centre of culture in contrast with Belgrade, the political centre, and Zagreb the industrial one.

In the 1940 Ljubljana reached a population of 90.000 inhabitants. In 1941, during the Second World War, Slovenia was divided between Nazi German, Italy and Hungary. Italians, then Germans occupied Ljubljana. At the end of the Second World War, during the period of the Socialist Federal republic of Yugoslavia, Slovenia was one of the six republics with a substantial amount of autonomy. Industrialization became a priority from 1947, followed by an intensive process of urbanization influencing the growth of larger cities as dominant location of economic activities. As consequence, Slovenia who have had in 1948 the 47% of population involved in the agriculture, became by the 1990s rather urbanized, with less than 10% agricultural population. During 1960-70s, new manufacturing industries were established in Slovenia to meet local consumption need and to increase transports.

Open borders and trade with the Western European countries, a limited market-economy, and the persistence of cross-border relations with Italy, Austria and Germany allowed Slovenia to become highly and more industrialized then the others federal republics²⁸.

In the 1970s, manufacturing was the leading sector of Slovenian economy. This created the 45% of the city's GPD employing 31% of the active population followed by producer service and the construction

²⁷ Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, <http://www.stat.si/eng/index.asp>.

²⁸ J. Scimmie J. Dekleva (edited by), 1991, *Yugoslavia in turmoil: after self-management*, London-New York, Pinter Publishers

industry. Ten% of the population was employed in cultural and educational activities. This sector as the one related with the administration and health, remained stable with the 1980s with a slight tendency for growth, whereas employment in industry and construction declined.

The urban transformation beyond the independence and the Eu

Economic transition in Slovenia started with stabilization policies and light enterprise privatization in 1987, determined by the internal pressure of high inflation unemployment, foreign debt and economic differences between Yugoslav republics. At the beginning of the 1990s, Slovenians perceived themselves as threatened by the Yugoslav economic political and ethnic crisis, and interpreted the collapse the FRY as the cause of the exclusion from the process of Europeanization.

As written by Pichler Milanović, in the early '90s, the path towards independence was often characterized in terms of *“Slovenia going back Europe”*.

The entrance in the EU was dreamed as the final process of the run to the independence and the claim of the full national sovereignty.

These are the crucial dates of this process:

In a referendum in December 1990, the majority of Slovenia's population voted in favour of a sovereign and independent state.

On 26 June 1991, Slovenia, proclaimed independence from the Yugoslavia Federation, this caused a war between Slovenian territorial forces and the Yugoslav Army ending with the win of Slovenian forces.

In October 1991, Slovenia, had the control over its border-crossing, introduces its own currency and passed the new Constitution in December 1991.

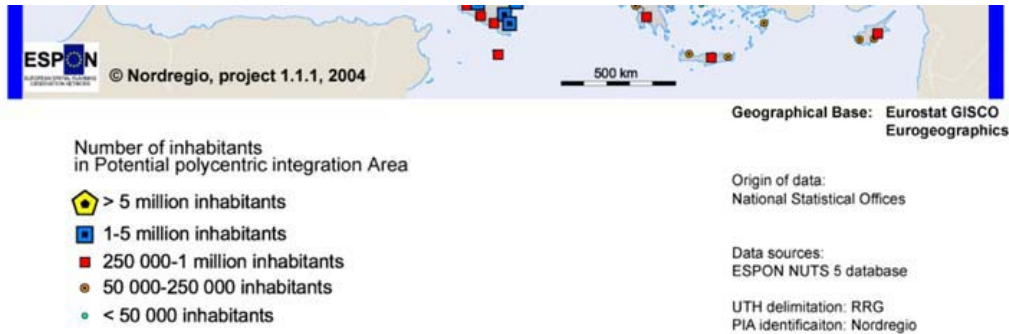
Ljubljana, capital city of the new independent state started in 1991 the process known as *“capital city formation”*, began transforming itself from a *“socialist industry city”* to a post-socialist Central European capital city.

In the early 1990s Ljubljana and its urban region had a deep economic recession, consequence on a one side of the disintegration of FRY and on the other side of the fast introduction of the market economy. Large social enterprises were limited by the structural adjustments and by the strict monetary policy used to reduce the inflation.

Ljubljana as crucial node of the Eu enlargement: the corridor V and its urban effects

Potential Polycentric Integration Areas in EU 27+2





Source: Espon, 2006, Espon. Atlas Mapping the structure of the European territory.
http://www.espon.eu/mmp/online/website/content/publications/98/1235/index_EN.html

Ljubljana, as mentioned in the first part of this analysis, thanks to its geographic position, represents an important node of the corridor V.

In the last twenty years public and private capital investments in transport infrastructure like the completion of the ring road and development of the Slovenian motorway cross have increased the accessibility of the inner-city of Ljubljana from different locations, and have intensified daily commuting and transport congestion. This scenario residential sprawl, decentralisation of economic activities (including deindustrialisation) from the inner-city of Ljubljana, and establishment of new commercial premises alongside motorways and main regional roads in suburban and other municipalities in Ljubljana urban region. Construction and upgrading of public roads and increased motorisation rate have had negative effects on the quality and frequency of public transport, use of energy, and environmental consequences (e.g. air, noise, soil pollution, etc.).

A number of studies point out the effect of post-institutional transition spatial policies in determining new spatial hierarchies between cities and regions. These trends are particularly evident in the case of Ljubljana.

Since the second half of 1990s new legislation introduced in Slovenia has been determined by the macro-economic and legal requirements for EU accession in 2004. In these years were created new sectoral development and legislative strategies on national development programmes, economic and social cohesion, cooperation and partnerships between different actors with the aim to harmonize the national legislation with the EU requirements.

“Sustainable development”, “Polycentrism” and “social and economic cohesion” and “integration into European networks” are the three most explicit aims of the new spatial planning, management and development system in Slovenia. Through the preparation of spatial development and planning documents, Slovenia has also tried to respect the implementation of the recommendations from European spatial development documents, which are enforced in the preparation of laws and national programs in the area of sustainable development. Such two main documents are among others, Guiding Principles.

The formulation of spatial planning documents and policies in Slovenia, is strongly influenced by recommendations from the European Spatial Development Perspectives (ESDP), the UN Habitat Agenda (1996). Slovenia is implementing these recommendations also through participation in INTERREG III initiative and CEMAT activities and in formulation of some policy documents at the global, European and cross-border level - i.e. UN “Istanbul +5” (2001), Vision Planet: Strategies for Integrated Spatial Development of the Central European, Danubian, and Adriatic Area (2000), Spatial Planning Instruments of the Alps-Adriatic Working Community (2002), Ljubljana Declaration on the Territorial Dimension of Sustainable Development (CEMAT 2003), Alpine Convention, etc.

The Spatial Planning Act of 2003 defines the types, contents, and hierarchy of spatial planning documents, and the method of their preparation. It defines the instruments for operational planning of spatial development activities, provides two types of spatial documents: national and municipal.

Both national and municipal spatial planning documents are divided into the ones defining spatial development guidelines, and those presenting the basis for more detailed planning or permitting spatial development activities and land use patterns.

In addition to national and local levels, the Spatial Planning Act also introduces the possibility of planning at a regional level on the basis of the agreement between local and national levels. The Act regulates spatial planning activities and sets measures for detailed and land use planning, ensures building land development, and the keeping of the spatial data system. It also determines conditions for performing spatial planning activities, and defines violations in connection with spatial planning and management, and performing spatial planning activities.

At the national level the relevant documents are Spatial Development Strategy of Slovenia of 2004, Spatial Order of Slovenia 2004, and Detailed Plan of National Importance. At the local level, the guidelines are provided by the Municipal Spatial Development Strategy, Municipal Spatial Development Order, and the Local Detailed Plan.

There is also a law, Regional Spatial Development Concept thanks to which the local communities have an opportunity to coordinate their strategic development issues. This document, is particularly interesting because it fills the gap between national and local planning level, until the establishment of administrative regions (i.e. provinces) in Slovenia.

Prior to the new Spatial Planning Act, the Slovenian government adopted two other documents: the Assessment of Spatial Development in Slovenia and the Spatial Management Policy of the Republic of Slovenia.

As regards Ljubljana, the new comprehensive development strategy and new spatial development concept for the city was adopted in June 2002 under the principle of sustainable development as part of the new Spatial Development Plan of the City Municipality of Ljubljana. In 2002 the Regional Development Agency of the Ljubljana Urban Region was established with the task to prepare regional development strategy, as a joint project between City Municipality of Ljubljana, surrounding municipalities in the Ljubljana Region, and other stakeholders in urban region.

Coherently with the EU spatial planning strategy, the main objectives of these (national, regional and local) spatial policies are to facilitate future development of Ljubljana as “competitive and sustainable” Central European capital city in an enlarged Europe.

For this reason, the most important new programmes and development projects are targeted towards improvement of transport infrastructure, new “in fill” low-density multi-dwelling houses, improved waste management system, and establishment of new recreational areas.

Analysing this legislative scenario it seems clear that Slovenian spatial planning reflects the three levels steps (local, national and supranational) of policy-making suggested by the European Union.

It is interesting to observe the modality of this interaction and the effect on urban scenario. Ljubljana in the last decade has passed various periods of transformation. Each period has determined peculiar effects on the territory. Matjaž Uršič²⁹ has pointed out a new urban dichotomy emerged by the 1990s: the compact city versus the spread type of the city. The main characteristic of the compact city is its monolith built structure which is protected by the laws and by the public opinion of the majority of Ljubljana citizens for its historical and symbolic values. Surrounding the compact city there is the new spread part of the city, which is defined by the majority of citizens as a non-historic part of the city,

²⁹ M. Uršič, 2002, *Compact and Spread City - Global Networks and Local Differences*, in *Glocal Localities*, Euro-kult, Salzburg, Austria

with a smaller ambient quality and with a lower level of legal and public protection. This dualism was influenced in particular by two historical conjunctures: the globalization and the Euization

On this point is interesting stress the position of Pichler-Milanovic who interpretes Slovenia, “globalisation” as a two-fold process:

Firstly, in the form of transition or structural adjustment, as a shift from socialist to democratic societies and market-based economies, and (re)integration in the global processes.

Secondly, the prospective accession of Slovenia to fully-fledged membership of the European Union (EU) will continue transition, but also form a completely new phase of institutional development.

The systematic process of ‘Europeanisation’ (EU integration and enlargement) or rather “EU-isation” of values, standards, norms and policies can be interpreted as a specific aspect of globalisation This process has determinant effects also in addressing the future development of Ljubljana, in the general networks of Corridor V.

In this sense, it is evident that the role of Ljubljana as one of the core of the corridor V in the general frame-work of a polycentric spatial configuration, raises question in the contested ground between top-down territorial policies seeking to balance integration and market, and the bottom up practices oriented to a democratic and participatory spatial planning. Saw the question from a bottom-up point of view, the effects of Euization are visible in the administrative, morphological, democratical and functional changes that have envolved Ljubljana. In this sense the recent transformations of the city could be read as the effects of Euization.

Concluding Remarks

- The construction of TENs raised controversial issues at the local level determining urban change and new local identities.
- TENs suggest to reflect on the new hierarchy determined by the predominance of market, and networks of markets on the “social and economic cohesion”.
- Beyond the rethoric of the multilevel governance of spatial policies promoted by the Eu, it is necessary reflect on the forms of bottom-up empowerment of civil society in what concerns the territorial and infrastructural spatial planning
- As regards Ljubljana, have to be taken in account the territorial and political effects of the Euization, analysing the various levels of the decision-making process determined by the EU spatial policies and questions on how this process is experienced at the local level.

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