

The “urban personality” of the contemporary Romanian society. Case study: Bucharest

Andreea Acasandre*

“Ion Mincu” University of Architecture and Urbanism

Abstract: *The study of the city from a sociological perspective was developed at the beginning of the 20th century, in Germany and the USA. Louis Wirth was one of the members of the Chicago School, together with Burgess, Park, Drake and Clayton. Wirth (1938) relates, from a theoretical point of view, the physical space of the city to the way of life of its inhabitants. Through his work, he develops the theory of the “urban personality”, which presents the modern urban way of life as being fundamentally different from the rural one. The differences mentioned by him were related to the number of inhabitants of the city, the social heterogeneity and density of the population. These are the three components that distinguish the “urban way of life”. Starting from this theory of the “urban personality”, through this article, we seek to define the urban personality of Bucharest, the capital of Romania, in the context of the contemporary mega-trends: globalization, increased mobility, environmental issues and the technological developments. Our research started from the urban personality, defined during the 1930s, by both Louis Wirth (Chicago School of Sociology) and Cincinat Sfințescu (Romania). In the intent of bringing this concept into the contemporary post-modern society, we seek to understand its interwar significance and to update it, by overlapping the layers that belong to the post-modern society, globalization, mobility, technology development and environmental issues, which made the concept of urban personality a more fluid one in comparison with the significance it had at the beginning of the 20th century. The article treats the “urban personality” throughout the 20th and 21st century, by applying it to the specific case of Bucharest, a city that suffered many transformations, sociologically and architecturally.*

Keywords: eclecticism, compositional incompatibility, chaos, density.

Cuvinte-cheie: eclecticism, incompatibilitate compozițională, haos, densitate.

Theme

Cincinat Sfințescu (1932) defined the concept of *urban personality* as a metaphoric expression which seeks to individualize a settlement throughout its specific characteristics. The author mentions that the process of individualization could be developed through a large diversity of factors, mentioning that the terrain (nature), the

buildings (architectural style) and the population, all together and separately, could procure the personality of a city (Sfințescu, 1932, 73). Sfințescu considers that *the style of a city* is the one that could mostly individualize an urban area, through the historic and natural elements (1932, 73-74).

A few years later, the concept of *urban personality* is also analyzed by Louis Wirth

* “Ion Mincu” University of Architecture and Urbanism, Faculty of Urbanism, Department of Urban and Landscape Design, 18-20 Academiei Street, Bucharest, Romania. E-mail: andreea.acasandre@uauim.ro.

(1938), a sociologist of the Chicago School, who described the idea of the *urban area* by comparing it to a *rural area*. For Wirth, the *urban personality* represents a set of sociological elements, such as the *number of inhabitants of the city, the social heterogeneity and density*. The author excludes the built and natural factor, supporting the theory that a city is defined by its inhabitants, seeking to offer, in this way, a sociological definition of the urban life. Even though Wirth accepts that "*the specific locally and historically conditioned cultural influences*" (Wirth, 1938, in LeGates, Stout, 2000 [1996], 98) are very important and can influence significantly the urban personality, he says, they "*are not the essential determinants of its character as a city*" (Wirth, 1938, in LeGates, Stout, 2000 [1996], 98).

Starting from these two theories of *urban personality*, both elaborated during the 1930s, this article aims to define the idea of an urban personality as a whole. While we agree that the urban way of life of a city is defined mostly by its population, as Wirth says (1938), we argue that the behavior and attitude of the population in its daily life are strongly influenced by the physical component.

Through his theory, G. Simmel says that it is necessary to make an inquiry into the inner meaning of the modern life, because it contains some insights about the communities living in those places and the differences between individual and group life (Simmel, 1905 in Fischer, 1975, 67). Hence, we focus on the *urban personality* defined as a fusion between the natural, social and urban/architectural components. This article is based on the theories of the *urban personality* elaborated during the first part of the 20th century, aiming to update them through contemporary theories which argue that cities today have a fragile personality, which lead to a very fragile identity (Fischer, 1975, 68). The causes mentioned are specific to the great transformations process: globalization, development of technology, increased mobility.

The essay focuses on Bucharest, as it is the capital of Romania and the most complex example that can support the theory of the "urban

personality", according to contemporary authors, such as Alexandru Ofrim (2007). Ofrim says that the "urban personality" of Bucharest has suffered multiple changes along the years, some of them caused by natural factors (the earthquakes of 1940 or 1977), others caused by political reasons. Bucharest had a troubled history: invasions, devastating fires (1847), earthquakes and massive demolitions during the totalitarian regime. All of these factors transformed inevitably the "face" of the city, forcing its inhabitants to constantly change their landmarks, to reinvest different places with other significations (Ofrim, 2007, 7).

The physical component that we speak of in this article consists of both the terrain (natural element) and built environment (architectural and urban style of the city). As a consequence, the urban personality is directly defined by the way of life of the population and indirectly defined by the architectural, urban and natural elements of the city.

Problem

The problem that we aim to solve in this article is related to the urban personality of Bucharest (the capital of Romania). The main issue here is considered to be the significant transformations that Bucharest has suffered, starting from the physical, and continuing with the human aspects. This article focuses on how these modifications, during different political periods, have transformed the urban personality of this metropolis. The article provides significant historical data, in order to support the statement that these transformations have started a long time ago, but they still continue today. The period after the Revolution was dominated by chaotic building and continuous mutilation of the urban tissue of the city.

While the urban personality of the cities within a country can be discussed as a whole, through its historical identity (both architectural and social), we believe that, within that territory, each city has its own characteristics, individualizing it in comparison with the other cities of the same country. The discussion about the urban personality is focused on Bucharest, the capital of Romania.

The article addresses the *urban personality of the Bucharest*, highlighting also the urban traits that are representative for all Romanian cities.

The article decomposes the urban personality on three different layers, starting from the theories of Cincinat Sfințescu (1932) and Louis Wirth (1938). Even though both of the theories that form the basis of our article were defined during the 1930s, we feel that they are very much applicable today, while adding the necessary adjustment and updates. The world we live in today, during the post-modern times, has become more dynamic and complex in terms of form and function. An article written by C. Fischer (1975) at the beginning of post-modernism focuses on the idea of Great Transformations (1975, 67), which caused the rapid evolution of General Sociology and Urban Sociology in particular, as the rapid urbanization was one of the main consequences of these transformations.

We understand the urban personality as a construct of *the natural*, *the architectural* and *the human* components. The natural component is exclusively dedicated to the urban personality of the city (the locally specific elements). In its structure we can only identify individualizing elements specific to each city (in this case, specific to Bucharest). The natural component also includes the natural hazards or catastrophes which have the capacity to shape the image, thus, the personality of the city. The architectural and urban component can contain both national and city-level elements. Even though this level is analyzed as a single one, it can also be divided into two different layers. We speak here about

the architectural component, which mainly contains elements of the urban personality which are nationally specific, because of the architectural styles. The second layer is the urban component, which will contain both nationally and locally specific elements. The nationally specific elements are found in the political and economic profile of the country, the urban model to which the country adhered in a certain period of time and so on. On the other hand, the locally specific elements of the urban layer consist of the urban composition of the city. It is a shape of the terrain which is locally specific and it cannot be replicated. An attempt to change this locally specific component of the city was made by Le Corbusier, during the beginning of the 20th century. The architect and urban planner aimed to level the differences within the city structure by bringing all of them to the same functional form. This attempt was brutally criticized, during his lifetime and especially after his death, in 1965.

The third element of the urban personality is the human component. During the present times (post-modernism), when the cities are more and more complex, functionally speaking, almost all the features encountered in the human component (the way of life of the population) are nationally specific. The main differences in the urban way of life of the people are described by Louis Wirth (1938), who theorizes that this component is influenced by three factors: dimension, density and heterogeneity of the city (Wirth, 1938, in LeGates, Stout (Ed.), 2000 [1996], 99).

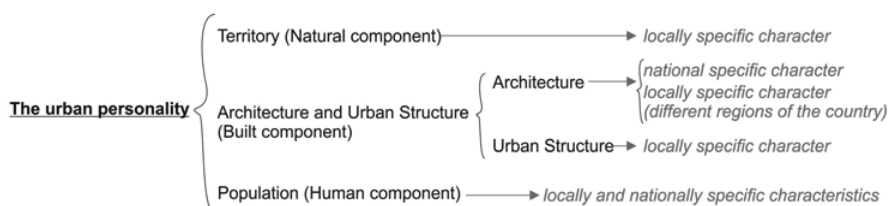


Figure 1: *The urban personality – components*

The contemporary post-modern urban personality of Bucharest is defined by three layers. The natural component is the first one. It suffered a few transformations because of different massive interventions of systematization. The architectural and urban layer is the second one. It represents the physical image of the political, cultural and aesthetic influences that existed or co-existed in Bucharest during the past two centuries, contributing to the definition of the urban identity. The third layer is defined by the population, and represents the human component of the urban personality. It is the most complex, the most fluid and the most sensitive to external factors. Easily changeable, it is subject to the urban density. Wirth argues that the denser the city, the weaker the human connections (Wirth, 1938, in LeGates, Stout, 2000 [1996], 99). Comparing the city to the countryside, he says that, statistically, it seems that people living in the urban areas have even fewer acquaintances than the people from the rural areas (Wirth, 1938, in LeGates, Stout, 2000 [1996], 99).

The problem discussed in this article is represented by the complexity of the post-modern urban personality of Bucharest, which ultimately contributes to the definition of its urban identity. In a world dominated by rapid transformations, mobility of information/people and globalization, the focus on the urban personality and identity of a metropolis like Bucharest seems like a difficult but necessary task. The many influences that entered the territory of Bucharest over the centuries have weakened its identity and specificity. Thus, we feel the need to focus on the layers that form this urban personality and the aspects which contributed to its weakening altogether. As previously stated, we decomposed it on three main layers: natural, urban/architectural and human. Each of them suffered modifications, more or less brutal, but equally significant for the current identity of Bucharest.

Methodology

The present paper aims to discuss the subject of the urban personality, as a construct obtained

by overlapping the natural, the architectural and the human frames of a city. Each of the three frames contains both national and local information about the urban personality, which together offer a complete image on the urban identity. Our paper is based on the case study of Bucharest, the capital of Romania.

The methodology used for the study of the three different frames announced earlier uses complex sources, as the paper is based on an interdisciplinary knowledge. The three frames that form the urban personality belong to domains that are convergent but which are based on distinct research technics. As a consequence, the natural frame was described through the study of old maps of Bucharest. The image of Bucharest was progressively analyzed through the observation of the Borroczyn Plan of Bucharest (1852), the Nicolavietz Plan (1875), the plan offered by the Geographical Institute (1895-1899), the Systematization plan from 1934, the zoning plan of 1950 and the cadastral plans of 1991.

The study of the architectural and urban frames is based on the analysis of historical documents and maps. In order to create an accurate image of the architectural and urban frames of Bucharest, it was necessary to study and describe the architectural influences that have been crossing this space over the past centuries. In order to do that, we studied documents concerning the general tendencies over the 19th and 20th century in Europe and the USA. The accent falls in this period of time because it was the period when the cities started to grow alarmingly, being caused by the industrialization. From the spatial perspective, this paper focused on the European and American Urban models, being the ones that influenced the most this space. It is important to mention, though, that we offered a special attention to the Soviet model, as well, given the fact that it influenced the Romanian society and urbanism for almost half a century. In this architectural and urban analysis, we also took into consideration some Oriental influences, which contributed to the architectural image as we know it today.

The methodology used for the human frame, which aims to describe the contemporary social tendencies inside the urban network, consists of the use and interpretation of statistical data. The information which was taken into account concerned the *way of life of the citizens, the main activities, the way in which they spend their free time, group ages and tendencies of migration outside the country.*

Romanian architectural influences throughout the 19th and 20th century

During the 19th century, on the territory of the Romanian Countries were present a large diversity of architectural styles, starting with the *classicism which tried to reconcile the classical order of the façades with the earthly made plans* (Dinulescu, 2013, 58-59). The second architectural style which was identified within our present territory was the romanticism, with different numerous buyouts from the feudal architecture, mentions Dinulescu, especially the gothic one (Dinulescu, 2013, 59). Towards the end of the 19th century, the architectural style was influenced by the French architects who worked here, as well as by the Romanian architects that have studied in France. As a result, the architectural style during the end of the 19th century was the *French Eclecticism*. It dominated the Romanian space during the end of the 19th century and the first part of the 20th century. After that, it is starting the development of a new architectural thinking and execution, a *traditional style*.

This moment, from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century is connected to a tendency which was generated by the State Independence (1878): the tightening of the relations with the international Western Context (especially Europe). As a territory situated at the junction between the Orient and the Occident, though, The Romanian Country was the subject of numerous cultural disputes over the years. It had both eastern and western cultural traits (coming from the Ottoman Empire

or from countries like Italy and France). All these influences impacted the arts, architecture and so on. They offered the cultural context of the appearance and development of an architectural style which was particular to our territory. Its period of glory and maximum development is considered to be the one between the Independence War (1878) and the emergence of the First World War (1914).

This is the historical time during which it was developed the *Neo-Romanian Architectural Style, the second Romanian-specific architectural style, which was aiming to integrate the traditional architecture into an intellectual one*. It was the successor of the *Brâncovenesc Style* (Dinulescu, 2013, 56). The Brâncovenesc Style started around 1698, when Brâncoveanu built his first Palace with these architectural elements, the Potlogi Palace. The last construction built in this style was the Stavropoleos Monastery (1730). Another architectural monument built in this style was the Văcărești Monastery (1716-1736), demolished during the Communist Regime. Dinulescu says that the Brâncovenesc style was the first manifestation of the tradition in the architectural zone, even though, this style contains, at the same time, Romanian elements (the exterior stairs, the oriel), Western elements (the Venetian loggia) and Eastern elements (the archway of the window).

The first built architectural object using the *Neo-Romanian Style* was the Lahovary House. It was built by Ion Mincu, between 1884 and 1886. The beginning of the Neo-Romanian style is related to the desire of matching the Romanian architecture with the Western models. This desire came from a relatively large number of great Romanian architects which had studied in some well-renowned Schools of Architecture of the Western Europe, especially from France. Ion Mincu, for example, the initiator of the Neo-Romanian Style, graduated from the National School of Fine Arts (École Nationale des Beaux-Arts) from Paris. Petre Antonescu, Ion Berindey, Grigore Cerchez were also some of the architects that dominated the professional activity from the first half of the 20th century. They also graduated

from the Schools of architecture of Paris. In consequence, the Neo-Romanian style from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century represented, in fact, a conceptual construct, developed from elements which were specific to the traditional architecture, combined with other internationally recognize elements and tendencies. Among them, a very important role had the modern architecture, the international style, which had a very important exponent in France, in the figure of Le Corbusier.

The Neo-Romanian architectural style had a relatively short life, ending together with the second generation of architects that promoted it: Constantin Iotzu, Toma Socolescu, Paul Smărăndescu, Stătie Ciortan (Dinulescu, 2013: 53), Nicolae Ghica-Budești, Cristofi Cerchez, Grigore Cerchez, Petre Antonescu, Victor Ștefănescu (Țelea, 2005, 50). This coincided with the arrival of the Communist Regime in Romania, after the Second World War.

Among the most representative buildings of that period (the end of the 19th century – beginning of the 20th century), the Romanian architect Vasile Țelea (2005, 45) mentions: *The University of Bucharest* (1869 – Al. Orăscu), *The Palace of the National Bank* (1885 – Bernard, Galleron), *The Romanian Athenaeum* (1885 – Galleron), *The Justice Palace* (1895 – Ballu, Mincu), *The University Foundation "Carol I"* (Paul Gattereau), *The Post Palace* (1900 – Săvulescu), *The Agriculture Ministry* (1895 – Louis Blanc), *The Deposits House* (1896 – Paul Gattereau). All these names, Romanian and French, marked the architecture of that time and the image of the cities of the country. As we mentioned earlier, the historical time described was dominated by different cultural disputes, different architectural styles, such as *the traditional* and *the international* styles. The building of the University of Bucharest was built in a *Neo-Classic* architectural style, the Palace of the National Bank was built, as well, in this architectural style. The building of the Romanian Athenaeum used the eclectic style with Neo-Classical elements, the Palace of Justice is a French Renaissance building, as

well as the University Foundation "Carol I". The architecture of the Post Palace is Neo-Classical, the Ministry of Agriculture Palace was built in a *French Renaissance* style and the C.E.C. Palace has an eclectic style. As we can see, the Neo-Romanian style is not present among these official buildings. It was a style specific to the wealthy families of that time, which desired to have a housing which reflected the traditional Romanian style, way of life, identity and so on.

During the period between the two World Wars, the Romanian architectural buildings are dominated by two main styles. On one hand, there is the tendency of promoting the *traditional architecture*, represented by the Neo-Romanian style. On the other hand, at the international level, the modernism, in both architecture and urbanism, had more and more followers. It was promoted through three large European schools, from France, Germany and Russia.

In this international context, in Romania are formed, on one hand, groups that promote a national, Romanian discourse. These groups were represented by public figures from different domains. Among the renowned architects who promoted this perspective, we can name Constantin Iotzu, Toma Socolescu, Paul Smărăndescu, Stătie Ciortan, Nicolae Ghica-Budești, Cristofi Cerchez, Grigore Cerchez, Petre Antonescu, Victor Ștefănescu and so on. From the sociology and philosophy fields of study, remarkable were Dimitrie Gusti, who founds, in 1921, the Romanian Social Institute (which will become the School of Sociology of Bucharest). He directs his activity towards the study of the traditional Romanian village (Dinulescu, 2013, 76). On the other hand, the modern Romanian architecture, whose beginning is pointed out to be in 1922 (Țelea, 2005, 50), has known a strong promotion through the first vanguard magazines in Bucharest, such as: "*Contemporanul*" (1922), "*75HP*" (1924), "*Punct*" (1925), "*Integral*" (1925), "*Unu*" (1928) (Țelea, 2005, 53). In the same way in which, in 1886, Ion Mincu was the first to promote the Neo-Romanian architectural style, for the vanguard of the beginning of the 20th century, the promoter was Marcel

Iancu (1895-1984), closely followed by Horia Creangă. Creangă was the winner of the *ARO* building competition (the *Patria* building), in 1928. Other renowned architects who built in the modernist architecture style were: Duiliu Marcu, Jean Monda, Arghir Culina, Ioan Roșu, Octav Doicescu, Alexandru Zamfiropol, Emil Nădejde, Ion Boceanu, Jean Burcuș, Herman Cleajan, George Cristinel, Grigore Ionescu, Marcel Locar, Aurel Focșanu, Emil Viteanu, State Balosin, Julian Nămescu, Horia Maicu, Paul Emil Miclescu, Ernest Doneaud, Victor Smighelschi, Roger Bolomey, Paul Smărăndescu, Tiberiu Niga, Petre Antonescu, Richard Bordenache, Henriette Gibory Delavrancea, Virginia Haret (Telea, 2005, 54-61). The number of names mentioned earlier, together with the number of publications, highlight the fact that the modernist architecture enjoyed a large success and influence during the first decades of the 20th century. Romania was strongly related to the macro-tendencies of that period, in both architecture and urban development. The apparition of the Romanian style, on the other hand, was caused by a strong nationalist feeling, as well as by the geographical position, which favored the both Oriental and Occidental influences.

Matei Cantacuzino, Romanian architect and theorist, who lived between 1899 and 1960, brings along a different perspective and approach towards the Romanian architectural style. According to Dinulescu, Cantacuzino accepts both the existence of a Romanian architectural tradition and the possibility of transforming it into something new, without blocking it into a single form (2013, 79). Even though the architect Vasile Telea characterizes Matei Cantacuzino as a modernist architect, Dinulescu highlights the fact that in his written work, Cantacuzino has a different approach. Cantacuzino directs his written work towards the relation between traditional and modern/functionalist architecture. He only succeeds this through his texts, because, in practice, the architect's work is generally modernist. Through his theoretical work, Cantacuzino

tries to avoid adopting one of the two radical positions of that time: closing up in the local sphere (*traditionalists*) or totally adopting the western style (*modernists*).

This is the personality of the capital of Romania during the 19th century and between the two world wars. Bucharest seems to have been then, as well as it is now, a palimpsest. Each building and urban space have a significant role in shaping a history loaded with great events, political and social changes. More than any other great European cities, maybe, Bucharest is, in fact, a multitude of cities, overlapping, defining today the image that shelters and influences our daily life. The period of the 20th century was very active in the field of urban development. A relatively brief analysis shows us that, for example, during the 1880s, the administrative zone of Bucharest was enclosed inside the Traffic Ring (Ștefan cel Mare Boulevard, Mihai Bravu Boulevard, Văcărești Road, Olteniței Street, Viilor Street, Tudor Vladimirescu Boulevard, Grozăvești Street, Nicolae Titulescu Street). The first half of the 20th century offered some of the most representatives and valuable constructions, no matter if we consider the *Neo-Romanian Style* or the *International/Modernist Style*. In approximately one century, this city has multiplied its surface by ten. To this phenomenon of territorial expansion, we add the interventions inside the existing urban tissue, which has also significantly modified the image of the capital. The middle of the 20th century was marked by important events that have changed the political status and have generated new changes in the image of the cities of Romania.

The end of the Second World War marked the beginning of a completely different regime in Romania. As communism started, major changes were to be expected, including at the physical level of the cities. D. C. Giurescu defines four major intervals for the urban development of the Romanian cities between 1944 and 1989. The first interval is between 1944 and 1949, considered to be

the time of the installation of the communist regime in Romania. This interval contains the reconstruction of the housing stock demolished during the war. The second period is between 1949 and 1960 (Giurescu, 2013, 1142). This interval was also divided into two periods. On one hand, after 1949 and until the death of Stalin, in 1953, Romania, as well as all the other states that were under the Soviet Union's lead, were, at the time, known as the *Stalinization or the Sovietization*. After this period, the U.R.S.S., together with all its satellite-states, enter the *de-Stalinization* phase, which is characterized by the attempt to return, from the stylistic point of view, to the period before the Stalinist Regime. A similar interpretation of the architectural stages from the communist period in Romania was also done by the architect Vasile Țelea. Unlike Giurescu, Țelea's phasing excluded the interval 1944-1947, defining only the periods between 1948 and 1989. The first interval was 1948-1957. This stage was characterized by Țelea, just like Giurescu, as being the period of the reconstruction of the infrastructure destroyed during the war. It was also a time of isolation for our country, a time when *Romania gave up the values gained through the modern exercise of the previous stage, a period of isolation from the multitude of architectural expressions offered by the Occidental world* (Țelea, 2005, 66). All those values were destroyed, in order to make place for the construction of the new tall collective housing. The main goal was to solve the problem posed by the mass housing, doubled by the need to recuperate the housing stock that was lost during the war. This stage was the first step towards the ideological and programmatic alienation from the Western Europe.

Țelea defines the first interval between 1948 and 1957, guiding his staging by the construction, in 1958, of the "*Perla*" Restaurant (architect Cezar Lăzărescu, together with Lucian Popovici) from Eforie Nord. The architecture of this building had important modernist features (Țelea, 2005, 66). This

marked the entrance into the second stage of the communist regime, named by Țelea. Giurescu, on the other hand, mentions the first stage of the communist installation between 1944 and 1949. The second stage is suggested to be between 1949 and 1960. As we can see, the intervals are fluid and very subjective. We tend to think that the main event that has generated an important change in the architectural orientation was the end of Stalin's regime, in 1953, and the closure of the Soviet Academy of Architecture (1955). As Giurescu says, towards the end of the 1950s the first signs of the de-Stalinization period are seen (Giurescu, 2013, 1142).

The de-Stalinization starts simultaneously in all the U.R.S.S. satellite states. It was only an attempt and deserves to be mentioned as a desire. As the Russian philosopher Boris Groys mentions, if we attentively analyze the Russian cultural scene between 1960 and 1970, we will observe that every attempt to overcome the Stalinist period was transformed, progressively, into a bare reproduction of the Stalinist regime. Inside the professional groups, every leader was a reproduction of Stalin (Groys, 1990, 120). Even if it failed, this stage is worth mentioning as an attempt to refocus on the architectural Western European Principles. Both Țelea and Giurescu mention this interval as a moment of approach towards the Western European Architecture, adopting somehow the principles named by Le Corbusier in the Athens' Charter (1933). Among the buildings realized in Bucharest during that time, we can name the *Palace's Hall* (1960, architects Horia Maicu, Tiberiu Ricci, Ignace Șerban), the *Scala Apartment Building* (1959, architects Virgil Nițulescu, Alexandru Iosif) or the housing assembly from the *Palace's Hall Square* (1960, architects Horia Maicu, Traian Stănescu, Leon Garcia, Tiberiu Niga, George Filipeanu) (Țelea, 2005, 66-69).

Once connected to the Western European architectural principles, towards the end of the 1960s, there are some global changes that start to occur, affecting many disciplines, including architecture. In Romania's case, this phase

coincides with the arrival of N. Ceaușescu at the lead of the country. This event generates the progressive alienation from U.R.S.S. and the definition of our own ideological and programmatic direction. In Western Europe, on the other hand, the death of the great modernist architects (Le Corbusier dies in France, in 1965; Gropius and Mies van der Rohe die in the USA in 1969, but they both still have a great influence over the European Architecture) brings along a big change in architecture. This stage is supported by the environmental, economic and social issues which become more and more evident during the 1970s. This stage is marked by numerous protests and public manifestations of the population. The end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s represent the start of the transition from modernism to post-modernism, marked by major changes in the peoples' approach towards the environment, the built environment and so on.

The last interval defined in the Romanian communist architecture is the stage between 1980 and 1989. The triggering factor was the earthquake of 1977. For N. Ceaușescu, that was the moment that decided to build a new civic center in Bucharest, imposing his will in the decisions regarding the urban planning and the architecture of Romania (Giurescu, 2013, 1142). That was the moment of the greatest demolitions that the country suffered, especially Bucharest. Leahu mentions that, during the last decades of the communist regime, approximately 20% of the built perimeter of the capital was destroyed (1995, cover). Most of the demolitions had as goal the construction of this Civic Center, situated in the central zone of the capital, from the *Arsenalului (Spirii) Hill*, towards the *Alba Iulia Square*. The main function of this civic center was to be especially political and administrative. The reasons for choosing it were the central position, the compositional advantage (it was a dominant place in relation to the rest of the city) and the seismic advantage, because it was one of the safest areas (Panaitescu, 2012, 184).

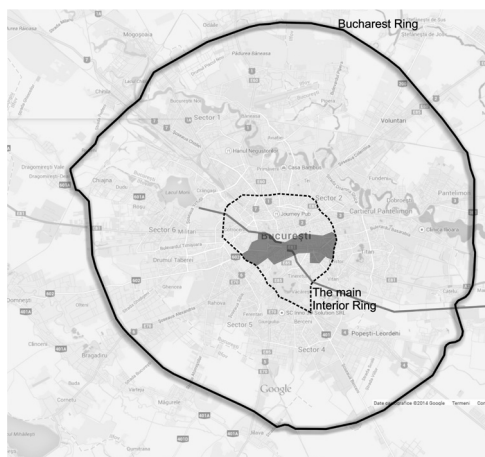


Figure 2: The area chosen by N. Ceaușescu for the new Civic Center

Dinu Giurescu mentions that the work at the Parliament House and the „*Victory of the Socialism*” Boulevard (the *Unirii Boulevard*, today) began on the 25th of June 1984. In order to make place for the Parliament House were demolished, highlights Giurescu, 44 streets and all the buildings on them. Besides them, there were some streets partially demolished (2013, 411). Alexandru Panaitescu mentions that, as a consequence of the earthquake from the 4th of March 1977, some other 32 apartment blocks collapsed only in Bucharest (most of them were of modern architecture, *neoclassical* or *Art Deco*), from the end of the 19th or the first part of the 20th century. Some approximately 150 buildings were strongly damaged (Panaitescu, 2012, 147). Some of these constructions, such as the *French Hotel* along the *Victoriei Road*, were demolished later (Panaitescu, 2012, 147).

The time between 1980 and 1989, the last decade of the communist regime, was the most active from the urban intervention perspective. For the construction of the *Unirii Boulevard* (the *Boulevard of the Victory of the Socialism*, during communism), were demolished all the buildings along that road. The boulevard has a 4.5 km length and 92 m in width. Its position, compositionally speaking, is in a total disagreement with the

rest of the city (Harhoiu, 1997, 18 in Giurescu, 2013, 1145). Along the new boulevard were created large apartment blocks (P+10). Behind them, we can still see the remaining buildings (individual houses), which mark the existence of the old districts. The earthquake of 1977 had a great impact over Bucharest. It generated the construction of a large amount of new collective houses between 1978 and 1979, and the modification of the norms of construction. The architectural solutions were very much oriented towards functionality and endurance, while the image was very much neglected, generating very repetitive and simplistic architectural objects.

The testimony of the architect Gh. Leahu supports the previous affirmations. He presents

his daily life during 1985 and 1989 through the publication of his journal, *Arhitect în “Epoca de aur”* (2013). Leahu was the chief architect at the *Design Institute “Proiect-București”*, the greatest design institute in the country. He said that during those years, the indications of the dictator came more and more often, each of them contributing to the destruction of the image of Bucharest (Leahu, 2013, 5). Leahu describes the statute of the architect during those times, as a *tool* of Ceaușescu, who named himself *the number 1 architect of the nation* (Telea, 2005, 93). This is the way in which we could resume the last decade of the communism, a period described unanimously as the most destructive, from the architectural perspective.

	pre-urbanism	urbanism	1970-1980	
USA	American counter-urbanism	The Naturalist Model	Transition to Post-modernism	Post-mod.
Europe	The Progresist Model The Culturalist Model The Critic without a model	The Progresist Model (modern/international style) The Culturalist Model	Transition from modern. to Post-modernism	1989
URSS		Constructivism (1918) The socialist realism (Stalinization) (1932)	The traditional realism (de-Staliniz.) (1955)	Russian post-utopism
Romania	Classicism Romanticism French Eclecticism	Neo-Romanian Style (1918) Neo-Rom. (1945) Modernism (1949) Reconstruction of communism (1949)	De-Stalinization (towards the W-European Style)	N. Ceausescu (demolitions) Transition from comm. to post-mod.
	1800	1900		2000

Figure 3: *Architectural styles in Romania and external influences during the 19th and 20th century*

Architectural influences in the contemporary context

From the architectural and urban perspective, the period that followed the Revolution of 1989 corresponds to the transition phase in Romania. At the global level, this transition corresponds to the instable background of a double transition, given the fact that, starting with the 1970s and 1980s, the whole world entered a post-modern phase. Its main traits are: globalization, increased mobility, development of the technology and

awareness of the great environmental threats (the need for a Sustainable Development), causing the Western-European states the need to redefine their own values.

All these features of the post-modern world or the post-industrial world generated major changes in the way in which the cities are organized. Peter Calthorpe discusses the changes which occurred in the American cities during the last years of the 20th century. Among these changes, we can name the traffic congestions, the elevated price of the city-center housing, the stress caused by living in

a metropolis and the lack of space. Another important change for the post-industrial cities was made in the way of life of the citizens. Families with children, for example, prefer to move to the suburbs, leading to continuous traveling from home to work, causing stress and exhaustion for the family members (Calthorpe, 1989, 351-352).

The urban population is starting to feel suffocated by the big city, and this is one of the reasons why the space issue is becoming more important than the proximity to the city center, especially for the families with children. The young unmarried citizens, on the other hand, prefer the central zone, much more offering from the point of view of the functional diversity (Calthorpe, 1989, 351). These factors cause a strong, easily remarkable social segregation.

Case Study: Bucharest – Romania

In Romania the phenomenon is similar, but slightly delayed from the one in the U.S.A. It started at the beginning of the 21st century. In Bucharest, for example, stress and the limited space inside the city area, as well as the elevated price, lead to the constitution of satellite-zones near the capital. Many people have decided to buy a house, an apartment or a field (on which to build a house) in the outskirts of the city, for the reasons mentioned earlier. At the beginning, these localities were mostly mono-functional, including only the housing stock, today, both them and the urban periphery of the city are becoming new urban centers (for example, the areas of the business centers or the malls situated at the periphery and so on).

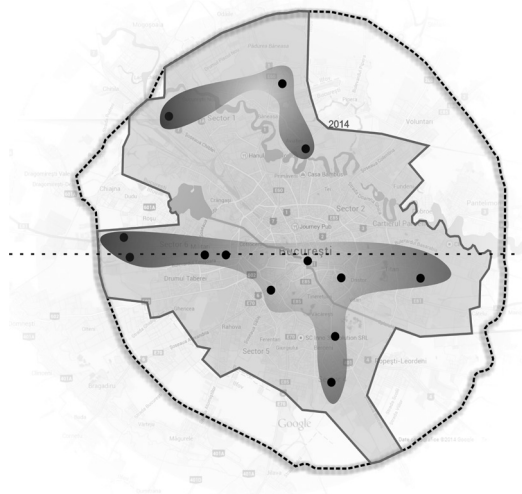


Figure 4: *The disposition of the Commercial Centers in Bucharest, in relation to the City Center*

The present Circulation Belt of Bucharest was realized during the last years of the 19th century. At that moment, the city was a lot smaller and has enlarged its administrative zone progressively, by adding new areas in its structure. In the contemporary period, the administrative zone of the capital is still in the Circulation Belt of Bucharest. The territory occupied by the population who works and spends time in Bucharest is larger, including the localities near the city, such as Chitila, Mogoșoaia, Otopeni, Tunari, Afumați, Voluntari, Cernica, Glina, Jilava, Măgurele, 1 Decembrie, Bragadiru, Domnești and so on.

In the study *Proiecte, studii și realizări ale Universității de Arhitectură și Urbanism “Ion Mincu” – C.C.P.E.C.* (Projects, studies and achievements of the “Ion Mincu” University of Architecture and Urbanism), are presented a number of important projects realized by the Center of Research, Design, Expertise and Consulting (Centrul de Cercetare, Proiectare, Expertiză și Consulting – C.C.P.E.C.) of the “Ion Mincu” University of Bucharest. In accord with the author’s testimony, this center was

also opened, for a short period of time (only five years), during the communist regime, in the 1970s (Irimescu, 2006, preface). It was reopened afterwards, in 1992. It was the Center that realized the most important urban interventions, in Bucharest and other great cities of Romania. Among them, we can name PUG Bucharest 2000, PUZ for the Central Zone of Bucharest, PUZ for the zone along the Dâmbovița River, PUZ for the zone of the Colentina lake, PUZ for the northern part of Bucharest, PUZ for the protected zone of Bucharest, PUZ for the Victoriei Square in Bucharest and so on (until 2006). Between 1993 and 2006 were realized only by C.C.P.E.C. a number of 449 interventions. To this number, we can add the ones realized after 2006, such as CSB 2035, designed between 2010 and 2011, and the new PUG Bucharest, which is presently in progress. Most of the objectives proposed for the Romanian post-communist cities were related to the European integration, through the economic development and the shaping of the identity and of a sustainable way of life for the inhabitants.

Through the General Urban Plan (PUG) elaborated for Bucharest between 1998 and 2000, was pointed out that it was necessary to elaborate some solutions to the problems caused during the communist regime. It was also pointed out the fact that the waste of space needed to be stopped. At a conceptual level, it was suggested the development of a *Green-Yellow Belt* to surround the city, in order to limit its urban sprawl. The Green-Yellow Belt was supposed to contain low density zones and most of the territory should have been occupied by green spaces. This concept was not new. It was firstly implemented during the period between the two world wars, as a result of the rapid growth of the city. C. C. Giurescu mentions that *it was designed, during the period between the two world wars, a plantation belt, a "green ring" outside of which were not allowed buildings* (Giurescu, 2009 [1966], 477-478).

Before the 2000s, mentions Irimescu, *the City Hall initiated a series of sequential studies on different significant zones on which to base*

the PUG (2006, 1). It was also during the interval 1991-2000, that the Romanian Academy, together with PNUD, elaborated a draft for the Strategy "Romania 2020". In addition, towards the end of the 1990s were started the studies for the mobility and for public transportation in Bucharest. The PUG was proposing the closure of the main circulation ring in order to reduce the mobility difficulties inside the central zone of the capital. As the Univ. prof. Doina Cristea said, after approximately four years from the implementation of the PUG (approximately 2004), these proposals have not been reached. The cause was the weak cooperation between the General Council and the Local Councils (Cristea, in Irimescu, 2006, 8). This failure was considered to be because of the *difficulties of the transition period* (Irimescu, 2006, 8).

The time announced for reaching these objectives was the year 2025. Over 25 years, the PUG was aiming to transform Bucharest into a *metropolis which had a European influence and was an international and intercontinental relay* (Irimescu, 2006, 7). Administratively, the PUG suggested to keep intact the existing surface of the city (228 km²), but to add to the Bucharest Urban Agglomeration (a proposed number of 2,165,000 inhabitants – an increase of 7.8%, compared to 2000), together with the capital, another three cities and 36 communes (approximately 335,000 inhabitants – an increase of 21.4% compared to 2000) (Irimescu, 2006, 7). By keeping unchanged the surface of Bucharest, the PUG was aiming to develop a better plan in order to stop the urban sprawl, a tendency very common for the cities today. The Urban Agglomeration would have functioned separately from the administrative zone of the capital, but would have had a very good accessibility, in order to offer a direct connection to the services and benefits of the proximity to the metropolis.

The main directions which guided the objectives for the PUG 2000 were, on one hand, *the urge to limit or to eliminate the dysfunctions regarding the public space* and, on the other hand, *the anticipation of the future needs regarding the public space in the year 2025* (Sandu et al., 1999).

The effects of the transition period, enounced in the written part of the PUG, are easily visible in the present urban space, through the need to redefine and resize the public institutions for a better operation, the need to build social housing or to increase the number of green spaces. Another sector that needed major interventions is the mobility and transportation, caused by the poor situation of the transportation system, lack of highways and main transit corridors (Sandu et al., 1999).

The main difficulties encountered by the PUG between 1998 and 2000 were, says Irimescu, the

lack of urban policies and long term strategies (2006, 1). Secondly, the transition process caused a dephasing regarding the elaboration of the cadastral plans, the property situations, the real estate market, the good functioning of the public administration and so on (Irimescu, 2006, 1).

The territory destroyed between 1984 and 1986 by the demolitions of N. Ceaușescu, for the construction of the new Civic Center of the capital, represented a main interest for the researchers during the first years of the post-communist period.

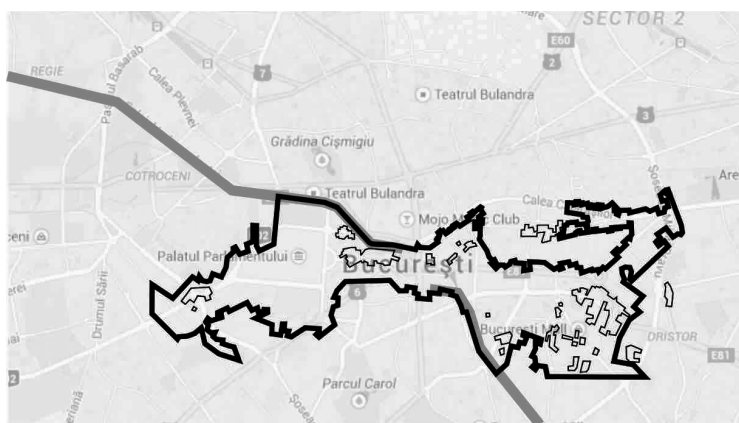


Figure 5: The zone destroyed between 1984 and 1986 in order to build the new Civic Center of Bucharest (Iosa, 2006, 14)

The plans for the transformation of this area of Bucharest were started on the 25th of June 1984. Besides the large number of streets completely destroyed and the houses on them, also a number of approximately 15 churches in that area were demolished or moved. Some other important constructions from that area were destroyed. We can name among them *The Republic Stadium (ANEF)*, *The Opera House*, the Brâncovenesc Hospital or *The Unirii Halls* (Iosa, 2006, 14).

As a consequence of the destruction of such a large and a central zone of Bucharest, after the Revolution of 1989, this area was the subject of concern of many professionals and authorities. The main idea was to reconstruct this part of the city which was destroyed by Ceaușescu

and which remained unfinished after the fall of the Communist Regime. As a result, between 1995 and 1996 was organized the international urban competition Bucharest 2000, patronized by the President of Romania and organized by the Government. This urban zone represented a subject of great interest for both Romanian and foreign architects. No less than 656 teams presented their intent to participate in the competition until the end of 1995 (45 different countries) (Uniunea Arhitecților din România, 1998, 27). The First Prize was won by a German team from Hamburg, led by Meinhard von Gerkan and Joachim Zais.

Another problem of the development of Bucharest, which concerned the professionals, was the rapid growth of the city, in the outskirts of

the Ring Road. This tendency was first remarked by Peter Calthorpe, who described, during the 1989, the Pedestrian Pockets. He was referring to the American cities back then, remarking that the Metropolis is entering another phase, of counter-urbanization. This Pedestrian Pockets, said Calthorpe, was inspired by the Garden City described by Ebenezer Howard at the end of the 19th century (The Garden City, Great Britain). In his vision, Calthorpe was highlighting the need to develop – similar to the Garden City mentioned earlier – some small localities, near the big cities, surrounded by agricultural zones. These zones had to be related and connected to the big city through public means of transportation, accessible in approximately five minutes time of walking (this is the distance of approximately 300 m). This need appeared from the tendencies concerning the housing style, given the fact that, starting from the end of the 20th century and continuing with the beginning of the 21st century, *the main criteria concerning the housing style had changed dramatically* (Calthorpe, 1989 in LeGates and Stout, ed., 2000 [1996], 351). The criteria of inhabiting, said Calthorpe, was modified because of the changes that emerged in the current society. One of the factors was the modifications that appeared in the family structure, which is now formed by mainly single parent families, causing numerous financial problems in the acquisition of a city house.

As shown earlier, during the last years, Bucharest had polycentric evolution which contained both financial and leisure zones. In addition, based on the need for tranquility, space and avoidance of the traffic inside the city area (some of the features named also by Calthorpe with concern to the American Cities), at the beginning of the 21st century, it is generally observed the tendency of the population to migrate towards the zones from the immediate vicinity of the capital.

This phenomenon has generated the need to develop an integrated strategic concept for Bucharest and its vicinity. The chief architect of the capital, Gheorghe Pătrașcu, characterizes CSB 2035 (the Strategic Concept

for Bucharest 2035) as the most important study, methodologically speaking (Pătrașcu, in Ianăși, Alexandru, 2011, 15). The purpose of this strategic concept was the substantiation of the next PUG of Bucharest (which is currently in progress) and the establishment of the main objectives that Bucharest and its vicinity need to reach (strategy, the CSB 2035 structure, 2011). The important thing that we need to point out is that the Strategic Concept Bucharest 2035 is not limited to the administrative zone of Bucharest. It integrates also its vicinity, as a consequence of the phenomenon described earlier, of the expansion of housing towards the exterior of the City area, towards the surrounding localities.

The main traits of the contemporary urban society

Cincinat Sfințescu was describing the *Esthetic Personality* of Bucharest as the overlapping of the characteristics of the terrain, of the buildings and of the population that form it as a total, complete organism (Sfințescu, 1932, 73). Throughout the previous two chapters, we described the urban personality of Bucharest from the architectural and urban perspective. It is essential to highlight the fact that this side of the *urban personality* – the architectural style – can only be analyzed through the temporal vector, as the urban personality of a city is a construct of all the architectural styles which crossed and influenced it at one certain moment, all together with the people that inhabit it and the conformation of the field on which it is situated.

Of all these three components – terrain, architectural style and inhabitants – the most constant feature is, without any doubt, the first one. It is the only one that cannot suffer complete and total changes and on which the interventions are more difficult and expensive. Despite that, the terrain of Bucharest has suffered some visible transformations over the years, most of them during the communist times. Among them, we can recall the systematization of the Dâmbovița River, a project which emerged at the end of the 19th century, and which was completed only at the

end of the communist period. A second example of the transformation of the field configuration of Bucharest is the total leveling of the *Arsenalului Hill*, an intervention which took place in order to build the Parliament House during the 1980s. These are some of the examples that contributed at the transformation of the *urban personality* of Bucharest, but interventions like these can be seen throughout the whole country.

It is also Sfințescu who theorizes that each city has its own personality, defined by its symbols (Sfințescu, 1932, 73), whether we speak of its architecture, people, art or other components.

The third component of the urban personality of a city, together with the architectural style and the terrain, is the population. In our opinion, this component is also one of the most flexible and subjective. It is the most sensitive component, subject of numerous external influences, coming from the political, environmental, economic, geographical, historical (and so on) factors. This component is, by far, the most complex of the three factors that form the urban personality, and is also a very dynamic factor. It determines and influences the other two which were earlier mentioned. While the historical factor is essential in order to form the present image of the physical component (the architectural style of a city), the same historical factor, for the third component – the population – is essential only for the determination and understanding of the present situation. Because of its continuous dynamism, the present *state of the population* could be completely different from what it was a century ago.

The Romanian case is even more subjective and more easily submitted to these changes, as this country is situated at the encounter of the Occident with the Orient. In the past it was the subject of confrontation of the great Eastern and Western powers, which could be easily seen at the social and physical levels. In the present times, given the great power that the Western countries gained over the East, Romania finds itself in the position of a limit, rather than a linking factor between two distinct elements.

The professor R. Baltasiu is accusing *four main directions* of the de-structuring of the contemporary society. These directions are: *the ruptures with our own history through the defiance of the local traditions; the individual finds himself lost to himself and to the group to which he would like to belong; the emergence of the “man in need” – the happiness of the individuals is conditioned only by the satisfaction of their personal desires; the individual is transformed into a statistical entity, with only two main abilities – he produces what the system request of him and he consumes only what the system allows him to* (Baltasiu, 2007, 407-209).

The peripheral position, which today Romania totally accepts and promotes for itself, was signaled during the past times, by C. D. Gherea (1910). He accuses the problems that emerge from the continuous desire of the Romanian people to *catch up* with the Occident. He says that by entering into direct relation with the Occidental society, by copying their advanced models, our way of life will be changed forever (Dobrogeanu-Gherea, 1910, 37). On the other hand, Manoilescu (1942) points out the fact that, by being obsessed with copying the Occidental models, especially the French ones, we forgot that our spirits are similar but not identical. This means, in Manoilescu's opinion, that it is absolutely necessary a spiritual adaptation of the model, if taken, to the Romanian society (Manoilescu, 2002 [1942], 232). Such spiritual adaptation was never done, taking us to what Zeletin was calling, *burning stages* (1925).

Baltasiu highlights that the contemporary Romanian society is *depending on the center*. The Romanian society represents the *periphery* and *the center* is represented by the Occidental societies. This leads to the re-structuring of the institutional organizations in accordance to the logic of the center and to the *mental dependence of the elites to the ideologies of the center*. The way of life of the Romanian society, especially the urban one, which finds itself connected to the global-urban-system, is characterized by the global tendencies, consisting of consumerism,

use of highly developed technology, high mobility and communication.

The city has changed and adapted its structure to the contemporary tendencies. What was initially a mono-nuclear urban organism, today it has grown into a multi-nuclear one. The peripheral areas of the city developed into new local centers, while the main leisure function is occupied by the *malls*. A study conducted at the beginning of 2014 showed that some of the largest malls of Bucharest are visited daily by approximately 300,000 people, have sales of approximately 3-4 million euros and that, statistically, each inhabitant of the capital visits a Mall once every 5-6 days (Cristi Moga, in ZF 24, 2014). Bucharest has today no less than 20 large commercial centers.

As opposed to the rural area, the city is founded on the principle of "*interests*", representing an accumulation of professions (Baltasiu, 2007, 376). In the era of de-industrialization, the main occupation of the inhabitants of the urban areas is specialized in services. INS announced that 42.7% of the total occupied population works in the services national economic activities, in 2014 (INS, 2015, 2), while only 28.9% of the occupied population works in the industry and construction activities, and 28.3%, in agriculture (INS, 2015, 2). INS also mentions that, in 2014, the percentage of the occupied population was at 61% of the total national population. The rapport doesn't present the information divided on rural and urban areas, but we can deduce that the services (42.7%), industry and construction (28.9%) activities are, most of them, concentrated in the cities, while the agricultural activities (28.3%), are concentrated in the rural areas.

According to the study conducted by INS, the Romanian population has diminished through negative natural increase, by 56,000 people, from 2002 to 2011. Romania is confronted with an aging process. In Bucharest, the population has decreased from 2002 to 2012 by 13%. In 2012, in Bucharest were living approximately 1,67 million people, in comparison with 2002,

when in Bucharest were living approximately 1,92 million people (Vârlan, 2012).

Presently, Romania is one of the poorest countries of the European Union. On the other hand, during the first few years after the fall of the Communism in Romania, the middle class was totally absent, says Deutsche Welle.

Caused by the poverty rate, INS shows that in 2012, more and more Romanians decided to leave their homeland, choosing to work in other European Countries, such as Spain (34%), Italy (46%), Germany (7%), Great Britain (4%), Ungaria (3%), other countries (6%) (Pele, 2014).

Conclusions

The urban personality, as it is presented through this article, is a sum of three layers: the natural, the built and the human component. All of them and each one alone contribute to the general image of what we call *the urban personality of a city*. We stress the fact that not only they overlap, but they also influence each other. The natural frame influences the architectural and human frame; the architectural frame influences the natural and human one; the human frame not only influences, but also has a power of decision over the natural and the architectural one. The three layers that form and define the *urban personality* are linked together, as a system, containing altogether, the distinctive elements that particularize a certain city, and in a way, a certain nation also.

As it was pointed out in this article, the urban personality of Bucharest is a complex fusion between the economic, architectural, urban, social and cultural factors. The elements that are specific to this geographic zone were added to the influences which came thanks to the Geo-strategic position of the city or its role as the capital of Romania. The 21st century, through its dynamism and increased mobility, has the capacity of rapidly changing the urban personalities of cities. Most of the cities, especially the very important ones, seek to define themselves through their dominant activities: important IT centers, important touristic centers,

important exchange or business centers, etc. There are, on the other hand, an increasingly large number of cities which fail to define their

personality, making them vulnerable and fragile in relation to the surrounding territory.

References

- Baltasiu, R. (2007) *Introducere în sociologie*. Craiova: Beladi.
- Calthorpe, P. (1989) *The Pedestrian Pocket*, in R. LeGates and F. Stout (ed.), (2000 second edition, first edition was published in 1996) *The City Reader*, New York: Routledge, 350-356.
- Dinulescu, H. (2013) *O dublă ipostază a tradiției. Arhitectura românească. De la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea până la jumătatea secolului XX*. București: Universitară Ion Mincu.
- Dobrogeanu-Gherea, C. (1910) *Neoiobăgia. Studiu economico-sociologic al problemei noastre agrare*. București: Librăriei SOCEC & Comp., Societate anonimă.
- Fischer, C. (1975) *The Study of Urban Community and Personality*, in *Annual Reviews, Annual Review of Sociology*, vol 1 (1975), 67-89. Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2946040>.
- Giurescu, C. C. (2009) [1966] *Istoria Bucureștilor*. București: Vremea.
- Giurescu, D. (2013) *Istoria României. Vol. X. România în anii 1948-1989*. București: Enciclopedică.
- Groys, B. (1990) *Staline, œuvres d'art totale*. Nîmes: Éditions Jacqueline Chambon.
- Iosa, I. (2006) *L'héritage urbain de Ceaușescu. fardeau ou saut en avant? Le centre civique de Bucarest*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Irimescu, C. (2006) *Proiecte, studii și realizări ale Universității de Arhitectură și Urbanism „Ion Mincu”-C.C.P.E.C. București: Universitară „Ion Mincu”*.
- Leahu, Gh. (1995) *Bucureștiul dispărut*. București: Arta Grafică.
- Manoilescu, M. (2002) [1942] *Rostul și destinul burgheziei românești*. București: Albatros.
- Ofrim, A. (2007) *Străzi vechi din Bucureștiul de azi*. București: Humanitas.
- Panaiteanu, A. (2012) *De la Casa Scânteii la Casa Poporului. Patru decenii de arhitectură în București 1945-1989*. București: Simeria.
- Sfințescu, C. (1932) *Estetica Bucureștiului*. București: Tipografie "Bucovina" E. I. Torouțiu.
- Țelea, V. (2005) *Arhitectura secolului 20*. București: Capitel.
- Uniunea Arhitecților din România (2006) *Concurs Internațional de Urbanism. București 2000*. București: Simeria.
- Wirth, L. (1938) *Urbanism as a Way of Life*, in R. LeGates and F. Stout (ed.), (2000 second edition, first edition was published in 1996), *The City Reader*, New York: Routledge, 97-105.
- Pele, A. (2014) *HARTA EMIGRAȚIEI. Câți români au plecat din țară în ultimii 25 de ani. TOPUL destinațiilor preferate*. Available at <http://www.gandul.info/financiar/harta-emigratiei-cati-romani-au-plecat-din-tara-in-ultimii-25-de-ani-topul-destinatiilor-preferate-12334771>. Accessed on April 21, 2015.
- Vârlan, C. (2012) *Recensământ 2012. Harta noii României*. Available at <http://www.gandul.info/stiri/recensamant-2012-harta-noii-romanii-9978083>. Accessed on April 05, 2016.
- Ianăși, L. and Alexandru, M. (2011) *Conceptul Strategic București 2035*. Available at http://issuu.com/almihai/docs/concept_strategic_bucuresti_2035. Accessed on November 18, 2014.
- INS (2015) *Ocuparea și șomajul în anul 2014 – rezultate principale*. Available at http://www.insse.ro/cms/files/statistici/comunicate/com_anuale/ocup-somaj/somaj_2014r.pdf. Accessed on April 21, 2015.
- Moga, C. (2014) *Topul celor mai vizitate centre comerciale din București, pe unde trec zilnic 300 000 de oameni*. Available at <http://www.zf.ro/zf-24/topul-celor-mai-vizitate-centre-comerciale-din-bucuresti-pe-unde-trec-zilnic-300-000-de-oameni-11968893>. Accessed on April 20, 2015.