European Spatial Research and Policy

Volume 22, No.2
2015

EUROPEAN SPATIAL RESEARCH and POLICY

© Copyright by Łódź University, Łódź 2015
Published by Łódź University Press
W.07076.15.0.C
Publisher's sheets 8,6; printing sheets 9,125

ISSN 1231-1952

Łódź University Press
90-131 Łódź, Lindleya 8
www.wydawnictwo.uni.lodz.pl
e-mail: ksiegarnia@uni.lodz.pl
tel. (42) 665 58 63

EUROPEAN SPATIAL RESEARCH AND POLICY

Volume 22 2015 Number 2

CONTENTS

PART I

PLANNING SYSTEMS FACING HERITAGE ISSUES IN EUROPE: FROM PROTECTION TO MANAGEMENT, IN THE PLURAL INTERPRETATION OF THE VALUES OF THE PAST (contd.)

Guest editor: Anna GEPPERT

INVITED ARTICLES

PART II

ARTICLE

EUROPEAN SPATIAL RESEARCH AND POLICY
Volume 22 2015 Number 2

PART I

PLANNING SYSTEMS FACING HERITAGE ISSUES IN EUROPE: FROM PROTECTION TO MANAGEMENT, IN THE PLURAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE VALUES OF THE PAST

Guest editor: Anna GEPPERT*

FOREWORD

The present issue of *European Spatial Research and Policy* is the second of two volumes dedicated to 'Planning systems facing heritage issues in Europe: from protection to management, in the plural interpretations of the values of the past'. The concept arose from a meeting held in June 2013 at the conference on 'Changing Cities' in Skiathos, Greece, where a group of planning academics decided to compare the evolution of the relation between heritage protection and spatial planning in a range of European countries.

In the last decades, the definition of and attitude to heritage have changed dramatically. The notion of heritage has been constantly broadening. Progressively, historic monuments and natural sites have been recognized as 'a living witness of age-old traditions' (Venice Charter, ICOMOS, 1964). From single objects, protection has enlarged to whole areas: urban ensembles, historic city centers, historic towns and urban areas (Washington Charter, ICOMOS, 1987), and historic urban landscapes (UNESCO, 2011). This spatial extension of the safeguarded areas made necessary the intervention of planning authorities alongside conservation officers. New planning instruments have been developed to tackle this challenge, conservation plans, buffer zones, etc. Today, the concept of safeguarding encompasses protection, conservation, enhancement, and management (Valletta Principles, ICOMOS, 2011b). This also means that different policies have to be coordinated, e.g. management plans and conservation plans, but also other policies, such as housing, transportation and mobility, economic development, etc.

* Anna GEPPERT, Université Paris-Sorbonne, Institut de Geographie, (9) Rue St Jacques, 75005 Paris, France, e-mail: anna.geppert@paris-sorbonne.fr.

In the course of time, more and more recent elements have become safeguarded. Industrial heritage has been addressed by a large number of projects and policies. In 2011, the ICOMOS tried to define a methodological framework for this heritage consisting of 'sites, structures, complexes, areas and landscapes as well as the related machinery, objects or documents' in the Dublin Principles (ICOMOS, 2011a). More recently the heritage from the modernistic period has captured attention, illustrated by the inscription of Brasilia on the UNECSO World Heritage List in 1987. As a matter of fact, most of this heritage requires adaptation to the evolution of the social and economic environment: new functions for factories which have lost their activity, responses to new life styles in residential areas, etc. The attitude towards heritage has become more and more comprehensive. The Leipzig Charter recognizes the historic dimension as a common value of European cities (Informal Council, 2007). Moreover, heritage is being considered a 'value for society', likely to build common identities (Faro Convention, Council of Europe, 2005).

Finally, the concept has expanded to include intangible heritage, understood as: 'the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage' (UNESCO, 2003). Hence, the recognition of the value of a place, bases its legitimacy on the views of the people and not only the opinion of experts (Florence Convention, Council of Europe, 2000). As a result, heritage policies have to become more participative. Heritage might even become 'a value for promoting peaceful and democratic societies' (ICOMOS, 2014).

As a consequence, heritage protection and management is no longer the sole responsibility of highly specialized State officials. Instead, it has become a competence shared by decision makers of various territorial levels, planning agencies, and the civil society. In most European Member States large parts of historic urban landscapes fall under the care of local governments. They become an element of urban planning and development policies. The integration of heritage issues in other territorial policies requires combining and balancing sometimes conflicting objectives and goals, in the specific setting of a place. While these evolutions take place in all European countries, they have reached different stages. Moreover, they do not follow a single trajectory, but appear as various responses to common drivers. The aim of our range of case studies is to shed light on these responses.

Our first question was whether the values underpinning the definition of, and approach to urban heritage were different from one country to another. Indeed, the growing recognition of heritage as common good is perceived in all our case studies. Not surprisingly, it is more developed in countries which have engaged earlier in heritage policies such as Italy, described by Bertrando Bonfantini or the United Kingdom, depicted by Carol Ludwig and Olivier Sykes. In other cases, the acceptation of the constraints imposed for heritage protection is more difficult,

as illustrated by the cases of post-industrial heritage in Łódź, analyzed by Iwona Pielesiak, or UNESCO sites in Greece, portrayed by Marilena Papageorgiou.

Another explanation lies in the level of wealth of societies, heritage remaining a luxury. This may change when heritage is perceived as a driver of economic development. International organisations foster such approaches (ICOMOS, 2011c; OECD, 2011). However, in many cases, even with ambitious narratives and goals like in Portuguese world heritage cities reported by Elisabete Cidre, implementation remains difficult. Finally, the level of trust in the public administration is another differentiating factor. Yet, perceptions are changing, and sometimes it is the perception of the general public that becomes the driver, as in the wealthy southern fringe of Warsaw analyzed by Adrianna Kupidura.

Our second question was whether the evolution of planning systems was leading to the emergence of institutional frameworks adequate to tackle the challenge of safeguarding heritage. Several European countries have been implementing reforms trying to integrate better heritage protection, spatial planning, and territorial development. Still our cases show a number of hiccups, suggesting that so far, the processes have not reached maturity. The ongoing crises, triggered by the acceleration of economic shortcomings and intensifying society changes (multiculturalism, migrations…) have opened a time of uncertainty, in which further research will be needed.

REFERENCES

COUNCIL OF EUROPE (2000), *European Landscape Convention*, adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 19 July 2000 and opened for signature by its Member States in Florence on 20 October 2000.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE (2005), 'The Faro Convention', *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*, adopted in Faro on 27 October 2005.

ICOMOS (1964), 'The Venice Charter', adopted by ICOMOS at the IInd International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, Venice 1964.

ICOMOS (1987), 'The Washington Charter', *Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas*, adopted by ICOMOS in 1987.

ICOMOS (2011a), 'The Dublin principles', *Joint ICOMOS – TICCIH Principles for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage Sites, Structures, Areas and Landscapes*, ICOMOS, 28 November 2011.

ICOMOS (2011b), *The Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas*, ICOMOS, 28 November 2011.

ICOMOS (2011c), 'The Paris Declaration on Heritage as a Driver of Development', ICOMOS, Paris, 1 December 2011.

ICOMOS (2014), 'The Florence Declaration on Heritage and Landscape as Human Values', *Declaration of the principles and recommendations on the value of cultural heritage and landscapes for promoting peaceful and democratic societies*, ICOMOS, Florence, 14 November 2014.

INFORMAL COUNCIL OF THE MINISTERS IN CHARGE OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN UNION (2007), *Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities*, adopted by the European ministers responsible for urban policy on 24 May 2007.

OECD (2011), *OECD Regional Outlook 2011, Building Resilient Regions for Stronger Economies*, OECD Publishing, 2011.

UNESCO (2003), *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, Paris, 17 October 2003.

UNESCO (2011), *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, 10 November 2011.

EUROPEAN SPATIAL RESEARCH AND POLICY

Volume 22 2015 Number 2

https://doi.org/10.1515/esrp-2015-0023

INVITED ARTICLES

Olivier SYKES[*], **Carol LUDWIG**[**]

DEFINING AND MANAGING THE HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE: REFLECTIONS ON THE ENGLISH EXPERIENCE AND SOME STORIES FROM LIVERPOOL

Abstract. The period since the 1960s has been characterised by growing societal concern with urban heritage protection and the development of legislative, fiscal and urban planning instruments that seek to ensure the protection and enhancement of historic buildings and environments. International organisations such as UNESCO and European level documents such as the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) have stressed the cultural and economic value of the 'wise management of natural and cultural heritage'. Since the 1970s many cities have sought to redefine and regenerate themselves through a revalorisation of their past and the protection and enhancement of their historic urban landscapes. Urban heritage has thus often come to be seen as a component of the territorial capital of places, and often had a symbiotic relationship with the objective of urban regeneration. However, urban heritage is not a static concept and ideas about what constitutes heritage, the value of different historic urban environments, and the contribution they can make to city development and regeneration continue to evolve. This paper reflects on this evolution in the context of the English planning system and illustrates some key trends and issues surrounding urban heritage through a consideration of recent and ongoing heritage related planning episodes in the northern English city of Liverpool.

Key words: heritage, conservation planning, conservation philosophy, Liverpool, historic urban landscape.

[*] Olivier SYKES, University of Liverpool, School of Environmental Sciences Gordon Stephenson Building, Department of Geography and Planning (Civic Design), L69 7ZQ, England, e-mail: olivier.sykes@liverpool.ac.uk

[**] Carol LUDWIG, University of Liverpool, School of Environmental Sciences Gordon Stephenson Building, Department of Geography and Planning (Civic Design), L69 7ZQ, England, e-mail: cludwig@liverpool.ac.uk

1. INTRODUCTION

Set within the context of wider international discourses on heritage matters, and influenced by recent European heritage agendas (CEC, 1999; Council of Europe, 2011), England has seen an infiltration of social and cultural concerns enter and subtly modify the normative heritage discourse. Consequently, the term 'heritage' as defined through English legislation, policy and guidance has undergone several periods of adjustment. The first section of this paper problematizes the concept from the English perspective, tracing its evolution and highlighting some broad trends in urban heritage management. In particular it exposes three key shifts:

– a renewed focus on understanding *significance* and heritage *values* – widening the scope from those confined to the grand, monumental objects of a settlement, to a more holistic heritage landscape which depicts the immaterial/intangible aspects of cultural heritage;

– a diversion away from expert-led authoritarian approaches towards more community-led endeavours which focus on democratisation and widening participation;

– a territorial shift of focus from issues of national importance and unity to notions of local distinctiveness and non-designated assets.

This paper reflects on such shifts and the planning challenges they pose and considers some recent and ongoing heritage related planning episodes in the northern English city of Liverpool to unravel some palpable implications for planning practice.

2. WHAT IS ENGLISH 'HERITAGE'?

Like many other European heritage systems, heritage conservation applied through the English planning system has traditionally been regarded as an elitist, white, middle-class activity enjoyed by a self-selecting, well-educated and artistically literate social group. Concerned with aesthetics, architectural quality and age, this art-historical emphasis can be traced back to the 19th. century, being prevalent in the writings of Ruskin (1989 [1890]) and Morris (1877), and famously contested within the criticisms developed by Samuel (1994) and Hewison (1987). The birth of the conservation ethic, associated with European nation-building and pride, paved the way for a set of deeply-embedded assumptions about the nature of English heritage. These assumptions were to become naturalised, shaping and moulding English legislation, policy and guidance for the historic built environment.

To understand the rise of these assumptions, appreciating the convergence of heritage with planning is essential. In England and Wales, the Town and Country Planning Acts of 1945 and 1947 were the first to marry the two by introducing

a duty to compile statutory lists of buildings. Such concerns had 19th century roots, (particularly in the 'Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings', SPAB) but the impetus was provided by the ubiquitous demolition and rebuilding schemes following the Second World War (Tait and While, 2009). The statutory list takes the form of an inventory, based around a hierarchy of 'listing' at Grade I (buildings of exceptional importance, around 2.5% of all listed buildings), Grade II* (particularly important buildings of more than special interest), or Grade II (buildings of special interest). The architectural or historic significance of the building(s) is the prime determinant of inclusion in the list. This significance is stringently protected through a legal requirement to obtain listed building consent alongside planning permission for any proposed works or alteration (see 'Principles of Selection', DCMS, 2010). Given the focus on 'the building(s)', particular emphasis is given to special methods of construction and/or aesthetic elements that lend them their special architectural character (Turnpenny, 2004). This approach to listing generally means that individual iconic buildings tend to be prioritised over more modest buildings (While, 2007, p. 658). Moreover, selection is most likely 'to favour the spectacular over the mundane, the large over the small, the beautiful over the ugly and the unusual over the commonplace' (Ashworth, 1997, p. 97). This traditional ideological representation of heritage provides limited space for alternative understandings of heritage which focus on subaltern/vernacular heritage and/or emotional content.

3. MOUNTING CRITICISMS OF ENGLISH 'HERITAGE'

Such practices of heritage conservation applied through the English planning system have however been fiercely criticised. They have been described as immutable and one-dimensional, centred on 'elite/consensus history, nationalism, monumentality, tangibility, age and aesthetics' (Smith, 2006, p. 11). Scholars argue that this *authorised* heritage discourse (AHD) privileges the grand, material aspects of heritage value, whilst simultaneously excluding all conflicted or non-core accounts of heritage (Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2010). Indeed, there have been mounting criticisms that Western heritage is imagined as being inherently locked within the physical fabric of built forms (Byrne, 1991; Graham, 2002) and that instead, heritage should be understood 'within the discourses we construct about it' (Smith, 2006, p. 11). Smith goes on to state that there is, 'no such thing as heritage', arguing that the subject of our heritage 'gaze' (Urry, 1990), is, 'not so much a "thing" as a set of values and meanings' (Smith, 2006, p. 11). Within this critical context, it is possible to observe some key changes over the past few decades which have repositioned how heritage is considered through the English planning system today. Such adjustments provide the foundation for current approaches to plural interpretations of the values of the past.

4. WIDENING OF THE NORMATIVE HERITAGE DISCOURSE

In line with a widespread strengthening of local voices in planning in the 1960s, came a gradual expansion in the focus of conservation concerns (from 'objects' of a settlement, to cities, landscapes, gardens and human communities). Indeed, in England it was the 1967 Civic Amenities Act that for the first time enabled local authorities to designate Conservation Areas (Smith, 1969). Whilst the familiar notions of 'architectural' and 'historic interest' are still prevalent (for example in Section 69 of the Planning [Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas] Act 1990), there is a clear evolution in thinking around legacy, value and conceptualisations of heritage. As conservation areas are designated by local planning authorities, rather than central government, the introduction of the conservation 'area' enabled conservation thought and practice to expand and turn towards the notion of local distinctiveness. Local factors, such as a commitment to the preservation of local historic character and/or the industrial heritage, were suddenly important factors of conservation. Moreover, social concerns began to infiltrate the discursive arena. Heritage was deemed important to both 'individual and community identity' and linked to 'psychological well-being' (Pendlebury, 2009, p. 168). This wider understanding of heritage filtered into official guidance (DoE, 1973), which introduced a desire to protect 'the familiar and cherished local scene' (Pendlebury, 2009, p. 169). By the mid-1990s recognising the, 'anonymous familiar' (Pendlebury, 2009, p. 137) was increasingly popular, with according to Larkham (1999), the fastest growing type of conservation area designation being the residential suburb (*ibid*). Whilst various critics claimed that such unbounded conservation area designation systems were in fact, 'debasing the coinage' (Morton, 1991, quoted in Pendlebury 2009, p. 172), the focus was shifted to the transparency and operations of the heritage system, how special interest is defined, and whose opinions matter.

5. A NEW CONSERVATION PHILOSOPHY FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

Under the banner of Heritage Protection Review (HPR) the beginning of the 21st century marked a seminal period in the development of public policy for the historic environment and an apparent drive towards the democratisation of heritage. This idea, exemplified by the publication 'Power of Place' (English Heritage, 2000), and underpinned by the policies and resources of the Heritage Lottery Fund,[1] gained support as part of a wider political narrative of inclusivity. 'Power

[1] The Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) has been supporting heritage in the UK since 1994 and currently has around £375 million to disburse every year raised from the UK National Lottery (see: http://www.hlf.org.uk/).

of Place' was in fact the first publication to actively promote democratic participation in the field of conservation (English Heritage, 2000, p. 23) and made a passionate case for the historic environment not to be, 'confined to some rarefied antiquarian realm but to be recognised as being in fact all around us' (Cowell, 2004, p. 28). At the heart of this publication was the acknowledgement of two basic notions. The first was that the past, present and future cannot be separated, but form an inextricably linked continuum. The business of conservation is thus not about preserving historically significant places on their own, frozen at some particular time, but allowing them to coexist in sustainable harmony with an ever-changing present. The second notion was that historic places do not have just one immutable value, but many overlapping values that reflect differing viewpoints. These are liable to evolve along with changes in people's own perceptions and interests (English Heritage, 2000).

Meanwhile 'The Historic Environment: A Force for Our Future' (DCMS, 2001), informed by 'Power of Place' emphasised the importance of taking account of this wider understanding of heritage, stating that 'heritage':

> […] is about more than bricks and mortar. It embraces the landscape as a whole, both urban and rural, and the marine archaeology sites around our shores. It shows us how our own forebears lived. It embodies the history of all the communities who have made their home in this country. It is part of the wider public realm in which we can all participate (DCMS, 2001, p. 4).

The document explicitly makes reference to the, 'gradual widening of the definition of what people regard as their heritage' (DCMS, 2001, p. 8, 7) and draws on examples of this wider definition in practice, such as the National Trust's purchase of Paul McCartney's childhood home in Liverpool, the investment in urban parks and gardens and the preservation of back-to-back housing in Birmingham and Manchester (DCMS, 2001). Furthermore, the publication recognises the use of 'heritage' as a tool to engage communities and foster collaborative and inclusive planning processes that can, 'bring communities together in a shared sense of belonging' (DCMS, 2001, p. 4).

These trends clearly fit in as part of a more international agenda, demonstrated inter alia by the Council of Europe's Faro Convention (2005). This discursive repositioning however required more explicit guidance to understand how such shifting concepts can be understood and managed in planning practice. The response to this was a publication entitled 'Conservation Principles' which focused on understanding 'significance' and devising a method for thinking systematically and consistently about the heritage 'values' that can be ascribed to places.

6. CONSERVATION PRINCIPLES IN PLANNING

'Conservation Principles' (English Heritage, 2008a) sets out six high-level principles to assist conservation planning and the idea of 'significance' lies at their core. In this publication, 'significance' is described as a collective term for the sum of all the heritage values attached to a place, be it a building, an archaeological site or a larger historic area such as a whole village or landscape (English Heritage, 2008a). It categorises these into four heritage values: evidential, historic, aesthetic and communal. Whilst the traditional notions of conservation are clearly still relevant within these categories, the notion of 'communal value' reflects the more intangible aspects of 'heritage' which relate to meanings, experiences and collective memories. Whilst non-statutory, 'Conservation Principles' represents a much more flexible interpretation of what constitutes acceptable conservation practice, far beyond the traditional exclusive emphasis on material fabric and statutory designated buildings and structures (Pendlebury, 2013). In particular, it emphasises the value of non-designated heritage assets in spatial planning decision-making.

7. NON-DESIGNATED HERITAGE ASSETS

The importance of non-designated heritage assets is further highlighted in national planning policy for the historic environment (Planning Policy Statement 5 – 'PPS5') (Communities and Local Government, 2010)[2]. PPS5 gave considerably more weight to non-designated heritage assets than ever before and took a more holistic view of the built environment. For the first time, national planning policy drew explicit attention to *local* heritage and particularly to non-statutory local heritage designation (Local Listing). The supporting Local List Best Practice Guidance (published in 2012) was the first ever of its kind. It stated upfront that non-designated, non-exceptional heritage plays, 'an essential role in building and reinforcing a sense of local identity and distinctiveness' (English Heritage, 2012, p. 5). The Guide offers a selection of local decision-making criteria designed to capture and recognise the cultural heritage continuum. One of the local criteria relates to the asset's social and communal value. It defines this as:

> Relating to places perceived as a source of local identity, distinctiveness, social interaction and coherence; often residing in intangible aspects of heritage contributing to the 'collective memory' of a place.

[2] PPS5 was superseded by the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) (DCLG, 2010) in 2012.

This clearly represents a stated desire to broaden the spectrum of eligible, accepted, and legitimate heritage values at the local level; however various scholars claim that such non-statutory statements are merely window-dressing, operating purely at the level of rhetoric (Waterton, 2010).

8. HERITAGE (RE)BRANDING

Such apparent discursive shifts in the heritage discourse are indeed not unusual. The mutability of the normative heritage discourse can also be observed in a plethora of other ways, such as the way in which heritage conservation is publically portrayed by the state and their advisors for the historic environment, English Heritage. Depending on societal contexts and external pressures, the 'historic environment' has been (re)branded, presented as not only compatible, but even interdependent with organic sustainable growth. For example, conservation was promoted as an enabler of change and complementary to regeneration (English Heritage, 1998; 2004; 2006a; 2007; 2008b), essential for economic growth (English Heritage, 1999; 2002; 2005a); the source of social and economic instrumental benefits (DoE, 1987; DoE and Department of National Heritage (DNH), 1994; English Heritage, 2005b; 2008a) and more recently as symbiotic to concurrent goals related to sustainability, energy efficiency, renewable energy and wider climate change agendas (English Heritage, 2006b; 2008c, d, e; 2011b). It is however important to make a clear distinction between a subtle repositioning of the rhetoric around the value of conservation, and deeper transformations of the underlying assumptions guiding conservation planning. Indeed, despite the above adjustments, tensions continue to exist between heritage conservation and development in England, and the former has undoubtedly continued to privilege the material fabric of buildings and structures (Ludwig, 2013). In terms of statutory protection, the set of assumptions underpinning the traditional AHD have largely remained, albeit in a more flexible guise within an evolving framework (Hudson and James, 2007; Pendlebury, 2013). As such the above evolution of the concept has done little to radically transform the way in which heritage is formally (statutorily) protected and the continued evolution of the concept internationally poses increasing challenges for the English planning system.

9. CURRENT CHALLENGES FOR PLANNING

Such contemporary challenges primarily relate to the incessant development of the term at the international level and the consequent ambiguity and uncertainty this entails. Indeed, as a consequence of the mounting renegotiations on

the European stage, the notion of 'social' heritage is gathering increasing momentum in English conservation practice. It has been explicitly drawn into the conservation planning arena, held together by a discourse pertaining to human development, the exercising of basic human rights, and humanitarian concerns. Such discourse (re)frames heritage within the context of national unity, immigration, and plural societies, as well as paradigms of participation, cultural diversity and democratisation. For instance, at the European scale, there are increasing links being made between heritage and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Council of Europe, 2011). Of course, various scholars have for some years drawn attention to the complex links between 'heritage', 'identity' and 'belonging' (Dicks, 2000; Harrison, 2010) and noted – that the identification, acknowledgement and protection of 'heritage' is for some an important human need. These complexities must be further contextualised by the fact that there are an increasing number of local communities which now have an acknowledged and explicit *unconsensual* view about what heritage is, how and when it is created and to whom it belongs.

Such contemporary challenges must also be framed in the light of the UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (2011) and the explicit acknowledgement of non-exceptional landscapes which nevertheless are representative of collective memories and identities. Indeed, heritage is now generally understood to be a socially constructed, multi-valued and multi-layered concept, far broader and more inclusive than ever previously acknowledged. This discursive shift is accompanied by much confusion and dissonance, making practical application in rational planning environments a challenge (Ludwig, 2013). Indeed, the perceived subjectivity of the more intangible aspects of heritage value are generally deemed difficult to manage and operationalise and perceived to be largely indefensible through the English planning appeal system (*ibid*). Despite these difficulties, lessons from the Vienna Memorandum (2005) and from UNESCO's decision to revoke Dresden's (Germany) World Heritage status (2009), imply that a World Heritage city like Liverpool must swiftly come to terms with such new thinking; understanding and wisely managing all of the diverse heritage assets which contribute to its territorial capital, whilst simultaneously delivering its urban regeneration ambitions.

10. DEFINING AND MANAGING HERITAGE IN LIVERPOOL

Liverpool is a place that has experienced dramatic patterns of growth, decline and renewal over the past 200 years (Sykes *et al*., 2013). The city has a rich legacy of historic buildings and urban environments reflecting the wealth generated

by the port and rapid urban expansion from the 18th century until the inter-war years of the 20th century (Hughes, 1964; Sharples and Stonard, 2008). The universal importance of Liverpool's built heritage and historical role was recognised in 2004 by the designation of the UNESCO Maritime Mercantile City World Heritage Site (WHS) which covers significant portions of the city's docklands and city centre (Liverpool City Council, 2009) (Fig. 1). Liverpool is also a city where major change of the built environment has always occurred with some particularly significant changes taking place since the mid-20th century as a result of economic restructuring and its impacts on land use, and planned intervention through different phases of urban renewal (Brown, 2009). The growing societal concern with heritage protection since the 1960s and development of policy instruments that sought to ensure the protection and enhancement of historic buildings and environments was strongly represented in Liverpool (City Centre Planning Group, 1965; Massey, 2014). The 1970s were marked by changes in the approach to urban renewal with, for example, a gradual shift from mass demolition of areas of terraced housing towards refurbishment (Couch, 2003). Action by campaign groups like SAVE Britain's Heritage and the Merseyside Civic Society also served to highlight the parlous condition of the city's built heritage assets and save key assets like the Albert Dock complex (Powell and SAVE, 1984) (Fig. 2). As the city struggled economically from the 1970s onwards, the orientation of its regeneration increasingly reflected Pendlebury and Strange's (2011, p. 383) wider observations that:

> Over the course of the 1980s and 1990s conservation planning practice began to embrace and promote the idea of the historic environment as an asset to be used and adapted for economic gain.

And:

> […] as local authorities became tuned to culture as an instrument of urban renewal, the historic environment became a vital resource for some cities in the regeneration process, whether it be "jewel cities"[3] or edge of centre locations in bigger industrial cities.

Pendlebury and Strange (2011, p. 375) also allude to the significance of Liverpool within this widertrend, noting that:

> The most high-profile and exemplar scheme of this combining of conservation with regeneration was the adoption by the Merseyside Development Corporation of the Albert Dock, a large complex of Grade I listed warehouses, as its flagship scheme. (Pendlebury and Strange, 2011, p. 375).

[3] Places traditionally seen as heritage centres such as York or Chester (see Pendlebury and Strange, 2011, p. 371–375).

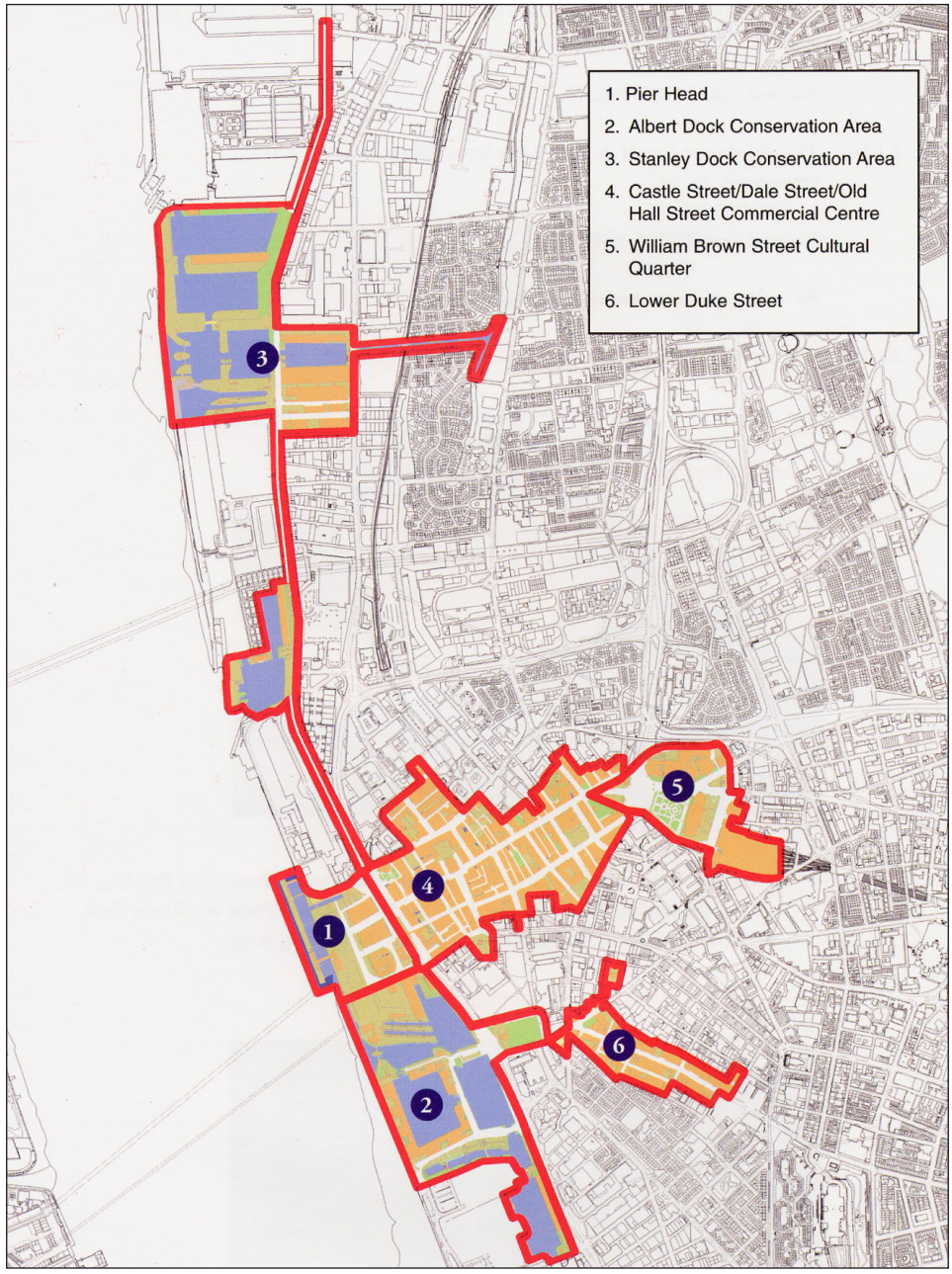

Fig. 1. Liverpool, Maritime Mercantile City World Heritage Site
Source: Liverpool City Council

Fig. 2. The Restored Albert Dock, Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City World Heritage Site
Source: © Matthew Cocks (2012)

In many ways Liverpool can thus be seen as an archetype of a post-industrial city which has sought to reinvent itself through the valorization of its heritage and cultural assets; an impression reinforced by its successful bid to become European Capital of Culture 2008 (Garcia *et al.*, 2010). An expansive view of heritage has been adopted by many policy makers which incorporates not just the tangible artifacts and built heritage of the city but also its diverse artistic, musical, sporting and community cultures. Yet as in many places, the relationship between regeneration and heritage has sometimes been problematic as well as symbiotic. The following accounts of two heritage-related 'planning episodes' (Healey, 2004) explore some of the issues which have been encountered around this relationship.

10.1. Liverpool Waters

In 2004, Peel Holdings, a major regional property developer acquired the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company, and large areas of derelict and underused waterfront land. In Liverpool the company subsequently proposed the £5.5 billion 'Liverpool Waters' dockland redevelopment scheme (www.liverpoolwaters.co.uk) (Fig. 3), for which outline planning consent was granted in 2012 by the local planning authority Liverpool City Council.

Fig. 3. Images of the proposed 'Liverpool Waters' development
Source: © http://www.liverpoolwaters.co.uk/

The proposals are part of a wider vision for a development corridor between Liverpool and Manchester known as the Atlantic Gateway in which the company owns many assets. In 2013 the UK government confirmed that it would not 'call-in' the Liverpool Waters application for scrutiny at the national level, leaving de-

cision-making to the local level. Liverpool Waters and a similar scheme on the other side of the river Mersey called 'Wirral Waters' are planned to unfold over a period of 30–40 years and are envisaged as mixed use developments providing some 25,000 new homes and over 40,000 new jobs. The scale, density, height and design of many of the buildings in the initial Liverpool Waters plans caused local and international concern with regards to the impact that the proposed new skyline would have on Liverpool's waterfront, the WHS, and local heritage (Jones, 2014). English Heritage formally objected to the outline planning permission and in 2012 UNESCO added the Maritime Mercantile City to the list of endangered World Heritage Sites arguing that the Liverpool Waters proposals "will extend the city centre significantly and alter the skyline and profile of the site inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2004" and "that the redevelopment scheme will fragment and isolate the different dock areas visually" (Johnson, 2012; UNESCO World Heritage Committee, 2012). The issue of the relative importance of WHS status and the Liverpool Waters scheme to the city soon became politicised. The elected Labour Party Mayor of Liverpool Joe Anderson was quoted in the local press as saying that: "Turning Peel Holdings (the developer) away doesn't say to the world that Liverpool is a thriving modern city. It says we're a city that is stuck in the past" (Liverpool Echo, 2012). He also contrasted his view with that of the local opposition Liberal Democrat Party who he claimed: "would turn away 20,000 jobs and £5bn of regeneration, all for the sake of a certificate on the wall in the Town Hall" (Liverpool Echo, 2012). The Liberal Democrat leader argued in contrast that WHS status was "already paying off" with "hard evidence to show a lot of people come to the city because we have World Heritage Status", adding that "Tourism is one of our biggest industries and is bringing in cash now" whereas "Liverpool Waters is only a project with no guarantee of it proceeding" (Liverpool Echo, 2012).

The debate surrounding the Liverpool Waters scheme is striking in that it showcases a changing relationship between heritage and regeneration. Whilst heritage became a 'close friend' to the city when other sources of support, identity and image improvement were scarce, now the city is seen by many as having been reconnected to the economic mainstream and in a sense 'normalised', some policymakers and politicians perhaps perceive things like international heritage designations as something nice to have but no longer essential (just 'a certificate on the wall'). Yet the loss of UNESCO World Heritage Status would surely be a major and embarrassing blow to a city that has sought to reinvent itself around heritage and culture and used these attributes as levers in developing its visitor economy. Public statements by decision-makers which seem to posit an intrinsically antagonistic relationship between heritage protection and economic development, may also be counterproductive, not least as they might actually represent an oversimplified interpretation of the 'developer's view'. Perhaps this is beginning to be slowly recognised by major players in the city who have recently tried to present a more positive message in relation to the WHS and publically

recognise the benefits it brings to the city. A new book, celebrating Liverpool's WHS has recently been published with support from key local private and public sector organisations including Peel Holdings (Liverpool Waters, 2014). This private sector involvement raises interesting questions about the relationship between the UNESCO brand, regeneration and property-led investment.

10.2. The 'Welsh Streets'

As well as being the site of emblematic examples of heritage being employed as a component of wider regeneration strategies, Liverpool also reflects the trend of:

> […] heritage being utilised within regeneration schemes but, on the other hand, non-protected heritage being effaced and the wider character of the city being comprised. (Pendlebury and Strange, 2011, p. 379 [citing Booth, 2010 and Holyoak, 2010]).

Indeed in built environment terms 'an irony of Liverpool's recent regeneration narrative is that, whilst official literature and place marketing vaunt the distinctiveness of Liverpool's built heritage, many of the city's well designed inner suburbs continued to be subject to decay and removal in the name of regeneration' (Sykes *et al.*, 2013, p. 314). During the 2000s a major national programme called 'Housing Market Renewal' (HMR) was established with generous funding to 'renew' what were controversially deemed to be 'failing' housing markets in a number of areas (Nevin and Lee, 2003). The initiative focused largely on inner urban areas and combined demolition and rebuilding (usually at lower densities) with renovation of existing properties. In all £2.2 billion was spent by the initiative across nine areas of the English north and midlands (Finlay and Brown, 2011). In Merseyside, the programme covered Liverpool and the neighbouring areas of Wirral and Sefton. During the life of the initiative £333 million was spent on targeted intervention in local housing markets. The emptying and demolition of properties as part of this proved controversial and as in some other places in the north and midlands of England covered by the HMR initiative, there was strong resistance to clearance proposals from local residents and heritage groups (Allen, 2008; Allen and Crookes, 2009; Brown, 2005; Hines, 2010). In 2011 the programme was terminated half way through by a new national government leaving large areas of cleared land with no immediate prospects for redevelopment, something which campaigners against demolition had feared. A 'transition fund' was provided for the worst affected areas, but in Liverpool even this was earmarked for more demolition (Waddington, 2012). One of the most well-known cases of an area affected by the 'HMR' initiative is the so-called 'Welsh Streets' area in the southern part of inner Liverpool. This covers 8.45 hectares, less than a mile from the centre of Liverpool and close to Joseph Paxton's Grade II* registered Princes Park (1840). It consists of a grid of streets of terraced housing built in the 1870s, laid out and designed by the Welsh

architect Richard Owens and constructed by Welsh builders (Carr, 2014) (Fig. 4). The area also contains the house in which the Beatles drummer Richard Starkey (Ringo Starr) was born in Madryn Street which is a stopping point for many tourist tours (Fig. 5).

Fig. 4. Aerial View of part of the Welsh Streets Area, Liverpool
Source: SAVE (2014: 1)

Fig. 5. Tourists Visiting the House where Richard Starkey ('Ringo Starr') was born in 1940
Source: © www.sharethecity.org

The area has been designated for extensive demolition and redevelopment for over ten years with current proposals proposing the demolition of more than 400 Victorian terraced homes. Interestingly such extensive demolition was proposed though initial evidence showed that the unfitness level of properties in the Welsh Streets was 7%; the unfitness level in the adjacent Princes/Devonshire Road refurbishment area was 24%; that the Liverpool City average unfitness level was 8.6%; and, that the national average was 4% (Liverpool City Council, 2005, pp. 2–3). The clearance area thus had a level of unfitness that was *below* the city average and *significantly below* that of other adjoining areas to be retained (which have Conservation Area status). Based on data drawn from Liverpool City Council's own Neighbourhood Renewal Assessments, SAVE Britain's Heritage also note that 'The majority of the Welsh Streets were still inhabited until at least 2007, with high levels of resident satisfaction and low levels of property unfitness' (SAVE, 2014, p. 18) (Fig. 6). The Planning Inspector who presided over a Public Inquiry into the scheme in 2014 also concluded that 'There is *no doubt* that the 2005 designation of the area for demolition *contributed to the decline* of the Welsh Streets' (Thorby, 2014, p. 38: added *emphases*). Yet she argued too that the environmental, social and economic benefits of the proposed scheme "should be seen in the light of the existing very bleak environment of the Welsh Streets, which blights the whole area and is, and has been for many years, very damaging to the local area (Thorby, 2014, p. 46)[4].

Fig. 6. Occupied housing in Voelas Street, Welsh Streets, in 2006
Source: SAVE (2014: 22)

[4] If designation of the area for demolition undoubtedly contributed to the area's decline this might be seen as rather meekly resigning oneself to the dynamic of the self-fulfilling prophesy!

The Inspector finally recommended that planning permission be granted for the proposals concluding that 'The Welsh Streets are of low significance as non designated heritage assets, and their loss would be outweighed by the substantial benefits' and that though the setting of 'listed buildings would not be preserved, the adverse effects would be less than substantial and of a low order, and would be outweighed by the public benefits' (Thorby, 2014, p. 47). In January 2015 the Secretary of State (SoS) for Communities and Local Government rejected the Inspector's recommendation making clear 'his preference is for the refurbishment and upgrade of existing properties over demolition' (Sell, 2015). The SoS concluded that the scheme's benefits would not outweigh the harm to the area, including damage to heritage assets. Though the house where Ringo Starr was born was to have been saved after an earlier concession by the scheme's promoters, the SoS agreed with SAVE Britain's Heritage and the National Trust that 'the demolition of much of the rest of Madryn Street would significantly harm the ability to understand and appreciate this part of Liverpool's Beatles heritage' (DCLG, 2015, p. 3). He also felt that 'the design of the proposal is poor and fails to respond to local character, history and distinctiveness' (DCLG, 2015, p. 5). In terms of the benefits of the scheme, the SoS recognised that it 'would provide some benefits in terms of widening the choice of housing types, including accessible homes and the larger family housing which is in demand in Liverpool' (DCLG, 2015, p. 7), but was not persuaded that 'all forms of market testing and options involving more refurbishment have been exhausted' and he considers that 'potential schemes that incorporate more refurbishment would also achieve most of the benefits' (DCLG, 2015, p. 6).

As the Welsh Streets are non-designated heritage the case has been seen as having implications for how heritage value is assessed by decision-makers. The SoS noted, for example, that he attached:

> […] substantial weight to the harm the proposed development would cause to the significance of the Welsh Streets as a non designated heritage asset, and considerable importance and weight to the harm to the setting of the Princes Park conservation area and to the harm to the setting of listed buildings within it along Devonshire Road, which would not be preserved (DCLG, 2015, p. 8).

Reflecting on the decision Mascall (cited in Sell, 2015) notes that: 'You have to be aware that heritage can be much greater than the designated places and understand that the value that local communities may put on their buildings is regarded as increasingly important', whilst Seddon (cited in Sell, 2015) notes that the decision 'recognises that the inherited character of an area and the significance of all heritage assets need to be understood and can be worked with to help successful regeneration and good placemaking'.

As well as its significance for professional and policy interpretations of heritage and its management, the area has been notable for the extent to which different views of the proposals and the importance of heritage have been held by different sections of the local community, with an officially constituted residents

group backing the clearance and redevelopment proposals and an independent group campaigning for more properties to be retained and refurbished. The latter group has also sought to proactively develop alternative plans in a contemporary echo of Davidoff's (1965) plural planning model.

The case also clearly illustrates the contested nature of processes of heritage protection. In debates around the proposals, supporters of demolition have often argued that those who wish to preserve the existing houses are 'outsiders' who do not live in the area but are bringing their definitions and values about heritage to bear upon it. The anger at outside interference is also echoed by some politicians including the city's mayor who following the 2014 Public Inquiry, was quoted as saying the SoS's decision not to accept the Inspector's recommendation to grant planning permission for the demolition and rebuilding of the area was 'absolutely appalling and smacks of the very worst type of political interference from Whitehall'[5] (Murphy, 2015a). Invoking the legitimacy of 'proximity to the territory' he also called on the SoS to 'see for himself the state of the Welsh Streets' (Murphy, 2015b). Some residents supporting the official plans have also sought to effectively 'other' local residents who have opposed demolition and called for more refurbishment, arguing for example, in a letter to a national newspaper that 'A small, but vocal, minority of residents said that they wished to protect their "lovely Victorian homes" – but very few of them are long-standing residents or indeed Liverpool born' (Guardian Newspaper, 24/11/05).[6] There is thus contestation surrounding whose 'story' is most legitimate and a divisive narrative of 'insiders' versus 'interfering outsiders' has developed (Fig. 7).

The case of the Welsh Streets and the other controversial demolitions proposed by the HMR initiative are also significant because of how they exposed different views and definitions of what constitutes valued heritage in the built environment. In particular they revealed the vastly different representations which are associated with the traditional English terraced house – the domestic vernacular of the English industrial city. Regardless of the *physical* condition of individual examples, or ensembles, of such properties they were often represented in cases for demolition as being over-abundant in supply and/or intrinsically ill-suited to meeting contemporary housing needs and aspirations. In the words of some heritage campaigners 'The classic English terraced house was demonised as "obsolete"' and 'Whole neighbourhoods were declared surplus

[5] 'Whitehall' is shorthand for central government in colloquial English.

[6] Faced with a difficult and at times hostile context local residents who have resisted the demolition proposals have sought out coverage in the national and international media and solicited support from campaign groups like SAVE Britain's Heritage. As a result they managed to secure concessions in terms of slightly less demolition including the retention of some of their own homes, Ringo Starr's birthplace and part of Madryn Street on which it stands. In light of these and after enduring a decade of delay and decay the main anti-demolition group did not object to the revised plans for the area in 2014, though at the Public Inquiry they still presented alternative 'less demolition' options.

at the keystroke of a consultant's lap-top' (Brown, 2011, p. 1). Local residents' and heritage campaigners' representations by contrast presented such houses as being presently adequate, or potentially adaptable, to meeting ongoing housing needs and aspirations, and as being important witnesses to key moments in Britain's evolution into the first industrial state.

Fig. 7. Heritage Becomes Politicised: the (then) future UK Prime Minister visits the Welsh Streets in 2006

Source: SAVE (2014, p. 16)

11. CONCLUSION

There has been a general widening of the definition of heritage in England which is in-keeping with more general international and European developments. Heritage has thus been interpreted and reinterpreted in an evolving process. Protection and conservation of heritage has evolved from a concern with specific sites and structures whose value was determined by experts often in relation to national significance and foundational stories (Sandercock, 2003) to encompass wider urban ensembles and landscapes whose value is determined through a more open and diverse definitional process, more receptive to attributing value and significance to sites, structures and places associated with everyday life,

regional, local and distinct/minority cultures and groups. Whether shifts in conceptualisations 'in theory' and a number of non-statutory government publications have always been reflected as strongly in conservation and heritage management in practice is perhaps less certain.

Since the 1970s, heritage also came to assume an important role in urban policy and has been seen as a key component of wider strategies for renewal with a value that goes beyond its own intrinsic, symbolic, societal and cultural significance. The 'partnership' of regeneration, heritage, and culture-led regeneration which emerged strongly in the 1980s and 1990s reflected this. Physical, economic, social and environmental regeneration has thus often involved interest and/or intervention in and valorisation of the historic fabric of cities. As Holmberg (2001, p. 57) notes: '"Regeneration" has often entailed an interest in the cultural and historic dimension of the urban landscape'. Regeneration discourse has also frequently sought to promote and (re)present urban places using markers such as 'heritage', 'creative' or 'cultural', often in an attempt to reposition and reimage/rebrand cities previously synonymous with urban decline.

Yet there have also been critiques of the 'heritage lobby' and 'heritage industry'. For some commentators, the 'Heritage Industry' contributes to commodification of places, a death of authenticity, and museumification (Debary, 2004), whilst for others the 'Heritage Lobby' and conservation legislation can act as impediments to growth and/or the realisation of necessary interventions in the physical and social fabric of cities. Pendlebury and Strange (2011, p. 385) have even talked of a certain marginalisation process, noting that though the importance of the conservation of the historic environment to regeneration was widely recognised in the 1980s and 1990s, since the 2000s conservation of the historic environment has not been as central to the 'discourse of urban regeneration/renaissance' and 'place making' and did not move quickly to demonstrate its relevance to the sustainability agenda, notably as regards social inclusion and the promotion of a lower carbon society.

The experience of Liverpool reflects the wider trends outlined above providing both an 'extreme' and 'typical' case (Denscombe, 2007, p. 40) of regeneration and conservation. The city has been a site of both regeneration policy experimentation and conservation challenges/successes, characterised by emblematic conservation battles but also by the promotion of heritage and culture as strategic policy options (Phelps *et al*., 2001). Following the severe economic crisis of the 1970s the city sought to valorise. Heritage and culture as a means of developing its visitor economy. A wide definition of heritage has been adopted as reflected in representations of the city and the narration of its history in settings such as the city's museums and cultural events. The two controversial planning episodes discussed above relate to vastly different scales and types of development but both illustrate wider issues about definitions of heritage and historical significance; the ownership of the right to name things as heritage;

the protection afforded to designated and non-designated heritage assets; and, the balance between heritage protection and urban economic and social needs and transformation. The Liverpool Waters case relates to heritage assets protected by an international designation whereas the Welsh Streets case concerns non-designated heritage.[7] Both arguably reflect the apparent marginalisation of conservation in the face of economic and social agendas noted by Pendlebury and Strange (2011). Yet they might also be seen as reflective of other emerging tendencies in heritage protection and management. In the Welsh Streets a low carbon and sustainability agenda came to align with the arguments of heritage campaigners, with both being represented by proponents of the scheme as standing in the way of social and economic objectives.

In terms of processes, players, winners and losers, and conflicts related to heritage policies Liverpool therefore offers an instructive case. Public, private and civil society groups and citizens have been engaged in processes that associate heritage policies and regeneration for many decades. There has been major contestation around heritage policies including around 'classic' issues of 'whose' heritage is being protected, for 'whom' and what purposes. An 'insider – outsider' narrative has developed around many controversial episodes of heritage-related planning and development. The term 'heritage lobby' has entered the lexicon of some politicians, policymakers and residents to suggest that assemblages of 'outsiders', be they national (or indeed local) heritage groups, Beatles fans (in the case of the Welsh Streets), or ICOMOS delegations (in the case of Liverpool Waters) are seeking to impose their values and interpretations of heritage on the city. Questions of who defines what should be protected and who gains and who benefits from heritage protection thus course through many public debates on heritage in Liverpool. Controversies such as the Liverpool Waters scheme and the Welsh Streets have even become 'party politicised' at times. For example, the roles of the national Conservative-Liberal Coalition Government and the stand of the local Green Party against demolition in the Welsh streets were mentioned in campaign material from a Labour Party candidate in the 2015 general election.

The Liverpool case also illustrates the impacts of heritage policies on the city and in particular on public space. The overall influence of heritage policies on the spaces of the city has been mixed. Over the decades more and more areas of the city have received Conservation Area status and this has offered greater protection to some places. There were some very significant conservation battles from the 1970s onwards which resulted in notable successes and positive transformations; the saving and restoration of the Albert Dock being of crucial, even existential,

[7] With the case becoming a test of the extent to which non-designated assets are now protected following the Secretary of State's decision to attach 'substantial weight to the harm the proposed development would cause to the significance of the Welsh Streets as a non designated heritage asset' (DCLG, 2015, p. 8).

significance to the city. The city is ostensibly proud of its high number of listed buildings, a fact frequently cited in promotional material, but the protection even this status offers is mixed with some significant buildings having been lost or being under threat. The HMR programme of the 2000s also created tensions around heritage and, in not insignificant pockets of the city, spent millions of pounds to achieve far more abandonment and dereliction than that occasioned locally by the wider macro-economic downturn of the late 2000s. Overall, it is probably fair to say there is a general difference between the centre of the city and other areas and between attitudes of (local) decision makers to designated and non-designated heritage. But designation is no guarantee of protection and non-designated heritage may be saved, or given a stay of execution, by local action or central state intervention as in the case of the Welsh Streets. Finally, Liverpool provides a striking case of the positive relationships between economic change, regeneration and heritage policy. A question in a city like Liverpool is how far the relationship between heritage protection and economic growth can be sustained and transform as economic circumstances change.

Economic contexts and resources issues are also of wider relevance, notably the potential impacts of austerity and current cuts to local government budgets. As noted above, the widening understanding of what constitutes heritage and the role it can play have not always been accompanied by shifts in practice, which has sometimes remained more wedded to the core statutory tasks of conservation and heritage management. In a context where there have been '32% cuts in several local planning departments' this tendency may be reinforced due to resource and capacity constraints, with some feeling that 'the direct implication of reduced resources is a need to realign priorities and focus purely on core work or frontline, key services' (Senior Planner, North East Local Authority, 2013, cited in Ludwig and Ludwig, 2014, p. 252).[8] There is even anecdotal evidence that in some local governments the employment of specialist conservation officers is considered to be a luxury in a period of constrained budgets. Yet in other ways a period of less abundant resources may reduce pressures and threats to some historic environments as with the abandonment of the demolition component of the HMR programme. This survey of heritage and its conservation and management in England and Liverpool has outlined how definitions and practices have evolved in response to changing historical conditions. The extent to which the heritage sector is able to sustain the expansive role attributed to it in policy and theory rather than the narrow role it is often constrained to playing in practice, and how far it can demonstrate synergies with, and value to, wider place-based policy agendas, will be key questions in the field over coming years.

[8] In England local government relies overwhelmingly on central government funding which has been cut significantly in recent years (by 26% in revenue terms and 45% in capital terms from 2010−2015) (Clarke and Cochraine, 2013).

REFERENCES

ALLEN, C. (2008), *Housing Market Renewal and Social Class*, Abingdon: Routledge.

ALLEN, C. and CROOKES, L. (2009), 'Fables of the Reconstruction: A Phenomenology of "Place Shaping" in the North of England', *Town Planning Review*, Vol. 80, No. 4/5, pp. 455–480.

ASHWORTH, G. J. (1997), 'Conservation as Preservation or as heritage: two paradigms and two answers', *Built Environment*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 92–102.

BOOTH, P. (2010), 'Sheffield: a miserable disappointment no more?', [in:] PUNTER, J. (ed.), *Urban Design and the British Urban Renaissance*, Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 85–99.

BROWN, J. (2009), 'Liverpool betrayed: From post-war to Pathfinder', [in:] *Triumph, disaster and decay – The SAVE survey of Liverpool's heritage*, London: SAVE Britain's Heritage, pp. 23–27.

BROWN, J. (2011), 'Introduction', [in:] FINLAY, B. and BROWN, J. (2011), *Housing Scandal! Pathfinder: A Postmortem*, London: Save Britain's Heritage, http://www.savebritainsheritage.org/docs/articles/jb%20intro.pdf

BROWN, P. (2005), 'Road to nowhere', *Civic Focus* (The Civic Trust), 50, pp. 4–5.

BYRNE, D. (1991), 'Western Hegemony in archaeological heritage management', *History and Anthropology*, Vol. 5, pp. 269–276.

CITY CENTRE PLANNING GROUP (1965), *Liverpool City Centre Plan*, Liverpool: Liverpool City Council.

CLARKE, N. and COCHRAINE, A. (2013), 'Geographies and politics of localism: The localism of the United Kingdom's coalition government', *Political Geography*, 34, pp. 10–23.

COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES (CEC) (1999), *European Spatial Development Perspective − Towards Balanced and Sustainable Development of the European Territory*, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE (2005), *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*, Council of Europe Treaty Series, No. 199, Faro, 27 X 2005, available at: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/heritage/Identities/default_en.asp

COUNCIL OF EUROPE (2011), *Action for a Changing Society, Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*, Strasbourg: CoE Publishing.

COUCH, C. (2003), *City of change and challenge: Urban planning and regeneration in Liverpool*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

COWELL, B. (2004), 'Why Heritage Counts: Researching the Historic Environment', *Cultural Trends*, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 23–39.

DAVIDOFF, P. (1965), 'Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning', *AIP Journal*, November, pp. 331–338.

DEPARTMENT FOR CULTURE, MEDIA AND SPORT (DCMS) (2001), *The Historic Environment: A Force for Our Future*, London: TSO.

DCMS (2010), *Principles of Selection for Listed Buildings*, London: TSO.

DEBARY, O. (2004), 'Deindustrialization and Museumification: From Exhibited Memory to Forgotten History', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 595, 'Being Here and Being There: Fieldwork Encounters and Ethnographic Discoveries', September, pp. 122–133.

DENSCOMBE, M. (2007), *The Good Research Guide for small-scale social research projects*, Third Edition, Maidenhead: OUP / McGraw Hill.

DEPARTMENT FOR COMMUNITIES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT (DCLG) (2010), *Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning for the Historic Environment* (PPS5), London: Communities and Local Government, www.communities.gov.uk/archived/publications/planningandbuilding/pps5

DCLG (2012), *National Planning Policy Framework*, London: Communities and Local Government.

DCLG (2015), *Letter to Miss Hannah Smith, Ove Arup and Partners Ltd.*, Ref. APP/Z4310/V/13/2206519, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/395694/15-01-15_DL_IR_Welsh_Street_Liverpool_2206519.pdf

DICKS, B. (2000), *Heritage, Place and Community*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

DoE (1987), *Circular 8/87: Historic buildings and conservation areas − policy and procedures*, London: HMSO.

DoE (1973), *Conservation and Preservation, Local Government Act 1972, Circular 46/73*, London: HMSO.

DoE/DNH (1994), *Planning Policy Guidance Number 15, Planning and the Historic Environment*, London: HMSO.

English Heritage (1998), *Conservation-led regeneration: the work of English Heritage*, London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (1999), *The Heritage Dividend: Measuring the Results of English Heritage Regeneration 1994−1999*, London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (2000), *Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment*, London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (2002), *The Heritage Dividend 2002*, London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (2004), *Capital solutions*, London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (2005a), *The Heritage Dividend methodology: measuring the impact of heritage projects*, London: English Heritage.

English Heritage and DEFRA (2005b), *Building value: public benefits of historic farm building repair in the Lake District*, London: English Heritage & DEFRA.

English Heritage (2006a), *Shared interest: celebrating investment in the historic environment*, London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (2006b), *Biomass Energy and the Historic Environment*, London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (2007), *Regeneration in historic coastal towns*, London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (2008a), *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance*, London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (2008b), *Constructive conservation in practice*, London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (2008c), *Climate Change and the Historic Environment*, London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (2008d), *Microgeneration in the Historic Environment*, London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (2008e), *Energy conservation in traditional buildings*, London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (2011b), *Energy Efficiency and Historic Buildings*, London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (2012), *Good Practice Guide for Local Heritage Listing*, London: English Heritage.

FINLAY, B. and BROWN, J. (2011), *Housing Scandal! Pathfinder: A Postmortem*, London: SAVE Britain's Heritage, available at: http://www.savebritainsheritage.org/news/campaign.php?id=191

GARCIA, B., MELIVILLE, R. and COX, T. (2010), *Creating an impact: Liverpool's experience as European capital of culture*, University of Liverpool and Liverpool.

John Moores University, Liverpool, http://www.liv.ac.uk/impacts08/Papers/Creating_an_Impact_-_web.pdf

GRAHAM, B. (2002), 'Heritage as knowledge: capital or culture?', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 5–6, pp. 1003–1017.

HARRISON, R. (2010), 'Heritage as social action', [in:] WEST, S. (ed.), *Understanding heritage in practice*, Manchester University Press in association with the Open University Manchester and Milton Keynes, pp. 240–276.

HEALEY, P. (2004), 'The treatment of space and place in the new strategic spatial planning in Europe', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, No. 28(1), pp. 45–67.

HEWISON, R. (1987), *The heritage industry: Britain in a climate of decline*, London: Meltuen London.

HINES, M. (2010), *Reviving Britain's Terraces: Life After Pathfinde*r, London: SAVE Britain's Heritage.

HOLYOAK, J. (2010), 'Birmingham: translating ambition in to quality', [in:] PUNTER, J. (ed.), *Urban Design and the British Urban Renaissance*, Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 35–50.

HOLMBERG, I. (2002), 'Theme 1: Heritage, Identity and Urban Regeneration', [in:] PHELPS, A., ASHWORTH, G. J. and JOHANSSON, B.O.H. (eds.) (2002), *The Construction of Built Heritage – A north European perspective on policies, practices and outcomes*, Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 57–58.

HUDSON, J. and JAMES, P. (2007), 'The changing framework for conservation of the historic environment', *Structural Survey*, Vol. 25, No. 3–4, pp. 253–264.

HUGHES, Q. (1964), *Seaport: Architecture and Townscape in Liverpool*, London: Lund Humphries.

JOHNSON, M. (2012), 'Liverpool put on Unesco's list of endangered World Heritage sites', *Liverpool Daily Post*, 27 June 2012, http://www.liverpooldailypost.co.uk/liverpool-news/regional-news/2012/06/27/liverpool-put-on-unesco-s-list-ofendangered-world-heritage-sites-99623-31269362/#ixzz20EURSnzO [accessed 06.05.2015]

JONES, P. (2014), *Architecturing Capitalist Futures: Modelling and Claims-making at Liverpool Waters*: *Working Paper*, Liverpool: Department of Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology, University of Liverpool.

LARKHAM, P. J. (1999), 'Preservation, conservation and heritage: developing concepts and applications', [in:] CULLINGWORTH, B. (ed.), *British Planning: 50 Years of Urban and Regional Policy*, London: Athlone.

Liverpool City Council (2005), 'Report No. EDR/135/05', presented to Housing and Community Safety Select Committee (Special Meeting), Thursday, 8 September 2005, Liverpool: Liverpool City Council.

Liverpool City Council (2009), *Liverpool maritime mercantile city world heritage site – Supplementary planning document consultation draft*, March 2009, Liverpool: Liverpool City Council.

LIVERPOOL ECHO (2012), 'Liverpool Council leader Joe Anderson says city would sacrifice World Heritage status for Liverpool Waters scheme in New Year report', *Liverpool Echo*, 2 January, http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/liverpool-council-leader-joe-anderson-3354111 [accessed 06.05.2015].

LUDWIG (2013), *From Bricks and Mortar to Social Meanings: a Critical Examination of Local Heritage Designation in England*, doctoral thesis, Northumbria University.

LUDWIG, C. and LUDWIG, G. (2014), 'Empty gestures? A review of the discourses of "localism" from the practitioner's perspective', *Local Economy*, Vol. 29 (3), pp. 245–256.

MASSEY, D. (2014), 'Liverpool's maritime mercantile industrial heritage: obsolescence, values and urban regeneration, in Abstracts and Proceeding Papers', International Symposium on Industrial Heritage, Cultural Industries and Innovative Urban Development, Southeast University, Nanjing, China, 1–2 November 2014.

MORRIS, W. (1877), *Manifesto of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings*, London: Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings.

MORTON, D. (1991), 'Conservation areas: has saturation point been reached?', *The Planner*, Vol. 71, No. 17, pp. 5–8.

MURPHY, L. (2015a), 'Welsh Streets: Mayor Joe Anderson condemns decision to block demolition', *Liverpool Echo*, 16 January, http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/welsh-streets-mayor-joe-anderson-8460931

MURPHY, L. (2015b), 'Liverpool mayor calls on Eric Pickles to "see the Welsh Streets for himself"', *Liverpool Echo*, 20 January, http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/liverpool-mayor-calls-eric-pickles-8482189

NEVIN, B. and LEE, P. (2003), *Understanding the Liverpool housing market: Reversing decline and managing change*, Birmingham: CURS, University of Birmingham.

PENDLEBURY, J. (2009), *Conservation in the Age of Consensus*, London: Routledge.

PENDLEBURY, J. (2013), 'Conservation values, the authorised heritage discourse and the conservation-planning assemblage', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 7, pp. 709–727.

PENDLEBURY, J. and STRANGE, I. (2011), 'Centenary paper: Urban conservation and the shaping of the English city', *Town Planning Review*, 82 (4), pp. 361–392.

PHELPS. A., ASHWORTH, G. J. and JOHANSSON, B.O.H. (eds.) (2002), *The Construction of Built Heritage – A north European perspective on policies, practices and outcomes*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

POWELL, K. and SAVE (1984), *The Agony of Georgian Liverpool*, London: SAVE Britain's Heritage.

PUNTER, J. (ed.), *Urban Design and the British Urban Renaissance*, Abingdon: Routledge.

RUSKIN, J. (1989 [1890]), *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc.

SAMUEL, R. (1994), *Theatres of Memory*, London: Verso, http://www.savebritainsheritage.org/docs/articles/Welsh%20Street%20Report%20pt%201%201.pdf

SANDERCOCK, L. (2003), 'Out of the closet: The importance of stories and storytelling in planning practice', *Planning Theory & Practice*, 4 (1), pp.11–28.

SAVE (2014), *The Welsh Streets Public Inquiry − A report from SAVE Britain's Heritage on the public inquiry held in June 2014 into an application to demolish 440 houses on Liverpool's Welsh Streets*, London: SAVE Britain's Heritage.

SELL, S. (2015), 'Liverpool's Victorian streets: what the block on demolition means for other places of heritage value', *Planning Resource*, 23 January, http://www.planningresource.co.uk/article/1330595/liverpools-victorian-streets-block-demolition-means-places-heritage-value [accessed 09.06.2015].

SHARPLES, J. and STONARD, J. (2008), *Built on Commerce: Liverpool's Central Business, District*, Swindon: English Heritage.

SMITH, D. (1969), 'The Civic Amenities Act: Conservation and Planning', *The Town Planning Review*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (July), pp. 149–162.

SMITH, L. (2006), *Uses of Heritage*, London: Routledge.

SYKES, O., BROWN, J., COCKS, M., SHAW, D. and COUCH, C. (2013), 'A City Profile of Liverpool', *Cities*, 35, pp. 299–318.

TAIT, M. and WHILE, A. (2009), 'Ontology and the conservation of built heritage', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol. 27, pp. 721–737.

THORBY, C. (2015), 'Report of the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government by C. Thorby MRTPI IHBC an inspector appointed by the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, 22 September 2014', Report APP/Z4310/V/13/220651, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/395694/15-01-15_DL_IR_Welsh_Street_Liverpool_2206519.pdf

TURNPENY, M. (2004), 'Cultural heritage, an ill-defined concept?: a call for joined-up policy', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 10 (3), pp. 295–307.

UNESCO (2005), 'Vienna Memorandum on "World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture − Managing the Historic Urban Landscape" and Decision 29 COM 5D', available at: http://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/5965 [accessed 08.06.2015).

UNESCO (2011), 'Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape, including a glossary of definitions', available at: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=48857&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

UNESCO World Heritage Committee (2012), 'World heritage committee places Liverpool on list of world heritage in danger', http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/890 [accessed 08.06.2015].

URRY, J. (1990), *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Society*, London: SAGE Publications.

WADDINGTON, M. (2012), 'Housing plans are "Unlawful"', *The Liverpool Post*, 20 September, p. 7.

WATERTON, E. (2010), *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

WHILE, A. (2007), 'The state and the controversial demands of cultural built heritage: modernisation, dirty concrete, and postwar listing in England', *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, Vol. 34, No. 4, pp. 645–663.

EUROPEAN SPATIAL RESEARCH AND POLICY

Volume 22 2015 Number 2

https://doi.org/10.1515/esrp-2015-0024

Elisabete M. P. CIDRE*

A DISCURSIVE NARRATIVE ON PLANNING FOR URBAN HERITAGE CONSERVATION IN CONTEMPORARY WORLD HERITAGE CITIES IN PORTUGAL

Abstract. This article analyses the structure of heritage conservation in the national context of Portugal. It assesses the political context in which planning operates, and the place of conservation and heritage planning within the planning system. By exploring how heritage conservation discourses developed within the national planning framework it is possible to understand the emergence of conservation practices and to consider recommendations for improved efficiency. The World Heritage cities in Portugal inform this research, as its designation should stand for best historic practices, internationally recognized and thus also compliant to an internationally coherent approach towards conservation policies. The narrative unveils a regulatory legislative framework exposed in general considerations rhetorically formulated as policy, usually setting out objectives and requirements, but saying 'very little about the methodologies to be followed in the preparation of the plans' (Rosa Pires 2001, p. 185). The resulting overlapping and sometimes conflicting competences, aims and objectives, all at play in the management of the historic city, thus call for concerted strategies underpinned by appropriate organizational and institutional structures and consistent policy making, where inclusive participation of all key stakeholders involved is critical.
Key words: urban conservation, public realm, placemaking, heritage management

1. PLANNING FOR CONSERVATION IN PORTUGAL

The narrative that follows uses an historic discursive methodology seeking to trace not only how heritage conservation came to be in Portugal in the first place but also how it translates into (local) practices for the conservation of the historic city. The review briefly contextualises the history of heritage planning within the political framework and planning law in Portugal and places the chronicle in mo-

* Elisabete M. P. CIDRE, Principal Teaching Fellow in Urban Design, UCL, Bartlett School of Planning, Central House, 14 Upper Woburn Place, WC1H 0NN London, United Kingdom, e-mail: e.cidre@ucl.ac.uk

ments when there has been a dynamic shift within that history:[1] from the inception of a 'planning system' in 1865 until 1926 when the dictatorial New Regime took over government; from 1926 until the dissolution of the New Regime in 1974; and from the rise of the democratic state to the 'Modern Era'.

The release of the General Plan of Improvements in 1865 sets the practice of planning within a formal framework. Nevertheless, the Plan did not aim to do much more than just regulating road infrastructure and setting dimensions and aesthetic considerations for streets and buildings, and it did not include any concerns for conservation. During the New Regime, the Directorate General for Buildings and National Monuments (DGEMN) was created in 1929 and the arena for heritage planning slowly came to the forefront although strongly intertwined with the political agenda of the authoritarian regime, whereby monumental restoration is a means of spreading and imposing the overpowering image of the State. Monumental restorations and large-scale 'public works' would indeed be the focus and major contribution of the dictatorship years (1926–1974) whilst a formal planning system represented through institutions and instruments of planning was being set up. However, 'formal plans were prepared only infrequently, when and where central government required them for urban development and social facilities' (Carter and Nunes da Silva, 2001, p. 348).

1.1. Instruments of Planning

Although the requirement for an Urban Development Plan (PGU) dates from 1934, municipalities were ill equipped to produce those and the stipulation of producing a PGU was reinforced in 1944 when the Urban Administration Board was created to oversee progress and approval. Soon after, in 1946, the 'state planning offices' were created in the municipalities and a new planning instrument required, the Urbanization Draft Plan. While local municipalities struggled to respond to central government directives, the State celebrated '15 years of Public Works' in the 1948 exhibition, displaying selected projects of monumental architecture or environmental enhancement of landscaped areas. Into the 1950s the municipalities wriggled to save their historic urban fabric from demolition or decay as they were subjected to the pressures of modern infrastructure and to the demands for new expansion areas. The 1960s saw further de-investment across the national territory and the shift of human and financial resources mobilised towards the colonial wars in Africa, while heritage conservation continued to serve its political monumental restoration purpose. By 1971, no single PGU had been approved by central government. A refined version was then made compulsory for all municipalities, which were given a 5-year period for completion.

[1] For a more detailed account on the history of planning and planning law in Portugal please refer to the work of M. Costa Lobo (2001) and F. Gonçalves (1989).

Such version specified contents and regulated another new instrument, the Detail Plan (PP), which could be approved by the municipality without the need for central government ratification, once an approved PGU was in place. By 1974, thirty plans were approved and effective (Carter and Nunes da Silva, 2001, p. 345).

The New Regime was dissolved in 1974 and the democratic principles were slowly reinstated within the upheaval of major economic and social restructuring that overburdened society at large. The 1980s saw the first legal instrument to allow planning of the whole area of a municipality established in 1982, the Municipal Master Plan (PDM), together with new offices being created in municipalities with historic centres marked by extreme urban and social decay and in need of specific management of their historic fabric. In 1985, the democratically elected central government regulates the statutes for cultural heritage (Law 13/85), embedding any listed cultural property under the supervision of the Portuguese Institute for Cultural Heritage (IPPC, created in 1980 under the Ministry of Culture). In the same year, the Portuguese government formalises the 'Local Technical Offices' (GTL) to assist the city council's planning department in assessing planning applications. In cities with historic centres these were often already existing departments (historic centre offices) branching out from the municipality structure, and these offices would oversee development in the historic area with overlapping responsibilities being shared in a non-cooperative environment with the municipality and IPPC.

The 1990s saw major changes in the portfolio of planning instruments, aiming at regulating and planning development in the municipalities – the PDM and its associated plans: the Development Plan (PU) and the Detail Plan (PP). The GTLs also strengthened their authority through specific planning instruments to regulate development in the historic centre, although restricted to aesthetic details or architectural concerns (i.e in the city of Porto – the regulation for outdoor lighted up adds, 1986; and canopy installation, 1991; as well as guidelines for construction and/or renovation of buildings, 1988) (Guimarães, 2000, p. 93). While criticisms were raised about the instruments for local planning comparing the PDM to a mere zoning plan while regarding PPs as too specific (Carter and Nunes da Silva, 2001: 361), heritage conservation was capitalizing on the physical legacy of the past as a powerful tool for community and economic development. After joining the European Union (EU) in 1986, Portugal had access to the EU funds in areas such as transport, urban facilities, sewage treatment, the environment, and tourism and culture. The resulting funding of IPPC from the 1989−1993 Community Framework Support (QCA) under the 'Tourism and Culture' headline, served to secure major preservation works in monuments while supporting the heritage debate, which helps to understand the resulting integration of the restored monuments into touristic uses and routes (like the *Pousadas*, former castles or convents converted into a network of high end hotels). Although 'Tourism and Culture' were allocated €70,885 $x10^3$ million[2] in the first European

[2] Conversion from PTE currency of $14{,}177x10^6$ (Carter and Nunes da Silva, 2001, p. 356).

framework (FEDER[3], 1989–1993), funding was not granted in the subsequent second framework and cohesion funds of 1994–1999 therefore the need to apply through national programmes became straining. Since its inception, the dynamics of financing urban heritage conservation in Portugal has always been attached to programmes of urban renewal or re-qualification, and more recently, urban regeneration.

At this time, the Heritage Law is no more than a set of statements and intentions but with no formal implementing regulation. In parallel, the IPPC Code of Practice was only regulated ten years after its creation, in 1990, which also led to IPPC being restructured and re-named in 1992 to Portuguese Institute for Architectonic Heritage (IPPAR). IPPAR should have prepared conservation plans for the historic centres and although it compiles comprehensive lists of criteria and objectives, its action is limited to defining protection limits and buffer zones, and to issue binding opinions when assessing planning applications that fall within those areas. Table 1 summarises the overlap of institutional layers and planning instruments at play in the management of the historic centre at the start of the new 21st century, which inherently has an overlap of limits and competences, and of aims and objectives.

Table 1. Overlap of institutional layers and planning instruments in the historic city management

	International		National	Local		Overlap of Limits + competences Aims + objectives
Institutional layers	UNESCO	EU	IPPAR Advisory Committees	Municipality	GTL	
	WHC	Capital of Culture (CC)	Listed property Asset of public interest Monument	Listed property Asset of public interest	Historic city	
	THE HISTORIC CITY CENTRE					
Planning Instruments	WH List	CC List	Decree-Law Policy Guidance	PDM, PU, PP Policy Guidance	Design Scheme Renewal Project Regulations	

Source: compiled by the author.

Amidst this complex framework of overlapping and sometimes conflicting competences, two local authorities were given international recognition for the value and quality of their historic centres, based on persistent practice of urban

[3] FEDER − Fundo Europeu de Desenvolvimento Regional; European Fund for Regional Development.

conservation planning. In 1986 Évora was listed as 'World Heritage' city by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), followed in 1996 by Porto.[4] Soon after, in 1998, a Protocol for Heritage Cooperation was signed between IPPAR, the Association of Local Authorities with an Historic Centre, and the *Misericórdias* (Church Guilds), creating a platform for discussion of conservation issues, allowing a framework for funding allocation, and to implement technical management of architectural conservation projects. Nevertheless, it could not accomplish its most ambitious objective – to produce conservation planning specific guidelines.

1.2. Heritage Legislation and Key Institutional Actors in Heritage Decision-Making

Urban conservation has been a matter of overlapping interest to several (and often re-named) Ministries, such as Culture; Education; Science and Higher Education; Public Works; Transport and Housing; Towns, Territorial Planning and Environment; or more recently, Agriculture, Sea, Environment and Territorial Planning. Heritage is undisputedly framed under the domain of 'culture', but its implications and consequences range within a wider spectrum as it involves issues of inventory and classification of cultural (tangible and intangible) property and assets, training of specialists and research, restoration works and urban planning, to name but a few. National authorities and institutions with an interest in cultural heritage have closely followed the international debate on heritage conservation being present at key moments in the history of the international conservation movement, which would consequently be translated into the national context (see table 2). These included:

(1) the presence of Portuguese representatives in the Athens meeting and CIAM (International Congress for Modern Architecture) congresses in 1930 (and 1933) − which led to a national congress on restoration and definition of the statutes for listed property;

(2) Portugal's subscription to the Venice Charter in 1964 and later ICCROM (International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property), in 1967;

(3) the ratification of international regulation after the 1974 revolution – i.e. the 1954 Paris Convention (in 1975), the 1972 World Heritage Convention (in 1979), and the 1985 Granada Convention (in 1991);

(4) the creation in 1982 of the ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) Portuguese committee, and

(5) hosting several international conferences and meetings on the themes of world heritage and historic centre rehabilitation from the early 1990s onwards.

---

[4] Guimarães is also a World Heritage City, listed in 2001.

Table 2. Key moments in heritage conservation – International and Portuguese context

DECADE	INTERNATIONAL		PORTUGAL	
1900s	**1902**	Luca Beltroni, *restauro storico*.	**1902**	Portuguese Architects Association is founded.
	1904	Conclusions of the IV Congress on Architecture and Construction in Spain: *dead monuments should be consolidated, live ones should be conserved for continuous use*.		
	1909	Riegl, *Denkmalkultus (The modern cult of monuments):* concepts of antiquity, decay and value.		
1910s			**1910**	Decree 16th Jun: National Monuments listing. 5th Oct: Republic establishment. Portuguese Archaeologists Association is created.
			1911	Law for the Separation of the State and the Church.
	1914–18	World War I	**1914–18**	Portugal joins the Allies.
			1915	Archaeological Institute of Algarve is created.
	1919	United Nations is founded, where international cultural issues are debated.	**1919**	Creation of the Ministry of Public Instruction and the Fine Arts Board. Pro-Évora Group is created.
1920s			**1921–22**	Cloisters in Evora cathedral are unobstructed under orientation of Pro-Evora.
	1929	Gustavo Giovannoni, *Norme per il restauro dei Monumenti*. Restoration Charter.	**1929**	Creation of DGEMN, National Monuments and Buildings Board.
1930s	**1930**	Athens meeting: lnternational Conference for the Protection and Conservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments. The Restoration Charter.		
			1931	1st Congress of the National Union, the basis for restoration on Portuguese monuments defined.
			1932	Decree 20985, defines levels for listing buildings: National Monuments and Buildings of Public interest.
	1933	International Congress on Modern Architecture (CIAM), Greece.	**1935**	DGEMN 1st Bulletin is edited.
	1936	Spanish Civil War (1936–39)		
			1937	Restoration of Évora Cathedral by DGEMN (1937–40).
	1939	World War II (1939–45).	**1939–45**	Portugal remains neutral in the conflict.

1940s	**1941**	Athens Charter (published by Le Corbusier).	**1940**	Celebration of Foundation (1140) and Restoration (1640) of Portugal in the Portuguese World Exhibition. Signing of Concordat: treaty between the State and the Church.
	1945	Foundation of ICOM, International Council of Museums.	**1947**	IST (Technical Advanced Institute) Exhibition, celebrating 15 years of Public Works. Monuments in the limelight.
			1949	Law 2032, defines a 3rd level for listing buildings – Municipal Value.
1950s	**1953**	Creation of ICCROM, International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, Rome, Italy.		
	1954	The Hague Convention, protecting cultural property under armed conflicts. Paris Convention, European Cultural Heritage defined – European Council.		Portugal signed the Hague Convention but did not ratify it until 2000.
	1957	1st International Congress of Architects and Specialists on Historical Monuments, Paris, France.	**1957**	Queen of England visits Portugal. Several monuments are restored.
1960s	**1960**	Council of Europe, includes committee on monuments and sites, a coordination permanent office.	**1960**	5th Centenary of Infante D. Henrique's death. Monuments related to the discoveries history are restored.
	1964	Venice meeting, 2nd International Congress of Architects and Specialists on Historical Monuments, Venice, Italy. Venice Charter – International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites.	**1964**	Portugal subscribes the Venice Charter. Decree 46349, creation of Protection Buffer Zones for listed property (ZEP).
	1965	Foundation of ICOMOS, International Council on Monuments and Sites	**1965**	9th Scientific Meeting of IBI (International Burgen Institut), in Viseu,: The Venice Charter applied to the restoration of castles.
			1967	Portugal joins ICCROM
1970s	**1971**	Split Declaration (Yugoslavia) on European Cities of Historical Interest.		

Table 2 (cont.)

1970s	**1972**	World Heritage Convention, recommendation on protection of world cultural and natural heritage and recommendation on protection, at national level, of cultural and natural heritage, Paris, 23rd November (although entry into force only 17th June 1975 and registration at UN on 15th March 1977).	**1974**	25th April Revolution.
	1975	Amsterdam Charter: European Heritage.	**1975**	Portugal ratifies the Paris Convention of 1954 (D 717).
	1976	UNESCO Conference, Nairobi: on safeguarding and contemporary role of historic areas. Manila Charter.		
	1978	ICOMOS: principles of urban conservation.		
	1979	ICOMOS Burra Charter, Australia.	**1979**	Portugal ratifies the World Heritage Convention (DL 49), in effect from 30th November1980.
1980s			**1982**	Creation of the ICOMOS Portuguese Committee.
	1985	Granada Council of Europe Convention, for the safeguarding of European architectural heritage (as an essential town and country planning objective).	**1985**	Law 13/85 for the Portuguese Cultural Heritage. Creation of IPPC (later IPPAR). *Europa Nostra* prize to GTL (Historic Centre Bureau) Guimarães.
	1987	ICOMOS Washington Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (a guide for urban conservation).		
1990s	**1991**	1st International Seminar of World Heritage Cities on 'safeguarding historic urban ensembles in a time of change', Québec, Canada. Guide for the Management of Historic Towns.	**1991**	Portugal ratifies the Granada Convention (Decision 5/91).
	1992	World Heritage Centre, organises Bureau and Committee meetings and administrates Fund.		
	1993	Foundation of OWHC, Organization of World Heritage Cities, Québec, Canada. 1st GA OWHC, Fez, Morocco. ICCROM Guidelines for management of world cultural heritage sites.	**1993**	Portuguese Association of Town Planners (AUP) is created. Évora is vice-president of OWHC Regional Secretariat for Southern Europe and the Mediterranean. International Conference 'Historic centre rehabilitation and its dynamics, Lisbon.
	1994	NARA Conference, Japan: authenticity.	**1994**	DGEMN magazine MONUMENTOS (1) is edited.

1990s	**1995**	International Youth Forum on World Heritage, Bergen, Norway. 2nd GA OWHC, Bergen, Norway: communication and interchange – Bergen Protocol. Election of 8th September as Solidarity Day between WHC.		
	1996	ICOMOS 11th GA International Symposium 'The heritage and social changes', Sofia, Bulgaria.	**1996**	*Real Fundação de Toledo* prize to GTL Guimarães.
	1997	Agreement UNESCO-OWHC ICOMOS 12th GA Scientific Symposium, Mexico: good use of heritage: heritage and development.	**1997**	International Meeting of experts in historic centre rehabilitation, Porto: CMP/CRUARB. IPPAR Internal Code of Practice , DL 120/97, 17-05-1997 3rd GA of OWHC, Évora, Portugal: tourism, different perspectives and opportunities.
	1999	4th GA of OWHC, Santiago de Compostela, Spain: management innovations. *Santiago de Compostela Manifest* in favor of cooperation for the active conservation and sustainable management of heritage cities of humankind	**1998** **1999**	EXPO 98, Lisbon: The oceans, heritage of the future. DGEMN celebrates 70 years. Heritage Paths: exhibition and catalogue edition. Law 159/99, on decentralization and delegation of powers to LAs, including managing public investment related to municipal heritage, whether natural or urban.
2000 –2001	**2000**	European Charter of Cultural Cities and Territories (by *Alliance of European Cultural Cities*, AVEC).	**2000**	Law 19/2000 – Defines the concept of Portuguese Cultural Heritage, 10-08-2000. Debate 'Impact of urban and social rehabilitation in the historic centre of Porto', Porto. Symposium, 'Built heritage – international experiences', Porto.
	2001	ICCROM/ICOMOS Manual for monitoring heritage sites, Malta: conservation indicators for historic cities. Cracow 2000: cultural heritage as foundation of civilization development. Cracow Charter. ICOMOS 13th GA, Madrid, Spain: strategies for world cultural heritage safeguarding in the global world: principles, practices and perspectives. 5th GA of OWHC, Puebla, Mexico: protection and preventive measures in case of disaster. Creation of Regional Secretariat for OWHC South of Europe, Cordoba, Spain. ICOMOS 16th GA, Québec, Canada: interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites.	**2001**	Law 107/01, foundations for cultural heritage decision-making and regime for protection and valuation. 9th Conference of AUP: 'Heritage cities – which urbanism?', Lagos. International meeting 'the intangible dimension of the historic city', Porto: CMP/CRUARB. IPPAR magazine STUDIES - HERITAGE (1) is edited.

Sources: adapted from Alho and Cabrita (1988); Jokilehto (1996); CMP (1998); Fernandes et al. (2000); CRUARB (2000); Neto (2002).

In adopting the World Heritage Convention, Portugal undersigned the pledge to Article 5(a), which after reference to general policy expresses the commitment to integrate the protection of cultural and natural heritage into comprehensive planning programmes through land use and management planning. The historic city, and its core centre characterised by large-scale dereliction and vacancy, which had been for long of secondary interest for state politics or urban planning, re-claimed its importance as evidenced by accounts of positive examples of improvement works done in the historic centres of Porto from 1974 onwards (gaining World Heritage City status in 1996), in Guimarães from 1979 onwards (designated World Heritage City in 2001), and in Évora as a consequence of its World Heritage City listing in 1986. As Evans (1994) remarked, 'inclusion of a site in the World Heritage List is not by itself a direct instrument of planning control, but it does signal the importance of the site as a material factor to be taken into account by a local planning authority' (Evans, 1994, p. 505). Table 3 gives a historical overview of the legislative framework that directly and indirectly has had an impact on the heritage conservation governance structure in Portugal from 1974 until early 2000s.

Table 3. Review of Heritage Legislation in Portugal

Date	Legal Instrument	Guideline or directive
1	2	3
1975	Decree 717	Ratifies the European Cultural Heritage Convention, signed in Paris 1954
1979	DL 49/79, 6 June	Ratifies the World Heritage Convention, signed in Paris in 1972
1980	DL 59/80, 3 April	Creates IPPC, the Institute for the Portuguese Cultural Heritage
1985	Law 13/85, 6 June	Portuguese Cultural Heritage Law
1990	DL 216/90, 3 July	Defines the Internal Code of Practice IPPC
1991	Decision from President of the Republic nº 5/91, 23 January	Ratifies the safeguarding of European Architectural Heritage Convention, signed in Granada in 3 October 1985
	DL 254/91, 18 July	Alteration to Artº12 of council tax code exempting listed property from council tax
	Normative Decision 23/91, 29 January, amended 28-I/91	Creates the award for Cultural Heritage Protection and approves its regulations
1992	DL 106-F/92, 1 June	Creates IPPAR – Portuguese Institute for Architectonic Heritage (and extinguishes IPPC); later with amendments from DL nº316/94, 24 December
1992	Policy Guidance 1008/92, 26 October	Approves the Code of the Advisory Board of IPPAR; later regulated as Consulting Council by Decree nº13/99, 11 January
1996	Decree 42/96, 7 May	Creates the Code of Practice for the Ministry of Culture

1	2	3
1997	Decree 120/97, 16 May	Defines the Internal Code of Practice of IPPAR
1999	Law 159/99	Delegation and decentralization of powers to municipalities, including the management of public investment related to municipal heritage (natural or urban)
2000	Law 19/2000, 10 August Policy Guidance 1101/2000	First amendment to Law 13/85 Approves the legal compliance framework
2001	Decree 177/01, 4 June	Amends Decree nº 555/99 defining the legal framework for urbanization and building development
	Law 107/01, 8 September	Defines the basis for decision making and framework for cultural heritage conservation and enhancement
2005	Council of Ministers Resolution 124/05, 4 August	Central Administration Restructuring Programme (PRACE)
2006	DL 215/06, 27 October	Organic Law of the Ministry of Culture
2007	DL 96/07, 29 March	Establishment of IGESPAR, IP (merging IPPAR and IPA, whilst also including part of the attributions of the former DGEMN)
	Ministerial Order 376/07, 30 March	Statute/Organisation of IGESPAR, IP
2009	DL 138/09, 15 June	Fund for the Protection of Cultural Heritage for financing the protection and enhancement of listed cultural property, or property undergoing classification
	DL 139/09, 15 June	*Regime* for the protection of immaterial cultural property
	DL 140/09, 15 June	Facilitates a more expedited evaluation by the central and local authorities of private planning applications
	DL 307/09, 23 October	Defines the regime for urban (mainly architectonic) renewal
	DL 309/09, 23 October	Defines proceedings for listing of cultural property and regulations of protection areas as well as conservation plans
2011	Law Proposal 24/X11/11, 30 September	Revises DL 307/09
	DL 126-A/11, 30 December	Directorate General for Cultural Heritage (DGPC) is created (merging IGESPAR-IP with the Museums and Conservation Institute (IMC) and the Regional Directorate for Culture in Lisbon and the Tagus Valley)
2012	DL 114/12, 28 May	Regional Directorates for Culture Code of Practice
	DL 115/12, 28 May	DGPC Code of Practice
	Ministerial Order 223/12, 24 July	DGPC Internal Structure

Sources: compiled by the author on the basis of Alho and Cabrita (1988); Costa Lobo (2001); Neto (2002); CML (2005); Pinho *et al*. (2005); and http://www.igespar.pt/en/ [last accessed 19.06.2015].

It should be noted that following the 'stable' dictatorship period a rather unstable political environment[5] ensued (for example, from 1985 to 2001 there were five changes of government in Portugal[6]) which has certainly had an influence on fluctuating policies in various fields, including urban planning and conservation. The statutory planning system and the key institutional actors in heritage decision-making had to negotiate judgements within several planning instruments, devised at different times and with different formats, often grounded on different implementation procedures. The early 2000s see urban conservation very much entwined with urban politics and housing policy as governmental decision makers define their scope as the converging point of urban renewal and regeneration objectives. In 2004 a new actor comes into force in historic cities, the Society for Urban Rehabilitation (SRU), a public-private partnership created at national level, but with different local set-up and format in the cities where this agency is established. Of the first three SRUs co-funded by the Institute for Housing and Urban Rehabilitation (IHRU), one is in the World Heritage City of Porto, the Porto Vivo-SRU (www.portovivosru.pt), created in 2004 (Decree-Law 104/04). This agency is funded exclusively with public capital, with a share of 60% belonging to the State (IHRU) and a share of 40% belonging to the City Council of Porto. The SRU 'vision' entails a re-shaped framework for action, in line and in tune with central government, and integrated with other ministerial directives, a commendable attempt to merge or blur the boundaries of the overlapping *status quo*. Table 4 lists the key institutional actors in heritage conservation in Portugal accountable to two separate Ministries, and their roles, competences and the legal instruments under which they operate.

Table 4. Institutional actors in heritage decision-making in Portugal and legal mechanisms

Actor	Legal Instrument	Role and competences
1	2	3
Ministry of Culture	DR nº 18/80, 23 May Law 13/85, 6 June DL nº 42/96, 7 May DR nº 12/98,19 May Law 107/01, 8 September DL nº 215/06, 27 October	Responsible for management, fostering and promotion of national cultural policy. Oversees IPPAR and IPA, later IGESPAR-IP and more recently DGPC

[5] Between 2001 and 2010 three more changes of government followed.

[6] From the Xth Constitutional Government established in December 1985 to the XIVth Constitutional Government established in November 1999.

1	2	3
DGEMN	DL nº 284/93,18 August	Conception, planning and coordination of activities related to construction, enlargement, renovation and conservation of public buildings and offices and safeguarding of architectonic heritage not managed by the ministry of culture together with evaluation of quality of construction, namely: (i) planning, conception and undertaking of valuation or conservation actions of classified property not managed by the ministry of culture; (ii) technical support to valuation, restoration or conservation of classified property (or awaiting classification) regardless of ownership assuming financial burden if necessary; (iii) promote organisation and update of records archive of referred property; (iv) evaluate processes and construction techniques; (v) assess quality of construction of buildings destined to services or housing when requested
IPPAR	DL nº 120/97, 16 May	Safeguard and enhancement of national architectonic heritage. Classification of movable and immovable property and buffer zones. Inventory, fostering of research and promotion of cultural architectonic heritage. Technical support and promotion of works, in cooperation with other public institutes, in classified property (or awaiting classification) and buffer zones. Assess plans, projects, works and public or private actions undertaken in classified property (or awaiting classification). Granting of subsidies and bursaries
IGESPAR-IP	DL nº 96/07, 29 March Ministerial Order 376/07, 30 March	Its mission is to manage, safeguard, conserve, and enhance those assets that, due to their historical, artistic, landscape, scientific, social and technical value integrate Portugal's listed architectural and archaeological heritage. It has a *management* rationale
DGPC	DL nº 126-A/11, 30 December DL nº 115/12, 28 May Ministerial Order 223/12, 24 July	Its mission is to manage, safeguard, enhance, conserve and restore all listed cultural assets, as well as to develop a museums' policy
Ministry for the Environment, Spatial Planning and Regional Development (MAMAOT)	DL nº 7/12, 17 January	Following from the Government Plan for the Reduction and Improvement of Central Administration (PREMAC), the MAMAOT Code of Practice, mission and internal structure are defined

Table 4 (cont.)

1	2	3
IHRU	DL nº 223/07, 30 May	Institute for Housing and Urban Rehabilitation, holds the archival holdings of the former DGEMN and preceding entities
SIPA	DL nº 223/07, 30 May	Heritage Information System
Municipality	PDM/PU/PP DL nº 69/90, 2 March, changed by DL nº 211/92 and DL nº 115/97	Local authority normative regulations and plans
Historic Centre Office (GTL)	PP/Detailed schemes DL nº 497/85, 17 December	Local authority normative regulations specifically for the historic centre
SRU	DL nº 104/04, 7 May	Society for Urban Rehabilitation, Local authority department to create, define and regulate the exceptional judicial regime of historic centre areas to undergo urban renewal and regeneration. Deals with all aspects of actioning, implementation, investment and finance, and private/public engagement. Can be co-managed by the State

Source: compiled by the author on the basis of Costa Lobo (2001); IPPAR (2001); http://www.portaldahabitacao.pt/; and http://www.portugal.gov.pt/ [last accessed 29.06.2015].

1.3. Managing Urban Heritage – Who Defines Conservation Policy?

The restructuring of IPPC to IPPAR in 1992 did not require any changes to the 1985 Cultural Heritage Law. Therefore, 'the protection, conservation, enhancement and revitalisation of cultural heritage should be considered compulsory at all levels of urban planning, national, regional and local' (Law 13/85, Art. 44º). It is IPPAR's duty to define the criteria and list all assets of cultural value, and attend to all the procedures relating to the listing of cultural property. World Heritage Cities are prime property assets of cultural value, hence under IPPAR's tutelage. As such, when IPPAR restructuring took place in 1996 (that included the drafting of a new code of practice as well as staff and logistics reinforcement) its functional outcomes were the increasing focus on planning ahead (with management objectives set for 1996–1999), new management structures and the creation of a Studies Department. This department had the role of defining procedures for listed property including the study and implementation of new policy and guidelines for conservation, but this never happened due to the political conservation context

described above, and IPPAR lacked motivation, investment and public interest, coupled with battling functional and financial instability.

IPPAR produced an evaluation report in 2001 (IPPAR, 2001), an important milestone in the heritage policy literature in Portugal, as it evaluates the efficiency of the previous goals of the Institute and its previous policy, and sets a new, forward looking, heritage policy framework. IPPAR vows to carry out studies in order to define the basic content for the management of the conservation plan and look into an integrated heritage-socio-economic approach with the local authorities and private entities (IPPAR, 2001, p. 84). Words like 'historical urbanism', cooperation and flexibility are used in the definition of this action framework. Cultural policy is argued to be efficient only when policies of culture, urban planning and environment are addressed simultaneously. The Strategic Plan 2000–2006 envisages the widening of the heritage concept to the urban landscape and setting; the promotion of 'area management plans' and 'urban projects' on conservation areas; and the strengthening of the linkages between heritage conservation and urban planning, environment, tourism, education, social exclusion and leisure. However, all these statements just seem to echo the international and EU charters and recommendations without really advancing an 'action plan' of how these will translate into policy and no guidance is advanced as how these would be implemented.

Even if IPPAR has a very clear conservation policy, its scope is so vast that the PUs and more importantly the PPs have a major role in conservation decision-making. Legislation has also reinforced this by delegating responsibilities to regional and local authorities who should go beyond defining Protected Zones (ZP) and Special Protected Zones (ZEP) and promote legal conservation planning instruments. These were already predicted as early as 1985 in Law 13/85 where the concerned authority (national, regional or local) was expected to prepare a 'conservation plan' (within a PP format) within 180 days from the date of listing (Costa Lobo, 2001, p. 158). If the local authority did not provide one, then the Institute had the option to do it. Nevertheless, in 2001 no conservation plan had ever been prepared, neither from the local authority nor from IPPAR, for the whole listed historic centre of any World Heritage City in Portugal in spite of the 'Protocol for Heritage Cooperation' signed in 1998.

The regulation necessary for the effective implementation of the principles spelled out in the Law 13/85 were delayed until its amendment was approved in 2001, defining the foundations for cultural heritage decision-making and establishing the regime for its protection and valuation. Law 107/2001 follows closely the internal evaluation report produced by IPPAR in 2001 and includes previous guidance established in Law 159/99 about de-centralisation and delegation of powers and responsibilities to the local authorities, where it is stated (Art. 20º) that local authorities are empowered to plan, implement and manage public investments in regard to municipal heritage, whether cultural, natural, or urban. The proposal for

a revised Law of Cultural Heritage 107/01 went further and stated that whenever a ZEP is designated the local authority is obliged (Art. 54º) to prepare a conservation plan (PP) for that area, referring the call for an integrated plan to the specific regional heritage administration (i.e. area management plan, urban project). General guidelines are given in Art. 53º and the 'conservation development plan' (Art. 63º) is defined and called to be drafted together by the local authority and IPPAR within 2 years after publication of the Law (guidance also stated previously in the IPPAR strategic plan 2000−2006, Art. 54º).

From 2001, IPPAR's duties included giving a binding decision on the appraisal of every planning application regarding construction works or changes[7] in listed buildings (or undergoing classification) and those located on protected areas (or buffer zones). IPPAR also does non-binding appraisals and gives advice when required by the local authorities and private developers and is officially engaged in the drafting of planning instruments, such as the PDM, PU and PP, or otherwise gives advice to the PP while under consultation and after taking part on appraisal committees with other institutional bodies. IPPAR also reports to the State and issues its judgment on preference rights whenever there is change of property (by transaction or alienation) of any listed or protected building or assets undergoing classification.

Nonetheless governance structures continued its state of flux and following the 2005 central administration re-structuring, both IPPAR and IPA (Institute of Archaeological Heritage) were merged into the Institute of Architectonic and Archaeological Heritage Management, Public Institution (IGESPAR, IP[8]). By 2005 the content of the conservation plan lacks specifications, which were supposed to be established by the *development guidance policy*, namely on uses, areas to undergo restoration works and criteria to be applied, inventory and documentation, specific regulation for the protection of existent archaeological heritage, and strategic criteria for social, economic, urban and landscape regeneration.

1.4. Discussing Recent Changes in Conservation Planning Policy

Only in March 2009, there was further guidance signed off by the Ministry of Culture, and published in June 2009 by IGESPAR, IP, to expand the 2001 Heritage Law. As such, law 107/01 was revised by three amendments, finally approved six years after the recommended two-year deadline for the preparation of the 'development guidance policy' needed in order to clarify the 'conservation management

[7] This includes drafts of planning application, projects, works, works' intentions, land movements and impact assessment. It can also include management on site.

[8] In December 2011, following the governmental action plan for improved efficiency, IGESPAR-IP is further merged with the Museums and Conservation Institute (IMC) and the Regional Directorate for Culture in Lisbon and the Tagus Valley; in the same year the Directorate General for Cultural Heritage (DGPC) was also created (although its code of practice was only approved in May 2012).

plan' foreseen in law 107/01. Of these, two are of particular relevance for urban heritage conservation:

– Decree Law 138/2009 creates a Fund for the Protection of Cultural Heritage for the funding of *conservation* and *enhancement* measures in unmovable property (including developments and sites included in the 'World Heritage' list, as well as cultural assets of 'national interest' or 'of public interest').

Albeit opportune, the 'measures' and the procedures that would inform the application to the fund still need further clarification.

– Decree Law 140/2009 rationalises the evaluation process for planning applications in unmovable property, including cultural assets of 'national interest' or as 'of public interest' (where the historic centre is included). It defines that the entity responsible for the administration of the cultural asset is the one that started the designation proceeding. A preliminary report is now compulsory for all planning applications, focusing on the importance and evaluation of the planning application. Interim reports should be prepared 'as and when' requested by the municipality. And a final report should clarify the nature of the work completed, the research and analysis done, the techniques, methodologies, materials and procedures that have been applied, as well as all the visual and graphic documentation of the process and final outcome.

As it stands, the 'importance and evaluation of the proposal' requested for the preliminary report is still quite vague and calls for more detail, i.e. to include the research and analysis that needs to occur, as well as the techniques, methodologies, materials and procedures that will be applied. Consequently, it should be made explicit that the final report should have an evaluation of the process (where all of the above listed items should be included, i.e. nature of the work, research and analysis done, etc). Lastly, it is not clear under which circumstances the interim reports can be requested and under what thematic they can be, i.e. either work in progress or completed.

Most importantly, and although this is not clearly stated, it is implicit that in the case of the World Heritage Cities, the administrative responsibility for the tasks above lies with the local authority. This clarification was long overdue and it should be made explicit, with further details about assigning that administrative responsibility to the historic centre office and agency for urban rehabilitation, the prime key *in loco* actors in the management of the historic city.

2. CONCLUSIONS

Objectives can be implemented through programmes, actions, and policy. But these will continue to be only statements of intentions for piecemeal interventions if they are not sustained 'by implementing organizational strategies that

adequately analyze, plan, resource, implement and evaluate revitalization solutions' (Balsas, 2007, p. 255). As such, the narrative of planning for urban heritage conservation in Portugal has shown us that two key dimensions are essential if local conservation practice is to deliver efficient management of the historic city (Cidre, 2010):

– *Appropriate organisational and institutional structures*

There has been indeed a complex network of overlapping, and sometimes conflicting, institutional actors involved in heritage conservation. These include binding and non-binding (advisory) agents, who operate under national and municipal control, whilst making use of different planning instruments and funding streams. Nonetheless, whilst the decision-makers and historic centre offices have found ways to work in this complex framework, the overlap of institutional layers has certainly delayed or undermined conservation efforts, in the absence of a framework of 'joined-up' thinking (Stewart, 2002, p. 150). Clarifying the role (boundaries), the remit (duties and responsibilities) and the scope (aims and objectives) of each institutional actor's involvement in conservation planning is therefore of paramount importance to improving efficiency.

– *Consistent policy making*,

Through strategic guidance and procedures that embed into the system a culture of good practice in the management of the historic city, setting out the processes through which policy will be delivered. What is most significant in the narrative of heritage conservation in Portugal is the existence of several planning instruments that guide development and management of the historic city, at national and local level, and an encompassing Conservation Plan does not underpin these. World Heritage Cities have the additional layer of their international recognition and conformity to international guidance.

No doubt the local practice of heritage conservation has been guided by strategic city-wide plans and piecemeal regulatory instruments. However, a Conservation Plan which would clarify conservation objectives, ownership, and investment priorities and links to funding, would fully comprehend the value of heritage conservation in its manifold dimensions. As such, the historic centre office would be the appropriate institutional actor commissioned with the preparation of the conservation plan, and supplementary bespoke guidance. Good practice and the pursuit of planning for an urban heritage conservation agenda would require the drafting of the Conservation Plan to be undertaken by an interdisciplinary team of experts and trained qualified professionals, i.e. a Conservation 'Task Force', drawn from an inter-institutional team so that aims and objectives of all actors can be accommodated in a positive cooperative environment. Although this article did not dwell on participatory planning, the prime users of heritage conservation, the local community, must also not be left out of the decision-making process. This has been reiterated since the 1991 ICCROM principles of urban conservation in various international conservation charters

and is explicitly resonated in the 2011 ICOMOS principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas, i.e. 'direct consultation and continuous dialogue with the residents and other stakeholders is indispensable because the safeguarding of their historic town or area concerns them first and foremost' (ICOMOS, 2011, p.17).

References

ALHO, C. and CABRITA, A. (1988), 'Cartas e convenções internacionais sobre o património arquitectónico europeu', *Sociedade e Território*, 6 (2), pp. 131–135.

BALSAS, C. (2007), 'City centre revitalization in Portugal: a study of Lisbon and Porto', *Journal of Urban Design*, 12 (2), pp. 231–259.

CARTER, N. and NUNES DA SILVA, F. (2001), 'Recent Changes in Territorial Planning and the System for Controlling Urban Development in Portugal', *The Town Planning Review*, 72 (3), pp. 341–370.

CIDRE, E. (2010), *Planning for public realm conservation: the case of Portugal's World Heritage cities.* Phd Thesis. UCL.

CML (2005), 'Reabilitação Urbana, Baixa Pombalina: bases para uma intervenção de salvaguarda', Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa – Pelouros do Licenciamento Urbanístico, Reabilitação Urbana, Planeamento Urbano, Planeamento Estratégico e Espaços Verdes.

CMP (ed.) (1998), 'Relatório final: projecto piloto urbano da Sé-Porto', Porto: CMP.

COSTA LOBO, M. (2001), *Administração Urbanistica, Evolução Legal e sua Prática*, IST Press.

CRUARB (ed.) (2000), *CRUARB 25 anos de Reabilitação Urbana*, Porto: CMP.

EVANS, D. (1994), 'World Heritage Sites: Beauty Contest or Planning Constraint', *Journal of Planning and Environmental Law*, June, pp. 503–508.

FERNANDES, M., FIGUEIRINHAS, L., BELBETÕES/PEDRAMALBA, DE CARVALHO, J. M. (2000), 'Intervenções da Direcção-Geral dos Edificios e Monumentos Nacionais', [DGEMN], *Monumentos* 13, September, pp. 108–109.

GUIMARÃES, F. (2000), 'Uma história do CRUARB', [in:] CRUARB (ed.), *CRUARB 25 anos de Reabilitação Urbana*, Porto: CMP.

GONÇALVES, F. (1989), *Evolução Histórica do Direito do Urbanismo em Portugal: 1871−1988.* Lisbon: LNEC.

ICOMOS (1987), 'Charter on the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas', http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/towns_e.pdf [accessed 19.06.2015].

ICOMOS (2011), 'The Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas', http://civvih.icomos.org/sites/default/files/CIVVIH%20Valletta%20Principles.pdf [access 19.06.2015].

IPPAR (ed.) (2001), 'Património, balanço e perspectivas [2000−2006]', Lisbon: Ministry of Culture.

JOKILEHTO, J. (1996), 'International standards, principles and charters of conservation', [in:] MARKS, S. (ed.), *Concerning Buildings, Studies in honour of Sir Bernard Feilden*, Oxford: Butterworth−Heinemann, pp. 55–81.

NETO, M. (2002), 'Carta de Cracóvia 2000: os princípios de restauro para uma nova Europa', *Estudos / Património*, 3 (2), pp. 93–99. IPPAR.

PINHO, P., SOUSA, S., GONZÁLEZ, R., SOLLA, X. (2005), 'Modelos de Gestão: soluções institucionais para as cidades históricas', Câmara Municipal do Porto and Ayuntamiento de Santiago de Compostela.

ROSA PIRES, A. (2001), 'Breaking the ties with the Master Plan: spatial strategic plans in Portugal', [in:] ALBRECHTS, L., ALDEN, J. and ROSA PIRES, A. (eds.), *The Changing Institutional Landscape of Planning*, Ashgate, pp. 181–208.

SRU (2008), 'Revitalização Urbana e Social da Baixa do Porto', Porto Vivo.

STEWART, M. (2002), 'Compliance and Collaboration in Urban Governance', [in:] CARS, G., HEALEY, P., MADANIPOUR, A., DE MAGALHAES, C. (eds.), *Urban Governance, institutional capacity and social milieu*, Ashgate, pp. 149–168.

EUROPEAN SPATIAL RESEARCH AND POLICY

Volume 22 2015 Number 2

https://doi.org/10.1515/esrp-2015-0025

G. Bertrando BONFANTINI*

HISTORIC URBANSCAPES FOR TOMORROW, TWO ITALIAN CASES: GENOA AND BOLOGNA

Abstract: After a rather long silence, in the last fifteen years, heritage has progressively returned to urban agendas, and not just in Europe.

The following pages reflect on the possible updated "structural" function of the historic parts of contemporary cities through the examples provided by two medium-sized Italian cities – Genoa and Bologna – characterized by the presence of an important urban heritage and specific urban policies and plans focused on renewing their possible role.

Key words*:* urban heritage, historic centres, historic city, historic urban landscape, urban planning, urban policies

1. INTRODUCTION: ITALIAN INNOVATION IN PRACTICE

Facing the issues related to the 'historic urban landscape' (see Bandarin and van Oers, 2012), innovation in Italy does not reside in the institutional dimension, or in the legislative framework and its possible updating. Rather, it lies in practice. Thus, this paper selects two practical planning experiences – probably the most important ones in the last two decades (together with the last general plan of Rome) – that are particularly significant and relevant for both the concrete effects achieved, and the methods and tools used to pursue the planning targets.

The case of Genoa is representative of a strategic and operational approach to urban policies – *planning by actions* according to a strategic framework – against a mere regulative urban planning (Gabrielli and Bobbio, 2005), that is, from a plan setting out rules to a program of actions (Bonfantini, 2012, pp. 13–15). In fact, the recent regeneration of the historic centre of Genoa has been described as a successful example of 'creative' urban planning (Bobbio, 2008a), i.e., the result of a planning

* G. Bertrando BONFANTINI, Politecnico di Milano, Department of Architecture and Urban Studies, Via Bonardi 9, 20133 Milan, Italy, e-mail: bertrando.bonfantini@polimi.it

attitude able to catalyze innovation and change by breaking down the previous consolidated trend of decay and deterioration thus maximizing the opportunities offered by a historic and cultural heritage that were lying unproductive in the city (Bobbio, 2008a: 15). The interest in the case of Genoa (Kupka, 2012, pp. 171–227) is above all operative: that is, for the capability of its administration to combine a number of different funding sources, together with special and ordinary planning programs and tools, in an effective regeneration process of the waterfront and the ancient centre.

The case of Bologna is significant in reconsidering the famous historic centre planning tradition of such a city in relation to and in comparison with the last innovative phase opened up by the new municipal structural plan in the 2000s. In fact, regarding the Italian experience in planning historic centres, Bologna's experience of the 1960−1970s continues to be the best known and mentioned internationally in the scientific literature (Appleyard, 1979; Cantacuzino and Brandt, 1980; Tiesdell, Oc, Heath, 1996; Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012, 2015). However, just considering the last fifteen years of urban plans and policies of this city, it is possible to gain a clear vision of the updated approaches that renewed this tradition, with a remarkable change of perspective in the general meaning and methods of planning action on the 'inherited city'. This specific issue will be explored in detail in the fifth section of this article and in its conclusions.

It is also worthwhile to underscore how these recent Italian cases meet the contents of the UNESCO 2011 'Recommendation on the historic urban landscape.'

The Recommendation 'addresses the need to better integrate and frame urban heritage conservation strategies within the larger goals of overall sustainable development,' and 'suggests a landscape approach for identifying, conserving and managing historic areas within their broader urban contexts.' In fact, the historic urban landscape extends 'beyond the notion of "historic centre" or "ensemble" to include the broader urban context.' The definition of historic urban landscape 'provides the basis for a comprehensive and integrated approach for [its] identification, assessment, conservation and management … within an overall sustainable development framework.' The historic urban landscape approach 'aims at preserving the quality of the human environment, enhancing the productive and sustainable use of urban spaces while recognizing their dynamic character, and promoting social and functional diversity.'

This little anthology of passages from the 'Introduction' and 'Definition' sections of the UNESCO Recommendation shapes a common ground with the planning experiences described in this paper, but the two cases here illustrate above all the shift 'from values to potentials' (Geurts and Corten, 2014, p. 45) in planning inherited urbanscapes. So, the question becomes not their costly preservation for 'an inflexible reverence for a sacrosanct past' (Lynch, 1972, p. 64), but rather the capability of recognizing them as an opportunity for an efficient and effective improvement of the quality of urban life and habitability conditions of cities – an asset to manage urban change and development (Corten *et al.*, 2014).

2. BRIEF OUTLINE OF GENOA

Genoa has been described as a city periodically compelled to rethink its own economic basis and identity. So, for a real understanding of the most recent changes in the city it is necessary to look at its past, considering on the one hand the last thirty years on which that change is based, and on the other 'the main phases of construction of the modern city' (Bobbio, 2008b, p. 149).

The first turning point was at about the time of Italian unification, when Genoa, coming from the previous condition of 'city-state financing the public debt of half of Europe' re-invented itself as an industrial city grafted onto the harbor. That was the opening of a phase that lasted longer than a century, in which 'Genoa grew uninterruptedly in size, population, trade and industrial production, proving to be one of the main Italian cities' (Bobbio, 2008b, pp. 151, 153). These features characterized Genoa until the second half of the twentieth century, making it 'the Italian capital of the "first capitalism" related to heavy industry, first transformation industry, oil industry, and above all (in these and other sectors), to state-financed industry' (Aaster, 2006, p. 10).

In the 1980s the crisis of the harbor and of the public industry dramatically marked a turning point. According to census data, workers employed in the manufacturing sector decreased from 169.000 in 1981 to 99.000 ten years later. The resident population reached its maximum in 1965 with 848.000 inhabitants, while in 1981, the city had 763.000 inhabitants, 679.000 in 1991, then 610.000 in 2001, and finally about 600.000 today.

Looking at the districts traditionally considered as comprising the historic centre of Genoa – Prè, Molo, Maddalena and the area of the old harbor, 198 hectares all told – the population remained about the same from 1861 (55.500 inhabitants) to 1951 (about 52.000), then fell by half in the space of 40 years (to 22.300 inhabitants in 1991), but stabilized in the following two decades (23.500), revealing a counter-tendency in comparison to the general trend of the city.

This signalled a turning point for Genoa that found in the historic centre's relaunch an opportunity to rethink a new economy and a new urban identity (see Bobbio, 2008b, p. 170).

3. GENOA HISTORIC CENTER: PROFILE OF A SUCCESSFUL CASE OF INNER CITY REGENERATION

The reasons for the initial abandonment of the historic city of Genoa have to be sought in the long-term dynamics of the transformation mentioned above. When, at the end of the nineteenth century, the industrial growth of the city produced its

expansion outside the historical core, its upper classes moved to the new districts on the hills. Starting from that period and passing through the destruction of the Second World War (from which it has nearly taken to today to recover) 'the *old city* … was left to physical, economic and social decay and reached renown in the 1980s for the marginalization of the *historical* inhabitants of the ancient districts combined with the new arrival of foreign immigrants' (Briata, 2014, p. 37). It became for the Genovese, in their imagination too, a part of the city to be avoided (Gastaldi, 2009, p. 94).

The regeneration process of the historic centre that began in the early 1990s could be described as the result of the matched effects of a sequence of three mega-events: the 1992 Columbian celebrations, the G8 Summit in 2001, and Genoa as a European Capital of Culture in 2004. In this process, mega-events were undoubtedly condensers of energies and resources, but not the trigger.

Instead, the trigger can be recognized in the transformations developed in the 1980s, inside and at the borders of the historic centre: the rebuilding of the opera house, the restoration of the Palazzo Ducale as a cultural hub and exposition centre, and above all, the recovery of the ruins of San Salvatore Monastery as the new seat of the University of Genoa's Faculty of Architecture (inaugurated in 1989 and in use since 1990). This was a decision rooted in the debates and options in the decades directly after the Second World War. The relevance of this intervention and its long-term incubation have to be underscored, because the injection of the university in the historic centre was probably the decisive factor – the 'start up' (Gastaldi, 2003) – that determined the new trend by the introduction of a new population (i.e., students) in the historic centre. This subsequently led to new practices and flows through the urban space, a new consequent boost for all related local retail outlets and refreshment activities, a vitalizing impulse for rentals that reactivated the market and solicited a new attitude of care for the suffering building stock, and a spontaneous reclamation of the building heritage, resulting, in the mid-1990s, in a 'patchy' re-qualification, which then gradually attracted other social groups.

The first mega-event, the Columbian celebrations – bringing the ancient harbor to the city again and re-linking it to the nearby historic centre – matched and strengthened these dynamics by attracting tourists, new services and leisure time facilities through the recovery and renewal of waterfront public spaces and structures.

Regarding this first phase, it is interesting to note that Bruno Gabrielli – the famous urbanist, president of ANCSA (National Association of Historic and Artistic Centres) from 1985 to 2005, and one of the main protagonists of that watershed planning period as alderman of Genoa responsible for urban planning and the historic center from 1997 and then for urban quality and cultural policies from 2001 to 2006 – commented critically on the 'lost opportunity' of the Columbian Expo, its uncertain legacy and failure to develop a forward-thinking perspective (Gabri-

elli, 1993). His criticism pointed to the incapability of a real 'strategic' approach in the realization of the event. Despite his full appreciation for the choice of the Expo site and the great qualities of the urban project designed by Renzo Piano, Gabrielli's opinion is that 'it would have been necessary to have a strategic project articulated in different parts of the city and strongly involving, at least, the whole historic center and historic harbor' (Gabrielli, 1993, p. 112).

This tension towards an effective integration of a multiple set of actions according to a strategy able to orient and keep them together for the achievement of amplified results on the city was the main characteristic of the planning phase that was pursued by the administration of which Gabrielli was a part.

Looking explicitly at the lesson of Barcelona (Gabrielli, 2006), the so-called 'Plan for the City' drafted in the years around the turn of the century (Gastaldi, 2004) aimed to reframe the regeneration process and mega-events in a strategic perspective (Bobbio, 2008a, p. 23). The 'Plan for the City' does not substitute the general master plan. Rather, it is a pragmatic tool for implementation with clear targets, monitoring, and management. It was presented as 'a strategic plan of an operational nature' (Gabrielli and Bobbio, 2005) combining both urban design and socio-economic contents. The programme for the historic centre within the framework of the Plan for the City, where it constitutes the explicit core, has been set out in a specific document called the 'Operational Plan for the Historic Centre' (Comune di Genova, 2001).

The action for the historic centre was characterised by the ability to coordinate different funding channels, especially those relating to 1992, 2001 and 2004 mega-events and a considerable number of effectively coordinated 'complex programmes' (and among them the 'Urban 2' EU integrated program; see Gastaldi, 2001) through a public initiative led approach in the regeneration process that was able to secure the widespread involvement of private initiatives. The action on public space (road paving, utilities and lighting installations, enhancement of the urban landscape through the restoration of building facades, car-free zones, etc.) together with the recapturing of the seafront by the historic centre through the restoration of the ancient harbour also had indirect effects on the recovery and diffused micro-transformations of built heritage. From the standpoint of practices, the dynamics that attracted new inhabitants and new inflows of city users to the historic centres (students, tourists, evening leisure time users, etc.) played a key role. The historic centre became an attractive place to live and work in, as well as a favourite destination for entertainment and leisure pursuits (Gastaldi, 2009).

On a more general level what can be observed in the case of Genoa is a promotional and management capacity that is supplemented by a diversified plurality of actions and whose results are not merely cumulative, but have synergetic and multiplier effects (Gabrielli, 2010, p. 68). The regeneration of the historic centre of Genoa is reflected in a parallel increase in property values and real estate revaluation. While this may be viewed as a positive factor and an indicator of success

for the urban policies adopted (Gabrielli, 2010, p. 67), alternatively, it outlines the boundaries of a gentrification phenomenon (Gastaldi, 2013), which, albeit non-homogeneous, will inevitably usher in new problems such as social polarisation, conflicts in terms of time and space between temporary population groups and resident 'gentrifiers' of the historic centre. These issues represent a new challenge for future urban planning policies.

4. BRIEF OUTLINE OF BOLOGNA

Both the initial part of the Illustrative Report of the 2008 Municipal Structural Plan (Comune di Bologna, 2008) and a following study for the Territorial Regional Plan of Emilia-Romagna (Gabellini *et al*., 2011) provide a meaningful and effective profile of Bologna. They single out some elements deemed essential to describe Bologna and its current role: infrastructural node, major territorial gate and attractor of flows related to the presence of facilities and functions of excellence; important fair site (the second largest in Italy); leading centre in some specific productive sectors (e.g., precision mechanical industry and packaging); retail, leisure and cultural hub; logistic platform of national relevance; health and wellness hub with a leading hospital system and strong pharmaceutical and biomedical sectors; and a city where to study, with its university founded in 1088.

In a recent short demographic profile of the city, outlined by the director of the municipal statistics sector, Bologna is significantly described as follows: 'Bologna has approx. 373.000 residents, but during the day its population increases to about 550.000 people with about one third of them concentrated in the historic centre' (Bovini, 2008, p. 20).

Census data reveals that from 340.500 inhabitants in 1951, the resident population reached its peak in 1971 (490.500) then decreased in the next three decades (459.080 in 1981, 404.378 in 1991, 371.217 in 2001), finally stabilising in the first decade of the 2000s (371.337 in 2011).

Within this general trend of the municipal area, the resident population of the historic centre underwent a drastic reduction from 1951 to 1971 (down from 113.000 to 80.000 inhabitants), and then again from 1971 to 1991 (down to 56.000). Then it stabilised and remained virtually the same from 2003 through 2007 (53.000 people), with a renewed attractiveness – not least from the residential standpoint – of this part of the city, which is characterised by a greater demographic turnover.

Besides the residents, another component of the local population consists of 20.000 people who do not take up residence in the city (mostly, but not only, students from out of town). Every day, about 63.000 commuters (22.000 students

and 41.000 workers) enter the historic centre (data from 2001). To these three groups (adding up to a total of about 135.000 people), we must add occasional visitors to the city centre, estimated to be about 45.000 per day. Thus, 180.000 people, or even 200.000 at times, crowd this 4 sq. km city area, which suffers from the clash of different practices and utilisation modalities, especially where the diversification of people and behaviours is replaced by a stiffer polarisation and contraposition.

5. BOLOGNA HISTORIC CENTER: FROM THE LEGACY OF A PLANNING TRADITION TO INNOVATIONS IN THE LAST DECADE

The paradigmatic experience of the plan for the historic center of Bologna attracted national and international attention at the end of the 1960s when, at a time marked by the issue of conservative renewal, housing became a pressing matter too, so that the 'conservation of the historic centres and the satisfaction of the housing demand appear as substantially compatible objectives' (Mazzoleni, 1991, p. 15).

It was in Bologna between the 1960s and the 1970s (Bandarin, 1979) that a general policy of 'active conservation, physical and social, of the historic centre' was experienced (Cervellati, Scannavini, 1973, p. 37).

The plan for the historic centre was approved by the City Council only in 1969 'but its framework had been set since 1963. It aimed to allow every private owner to intervene directly on his own building and even single dwellings while safeguarding the integrity of the historic centre urban fabric. To do that, regulations were defined to address the ways of intervention, according to the survey of the typological features of the buildings' (Campos Venuti, 2011, p. 64). In fact, what particularly distinguishes the plan is the operation, upon which it is itself constructed, that is, the 'development of an objective methodology' based on the 'concept of *type*' (Cervellati, Scannavini, 1973, p. iii). In short, the mechanism for discipline in urban planning prepared from the plan finds in the type of building the reference to be respected for the ways and forms of interventions on the historic centre.

This approach, up until recently, was heavily criticised by the culture of architectural restoration, which accused it of producing, in substance, 'in-style false buildings' (Dezzi Bardeschi, 1979). Regarding the tools and technical forms of the project to plan historic parts of settlements, I cannot go into depth here about the opportunities offered by alternative methods that, instead of typological, I could define more properly as *morphological* or *relational* (see Gasparrini, 1994, pp. 164–183; Bonfantini, 2001, pp. 190–191; 2002, pp. 83–85; 2012, pp. 4–5). In any case, regarding the search for 'the setting of scientific and clear

methodologies' of intervention, Bruno Gabrielli observed that 'in spite of the more or less harsh criticisms on the "Bolognese method", it is undoubtedly the most refined and tested' (Gabrielli, 1982, p. 3 and note 12).

As a result of the urban planning policies set and launched since the 1960s the historic center of Bologna is today substantially recovered and healthy in its own physical and material conditions. On the other hand, the original aims of social and functional safeguarding did not succeed as well. In fact, through the following decades, a process of partial functional substitution towards tertiary sector activities and a social change of the former local population have happened (Campos Venuti, 2010, pp. 127–128; 2011, pp. 65–66), as the data provided in the short profile of the city drafted in the pages above have shown.

Nevertheless, today, the historic center of Bologna continues to be an extremely dynamic part of the city, a vital urban space but for which many and different metropolitan populations compete in using it (among them university students), and stressed by a set of diverse activities.

So, in the 2000s, the age-old problem of the general (and student) population in the historic city centre (Legnani, 1998) is taken into account by the new city planning instruments by way of a broader program that addresses the overcrowding of this area by contemplating 'a selection, a reduction, a far-ranging cure'. In fact, the 2008 PSC (the Municipal Structure Plan) and the 2009 RUE (the Town Planning Building Regulations) proposed 'the strengthening of stable residency as a key protective measure (with consequences in terms of basic services and retail shops); collective and slow mobility as a priority; a balanced land use (programmed decentralisation); the protection and reinforcement of special settlement areas (maintenance and upgrade regulatory strategies); and a mix of interconnected actions and urban policies' (Gabellini, 2008, p. 98). In particular, besides the 'decentralisation of university and management functions', the 're-qualification of public space' and the 'dissemination of centrality throughout the city' were seen as strategic objectives to be pursued (Evangelisti, 2008, p. 111).

In these last urban planning tools of Bologna (Bonfantini and Evangelisti, 2009) – as in the new plan for Rome just before (Gasparrini, 2001) – it was decided to adopt the wider notion of 'historic city' – of which the historic center is only a part – as a concept with which to propose a sense and an urban role for the inherited city within the spatial organisation of the contemporary city.

Both in the general report to the PSC and the introductory texts of the RUE, there are ample passages that clarify what is intended in the new plan for the 'historic city' (about this concept see the conclusions of this paper, too). By re-thematizing the *historic center*, the difference lies in the re-problematization and the redefinition of the two terms: *center* and *historic*.

The center of Bologna no longer coincides *tout court* with its 'historic centre', as it has been traditionally understood, according to the image powerfully given by the ring of its boulevards: new 'superplaces' (Agnoletto, Delpiano, Guerzoni, 2007)

redefine it from the inside, such as the Sala Borsa (the old stock market building, that now is the location of the municipal library, the urban center and several other services the public), and remodel its extension, such as the train station (with the project of its renewal for the transit of high-speed trains that transforms the infrastructural hub into a real bridge between the two sides of the city once separated by the rails) and the new municipal headquarters. On the other hand, the axis of the Via Emilia already is and proposes itself as a system of central places and asks to be recognised as such. All this describes a different geography of the centre of Bologna in its main layout.

In relation to the second term, as much as it is defined today as *historic*, it does not simply coincide with the city centre but is more likely configured as a nebula that reveals a diverse density of elements of historical value in the urban palimpsest. That nebula is the transversal image of the whole municipal territory produced by the map of individual buildings of historical-architectural and documental interest, flanked by more recent buildings of the 'modern architectural heritage'.

Thus, the new plan for Bologna may be used as a testing ground, where different dimensions of the plan for the historic city – molecular, by parts, structural – are exemplified and find expression. *By elements, by parts, by structural territorial figures* are three different approaches that animate the new plan and give rise to a plural and complex view of the historic city *embedded in* and *cutting across* the contemporary city.

By elements, at the 'molecular' level, the plan is responsible for defining the profile of conservation, adjustments and transformation of the urban artifacts which make up the granular consistency of the historic city. To these 'molecules' identifying the individual elements making up the historic palimpsest, the urban plan associates the rules for governing the profiles of permanence and persistence specified for such single elements.

Areal, *by recognizable parts* is the criterion underlying the image that appears in the 'Classification of the territory' plate of the PSC (or the plate from the RUE, 'The historic city. Domains and materials'). Here the historic city is identified and described as the combination of sixteen urban areas – 'historic domains' – making up the 'totality of the urban fabrics of ancient origin, which have retained the recognisability of the settlement structures and the stratification of their formation processes' (PSC, Regulatory framework, art. 27). A reading of the historic city by recognizable parts lays the foundation for a diversified management in the plan, since this subdivision suggests 'pasts, and especially, presents and futures which cannot be homogenised, and require ad hoc plans' (Gabellini, 2008, p. 95), according to specific regulatory profiles, laid out specifically for each domain.

Lastly, *structural* is the approach that reveals the compositional role – i.e., the role in the spatial urban composition – played by the historic city in the PSC project, its *vision*, and its overall organisational project shaped in seven strategic and

selective leading territorial figures named the 'Seven Cities' of Bologna (Railway, By-pass Road, Western and Eastern Via Emilia, Reno and Savena Rivers, Hills; see Gabellini, 2011). It is from the combination of the 'images of the restructuring process' relating to the Cities of Via Emilia (the Ponente and Levante sides) and the City of the Railway that we may gather the sense and the role of the historic city in a perspective of renovated urban configuration. A historic city that we are advised to read, on the one hand, in terms of its reorganisation around a 'hinge factor' consisting of the new train station, within the framework of an overall re-definition of the system of urban centralities, and, on the other hand, in terms of the 'matrix' road infrastructure designed to link together and organise the entire territorial settlement (that is to say, not through the enucleation and isolation of the historic centre).

In 2009 both the economic and political crises produced a significant shift in planning policies – not a discontinuity but a change of focus. The economic crisis illustrated clearly the difficulty of implementing a wide transformation program of large urban areas (for the new university sites, for example). So the decentralization process that the PSC tried to reshape, coordinate, manage and encourage – which was also the way to overcome the narrow exclusive obsession for the historic center traditionally and deeply rooted in the Bolognese imagination by projecting the city towards an updated metropolitan vision – had a rest. On the other hand, in Fall 2009 the newly elected mayor of the city was overwhelmed by a scandal and in January 2010 resigned.

The impasse of the big urban projects in the dissemination of centralities and some episodes of harsh conflicts in the use of places in the inner city, matched with a diffuse perception of degradation in central public spaces once again brought the historic center to the fore as an important protagonist.

The first move – during the period of temporary administration of the city by the central government commissioner – was to promote a 'Programma di interventi prioritari per la riqualificazione del nucleo antico del centro di Bologna' (Program of priority interventions for the re-qualification of the ancient core of the center of Bologna) having Bruno Gabrielli as a consultant of the operation.

Then, with the new municipal administration (after the elections in May 2011), a new coherent urban planning policy was shaped. In short, it could be defined as a new planning trend oriented to diffuse regeneration targets and the resilient qualities of the city (see Gabellini, 2014). The promoter of this renewed attitude is the new alderman for urban planning, the historic center, urban quality and the environment, the urbanist Patrizia Gabellini, who in the immediately previous phase had been the general consultant in designing the Urban Plan (PSC, RUE and first POC, Operative municipal plan) until its approval two years earlier (Ginocchini and Manaresi, 2008; Bonfantini, 2011).

In regard to the historic center, this last phase can be condensed and summarized into the program 'Di nuovo in centro', which started with a decision of

December 2011 (Evangelisti, 2012). We can literally translate the title of the program 'into the city center again', but also interpret it as 'back to the city center', i.e., a return to the historic center and its own firm, reassuring and powerful effectiveness and implicit potential in a time of crisis. It is a coordinated program of integrated actions, interventions and management measures that invest in a set of urban policies and issues organized as follows: accessibility; public transport, car sharing and electric vehicles; parking; redevelopment of public spaces; regulations for using public spaces; promotion; waste collection; public consultation and participation (Comune di Bologna, 2014). The key question is the quality of open public space and the management and regulation of the practices in the use of spaces to find new agreements such as a new progressive social pact able to promote the habitability of the historic center for the widest spectrum of users.

As the subtitle of the program reveals ('a program for a pedestrian friendly Bologna city centre'), the on-foot way of using the urban space is targeted. It is a walkability approach oriented to expanding the use of spaces in all their potential according to a habitability perspective: 'If the primary aim is to rediscover walking, seen as a natural condition, necessary for living well and moving around the city, the measures to achieve this are many' (Comune di Bologna, 2014, p. 21). I can mention here just few main operations: the new rules for terraces (Regulations for the occupation of public land for open spaces attached to drink and food supply establishments); the Regulations of arcades, for the efficient maintenance and management of the 40 kilometers of arcade trails that make Bologna a unique city; and, above all, within the program of measures undertaken for a new 'walkability' of the center of Bologna, the so-called 'T-Days', that during the weekend (since May 2012) transform the main axis of the city center – the Ugo Bassi, Rizzoli and Indipendenza streets, in the shape of a 'T' – in a completely pedestrianized zone: 'on weekends, the T is only open to pedestrians and cyclists, using the city centre for shopping and leisure time. Thanks to this configuration, during the weekend the heart of the city becomes an enormous space of over 20,000 square metres that is fully reserved for pedestrians and cyclists' (Comune di Bologna, 2014, p. 23).

6. CONCLUSIONS: 'HISTORIC CITY' AND 'HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE' AS NEW FRAMEWORK CONCEPTS FOR HERITAGE-ORIENTED URBAN PLANS AND POLICIES

As a first conclusive remark about the two cases discussed here, one should consider that the results of the plans and policies implemented in Genoa and Bologna are not definitive *solutions* of recognized problems. Rather, they are a dynamic evolution that explores the possibilities and potentials of the inherited city, and

also generate new planning issues to be faced by urban policies. In this sense, as highlighted in the final part of the third section of this paper, the case of Genoa is emblematic, with new conflicts and possible crisis factors to address, determined by new trends. The two cases are extremely different: the condition of the historic centre of Genoa before the recent regeneration process was critical, while the historic centre of Bologna has always been vital and strong – and somehow hyper-estimated by an affection for the inner city in the widespread imagination – but crossed by constant tensions among different urban populations and different functions and activities in a competitive struggle for its use.

However, both these planning experiences reveal their common aim not just in providing the inherited city with a cultural value to be preserved but a salient role in the overall planning strategy and organization of the city. In both these cases, the role reserved for the 'inherited city' within the city of today is not sectoral nor is it confined to a restricted urban area. On the contrary, it has an open and expansive potential for the whole city as a complex 'urbanity infrastructure' for a rich and full liveability (Bonfantini, 2013).

This planning attitude finds its methodological framework in the aforementioned concept of 'historic city' as achieved in the Italian planning debate of the 1990s and explicitly tested in the last general Plan of Rome (see Gasparrini, 2001), drafted in the second half of the 1990s and adopted by the Municipality in 2003 ('From the Historic Centre to the Historic City' is the programmatic title of one of its cartographic tables).

The expression 'historic city' in those debates and plans is not used according to its common and generic meaning as a city rooted and shaped more or less deeply in the past, characterized by historic features, and a palimpsest of a stratified material consistency, but rather in a technical and specific sense. In short, that concept was elaborated to overcome the limits of the former idea of 'historic centre', and of the urban plans shaped by this notion. While the historic centre is an urban 'island', the historic city is a more complex and articulated concept that selects a wider variety of objects that are worthy of attention, and that are quality depositories in the historic layering of settled territory. And it is clear that this selection comes about through a critical exercise that interrogates the value, the sense and the role of the pre-existing areas and elements of the contemporary city.

The historic city is configured, then, not as the perimeter of an urban part 'ontologically' different from the rest of the urban area, but as the result of a tentative and interpretative operation that identifies one of the main structuring elements of the city. 'Moving from the historic centre to the historic city ... has meant overcoming a defensive and crystallizing concept in order to develop a greater and necessary attention to the development potential of a qualitative heritage that has only now been seen and appreciated not only in its systemic essence, and to be recognised in its territorial pervasiveness, but also to be selectively detected in the discontinuity and potential for integration' (Manieri Elia, 2001, p. 114).

In this sense, as already underlined in the opening of this paper, it is possible to recognize a convergence between this Italian planning trajectory and the concept of historic city, and the recent UNESCO Recommendation of 2011 for the concept of 'historic urban landscape' towards 'a much more flexible, open-ended and people-driven approach to conservation' (Bandarin, 2015, p. 14).

If the Italian *historic city* framework encounters and matches the *historic urban landscape* concept, in their dynamic tension and attitude in 'reconnecting the city' (Bandarin and van Oers, 2015), in the new epiphany of urban heritage, the current risk with which to contend continues to be the enucleation and insulation of the historic city because 'today, many historic places that have maintained their architectural appearance are turned into empty shells, tourist supermarkets and theme parks' (Bandarin, 2015, p. 14).

REFERENCES

AASTER (2006), *La città delle reti. Grand Re-tour Genova. Il navigare tra fussi e luoghi*, Unicredit, Fondazione del Libro, Consorzio Aaster, summary of the final research report, June.

AGNOLETTO, M., DELPIANO, A., GUERZONI, M. (2007) (eds.), *La civiltà dei supeluoghi. Notizie dalla metropoli quotidiana*, Bologna: Provincia di Bologna, Damiani.

APPLEYARD, D. (1979) (ed.), *The Conservation of European Cities*, Cambridge (Mass.) and London: The MIT Press.

BANDARIN, F. (1979), 'The Bologna Experience: Planning and Historic Renovation in a Communist City', [in:] APPLEYARD, D. (ed.), *The Conservation of European Cities*, Cambridge (Mass.) and London: The MIT Press, pp. 178–202.

BANDARIN, F., VAN OERS, R. (2012), *The Historic Urban Landscape. Managing Heritage in an Urban Century*, Chichester (UK): Wiley-Blackwell.

BANDARIN, F. (2015), 'Introduction: Urban Conservation and the End of Planning', [in:] BANDARIN, F., VAN OERS, R., *Reconnecting the City*, *The Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage*, Chichester (UK): Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 1–16.

BANDARIN, F., VAN OERS, R. (2015) (eds.), *Reconnecting the City. The Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage*, Chichester (UK): Wiley-Blackwell.

BANHAM, R. (1971), *Los Angeles. The Architecture of Four Ecologies*, London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press.

BOBBIO, R. (2008a), 'Urbanistica creativa', [in:] BOBBIO, R. (ed.), *Urbanistica creativa: progettare l'innovazione nella città*, Rimini: Maggioli, pp. 3–25.

BOBBIO, R. (2008b), 'Genova: creatività e rinnovamento urbano', [in:] BOBBIO, R. (ed.), *Urbanistica creativa: progetare l'innovazione nella città*, Rimini: Maggioli, pp. 147–183.

BONFANTINI, B. (2001), 'Adeguamento e relazioni tra città vecchia e città nuova', [in:] GABELLINI, P., *Tecniche urbanistiche*, Rome: Carocci, pp. 179–203.

BONFANTINI, B. (2002), *Progetto urbanistico e città esistente*, Milan: Clup; II ed. (2007), Rimini: Maggioli.

BONFANTINI, B. (2011) (ed.), 'Urbanistica a Bologna', *Territorio*, no. 57, pp. 57–90.

BONFANTINI, B. (2012), 'Planning the historic centres in Italy: for a critical outline', *Planum. The Journal of Urbanism*, no. 25, pp. 1–19.

BONFANTINI, B., EVANGELISTI, F. (2009) (eds.), *Bologna. Leggere il nuovo piano urbanistico. Psc+Rue+Poc*, Ferrara: Urban Center Bologna, Edisai.
BOVINI, G. (2008), 'Chi abita la città storica a Bologna', [in:] EVANGELISTI, F., ORLANDI, P., PICCININI, M. (eds.), *La città storica contemporanea*, Ferrara: Urban Center Bologna, Edisai, pp. 20–25.
BRIATA, P. (2014), *Spazio urbano e immigrazione in Italia. Esperienze di pianificazione in una prospettiva europea*, Milan: Franco Angeli.
CAMPOS, V. G. (2010), *Città senza cultura. Intervista sull'urbanistica*, ed. by Federico Oliva, Rome and Bari: Laterza.
CAMPOS, V. G. (2011), *Un bolognese con accento trasteverino. Autobiografia di un urbanista*, Bologna: Pendragon.
CANTACUZINO, S., BRANDT, S. (1980), *Saving Old Buildings*, London: The Architectural Press.
CERVELLATI, P. L., SCANNAVINI, R. (1973), *Bologna. Politica e metodologia del restauro*, Bologna: Il Mulino.
Comune di Bologna (2008), 'Piano Strutturale Comunale. Relazione Illustrativa', July 14th.
Comune di Bologna (2014), 'Di nuovo in centro. Programma per la pedonalità a Bologna / A programme for a Bologna city centre pedestrian friendly', Urban Center Bologna.
Comune di Genova (2001), 'Piano operativo per il Centro Storico', Assessorato alla Qualità urbana, April.
CORTEN, J-P., GEURTS, E., MEURS, P., VERMEULEN, R. (2014) (eds.), *Heritage as an Asset for Inner-City Development. An Urban Manager's Guide Book*, Rotterdam: nai010 publishers.
DEZZI BARDESCHI, M. (1979), 'Centri storici, ultimo atto o comica finale?', [in:] idem, *Restauro: punto e da capo. Frammenti per una (impossibile) teoria*, Milan: Franco Angeli, 1991.
EVANGELISTI, F. (2008), 'La città storica nella città di città', [in:] EVANGELISTI, F., ORLANDI, P., PICCININI, M. (eds.), *La città storica contemporanea*, Ferrara: Urban Center Bologna, Edisai, pp. 106–111.
EVANGELISTI, F. (2012), 'Di nuovo in centro. Una nuova pedonalità per Bologna', *Urbanistica Informazioni*, no. 242, pp. 51–53.
EVANGELISTI, F., ORLANDI, P., PICCININI, M. (2008) (eds.), *La città storica contemporanea*, Ferrara: Urban Center Bologna, Edisai.
GABELLINI, P. (2008), 'Un progetto urbanistico per la città storica', [in:] EVANGELISTI, F., ORLANDI, P., PICCININI, M. (eds.), *La città storica contemporanea*, Ferrara: Urban Center Bologna, Edisai, pp. 94–98.
GABELLINI, P. (2011), 'Echoes of the "Berkeley School": An Italian Experience of Urban Planning', *Journal of Urban Design*, vol. 16, no. 2, May, pp. 279–296.
GABELLINI, P. (2014), 'Capire il carattere della crisi, agire gradualmente e selettivamente, accettare la parzialità', [in:] FREGOLENT, L. and SAVINO, M. (eds.), *Città e politiche in tempi di crisi*, Milan: Franco Angeli, pp. 130–138.
GABELLINI, P. *et al.* (2011), *Immagini del cambiamento in Emilia-Romagna*, Bologna: Compositori.
GABRIELLI, B. (1982), 'Punto a capo per il riuso', *Urbanistica*, no. 74, pp. 2–8.
GABRIELLI, B. (1993), 'L'occasione mancata dell'Expo Genovese', *Territorio*, no. 14, pp. 111–119.
GABRIELLI, B. (2006), 'La lezione di Barcellona', *Dialoghi internazionali. Città nel mondo*, Milan, no. 3, pp. 123–129.
GABRIELLI, B. (2010), 'Il caso di Genova', [in:] STORCHI, S., ARMANNI, O. (eds.), *Centri storici e nuove centralità*, Florence: Alinea, pp. 55–68.
GABRIELLI, B., BOBBIO, R. (2005) (eds.), 'Genova, un piano strategico di natura operativa e i suoi esiti / Genoa, a strategic plan for effectiveness and its results', *Urbanistica*, no. 126, pp. 56–95.
GASPARRINI, C. (1994), *L'attualità dell'urbanistica*, Milan: Etas.
GASPARRINI, C. (2001), 'Strategie, regole e progetti per la Città storica / Strategies, rules and

projects for the historical city', *Urbanistica*, no. 116, pp. 93–116, 238–241.
GASTALDI, F. (2001), 'Urban II a Genova: strategie integrate per il centro storico', *Urbanistica Informazioni*, no. 176, pp. 16–17.
GASTALDI, F. (2003), 'Processi di *gentrification* nel centro storico di Genova', *Archivio di studi urbani e regionali*, no. 77, pp. 135–149.
GASTALDI, F. (2004), 'Rigenerazione e promozione urbana a Genova: dal *Piano della città* a *Genova città europea della cultura 2004*', [in:] FEDELI, V., GASTALDI, F. (eds.), *Pratiche strategiche di pianificazione*, Milan: Franco Angeli, pp. 65–80.
GASTALDI, F. (2009), 'Rigenerazione urbana e processi di gentrification nel centro storico di Genova', [in:] DIAPPI, L. (ed.), *Rigenerazione urbana e ricambio sociale. Gentrification in atto nei quartieri storici italiani*, Milan: Franco Angeli, pp. 89−116.
GASTALDI, F. (2013), 'Event-based regeneration and gentrification in the historic centre of Genoa', *Journal of Urban Regeneration and Renewal*, vol. 7–1, pp. 67–78.
GINOCCHINI, G., MANARESI, Ch. (2008) (eds.), 'Bologna, un nuovo piano / Bologna, a new plan', *Urbanistica*, no. 135, pp. 44–91.
GEURTS, E., CORTEN, J-P. (2014), 'Integrated Conservation', [in:] CORTEN, J-P. *et al.* (eds.), *Heritage as an Asset for Inner-City Development*, Rotterdam: nai010 publishers, pp. 39–45.
KUPKA, K. (2012), *Redevelopment by Tradition. Urban Renewal in World Heritage cities. The effetcts of plans and projects in Amsterdam, Florence, Genoa and Venice*, Venice: Cluva.
LEGNANI, F. (1998), 'La dotta Bologna: da Alma Mater a Città europea della cultura 2004', *Archivio di Studi Urbani e Regionali*, no. 60–61.
LYNCH, K. (1972), *What Time Is This Place?*, Cambridge (Mass.) and London: The MIT Press.
MANIERI, E. M. (2001), 'La Città storica struttura identificante / The historical city as significant structure', *Urbanistica*, no. 116, pp. 109–116, 241–243.
MAZZOLENI, Ch. (1991), 'Dalla salvaguardia del centro storico alla riqualificazione della città esistente', *Archivio di studi urbani e regionali*, no. 40, pp. 7–42.
STORCHI, S., ARMANNI, O. (2010) (eds.), *Centri storici e nuove centralità*, Florence: Alinea.
TIESDELL, S., OC, T., HEATH, T. (1996), *Revitalizing Historic Urban Quarters*, Oxford: Architectural Press.

EUROPEAN SPATIAL RESEARCH AND POLICY

Volume 22 2015 Number 2

https://doi.org/10.1515/esrp-2015-0026

Iwona PIELESIAK*

MANAGING 'ORDINARY HERITAGE' IN POLAND: ŁÓDŹ AND ITS POST-INDUSTRIAL LEGACY

Abstract: It could be argued that cultural heritage in Poland, like in other post-socialist countries, is losing its importance due to modernisation, and that its preservation is in conflict with new investment. The situation is caused by several factors. Firstly, free use of private property is often more valued than the care for historical landscapes, which could be attributed to the consequences of the economic crisis. Secondly, there are legal shortcomings in spatial planning and heritage conservation systems. Thirdly, cooperation among politicians, urban planners and heritage protection officers is not efficient.

Since the transition period of the 1990s, historic relics have been exposed to multiple threats. The following case study of Łódź illustrates the general need for a change of approach towards cultural legacy management, especially in reference to more common heritage elements which are not under hard protection.

Key words: cultural heritage, post-industrial legacy, Łódź

1. INTRODUCTION

In 2004 the 'European Landscape Convention' (2000), which aimed at the multifaceted management of cultural landscape, was ratified in Poland. This event was a part of a much wider process of the growing awareness of the influence that land development quality and cultural legacy have on our lives. It has been noticed and discussed by Polish academics and practitioners − anthropologists, architects, ethnographers, conservators, geographers, planners and sociologists who deal with culture and land management (Murzyn-Kupisz and Purchla, 2007; Ossowicz and Zipser, 2008, etc.). The idea that cultural heritage could be included in the process of improving the quality of life and transformed into a stimulus for socio-economic

* Iwona PIELESIAK, Łódź University, Department of the Built Environment and Spatial Policy, 90-142 Łódź, ul. Kopcińskiego 31, Poland, e-mail: i.pielesiak@interia.pl

development is becoming very popular (Murzyn-Kupisz, 2013). On the one hand it is strongly determined by external factors which are common for other countries, i.e. economic factors (Salah El-Dien Ouf, 2008; Schlanger and Aitchison, 2010), switching over to sustainability (Loulanski and Loulanski, 2011; Rudnicka, 2010) or European and global integration processes (van Gorp and Renes, 2007; Chiu *et al.*, 2011). On the other hand, however, it depends strongly on national cultural specificity. Outstanding sites are universally appreciated, which is disadvantageous for the less prominent legacy. Another problem is that for many ordinary citizens the quality of tangible heritage surrounding them is under-prioritised. Monuments are perceived as icons that are disconnected from the surrounding space.

The objective of this article is to present and discuss the evolution of approaches towards cultural heritage in Poland since the middle of the 20th century, as well as to assess how the changes in the spatial planning system and the system of heritage protection respond to this evolution, especially in reference to more common and therefore less appreciated elements of legacy − the 'ordinary heritage'.

The term 'heritage of the ordinary' or 'ordinary heritage' was used by Dallen (2014) to address objects and places created by 'ordinary people of the society' − schools, barns, fences, jails, industrial sites, etc. The term corresponds with French 'everyday's heritage' – 'le patrimoine du quotidien' (Geppert and Lorenzi, 2013), which means heritage available every day and generally considered not valuable enough to deserve protection, being 'the background for our lives' (Kupidura, 2013). After many decades of undervaluing ordinary heritage in Poland, the process of rediscovering its values has recently begun. However, it develops gradually rather than in a revolutionary way.

The underestimation of ordinary, non-exclusive and unlucrative elements of heritage is attributed to three main factors. First of all, there is the discriminatory policy, for which people in positions of power are responsible. The attitude toward heritage depends therefore on the number of people for whom it is relevant, the current political situation and dominant ideology, such as being uncomfortable with some elements of history. Secondly, such heritage, despite being present more or less everywhere, is particularly common in less developed countries, in which financial possibilities for cultural legacy preservation are limited. Huge heritage resources and insufficient public funds eventually lead to a clearly selective conservation policy. The third factor causing disregard for some elements of cultural heritage is their age. It is suggested that ordinary heritage should make room for more modern and 'graceful' objects that would stimulate further development (Dallen, 2014).

Poland, in which all the mentioned factors have been at play, is a perfect arena for analysing how ordinary heritage is managed in time of growing social awareness, but also in time of permanent economic uncertainty. The general considerations in this field are exemplified by a case study of Łódź. For this city, post-industrial legacy has become a distinguishing mark at the supranational level, however,

at the same time it remains one of the biggest and still unsolved problems for municipal authorities, conservators and urban planners.

The paper presents the results of field inventories, as well as a review of legal acts, scientific literature and press reports related to past and contemporary heritage management. Issues tackled in the article were also discussed with the incumbent heritage conservator for Łódź region. The interview with the conservator was held in January 2015.

2. CULTURAL HERITAGE AND ITS UNSTABLE PLACE IN THE PLANNING SYSTEM

In Poland, cultural legacy has been shaped by a variety of social, political and economic processes that occurred throughout the country's turbulent history. The most significant changes in this area have been observed since the beginning of the last century. Firstly, severe war damages considerably reduced heritage resources. Then, a period of centrally planned economy modified the general attitude toward cultural legacy. At that time many historic objects were extensively used and often severely underinvested. This period was followed by socio-economic transition which began in 1989 and ended, at least symbolically, in 2004 along with Poland's accession to the European Union. Since the 1990s, when a period of economic uncertainty began, heritage is permanently threatened because of the pursuit of economic development.

2.1. The Evolving Perception of Cultural Heritage

After the Second World War, dealing with cultural heritage was generally reduced to its preservation. It focused mainly on tangible legacy – historic monuments – and depended basically on legal and financial instruments (Hełpa-Liszkowska, 2013). During that period, the majority of valuable objects remained national property, which – in practice – often meant nobody's property. The state was supposed to finance and maintain it. Centrally planned policy was implemented by conservators, who played an active role in heritage preservation (Böhm *et al*., 2008; Murzyn-Kupisz, 2009).

Since Poland entered free market economy, the approach to cultural heritage has evolved considerably. Now it no longer aims at preserving selected historic monuments, as legacy is perceived as 'the way previous generations lived, [...] a history of places and people that lived in those places' (Hełpa-Liszkowska, 2013, p. 8), 'not only tangible objects, but also our memory and identity' (Purchla, 2007, p. 44).

Today the meaning of heritage is no longer reduced to material objects that document the past and should serve us and the future generations in an unchanged condition. Contemporary heritage management is supposed to add new values. Like in other European countries, the gravity point is currently moving from preserving to adapting historic facilities, which means that it is emphasised that they are parts of contemporary landscapes (Szmygin, 2007; Böhm *et al*., 2008).

Nowadays, apart from focusing on tangible and intangible heritage, the culture of land management is also perceived as a crucial element of Polish legacy. This approach is developing rather slowly, as there is still little awareness of the fact that culture and heritage are the key determinants of sustainable development, local identity and local democracy (Ratajski, 2011). It is also emphasized that without sufficient support of planning culture, assigning wide competences to heritage conservation may result in the reduction of institutional activity to safeguarding selected objects, criticising modern architectural solutions and eventually to economic stagnation. This lack of trust in new visions of adaptation seems to be the reaction against the unfavourable attitude toward traditional urban structures of the socialist reality (Billert, 2006).

2.2. Stakeholders and Legal Frames

Although the general approach towards cultural heritage has evidently changed since the end of the socialist period, it does not mean that heritage management keeps up with this change. One of the reasons for this situation is that adjusting the system of heritage protection to the new socio-economic reality has not been planned well and is not compatible with economic transformation and systemic reforms. As a result, there is an inclination to overestimate economy to the disadvantage of spatial, cultural and environmental issues (Korzeń, 2006).

In contemporary Poland cultural heritage issues are tackled by the General Monument Conservator who acts on behalf of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. The lower level of management includes regional conservators who are supervised by the governors. Conservators and their offices implement protection programmes for monuments, document the state of heritage, prepare audits, supervise conservation and construction works on monuments, provide opinions regarding municipal planning documents, and popularise knowledge about cultural heritage.

Since the turn of the 20th century cultural landscape in Poland has been strongly affected by the reform of territorial government. The reform re-assigned substantial competences and wide autonomy in decision-making to local authorities. Apart from obligations in the field of land management that the legislator imposed on them, each governor may additionally entrust local authorities with some of his tasks regarding heritage. This happens on the basis of bilateral agreements.

As a result, the position of municipal conservator is designed to support regional conservators in their activities.

Public administration, planners and property owners are obliged to take into consideration the provisions of two basic laws – the 'Act on Protection and Custody of Monuments' (2003) and the 'Act on Spatial Planning and Development' (2003). According to the first document, exceptionally important objects or areas might be granted the title of monument of history, which determines its possible application for the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites. However, such objects have to be included in the register of monuments first. The register is kept by regional conservator to ensure hard protection and it is applied mainly to tangible legacy. The register is supplemented by regional and municipal lists of monuments that are supervised by the conservator. They contain vital information about a wider range of historic objects. Such records do not impose hard protection, but they may enable some monuments to be added to the register in the future.

Apart from the register and listing of monuments, cultural parks are important elements in the cultural legacy preservation system. This tool is attributed to local authorities, but so far it has been used rather reluctantly. According to the data published by the National Heritage Board of Poland in November 2014, there were 26 such objects in the country. Cultural parks vary as far as their area is concerned, ranging from several to a few thousand hectares. To establish such a form, protection plan as well as local land development plan have to be passed. Those tasks require assigning additional budgetary funds, which seems to be a crucial dispiriting factor for the authorities.

The condition of heritage relies heavily on planners − their knowledge, skills and attitude − as well as on the possibilities and limitations that the Polish spatial planning system gives them. They should provide sufficient protection for the facilities included in the register of monuments and the municipal record of monuments. They do so upon elaborating statutory planning documents, deciding the location of public investments, and issuing building permits. In the statutory planning documents, which are key instruments in the whole planning system, zones of exceptional heritage protection are delimited, along with detailed obligations and prohibitions.

The three-tier spatial planning system in Poland consists of three levels – national, regional, and local. They ought to complement one another, forming together a complex land management system. The first two tiers aim to specify the guidelines for spatial development patterns as well as to secure implementation of national and regional sectoral policies. Crucial planning documents are passed locally and therefore are the most detailed. Those are: 'the study of determinants and directions of land development' and 'the local land development plan'. The first one is obligatory, covers the whole municipality, but it is not an act of law. Its provisions are binding for 'the local land development plan'. The latter document is voluntary, may cover only a small piece of municipal territory, and is considered an act of local law.

Although local planning is vital for assuring proper management of cultural heritage, land development plans in Poland are not sufficient at the moment. In 2013, only 8,950,984 hectares (28.6% of the total country area) were accounted for in the plans, while 2,411,772 hectares were still under consideration (Local Data Bank). However, it is not only the question of numbers. It is the structure of coverage that matters more. Some municipalities, usually rural ones in the eastern part of the country, are completely covered by land development plans, whereas others, often those with more intensive land use, have only fragmentary coverage. Lack of valid plans is crucial, because in case of their absence, building permits are issued on the basis of discretionary ad hoc and therefore defective procedures.

Another issue concerning the condition of Polish cultural landscape is planners' awareness of the far-reaching consequences their decisions have on the cultural landscape, their knowledge of the custody rules as well as the specificity of local heritage dealt with in local development plan. Reducing detailed analyses to vague planning inventories in order to cut the cost and time necessary for elaborating a planning document is seen as a serious shortcoming. In order to prevent individual interpretations, judgements or discretionary decisions, provisions in planning documents ought to be formulated more explicitly. On the other hand, planners criticise conservators for not articulating clearly their requests at the initial stage of elaborating planning documents (Welc-Jędrzejewska, 2008). To make the situation even more complicated, conservation officers complain, too. In their opinion the time provided by the legislator for giving opinions about provisions in planning documents is too short to make them sufficiently thorough.

2.3. Pressure in the Transition Period and at the Present Time

At the beginning of the 1990s, a transition period between socialist and free market economy began in Poland. It was a time of decentralisation of public administration and restoring local governments. Revolutionary changes affected the recognition of private property as well. Private owners regained considerable freedom in their decision making. Furthermore, numerous claims for previously illegally appropriated possessions were enforced. This was accompanied by a reform of the spatial planning system. The 'Act on Spatial Planning...' (2003) imposed the expiration of municipal general land development plans and at the same time it did not oblige authorities to prepare new ones. The fact that only previous land development plans had the power to protect facilities included in the municipal record of monuments became a serious problem. After their expiration a curious race began, in which conservators tried to add endangered facilities to the register of monuments before the investors managed to demolish them. Losses due to the

expiration of general land development plans as well as the protracting administration procedures occurred more or less everywhere in the country.

As the cultural legacy protection system was becoming increasingly inefficient, regional conservation officers were assigned in 2003 the task of verifying the state of heritage facilities included in the register of monuments. This was supposed to reveal the amount and the structure of monuments according to their technical state and ownership form. The results of the project were rather disappointing. First of all, it turned out that reports from different regions were to a large extent incomparable, incomplete and there were some mistakes in calculations. Secondly, it was revealed that the state of Polish heritage was even worse than it had been expected, especially in the case of post-industrial monuments, wooden facilities, housing estates and properties that had previously been used by the State Agricultural Farms. Almost all curators indicated that the expiration of general land development plans considerably contributed to the decay of monuments. What is more, the reform unintentionally enabled introduction of estates that were not integrated with the historic development as well as undesired modernisation or demolition of valuable objects. Some of those problems were attributed to the unfavourable economic situation, lack of proper supervision over cultural heritage as well as insufficient enforcement of law. On the other hand, conservators observed a growing awareness of property owners, who were more willing and capable of proper application of institutional guidelines, and local authorities, who began to notice the potential of cultural heritage for future development of their municipalities (Report..., 2004).

The massive demolition of ordinary heritage was eventually blocked by the amendment to the 'The Act on Protection...' (2003) which was passed in 2010. According to the amendment, in order to reduce the negative effects of the insufficient land development plan coverage, conservation bodies gained the power to provide opinions on decisions on the location of public investments, permits for road investments, as well as decisions on terms of construction and land management (Mikciuk, 2010). Legislative improvements were overlapped by the side effects of the global economic crisis. As a result, destruction of less prominent post-industrial heritage reached its climax around 2008 and 2009 and from that time on the situation has calmed down.

3. POST-INDUSTRIAL LEGACY OF ŁÓDŹ

To illustrate the threats to the heritage of the ordinary, Łódź was chosen as an example. It is the third biggest city in Poland, located in its centre. Although it formally became a town already in 1423, it long remained just a minor settlement

of farmers, tradesmen and craftsmen. In the middle of the 15th century it was inhabited only by 100 people. This number changed gradually during the next 50 years to 1,000. Due to the massive textile industrialisation, urban population increased over 623 times between 1820 and 1914, which was extraordinary even in comparison to British cities. At the same time territorial expansion of the city was strictly limited. This resulted in astonishing intensification of urban land use within the contemporary town centre (Kobojek and Pielesiak, 2013). Residential facilities – tenement houses, villas and palaces – were located right next to old factories (fig. 1), which now occupy about 20% of the downtown area (Szygendowski, 2006).

Both world wars caused serious population losses and material devastation in Łódź. The latter was not, however, as severe as in other Polish cities. During the period of a centrally planned economy, despite the significant wear and tear of industrial fixed assets, textile production in the city was resumed on a massive scale, which happened without sufficient modernisation of 19th century buildings and infrastructure. The fall of the socialist economy brought new problems for the industrial heritage in Łódź, on a completely unexpected scale.

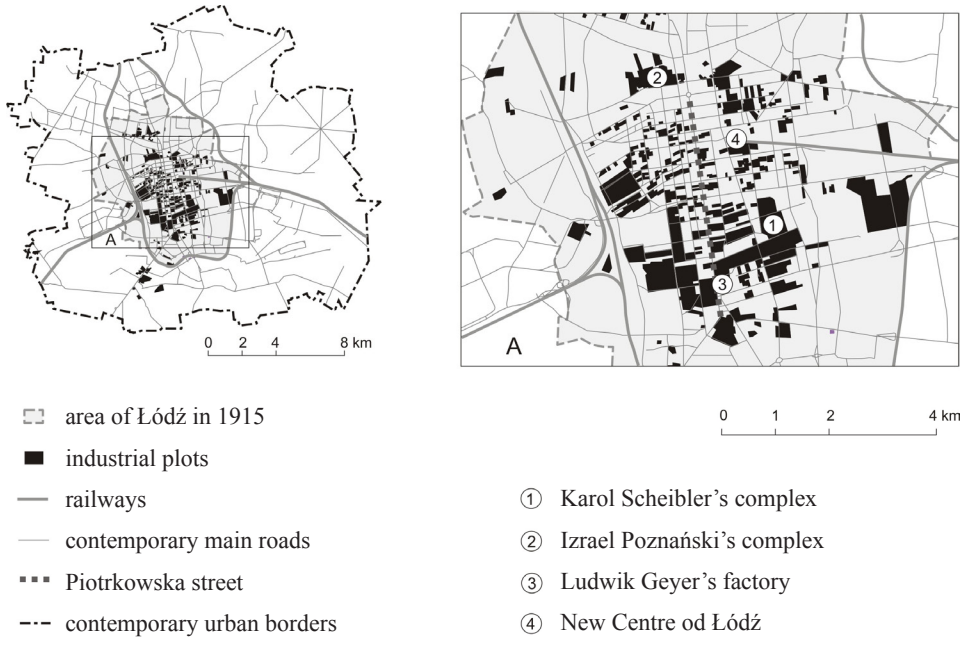

Fig. 1. Industrial areas in Łódź at the beginning of the 20th century and chosen contemporary developments

Source: elaboration based on 'Atlas Miasta Łodzi. Suplement' 2, 2012, chart no. LXIII

3.1. Socio-Economic Transition and Its Impact

The transition from the centrally planned economy to market economy brought serious economic and social problems to the city. Having no economic reasons for further existence, large socialist enterprises closed down. Factories were deserted and the city faced enormous structural unemployment. The government focused on more strategic economic sectors, mostly on the collapsing mining in Silesia, so not much was done for Łódź. In this situation local authorities tried to fight the recession on their own. Attracting foreign investors seemed the best solution in that problematic situation, but this idea also triggered a discussion whether the authorities should let the enterprises implement their own ways of managing post-industrial heritage without too many formal requirements. This would make it easier to keep them operating in Łódź. The authorities could negotiate harder and require more, but they were at risk of losses for both the economic sector and the urban community.

Faced with economic crisis, growing unemployment and massive abandonment of industrial plots, local authorities implemented a policy of restraining spatial expansion of the city. It was aimed at re-use of inner-city brownfields instead of outside greenfield investments. This is why, for instance, a special economic zone was located in the centre of Łódź, embracing a part of 'Księży Młyn' − one of the city's most precious post-industrial complexes.

As it was a time of spatial planning reform, general land development plans expired. New plans were elaborated, which was very time consuming and costly. This resulted in their unsatisfactory territorial coverage. According to the Central Statistical Office, in 2009, which was 6 years after the reform of spatial planning was introduced, only 4.6% of Łódź was covered by valid land development plans. By 2013 this number had reached 6.2% (1824 hectares), but the demand indicated in the municipal study of conditions and directions of land development is 16 times greater.

At the beginning of the transition period, every now and then social organisations and media informed about demolition of yet another relic of the past, which sometimes happened despite its formal protection. This referred particularly to post-industrial facilities as they were located on spacious plots in the central part of the city, offering a high land rent. Factory buildings, manufacturers' villas and even a tram depot were demolished without previous consultation with the regional curator's office. Additionally, in some of those cases investors managed to obtain decisions from the municipal office, which allowed them to demolish buildings despite the fact that they were listed in the municipal monuments register.

The consequences could be seen immediately – 37 factories were demolished in Łódź between 2004 and 2009. More than a third of them had previously been protected by the monuments register (Szygendowski, 2006). This destruction was eventually blocked in 2010 by the implementation of the amendment to the 'Act on the Protection...' (2003).

3.2. Heritage Adaptation – Success or Failure?

Various post-industrial buildings have been put to new uses in Łódź, among which there have been some noteworthy initiatives, for which higher education institutions were responsible. Both the University of Łódź and the Technical University of Łódź have adapted numerous old villas and factory buildings for scientific, teaching and administrative purposes. The main credit for that process goes to the latter institution, as its campus has been located in a district with many buildings that had previously been deserted by industry.

In spite of such changes in the historic landscape, many precious facilities still remain unused, which effectively contributes to their destruction. Such buildings are usually unprotected, so their fixtures and architectural details are systematically stolen. Sometimes such acts are believed to cause fires, which damages factories (Szygendowski and Walczak, 2009). From time to time property owners are brought before the court of justice, none of them, however, have been found guilty. The blame for causing fires is attributed to accidents or unidentified scrap metal collectors. It is difficult to convict anyone, also due to insufficient or too general conservator's documentation, as well as due to the quality of executive regulations, in which the meaning of 'securing' the monument (the owner's responsibility) has not been precisely defined (Chlebowski, 2003).

Among the most controversial examples of post-industrial areas reuse is 'Księży Młyn', which is a remnant of Karol Scheibler's textile empire. The contemporary functional structure, architectural form and technical infrastructure in this area are highly diverse and inconsistent. Over time, some of the buildings fell into disrepair, which was most visible in the case of abandoned buildings and underinvested residential facilities. At the same time entrepreneurs located new constructions among the historic development within the special economic zone. As a result, some of the new facilities are poorly integrated with the surrounding landscape as far as their architectural form is concerned (fig. 2). There also is strong contrast between the technical condition of buildings, e.g. between the housing unit for Schreiber's workers and the neighbouring spinning mill, in which luxurious loft apartments have been arranged.

Another problem was leaving this area to entrepreneurs. As a consequence, not enough public space was secured, which was the result of investors' lobbying. At the time of economic uncertainty, local authorities repeatedly changed the provisions in local spatial development plans according to the investors' requirements (Drzazga, 2006). Moreover, in Księży Młyn there were also cases of demolishing buildings despite their hard protection.

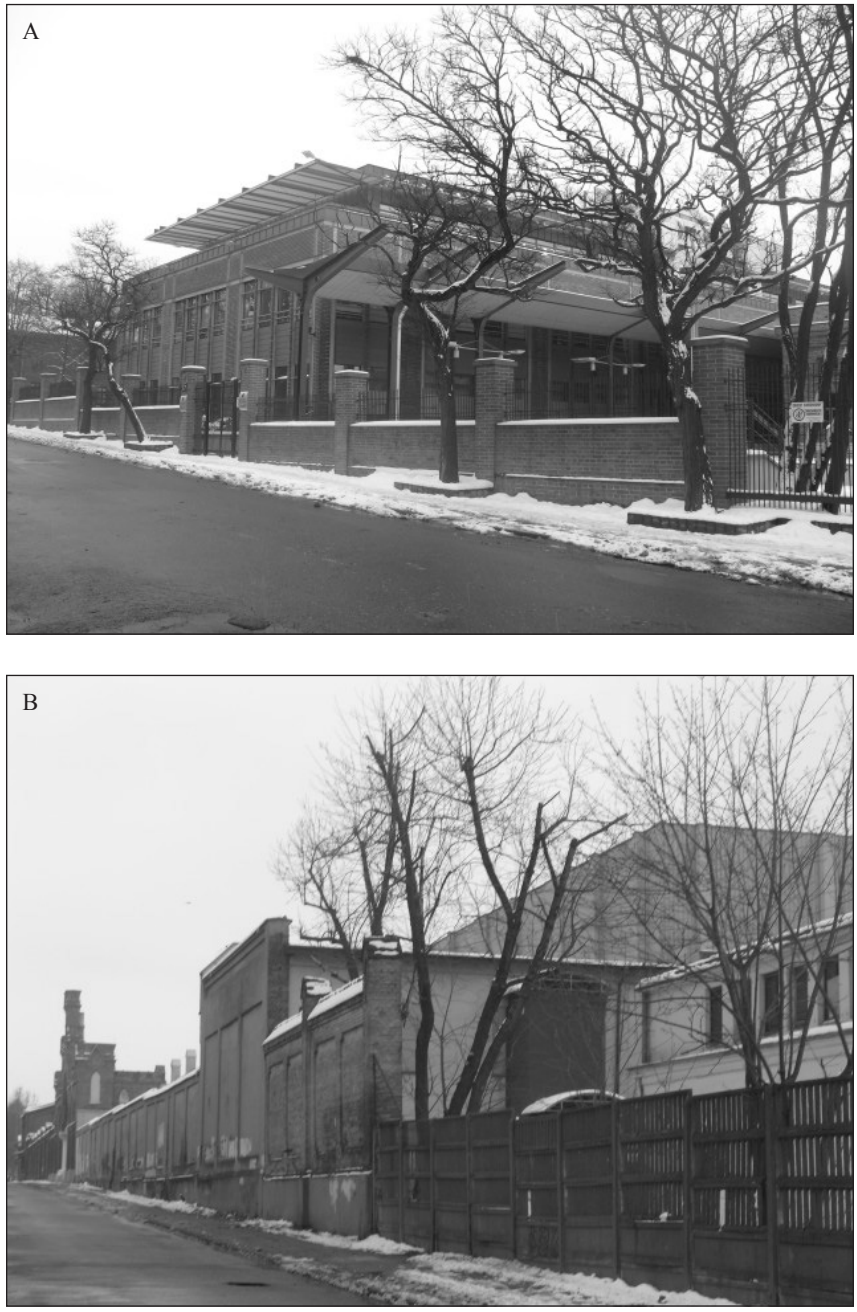

Fig. 2. Good and bad practices of fitting new investment into post-industrial areas in Łódź Special Economic Zone – Textorial Park (A) and Dakri Ltd. (B).

Source: I. Pielesiak 2013

The threats to Scheibler's legacy and the future existence of the whole complex have been the subject of discussion among planners, local community, municipal authorities and scientists for many years. There appeared, for instance, a controversial concept which assumed maintaining residential functions in former workers' houses which would practically mean transforming the eastern part of Księży Młyn into a gated community. Eventually, a general renewal of this area and transforming it partly into culture and art zone were agreed upon. Local authorities have initiated gradual modernisation of the residential facilities, which considerably improves the living standards and the aesthetics of this area.

In the opinion of NGOs members, who were actively involved in the discussion about the future of Księży Młyn, this complex should be included in the World Heritage List. First, however, the problem of shortcomings in the field of spatial planning has to be solved. At the moment only the area administered by the special economic zone is covered by a valid plan. For other areas such a document is still under preparation. Furthermore, there is a question whether the interference in the land development carried out up to now (e.g. loft apartments in the spinning mill or the general disintegration of the complex) will meet the UNESCO's requirements of integrity and authenticity.

One way or another, the renewal of Księży Młyn will take quite a different form from the flagship project of converting Israel Poznański's monumental textile factory into a shopping and entertainment centre, 'Manufaktura'. This huge complex covering about 27 hectares in the city centre contains a four-star hotel, a huge cinema, a theatre, an art gallery, numerous restaurants and shops, a spacious market square, and a vast parking area. This project has many supporters, who point out that if it had not been conducted, the abandoned factory buildings would have fallen into ruin. In their opinion 'Manufaktura' is now one of the most easily recognised landmarks of the city. It has also become an important element of urban public space. Its market place is exceptional, because despite the commercial character, it is accessible for everyone even at night – the area has not been fenced off. The whole project has undoubtedly contributed to the economic revival of this part of downtown area and the image of the city has − in public opinion – been improved. The visible evidence for this phenomenon is an increased number of people visiting the neighbouring Old Town Park, which several years ago was a place of ill repute.

On the other hand, as regards public opinion on the regeneration of Poznański's complex, the demolition of a number of historic buildings is strongly criticised. The controversial design and size of the new facilities, as well as their inadequate fitting in the post-industrial landscape are seen as a shortcoming, too (Szygendowski, 2006). In addition, the authorities were accused of too much submissiveness to the investor's demands. That resulted from the fact that the private investor began the renewal process, whereas usually it is local authorities who initiate such activities and plan them thoroughly in advance. 'Manufaktura' has became an iso-

lated island of commerce, clearly separated from its surroundings struggling with social and economic problems. Surprisingly, not even the neighbouring factory workers' houses were included in the renewal process (Drzazga, 2006). Eventually, this problem has been addressed and the workers' houses will undergo general modernisation.

Another objection to 'Manufaktura' concerns the structure of economic activities in the complex and its relation to the nearby Piotrkowska Street. The street used to be the most distinctive place in the city, famous for its exclusive boutiques, pubs and restaurants. It is believed that 'Manufaktura' systematically drains Piotrkowska Street, although it should be considered a crucial part of the post-industrial legacy of the city. Designed for the weavers of linen and cotton, Piotrkowska Street became the main structural connector between the oldest and the most dynamically developing industrial parts of the city. For a long time it performed the role of an enormous market square because planners of the rapidly growing city found no other location suitable for a large central place. The Old Town market square, which is located north of the street, was rebuilt in the period of the centrally planned economy and soon became deserted. In Łódź there are no wide boulevards along a river, because there is no big river. There are no medieval military objects or Renaissance palaces, either. Due to the lack of such characteristic sites, Piotrkowska Street remained a lively public space for many years.

In the transition period, more and more prestigious economic activities moved away from Piotrkowska Street and were replaced by shops for less wealthy customers. This happened even despite the strong support of urban planners, architects, artists and entrepreneurs, who cooperate to sustain the extraordinary character of this place. It is true that many restaurant and shop owners actually chose 'Manufaktura' instead of Piotrkowska Street, however, degradation of the street may also be attributed to other factors. One of them was the economic crisis of the 1990s and its general impact on the purchasing power of the society. Another reason was locating in 2002 a large shopping mall only 330 meters east of Piotrkowska Street.

The success of 'Manufaktura' encouraged other investors, who decided on commercial adaptation of post-industrial complexes. It seems that in this situation the textile legacy is likely to be preserved only fragmentarily. A few valuable historic complexes have already been demolished, even despite the joint efforts of the Conservator's Office and the local community. Investors' declarations that new buildings will contain partly preserved and partly reconstructed architectural elements from the destroyed factories is a dubious consolation.

There is common belief that the city embraces plenty of abandoned derelict factories, so demolishing a few buildings will not make any difference. In fact, given the number of post-industrial complexes included in the register and the records of historic monuments (in 2009 this was 24 and 91, respectively), Łódź is comparable to areas of weak industrial traditions. This, however, does not reflect

the true situation, but results from a very selective heritage restoration policy of the previous political and economic period (Szygendowski, 2006). The lack of detailed data about all valuable facilities (Moterski, 2011) directly leads to their systematic deterioration and irreversible loss.

The process of adapting post-industrial legacy of Łódź is fairly criticised for its incidental character and isolation from the surrounding areas. Planners point out that wider projects of urban renewal, combined with a comprehensive program aimed at improving natural conditions, would be a much better idea. This refers particularly to the area along two small downtown rivers − the Łódka River and the Jasień River, which determined the location of the 19th century factories. Among the arguments for general restoration of the natural environment and cultural heritage in the case of both the valleys are (Sierecka-Nowakowska, 2011):

– blurred spatial structure of the city − strengthening the structural stitches of both rivers would emphasize the orthogonal spatial pattern of land development in Łódź;

– the need to restore urban ecological corridors to improve the conditions for urban ventilation;

– the need to initiate a general process of transforming urban space.

These are very true arguments, however, the crucial question is whether the city will manage to pay for all those alterations. Łódź is still suffering from economic recession of the 1990s. The weak symptoms of urban recovery were stifled by the side effects of the recent global crisis. The city is shrinking – it is affected by depopulation processes (Lamprecht, 2014), growing impoverishment of the citizens and ageing. Its economy barely endures the competitiveness of other big Polish cities. In this situation the municipal budget was mainly used to solve the most urgent socio-economic problems. The need for far-sighted management of the cultural legacy has been therefore temporarily pushed aside for many years.

In this difficult situation, a new approach to the role of urban heritage and its relation to contemporary social and economic needs has emerged recently. It seems that the problem of insufficiently developed system of public spaces in Łódź as well as the lack of well-coordinated large scale legacy management might to some extent be solved by implementing the project of the New Centre of Łódź. This idea combines a huge reconstruction of the Łódź Fabryczna railway station − located at the heart of the city, 600 meters east of Piotrkowska Street – with spectacular transformation of its surroundings, including the first thermal power plant in the city.

In the transition period that part of the city considerably deteriorated, much of it was practically lifeless despite the favourable location. Now this unique post-industrial complex is being converted into a huge culture and business centre. The project is designed to bring the public space back to life and to renovate the neglected 19th century housing estates surrounding it. However, it required some

sacrifice of local heritage (Cysek, 2014), such as the demolition of a 19th century railway station which was included in the municipal record of monuments − to make place for a more functional, modern construction.

In October 2014, a long awaited 'Municipal Programme for Monuments Custody in Łódź' was passed. It is the first such document since the administrative reform of the 1990s, in which a change of attitude towards cultural heritage is clearly pronounced. It emphasises the necessity to abandon the old way of passive heritage preservation in favour of treating it as a vital stimulus for further development. The main objective indicated in the document is 'the renewal of the Big-City Zone, which at the moment is undergoing destructive spatial, social and economic processes' (p. 5). It is supposed to be achieved through preserving valuable facilities, social education and promotion, as well as active management of the municipal cultural heritage. As this is a recent document, the scope and scale of effects that might occur on its basis cannot be observed yet.

At the beginning of 2015 another success was noted. After 5 years of local authorities' endeavours, a number of places were granted the title of monument of history. They include former Geyer's factory with an open-air museum of wooden architecture and Reymont's park, Poznański's palace and spinning mill with a monumental fence, Scheibler's complex of residential and factory buildings and Źródliska park, urban arrangement of Piotrkowska Street, and three old cemeteries. They are supposed to exemplify the multicultural industrial roots of the city. Undoubtedly it is a great step towards successful application for inclusion of industrial Łódź in the list of World Heritage Sites and a chance for changing the attitude towards less prominent industrial heritage of the city.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Problems of ordinary heritage in Łódź are both specific and typical. The city was severely affected by the economic crisis at the end of the 20th century. The towns in its hinterland grew rapidly during the 19th century industrialisation and afterwards were strongly hit by the economic recession, too. They experienced the same difficulties with abandoned and decaying industrial heritage, but on a proportionally smaller scale. Threats to cultural legacy, especially that of non-exceptional character, were to a large extent caused by the imperfect spatial planning system, transformation of the economic conditions and other nationwide factors that occur more or less everywhere in the country (Murzyn-Kupisz, 2007; Gubański, 2008, etc.). The only differences may concern the type of the heritage and local socio-economic specificity.

The contemporary condition of industrial heritage in Łódź evidently reflects the differences in values perception. The most prominent objects are adapted. Less lucrative factories are temporarily transformed, abandoned or become urban fallows (Szygendowski and Walczak, 2009). Public entities, such as museums and universities, perceive post-industrial objects as a crucial element of local identity and cultural continuity, an anchor for a collective memory. They adapt old factories and make them accessible for public. Some of such adaptations are underinvested, depending on the current budget of the public owner, but the basis for further existence of such heritage is generally secured. In the case of entrepreneurs, economic values prevail. Providing that an investor acknowledges historic values of a certain site, a combined adaptation is implemented. Part of the heritage is properly renovated, while the rest is transformed to maximize economic profit. In many cases private investors just make a pretence of appreciation for the values of the past, preserving only tiny elements of the former built environment. The most extreme transformation of this kind involves a complete demolition of valuable objects in order to gain spacious urban plots for new investment or land speculation. There are also owners who use cultural legacy temporarily. In such a case neither its economic potential nor cultural values are effectively utilized. And finally, if there is no demand for a property or enough funds for renovation, urban fallows remain. Such management contributes to losses in the material substance of historic buildings, considerably increasing the cost of their future regeneration.

The prevalence of fragmentary concepts for adaptation and renewal of the19th century development in Łódź suggests that the city has not fully entered the phase of efficient heritage management. For a long time there have been deficiencies in effective cooperation between various stakeholders, although the conflict of their interests is illusory. Recently this problem seems to have been addressed by municipal authorities more seriously than it was up to now. Due to the fall of industry, apart from serious economic and social problems, authorities gained a unique opportunity to considerably reshape the spatial and economic structure of the city and therefore improve its image. Deeply thought over heritage management within the regained space, especially in the central part of the city, might become a major asset in its future development. There are, however, conditions to be fulfilled: urban legacy should be meticulously examined and evaluated by the conservator, the activity of different stakeholders must be coordinated and their objectives reconciled (local authorities, planners and institutions responsible for heritage conservation), proper care of public interest should be taken by local authorities, and last but not least, sufficient financing must be provided.

A solution for the ordinary heritage could be wider-scale provision of cultural parks, combined with widespread territorial marketing. So far no cultural park has been established in Łódź, although this form is flexible enough to reconcile different stakeholders' objectives. Cultural parks have the power to prevent degradation of heritage which does not mean museification and resignation from economic

growth. To make it a more sustainable development factor, Polish concept of cultural parks might adapt some assumptions from the American model. In the USA, the role of cultural park for the local community and the benefits it may bring to their sense of belonging, identity and social cohesion are strongly emphasized. Furthermore, the American approach is less bureaucratic and involves less institutional actors due to its usual bottom-up nature (Gonzàles and Vàzquez, 2014).

Finally, education on social responsibility for cultural legacy as well as the quality of space in general are urgently required. Depreciation of cultural heritage, especially that of the ordinary, seems to be the common problem for the post-socialist and post-Soviet countries. In general, the 19th and 20th-century built environment is seen there as unworthy monument protection (Novotny *et al.*, 2014) or even doomed to spatial reframing, isolation or elimination (Anheier and Isar, 2011; Balockaite, 2012). In the discussion on the future of cultural heritage, not only in Łódź but in the whole country, there are opinions that preserving old development slows down economic growth, makes cities look old fashioned and ought to be replaced with modern architecture. There is indeed a need for deciding which facilities should be unconditionally preserved, because keeping all forms of past development would petrify urban evolution (Zalasińska, 2008). Planners fear that in the long term the institutional reluctance to accept the change of cultural heritage status will lead to 'infertility' and irreversible degradation of older parts of cities, and, as a final result, to reducing the sources of capital which is necessary for further urban renewal (Billert, 2006). However, in pursuit of modernity and new development stimuli, cities cannot be mindlessly rejuvenated, because that would irreversibly destroy their spirit and bury their chances for individuality and integrity. Besides, this approach has already been applied, in the period of centrally planned economy. It has left the country with many adverse effects its citizens still have to cope with.

REFERENCES

'Act on Spatial Planning and Development' from March 27, 2003 (Ustawa z dnia 27 marca 2003 r. o planowaniu i zagospodarowaniu przestrzennym), consolidated text, *Journal of Polish Laws*, 2003, No. 80, pos. 717 with further amendments.

'Act on Protection and Custody of Monuments' from July 23, 2003 (Ustawa z dnia 23 lipca 2003 r. o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami), consolidated text, *Journal of Polish Laws*, 2003, No. 162, pos. 1568 with further amendments.

ANHEIER, H. K., ISAR, R. Y. (eds.) (2011), 'Cultural Heritage, Memory and Identity', *The Culture and Globalization Series*, Vol. 4, London: Sage.

'Atlas Miasta Łodzi. Suplement' (2012), 2, chart no. LXIII, available at: http://www.mapa.lodz.pl/atlas/temat.htm [accessed 17.02.2015].

BALOCKAITE, R. (2012), 'Coping with the Unwanted Past in Planned Socialist Towns: Visaginas, Tychy, and Nowa Huta', *Slovo*, Vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 41–57.

BÖHM, A., DOBOSZ, P., JASKANIS, P., PURCHLA, J. and SZMYGIN, B. (2008), 'Raport na temat funkcjonowania systemu ochrony dziedzictwa kulturowego w Polsce po roku 1989', Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, Cracow, available at: http://www.kongreskultury.pl/library/File/RaportDziedzictwo/dziedzictwo_raport_w.pelna%281%29.pdf [accessed 10.03. 2014].

BILLERT, A. (2006), 'Planowanie przestrzenne a polityka. "Trzecią drogą" do "Trzeciego świata"?', [in:] OSSOWICZ, T., ZIPSER, T. (eds.), *Urbanistyka w działaniu. Teoria i praktyka*, 'Biblioteka Urbanisty', 9, pp. 240–253.

CHIU, C., GRIES P., TORELLI, J. and CHENG, S. (2011), 'Toward a Social Psychology of Globalization', *Journal of Social Issues*, 67 (4), pp. 663–676.

CHLEBOWICZ, P. (2003), 'Prawnokarne aspekty ochrony dóbr kultury. Refleksje na tle zmiany stanu prawnego', *Ochrona Zabytków*, 3/4, pp. 122–126.

CYSEK, M. (2014), 'De la ville industrielle à la métropole. Stratégie, renouvellmont de l'image et valorisation du patrimoine: le cas de Lille et Łódź', PhD thesis, Lille−Łódź: University of Lille, Technical University of Łódź.

DALLEN, J. Timothy (2014), 'Views of the vernacular. Tourism and heritage of the ordinary', [in:] KAMIŃSKI, J., BENSON, A. M., ARNOLD, D. (eds.), *Contemporary Issues in Cultural Heritage Tourism*, London: Routledge, pp. 32–44.

DRZAZGA, D. (2006), 'Problemy rewitalizacji Księżego Młyna w świetle dotychczasowych doświadczeń rewitalizacyjnych zabytkowych terenów poprzemysłowych w Łodzi', [in:] MARKOWSKI, T. (ed.) (2006), 'Rewitalizacja kompleksu Księżego Młyna', *Biuletyn KPZK PAN*, 229, Warszawa, pp. 12–33.

'European Landscape Convention' (2000), *European Treaty Series*, 176, Florence: Council of Europe, available at: *conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Word/176.doc* [accessed 14.03. 2014].

GEPPERT, A., LORENZI, E. (2013), 'Le « patrimoine du quotidien », enjeu renouvelé pour les urbanistes européens', *Bulletin de l'Association de géographes français*, 90 (2), pp. 170–185.

GONZÀLES, P. A., VÀZQUEZ, A. M. (2014), 'Between Planning and Heritage: Cultural Parks and National Heritage Areas', *European Spatial Research and Policy*, Vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 33–46.

GUBAŃSKI, J. (2008), 'Obszar poprzemysłowy w strukturze miasta', *Czasopismo Techniczne*, 15, pp. 332–337.

HEŁPA-LISZKOWSKA, K. (2013), 'Dziedzictwo kulturowe jako czynnik rozwoju lokalnego', *Studia Oeconomica Posnaniensia*, 1 (6), pp. 5–18.

KOBOJEK, E., PIELESIAK, I. (2013), '*Łódź in Geographical Space'*, [in:] HABREL, M., KOBOJEK, E. (eds.), *Lviv and Łódź at the Turn of 20th Century. Historical Outline and Natural Environment*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, pp. 21–40.

KORZEŃ, J. (2006), 'Integracja narzędzi planowania przestrzennego i strategicznego dla zrównoważonego rozwoju', [in:] OSSOWICZ, T., ZIPSER, T. (eds.), *Urbanistyka w działaniu. Teoria i praktyka*, Biblioteka Urbanisty, 9, pp. 142–153.

KUPIDURA, A. (2013), 'Dziedzictwo krajobrazowe w gospodarowaniu przestrzenią', *Geodezja*, iss. 53, Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Warszawskiej.

LAMPRECHT, M. (2013), 'Fluctuations in the development of cities. A case study of Lodz', [in:] MARSZAŁ, T., PIELESIAK, I. (eds.), *Spatial Inequality and Cohesion*, 'Studia Regionalia', Vol. 38, pp. 77–91.

LOCAL DATA BANK, 'Central Statistical Office of Poland', http://stat.gov.pl/bdl [accessed 07.12.2014].

LOULANSKI, T. and LOULANSKI, V. (2011), 'The Sustainable Integration of Cultural Heritage and Tourism: a Meta-Study', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 19 (7), pp. 837–862.

MARKOWSKI, T. (ed.) (2006), 'Rewitalizacja kompleksu Księżego Młyna', *Biuletyn KPZK PAN*, 229, Warszawa, 177 pp.

MOTERSKI, F. (2011), 'Rewitalizacja obiektów poprzemysłowych', *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis*, *Folia Oeconomica*, 261, pp. 319−338.

OSSOWICZ, T. and ZIPSER, T. (eds.) (2008), *Urbanistyka w działaniu. Teoria i praktyka*, Biblioteka Urbanisty, 9, 492 pp.

MIKCIUK, I. (2010), 'Gminna ewidencja zabytków w świetle zmian wprowadzonych Ustawą o zmianie ustawy o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami oraz o zmianie niektórych ustaw', *Kurier Konserwatorski*, 9, pp. 5–10.

'Municipal Programme for Monuments Custody in Łódź for 2014–2017' (Miejski Program Opieki nad Zabytkami w Mieście Łodzi na lata 2014−2017) (2014), attachment to Town Council's resolution No. XCVI/2002/14, http://bip.uml.lodz.pl/index.php?str=83&id=35641 [accessed 06.12.2014].

MURZYN-KUPISZ, M. (2007), 'Cultural Heritage in Time of Change: Opportunities and Challenges', [in:] MURZYN-KUPISZ, M. and PURCHLA, J. (eds.), *Cultural Heritage in the 21st Century. Opportunities and Challenges*, Cracow: International Culture Centre, pp. 139–154.

MURZYN-KUPISZ, M. (2009), 'Using heritage as a vehicle for local development. The perspective of Niepołomice − a little town in Southern Poland', [in:] *Culture as a Tool for Development. Challenges for Analysis and Action*, Paris: ACTED, pp. 110–127.

MURZYN-KUPISZ, M. (2013), 'Dziedzictwo kulturowe w kontekście rozwoju lokalnego', [in:] HAUSNER, J., KARWIŃSKA, A. and PURCHLA, J., *Kultura a rozwój*, Warszawa: Narodowe Centrum Kultury, pp. 237–263.

MURZYN-KUPISZ, M. and PURCHLA, J. (eds.) (2007), *Cultural Heritage in the 21st Century. Opportunities and Challenges*, Cracow: International Culture Centre, 328 pp.

NOVOTNY, V., WRANOVÁ, A., TREVISAN, J. (2014), 'Heritage Protection versus Individual Interests in a Post-Socialist Country: the Case of Mšeno, Cech Republic', *European Spatial Research and Policy*, Vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 83–96.

PURCHLA, J. (2007), 'Dziedzictwo kulturowe', [in:] MURZYN-KUPISZ, M. and PURCHLA, J. (eds.), *Cultural Heritage in the 21st Century. Opportunities and Challenges*, Cracow: International Culture Centre, pp. 39–56.

PURCHLA, J. (2013), 'Zasoby dziedzictwa kulturowego w Polsce', [in] HAUSNER, J., KARWIŃSKA, A. and PURCHLA, J., *Kultura a rozwój*, Warszawa: Narodowe Centrum Kultury, pp. 195–214.

RATAJSKI, S. (2011), 'Dziedzictwo przemysłowe jako obszar dziedzictwa kulturowego w świetle działań UNESCO', [in:] KOŁODZIEJ, J. (ed.), *Rewitalizacja dziedzictwa przemysłowego* (Industrial Heritage Revitalization), Bydgoszcz−Warszawa: Polska Akademia Nauk, Instytut Historii Nauki, Wyższa Szkoła Gospodarki w Bydgoszczy, pp. 9–17.

'Report on the condition of monuments' (National Heritage Board of Poland) (2004), available at: http://www.nid.pl/pl/Informacje_ogolne/Zabytki_w_Polsce/rejestr-zabytkow/zestawienia-zabytkow-nieruchomych/Raport_o_stanie_zabytkow_2004.pdf [accessed 05.12.2014].

RUDNICKA, M. M. (2010), 'Ochrona krajobrazu kulturowego w kontekście rozwoju zrównoważonego. Zagospodarowanie przestrzenne miast historycznych a potrzeby współczesnego społeczeństwa', [in:] MASZTALSKI, R. (ed.), *Homo naturalis. Człowiek, przyroda, przestrzeń w myśl rozwoju zrównoważonego*, Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, pp. 75–80.

SALAH EL-DIEN OUF, A. M. (2008), 'Lower and Higher Urban Quality Cycles in Urban Heritage Areas: Rejuvenation vs. Conservation', *Journal of Urban Design*, 13 (3), pp. 403–414.

SCHLANGER, N., and AITCHISON, K. (eds.) (2010), 'Archaeology and the Global Economic Crisis. Possible Impacts, Multiple Solutions', ACE Project, Culture Lab Editions, available at: http://www.landward.eu/2010_25Archaeology-and-the-crisis.pdf [accessed 12.03. 2014].

SIERECKA-NOWAKOWSKA, B. (2011), 'Transformacja przestrzenna Łodzi poprzemysłowej w procesie metropolizacji', *Studia KPZK PAN*, 139, 180 pp.

SZMYGIN, B. (2007), 'Heritage in Transformation. Polish Experiences', [in:] MURZYN-KUPISZ, M. and PURCHLA, J. (eds.), *Cultural Heritage in the 21st Century. Opportunities and Challenges*, Cracow: International Culture Centre, pp. 129–138.

SZMYGIN, B. (2009), 'Wprowadzenie', [in:] SZMYGIN, B. (ed.), *Adaptacja obiektów zabytkowych do współczesnych funkcji użytkowych*, Warszawa−Lublin: Lubelskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Międzynarodowa Rada Ochrony Zabytków ICOMOS, Politechnika Lubelska, pp. 5–6.

SZYGENDOWSKI, W. (2006), 'Kłopotliwe dziedzictwo', *Biuletyn KPZK PAN*, 229, pp. 35−41.

SZYGENDOWSKI, W. and WALCZAK, B. M. (2009), 'Adaptacje zespołów zabytkowych we współczesnych realiach społeczno-gospodarczych na przykładzie dziedzictwa przemysłowego Łodzi', [in:] SZMYGIN, B. (ed.), *Adaptacja obiektów zabytkowych do współczesnych funkcji użytkowych*, Warszawa−Lublin: Lubelskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Międzynarodowa Rada Ochrony Zabytków ICOMOS, Politechnika Lubelska, pp. 137–157.

VAN GORP, B. and RENES H. (2007), 'A European Cultural Identity? Heritage and Shared Histories in the European Union', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 98 (3), pp. 407–415.

WELC-JĘDRZEJEWSKA, J. (2008), 'Ochrona zabytków w planowaniu przestrzennym', *Kurier Konserwatorski*, 1, pp. 5–8.

ZALASIŃSKA, K. (2008), 'Interes prywatny a interes publiczny − konflikt wartości w prawnej ochronie zabytków', *Ochrona Zabytków*, 2, pp. 83–87.

EUROPEAN SPATIAL RESEARCH AND POLICY

Volume 22 2015 Number 2

https://doi.org/10.1515/esrp-2015-0027

Adrianna KUPIDURA*

LANDSCAPE HERITAGE PROTECTION AND PERCEPTION IN URBAN FRINGE AREA: THE CASE OF THE SOUTHERN PART OF WARSAW

Abstract. The inhabitants and local governments may treat landscape heritage resources as a cumbersome legacy, which disrupts development, or may see its potential, which may serve as the cornerstone for building a sense of local identity. These issues shall be of special importance in the case of areas located on the outskirts of cities, which are subject to strong urbanization pressure. New inhabitants of such areas often know nothing about the past and history of the landscape in which they have decided to live.

This article presents two approaches to landscape heritage that can be observed in the southern outskirts of Warsaw. It presents the landscape heritage protection and management policy in those areas, as well as the perception of the elements of this heritage by the local community.
Key words: landscape heritage protection, cultural landscape

1. INTRODUCTION

The current approach to heritage ascribes to it the status of a contemporary element that should serve contemporary purposes. Heritage is therefore something that is constantly being altered, adjusted and interpreted by the contemporaries (Smith, 2006; Graham, Howard, 2008). Heritage manifests itself through the way in which we use and transform landscape and how we create relationships with the residential areas in order to add sense and meaning to it, as well as to understand who we are and who we would like to be. Contemporary understanding of the protection of landscape heritage includes not only preservation activities, but also sustainable management of those resources. A number of tools have been developed in many countries, accompanying the area development plans and enabling the local self-governments to protect landscape heritage.

* Adrianna KUPIDURA, Warsaw University of Technology, Faculty of Geodesy and Cartography, Department of Spatial Planning and Environmental Sciences, Plac Politechniki 1, 00-661 Warsaw, Poland, e-mail: a.kupidura@gik.pw.edu.pl

Landscape understood as heritage will relate not only to the physical reality, but also to the space that is experienced by individuals and social groups. Such an approach is consistent with the interpretation of landscape presented in the European Landscape Convention (European Convention...). Landscape is understood as an area perceived and experienced by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors. When defined this way, landscape constitutes a unique spatial structure, wherein historical processes, symbols and cultural meanings are encoded (Kupidura, 2013). The heritage inscribed into the landscape is sometimes clear and easy to read. On other occasions heritage is expressed through subtle means that require constant protection (Czepczyński, 2004; Cieślak, 2008).

Interpreting and defining landscape heritage should be an important element of area management processes (Kupidura, 2013). A community discussion should constitute the starting point for identifying landscape heritage and lead to interpreting the heritage. A key issue related to the interpretation and definition of landscape heritage shall be to determine the historical, cultural, aesthetic, symbolic and natural values (Kupidura, 2013).

This article presents two approaches to landscape heritage in the suburbs in the south of Warsaw – in the area of Wilanowski Park Kulturowy [Wilanowski Cultural Park] and the suburban health resort commune of Konstancin-Jeziorna. These areas feature high value cultural landscape elements and are subject to strong urbanization pressure. It presents the landscape heritage protection and management policy in those areas, as well as the local community's perception of the elements of cultural and landscape heritage.

2. SUBURBAN LANDSCAPE

In recent years the suburban areas have became the object of interest of representatives of many scientific disciplines. Suburban landscapes are areas that are exposed to high urbanization pressure and the related inflow of a lot of new inhabitants.

The problem with the peri-urban landscapes seems to be a negligence of the past and a prevalence of short-term thinking (Palang *et al*., 2011). Suburban landscapes are usually landscape with an agricultural tradition. The expansion of urban development into previously agricultural areas located in suburban communes is on the rise. Changes in the spatial structure of areas meant for new residential development are usually introduced spontaneously and without a plan. New development is introduced into spatial structures that have not been adjusted and do not meet the requirements resulting from the new functions.

New inhabitants of these areas often know nothing or want to know nothing about the past and history of the landscape in which they have decided to live. This ignorance might lead to numerous problems of a social, cultural or environmental nature. It is of course not necessary for old land use to impact its current use, and sometimes this is not even desirable (Palang *et al*., 2011). However, the knowledge about the history of a particular landscape seems inevitable in the context of facilitating activities related to spatial management that get the local community involved in a discussion related to the interpretation and definition of heritage.

3. RESEARCH AREA

Research was carried out in two areas (Fig. 1). The first one covers the southern outskirts of the left-bank part of Warsaw. These are the areas located between the river Vistula and Skarpa Warszawska. The edge of the elevation, the river valley and the Vistula create a natural landscape unit that constitutes a spatial unity. This is an area where numerous sacral and residential facilities were founded. In 2012 the Wilanowski Cultural Park was established in this area. The park is an example of a large-scale landscape composition, the center of which is the residence of King Jan III Sobieski and the surrounding park. Apart from this residence, the complex also includes branch residences: Morysin, Natolin, Ursynów, Gucin-Gaj and the sacral-funeral historical complexes – kościół św. Katarzyny [St. Catherine Church] and kościół św. Anny [St. Anna Church] with adjoining cemeteries. The Wilanów estate (Klucz Wilanowski) is the third most important large-area urbanistic composition in Warsaw. The Wilanów complex along with the neighboring residential complexes located on Skarpa Warszawska and the protected areas of the Wilanówka river valley, as well as the related open areas all possess exceptional cultural, natural and visual values.

The second research area is related to the environmental aspect of the Wilanowski Cultural Park − the urban-rural commune of Konstancin-Jeziorna, located near Warsaw, 20 kilometers to the south from its center, in Piaseczyński poviat. There are more than 24.8 thousand people living in the commune (figures from the Central Statistical Office for 2013). Konstancin-Jeziorna was created in 1969 through a merger of several settlement units, none of which had city rights before the Second World War.

Konstancin-Jeziorna is a place of exceptional features. Some water springs with therapeutic properties are located here and the area has a micro-climate resulting from the surrounding pine forest complexes. At the beginning of the 20th century an exceptional summer resort was created here, followed by a health resort in the years after the war and until today it remains the only such resort in the Mazowieckie Voivodship.

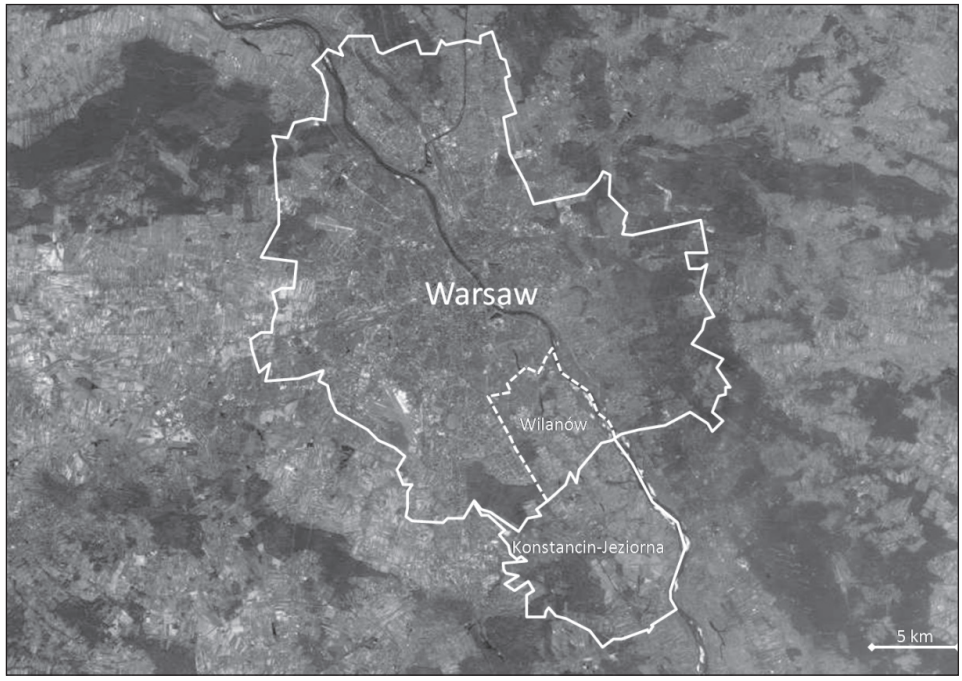

Fig. 1. Research area
Source: www.geoportal.gov.pl

The location of Konstancin-Jeziorna within the borders of the Warsaw agglomeration, in the direct vicinity of the capital city of Warsaw, make the area of the commune especially attractive for settlement, which is often termed 'the capital's bedroom'. Its exquisite landscape features and the rich history of a fashionable pre-war summer resort near Warsaw mean that Konstancin is one of the most prestigious and expensive towns near Warsaw. Konstancin is inhabited by the elites of the world of politics, artists, intellectuals and business people.

This town has exceptional landscape features. In the area of the commune there are numerous complexes and facilities of great historical value. The most important of these were registered in the historical monuments registry. Areas subject to legal protection also include the protection zones of the health resort and the urbanistic and architectural zone.

In the monument protection zone in the area of old Konstancin there are numerous villas and gardens, as well as forest villa complexes, the Assumption of the Holy Virgin Mary church with the surrounding green area, the pressure tower and green areas in several plots. In the old town of Jeziorna, monument protection extends to the villas 'Anielin', Stara Papiernia [Old Paper Mill], the neo-gothic St. Joseph Church, Fabryczna settlement and a manor surounded by a park in Sko-

limów (Czechowicz *et al*., 2005). Numerous landscape protection solutions are also applied in the area of the commune due to its high natural value. Six nature reserves were created here, as well as a landscape park, a protected landscape area and the Middle Vistula Valley Nature 2000 site.

4. CULTURAL LANDSCAPE RESOURCES OF WILANÓW

The most important element of the Wilanowski Cultural Park area is the baroque manor and garden complex, erected at the end of the 17th century for King Jan III Sobieski (Fig. 2). In the times of King Jan III all the most important elements were shaped that have later become the cornerstones of the cultural landscape of Wilanów − the palace, garden, park, farm and the surrounding fields, meadows and forest patches. A visible element of the landscape in the palace's surroundings was a 400 meters long water channel located in the axis of the complex and directed to the West, towards Skarpa Warszawska (Szpanowski, 2006). The contemporary appearance of the complex is the result

Fig. 2. Baroque manor and garden complex of Jan III Sobieski – the most important element of the Wilanowski Cultural Park area

Source: phot. A. Kupidura

of more than three hundred years of development and composition alterations. Subsequent owners of Wilanów expanded the Wilanów manor and enriched the manor and garden complex with new composition elements. At the time of Stanisław Kostka Potocki (beginning of the 19th century) the Wilanów estate included 9 farms and 19 villages, as well as branch residences in Natolin, Ursynów, Gucin-Gaj and Morysin. Potocki, an exceptional representative of the Polish Enlightenment era, politician and charity worker, the creator of the first Polish generally accessible museum of art, made the Wilanów manor an exemplary center of large landed estates. Stanisław Kostka Potocki not only altered his residence (mainly the park and garden) in the landscape style, but also undertook work in Natolin, Gucin and Morysin, creating a system of smaller palace and park complexes or park complexes around Wilanów, jointly shaping the landscape of the Wilanów estate, which intersected several landscape axes and the communication routes running along them (Szpanowski, 2006; Kaczyńska, 2011).

By the end of the 19th century the land located to the south of Warsaw was held by a single owner and had a rural-suburban character. Its dominant architectural and land elements were the palace and the park in Wilanów and the surrounding complexes. The shape taken by the landscape of Wilanów was strictly dependent on the impact of the Wilanów set of palace and garden complexes connected with each other in the compositional, landscape and functional aspect. The surrounding areas, the farms and rural development, meadows and agricultural fields, orchards and forest areas, creating one 'organism' functioning as a whole with the center in Wilanów, were 'subject' to these complexes in the compositional and functional aspect. At the turn of the 19th century there were 10 farms in the area of Klucz Wilanowski.

After the First World War agriculture as the main form of economic activity in Wilanów stopped bringing profits sufficient to support the residence, which forced the owners to divide and sell part of their estates. The closest surroundings of the manor in Wilanów, i.e. the farms and fields of the estate in Wilanów were not divided, therefore they maintained their agricultural character until the start of the Second World War. In the 1920s the Wilanów railway station was built at the foreground of the residence in Wilanów, connecting Warsaw with the nearby summer resort in Konstancin. After the Wilanów estate was taken over by the state after the Second World War, it was divided into functionally and compositionally separate, independent complexes (Kaczyńska, 2011). Wilanów was included in the administrative borders of Warsaw. A benefit for the preservation of the most important elements of the historical cultural landscape of Wilanów (mainly the Wilanów fields and the open view from the Wilanów palace towards Skarpa Warszawska) were the many years of stagnation in its urbanization and a lack of any stronger investment pressure in this area of Warsaw.

5. LANDSCAPE HERITAGE RESOURCES OF KONSTANCIN-JEZIORNA

During the Middle Ages, settlement in the area of the contemporary commune of Konstancin-Jeziorna developed initially in the Vistula valley. One of the oldest parts of today's town is Jeziorna, which existed as a village as far back as the Middle Ages. From the second half of the 18th century the development of this settlement was linked to paper-making industry.

The characteristic cultural landscape of the rural part of the commune, located at the banks of the Vistula river, was under the impact of the river itself and the relative geographical isolation of its ice-marginal valley (meander cutoffs, high scarp) and the Dutch-German settlements, which appeared here as early as the beginning of the 17th century. Those were areas where fertile soils, cambisols, were to be found. The characteristic elements of the landscape in this area include: levees and protective embankments, irrigation facilities, willows and poplars that were to protect the homesteads and orchards against the water pressuring during the thaw and flood seasons. Lanes of willows and poplars were usually placed perpendicular to the flow of a river or on balks, so they were also used as elements delimiting the estates of small farmers (Stanaszek, 2012).

The landscape of the urban part of the commune is of a completely different origin and nature. The history of Konstancin-Jeziorna reaches back to the end of the 19th century, where at the initiative of the co-owner of the Obory estate, Witold count Skórzewski (Witold hr. Skórzewski), the elegant summer resort of Konstancin was created (initially called Konstancja) for the wealthy inhabitants of Warsaw. The development of the summer resort was supported by the Wilanowska railway, which was built in 1897 and was the first narrow gauge railway built near Warsaw. In 1900 a passenger station was opened in Konstancin (Kasprzycki, Majewski, 2004).

The summer resort was an example of a perfectly well planned and executed development. Approximately 110 ha were separated and two types of plots were designated there – areas that were not meant for sale were to be used by all the inhabitants of the summer resort, whereas the other plots were intended for building villas. A total of 261 plots were delimited with an area of 3.3 thousand sq.m. each (Barbasiewicz *et al*., 1997; Kasprzycki, Majewski, 2004). Among the areas that were not meant for sale were: a forest strip running along the Sienkiewicza alley and the siding tracks (for which an area of 1185 sq. fathoms was reserved), all the roads, rivers and water bodies, two parks, a restaurant, a hotel, a railway station, a power plant and a water supply system. It was prohibited to build any facilities with purposes other than residential or guest-house, which allowed the settlement to retain its predominantly residential character until today. The Sienkiewicza alley became the main composition axis of the complex, with a railway station erected at the alley from the side of Jeziorki, and a water supply system pressure tower erected at its closure from the south, providing water from an artesian well.

Konstancin was created with the participation of Towarzystwo Akcyjnego Urządzania Ulepszonych Miejscowości Letniczych 'Konstancja' ['Konstancja' Improved Summer Resort Management Company], especially founded for that purpose, as well as a group of experts: land surveyors, architects, engineers, constructors. Numerous impressive manors were built here at the turn of the 19th century, designed by leading Polish architects (Majewska, 2010). It was assumed that in the vicinity of each villa there will be ample space to house a garden, tennis courts or a cricket field. The new summer resort was to meet the hygiene, comfort and aesthetic standards promoted at that time. Regulations were drafted, with each plot purchaser undertaking to respect these (Barbasiewicz *et al*., 1997). Plots could not be divided, nor could parts of a plot be sold. The urban complex, created according to the above-mentioned recommendations, remained in a practically unaltered form until today. Having the entire complex subjected to particular rules, that were generally respected, is an important feature of the cultural landscape of this town.

Summer resorts of a similar character were created in the direct vicinity of Konstancin: Skolimów, Chylice and later on Królewska Góra (currently within city limits). The area in those resorts was divided into large, regular-shaped plots, with some of them designated for common use, and a network of streets was plotted. Konstancin, as well as the other towns are located in the plains, with small differences in heights (Barbasiewicz et al., 1997). The dry and sandy areas of these towns are covered by a pine forest with a small number of oaks, which, apart from the old urban complexes with villa development, remains one of the more important features of the landscape of this area. Dominant tree stands are aged 90–100 years.

6. URBAN DYNAMICS IN THE RESEARCH AREAS

In 1992 the fields of Wilanów were included in a zone designated for residential and commercial development in the local zoning plans. Intensive urban development is taking place in the areas that visually connect the Wilanów palace manor and the branch complexes (Fig. 3). We observe the process of creating the manor district of Warsaw, which uses the benefits of a prestigious location in the vicinity of the historical palace and garden complexes. A new urban landscape is created on the basis of the historical landscape. A new residential neighborhood, 'Miasteczko Wilanów', was created in the flat, extensive areas between the palace and garden complex in Wilanów and Skarpa Warszawska, with multi-family residential development, where there are currently 10 thousand inhabitants (the final number of inhabitants is planned to be 60 thousand). A large shopping center is planned

Fig. 3. Intensive urban development in the Wilanowski Cultural Park area
Source: phot. A. Kupidura

in close vicinity of the Wilanów manor near the road that connects Wilanów with suburban Konstancin. New architectural dominants are appearing (Świątynia Opatrzności Bożej [Temple of Divine Providence] currently under construction in Miasteczko Wilanów) along with a new spatial arrangement, which forces new compositional connections. Intensive development in this area leads to losing valuable cultural, natural and visual features of the historic landscape. The second research area – Konstancin-Jeziorna – the town, created by merging several centers, is not uniform in its urban aspect and is distributed over a vast area. The historic complexes and single facilities in the Konstancin-Jeziorna commune, along with a valuable natural landscape, create the specific atmosphere of this area. In recent years a lot of new investments were carried out in the area of the commune, including both single-family and multi-family development.

Areas with a different history and character exist within the spatial structure of the town. Single-family residential development is pre-dominant, partially of the manor type, the core of which is made up of historical villas (in Konstancin, Skolimów, Chylice and Królewska Góra) (Fig. 4), as well as urban development (Jeziorna), industrial development (areas to the east from Mirkowska street, areas around Tysiąclecia street) and commercial and service development (the areas along Warszawska street, the area of Al. Wojska Polskiego street, including the

Fig. 4. Old villa in Konstancin
Source: phot. A. Kupidura

Fig. 5. Paper mill in Mirków
Source: phot. A. Kupidura

renovated 'Stara Papiernia', which is currently a commercial, service and cultural center located in the buildings of an old paper mill from the first half of the 19th century). Housing developments composed of multi-family residential blocks were also created here after the war in Mirków and Grapa (the second one was created in the area of one of the two parks in Konstancin: Grapa park). An important area from the landscape point of view is the paper mill in Mirków (Fig. 5) (which dates back to 1730) along with the neighboring urban complex, the workers housing development from the turn of the 19th, which is composed of residential buildings, a church and a number of facilities meant for the workers of the mill.

7. HERITAGE PROTECTION POLICIES

7.1. Cultural Park as a Form of Protecting Landscape Heritage of the Wilanów Estate ('Klucz Wilanowski')

The creation of the Wilanowski Cultural Park in 2012 (which was designated in the area of the Wilanów district and a small part of the Ursynów district; Resolution 2012) was supposed to be the answer to the intensive urbanization processes that threaten the features of historical cultural landscape. The local area development plans do not provide precise rules for shaping the cultural landscape, spatial dominants, view relationships and the impact of the existing historic monument complex on the landscape of this part of the city. Most of the plans were adopted before the park was created.

At the same time it needs to be noted that the exceptional cultural, landscape and environmental features of the 'Klucz Wilanowski' are already taken account of in various previously introduced forms of legal protection of the wildlife and cultural features of the landscape (in the park area there are: two nature reserves, a landscape reserve, a protected landscape area, a Nature 2000 site, 57 natural monuments, numerous facilities entered into the monument register, and a historical monument). This, however, is not reflected in such management of the surroundings of the Wilanów palace and park complex that would not give rise to questions concerning the harmony, order and aesthetics of space.

Cultural parks were introduced through the provisions of the Monument Protection and Care Act dated 23 July 2003, as a tool that would enable protecting valuable cultural landscape. A cultural park is created pursuant to a resolution of the commune council, after having obtained an opinion of the Voivodship Historic Preservation Officer. The purpose of creating a cultural park is to protect the cultural landscape and preserve the areas with exceptional landscape and mon-

uments that are characteristic of the local construction and settlement traditions (Article 16 of the Monument Protection and Care Act). Prohibitions or limitations concerning, among others, the execution of construction works and industrial, agricultural, commercial or service activities may be imposed in the area of a cultural park or its part; these may also pertain to posting signs, inscriptions and advertisements (Article 17 of the Monument Protection and Care Act). The rules for managing cultural landscape resources are set forth in an obligatory cultural park protection plan, the provisions of which do not have the rank of local law, however they constitute the guidelines for drafting local area development plans. Drafting a local area development plan is obligatory for the areas where a cultural park was created. This is an important provision, as in 2003 the duty to draft local area development plans for the entire area of a commune/town was abolished. Currently it is the local self-government that decides which areas are to be covered by local area development plans. If no such plan has been drafted, construction permits are granted pursuant to administrative decisions. These solutions negatively impact the quality of Polish space.

The cultural park was created at the initiative of Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III Sobieskiego [King Jan III Sobieski Palace Museum] in Wilanów and a group of independent experts and charity workers, supported by the Warsaw City Council and representatives of the Wilanów district. What was also important was to draw attention to the need to maintain cultural features that are rapidly eradicated along with the dynamic creation of new development. Unfortunately, until now the assumptions of the protection plan (Plan ochrony, 2012) of the Wilanów Cultural Park, as adopted by the resolution of the Council of the Capital City of Warsaw in 2012, were not implemented by means of adopting a local development plan in the areas where there is no plan and by updating the provisions of existing local development plans. New buildings and residential areas are still being created, marring temporary exhibitions that do not fit the historical nature of the district.

7.2. Managing the Landscape Heritage of Konstancin-Jeziorna

The attractive landscapes in the commune, its location near Warsaw and the prestige related to living in a fashionable health resort are the reasons behind enormous investment pressure in this area. Work has been going on for several years to update the land use conditions and directions study for the commune (a document that expresses the commune's spatial policy), prolonged due to the constant submission of applications to extend the urban zone. The duty to pass local development plans for the entire area of a health resort commune (in force since 2011), which is beneficial for maintaining spatial order, as well as for the protection of the natural and cultural environment, caused Konstancin-Jeziorna to have more than 70% of its area covered by local development plans. Consequently, work is

going on to develop plans for the remaining areas. An important goal behind their creation is to protect those areas of the commune that are most valuable because of their natural and landscape feature against urban pressure.

Konstancin-Jeziorna is trying to make good use of the benefits resulting from landscape heritage in the commune's area. The villa districts of the town (Konstancin, Królewska Góra and Skolimów) constitute some of the most valuable parts of the urbanized town landscape. Due to the historical values present there, part of the town was covered by a monument preservation area. Some of the buildings were also entered into the register of the Voivodship Historic Preservation Officer. The town is monitoring the technical conditions of the development (both the historical development and the development with historical features) at regular time intervals (1996, 2006). These activities make it possible to determine the dynamics of changes (Gajdak, 2008).

Among other activities taken up by the commune in recent years in the scope of managing landscape heritage, it is necessary to mention the successful renovation of Park Zdrojowy and the activities of the Konstanciński Dom Kultury [Konstancin Culture Center], the seat of which is located in the renovated, historical 'Hugonówka'. The activities of the culture center are related to promoting heritage and creating local identity. A concept of tourist routes related to the commune's cultural and natural heritage is being prepared right now.

8. PERCEPTION OF LANDSCAPE HERITAGE RESOURCES BY THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

In the social understanding Wilanów is a palace and park complex, the summer residence of King Jan III Sobieski. The royal residence is a magnet that attracts new residential investments in this part of the city. It is a prestigious neighborhood, which is reflected in the property price. This is also evident in the names of new investments and advertising slogans used by the developers, referring to the near vicinity of the royal residence. However the vast majority of the residents of the new settlements in the south of Warsaw are not aware that Wilanów is an example of a large-area landscape complex, which includes the Wilanów manor and its historical branch complexes, along with their composition and view connections with the surroundings – the vast, open spaces of the Vistula valley. This thesis seems to be supported by research on the perception of the parks' landscape features by its inhabitants and users, which was done through direct interviews, showing that the awareness of the existence of the Wilanowski Cultural Park among the inhabitants of the Wilanów and Ursynów districts is very low (Kruz, 2014). Research was carried out in the area of

Miasteczko Wilanów, at the forefront of the Wilanowski Palace, as well as in the area of Ursynów and in the neighborhood of the complex in Natolin. A total of 50 people participated in the study. Out of these 23 were male and 27 were female. 43 persons have never heard about the creation of the Wilanowski Cultural Park. The group that in fact heard about the creation of the cultural park (7 persons) was asked a question concerning the roles to be played by the Wilanowski Cultural Park. The respondents indicated protecting cultural values and natural values, as well as introducing limits for the development of investments. Some of them believe that the purpose of creating the cultural park was to introduce spatial order. Then they were asked about their assessment and the meaning of the landscape resources of the Wilanowski Cultural Park for the inhabitants and users of the Park area. According to the respondents, the landscape in the analyzed area is valuable, and requires legal protection. Open questions relating to the landscape elements of the Wilanowski Cultural Park that would require special protection were usually answered with general statements. According to the respondents such items include: vegetation, space, and monuments creating spatial complexes.

Konstancin-Jeziorna is characterized by a relatively high level of activity of the local community, both the indigenous and new inhabitants. In recent years the inhabitants opposed the construction of a bituminous mass plant and caused the dismantling of a high-rise advertisement of a McDonalds restaurant, which dominated the space over the road leading into the town from the side of Warsaw. At the same time the inhabitants also strongly pressure the self-government to designate undeveloped areas for residential development.

International academic urban workshops have been organized in the area of the commune for two years. As part of the workshops the students carry out social research by means of questionnaires. In 2014 a total of 141 people took part in the research. Special attention should be paid to the respondents' awareness of the historical and health resort nature of Konstancin-Jeziorna. The research carried out concerned the shaping of the town center. A vast majority of the respondents supported a new town center that would fit in with the existing architectural and urban tissue, with vegetation areas and low buildings, relating to the old development. According to the respondents the health resort and dominant wildlife contribute to the town's unique character. 46% of the respondents indicated the saline graduation tower located in Park Zdrojowy as the town's symbol, 44% indicated Park Zdrojowy, whereas 35% believe that the town's symbol is the renovated historical complex of Stara Papiernia from the 19th century, which currently serves as a commercial, service and cultural center. 32% of the respondents believe that Konstancin does not have any facility that would symbolize the town. 1% indicated other facilities (Nowe centrum dla Konstancina-Jeziorny, 2014 − New centre for Konstancin-Jeziorna).

9. DISCUSSION ON THE EFFECTS OF THE PROTECTION POLICIES

Creating the Wilanowski Cultural Park shows that the city's authorities are aware of the enormous potential of the cultural and landscape heritage of this area, which are not only proof of the city's history, but may also bring economic benefits. Landscape heritage management should be based on making the landscape clearer and creating bonds with the history of the place of residence of the new inhabitants. Unfortunately the activities meant to promote the landscape features of Wilanowski Cultural Park and the idea of a cultural park as a form of protecting cultural landscape have not been taken up by the self-government. The Wilanowski Cultural Park is a form of landscape protection that has been made known to few apart from the officials. There are no visual information elements in the park are, that would inform about the existence of previous cultural landscape.

It seems that the self-government does not know how and therefore cannot tap into the potential that is made available by creating a cultural park. Only fears related with the potential limitation of the investment possibilities in the park area are evident. Wilanowski Cultural Park is only a legal entity that does not meet the requirements set forth for this type of protection. It does not bring any positive or negative changes in the spatial structure of the area and the protection of cultural heritage. The park seems to be only an 'entity created on paper'. The presence of the park is only a hindrance for issuing construction permits for sites where a local area development plan was adopted.

A disadvantage of the cultural park as a form of protection is the lack of the legally binding force of the protection plan provisions, which are only a set of guidelines and recommendations for the local development plans. Legal regulations should determine the time framework for communes to adopt local development plans and update old plans after the resolution on creating a cultural park was passed.

Due to the problems outlined above, the protective assumptions of the Wilanowski Cultural Park are not being implemented. Until now no management body was appointed for the Park. The assumption behind this type of protection is the complex protection of the cultural heritage of the entire area. Currently only separate elements of the park are subject to protection, covered by different, independent forms of nature protection and historic preservation.

A positive phenomenon is the fact that the town plans to draft local area development plans covering the area and neighborhood of the Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III [Museum of the Palace of King Jan III].

The heritage inscribed into the landscape of Konstancin-Jeziorna is clear and easy to read. It is supported by the initiatives of cultural institutions operating in the commune area (Konstanciński Dom Kultury) and a proactive local community. Activities taken up by the commune are focused on protective measures.

The biggest challenge in Konstancin-Jeziorna seems to be protecting against the development of the open areas still left in the commune, which have a high natural value. In neighboring communes (Piaseczno, Lesznowola) there is strong investment pressure and almost the entire area of those communes is designated for development. Protecting the fields, meadows and forests is important for maintaining the health resort nature of the town. This is not easy when faced with the high prices of land in this area. As is indicated by Gajdak (2008), the existing forms of nature protection are not enough to protect these areas from a change of designation.

10. CONCLUSIONS

Valuable cultural landscapes are the environment in which contemporary inhabitants of cities and suburbs live. Suburban landscapes are areas that are exposed to high urbanization pressure and the related inflow of a lot of new inhabitants. The expanding Wilanów district attracts new residential investments due to the closeness of the historical king's manor and the picturesque open landscape of the Vistula valley. The palace and park complex was the historical center and dominant element of the area. This relationship should also be visible in modern urbanization processes. The presence of the king's manor should impose the way of thinking about how to manage the surroundings. Unfortunately it is not the case.

As was mentioned in the introduction, interpreting and defining landscape heritage should be an important element of the area management processes. A community discussion should constitute the starting point for identifying landscape heritage and lead to interpreting the heritage. The local self-government should be the natural driving force behind such activities. In the case of Wilanów the most active stakeholder seems to be not the self-government, but rather the management of Muzeum Pałacu Jana III Sobieskiego.

In Konstancin-Jeziorna activities related to heritage management and conservation, taken up by the commune, have a strong support of Konstanciński Dom Kultury – a cultural institution operating in the commune area and an active local community, currently involved in a broad discussion related to the interpretation and definition of cultural and natural heritage.

In the area of the Wilanowski Cultural Park the historical landscape and the spatial and functional bonds that are present therein are expressed in a subtle manner which requires to be made clearer and to be protected, since it is a value that is decisive for the cultural development of the community, as well as an element that allows defining the identity of the new inhabitants of the district.

REFERENCES

BARBASIEWICZ, M., JANKOWSKA, M., PUSTOŁA-KOZŁOWSKA, E., SZKURŁAT, A. (1997), '100 lat Konstancina', *Mazowsze*, 9–10 (1–2), pp. 45–96.

CIEŚLAK, A. (2008), 'Problematyka ochrony dziedzictwa kulturowego w planowaniu przestrzennym – możliwości, niedobory, potrzeby i tendencje', [in:] SZMYGIN, B. (ed.), *Współczesne problemy teorii konserwatorskiej w Polsce*, Warsaw−Lublin: Wyd. Politechniki Lubelskiej, pp. 25–34.

CZECHOWICZ, M., KAFTAN, J., SIEMIŃSKI, W., TOPCZEWSKA, T., WÓJCICKI, T. (2005), 'Gmina Konstancin-Jeziorna. Raport o stanie gminy', Warsaw: Instytut Gospodarki Przestrzennej i Mieszkalnictwa w Warszawie, maj.

CZEPCZYŃSKI, M. (2004), 'Living the cultural landscape: the heritage and identity of the inhabitants of Gdańsk', [in:] SAGAN, I., CZEPCZYŃSKI, M. (eds.), *Featuring the Quality of Urban Life In Contemporary Cities of Eastern and Western Europe*, Katedra Geografii Ekonomicznej Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Gdańsk–Poznań: Bogucki Wydawnictwo Naukowe, pp. 275–288.

'European Landscape Convention' (2000), Council of Europe, Doc. 8833, 25 Sept.

GAJDAK, M. (2008), 'Wybrane problemy zarządzania krajobrazem kulturowym na tle przemian funkcjonalno-przestrzennych uzdrowiska Konstancin-Jeziorna', *Prace Komisji Krajobrazu Kulturowego*, 'Zarządzanie krajobrazem kulturowym', nr 10, Komisja Krajobrazu Kulturowego PTG, Sosnowiec, pp. 35–42.

GRAHAM, B., HOWARD, P. (2008), 'Introduction: Heritage and Identity', [in:] GRAHAM, B., HOWARD, P. (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, pp. 1–18.

KACZYŃSKA, M. (2011), *Wpływ założenia pałacowo-ogrodowego w Wilanowie i jego założeń filialnych na przemiany krajobrazu*, Warsaw: Wyd. Sztuka Ogrodu Sztuka Krajobrazu.

KASPRZYCKI, J., MAJEWSKI, J. S. (2004), *Korzenie miasta*, Vol. VI, 'Niedaleko od Warszawy', Wydawnictwo VEDA, Fundacja Wspierania Kultury.

KRUZ, E. (2014), *Badanie postrzegania walorów krajobrazowych Wilanowskiego Parku Kulturowego*, praca dyplomowa magisterska, promotor A. KUPIDURA, Politechnika Warszawska.

KUPIDURA, A. (2013), 'Dziedzictwo krajobrazowe w gospodarowaniu przestrzenią', *Prace Naukowe. Geodezja*, z. 53, Warsaw: Oficyna Wyd. Politechniki Warszawskiej.

LEWIN, M. E., KORZEŃ, K. (2008), 'Wilanowski Park Kulturowy jako przykład ochrony i zarządzania krajobrazem kulturowym', *Prace Komisji Krajobrazu Kulturowego*, 'Zarządzanie krajobrazem kulturowym', nr 10, Komisja Krajobrazu Kulturowego PTG, Sosnowiec, pp. 319–325.

'Nowe centrum dla Konstancina-Jeziorny/ Un centre-ville pour Konstancin-Jeziorna/ A city-center for Konstancin-Jeziorna' (2014), Materiały z I Międzynarodowych Akademickich Warsztatów Urbanistycznych, Konstancin-Jeziorna, Warsaw, kwiecień 2014, mpis.

PALANG, H., SPEK, T., STENSEKE, M. (2011), 'Digging in the past: New conceptual models in landscape history and their relevance in peri-urban landscapes', *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 100, pp. 344–346.

'Plan ochrony Wilanowskiego Parku Kulturowego' (2012), KORZEŃ, J., MYCZKOWSKI, Z., KACZYŃSKA, M., KORZEŃ, K., WIELOCHOWSKA, M., Załącznik nr 1 do uchwały nr XXXIV/820/2012 Rady Miasta Stołecznego Warszawy z dnia 29 marca 2012 r.

SMITH, L. (2006), *Uses of Heritage*, New York: Routledge.

STANASZEK, Ł. M. (2012), 'Na Łużycu. W zapomnianym regionie etnograficznym nad Wisłą', Warszawa−Czersk: Towarzystwo Opieki nad Zabytkami Oddział w Czersku, Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne w Warszawie.

SZPANOWSKI, P. (2006), 'Zmiany w zagospodarowaniu przestrzennym otoczenia rezydencji wilanowskiej', *Przyroda i Miasto*, vol. VIII, RYLKE, J. (ed.), Warsaw: Wydawnictwo SGGW.

Uchwała Nr XXXIV/819/2012 Rady Miasta Stołecznego Warszawy z dnia 29 marca 2012 roku w sprawie utworzenia parku kulturowego pod nazwą 'Wilanowski Park Kulturowy'.

Ustawa z dnia 23 lipca 2003 r. o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami, Dz. U. 2014, poz. 1446.

EUROPEAN SPATIAL RESEARCH AND POLICY

Volume 22 2015 Number 2

https://doi.org/10.1515/esrp-2015-0028

Marilena PAPAGEORGIOU[*]

PLANNING PRACTICES FOR THE PROTECTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE: LESSONS LEARNT FROM THE GREEK UNESCO SITES

Abstract. As in all countries worldwide, in Greece too, sites selected to become part of the UNESCO's world heritage are representative samples of the country's monumental heritage and therefore constitute exemplars of planning adopted for their spatial protection.

By the case study conducted in the Greek UNESCO sites, it was revealed that, despite the fact that most of the monuments are subjects of multiple zoning, little is accomplished for their spatial protection. This is either because zoning and planning launched by the Ministry for the Environment is absent or taking too long to get approved or because zoning deriving from the Ministry of Culture is void of spatial regulations. This means that on the one hand the Ministry for the Environment should proceed at a faster pace to the elaboration of Local Spatial Plans that are necessary especially in the case of monuments in rural settings, while on the other hand the Ministry of Culture should immediately proceed to the revision of Protection Zones A and B, so they fall into the guidelines of the new Law 3028 and they acquire spatial restrictions and regulations; a condition that can only be achieved with the collaboration among Spatial Planners and Archaeologists and among competent bodies.

Keywords: monumental heritage, cultural landscapes, spatial planning, UNESCO sites, Greece

1. INTRODUCTION

Heritage is a changing and variant concept, tackled differently among nations and with the passage of time. According to the UNESCO Convention (1972), heritage is defined as the 'built and natural remnants of the past'. However, it is commonly argued lately that heritage (natural and cultural) is not strictly material, but has intangible elements too (Vecco, 2010).

[*] Marilena PAPAGEORGIOU, University of Thessaly, Department of Planning and Regional Development, Volos (Greece), e-mail: mpapageorgiou95@hotmail.com

Despite the fact that natural heritage has long been appreciated and considered in spatial planning, cultural heritage has been neglected for a very long time (Kunzmann, 2004). Lately though, governments and societies increasingly recognize the value of cultural heritage, both as a factor of societal and community well-being (Tweed and Sutherland, 2007) and as a factor of sustainable development (Kunzmann, 2004; CoE, 2005). At the same time, cherishing natural and cultural memories from the past is considered to be a sine qua non for strengthening territorial identities of cities and regions (Geppert, 2014).

Since cultural heritage is increasingly considered to be an invaluable asset − offering many opportunities and benefits to the countries and cities (Greffe, 2004) – more and more policies are beginning to include the cultural dimension in their concepts. Indeed, cultural landscape as a concept, as well as the importance of cultural heritage, were both included in all latest policies of the Council of Europe (such as the European Landscape Convention in 2000 and the Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, 2005). However, mere reference is never enough.

Cultural landscapes (either in the urban or in the rural space) are living environments for thousands of inhabitants, tourists, entrepreneurs and farmers. Therefore, pressures posed by their activities and the way they use the land are very particular and may become threatening to the landscape qualities and the cultural resources (Vos and Meekes, 1999; Kurz, Ruland and Zech, 2014). To the end of preventing further degradation of such resources and qualities, spatial planning can play a significant role, since it is of its nature to combine conservation and development at the same time.

But, what are the spatial planning tools and techniques that serve both goals (conservation and development)? According to Kozlowski and Vas-Bowen (1996), Buffer Zone Planning (BZP) is considered to be the one to fill in the gap between conservation and wise management in planning. After all, lessons learnt from the experience in natural conservation areas confirm that buffer zone planning is an ideal method for implementing gradual protection in the surrounding area of a protected space, without hampering all types of activities and development outside its bounds.

In this context, the present paper explores spatial planning practices launched in Greece for the conservation and protection of its cultural and monumental heritage. The paper records both the policies and measures with a spatial dimension implemented by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture, as well as the planning tools and zones launched by the Hellenic Ministry for the Environment, aiming at the spatial protection of the built heritage of the country. The efficiency of these tools and measures is particularly tested in the case of the Greek UNESCO sites, which are monuments of world importance and value, and therefore constitute exemplars of planning practices in every country. Following this analysis, the paper ends with the evaluation of the Greek framework (policies and planning tools) and with critical conclusions on spatial protection guidelines for the appropriate and optimal protection of the built and monumental heritage.

2. POLICIES AND TOOLS FOR THE SPATIAL PROTECTION OF GREEK MONUMENTAL HERITAGE

Greece is a country with a long and important history that is reflected not only in its numerous writings and myths, but also in its rich and magnificent monumental heritage spread all over the country and sometimes abroad. Indeed, according to a study conducted in 2010 (Beriatos *et al*., 2011), Greece counts more than a few thousand archaeological sites and another few thousand monuments of modern times.

The protection and preservation of the ancient Greek civilization and its countless monuments has been the concern of the Greek State since the liberation of the country from the Ottoman rule at the beginning of the 19th century. However, it was not before the beginning of the 20th century that Greece began to formulate clear policies and tools for the protection and conservation of its rich cultural heritage (monumental and intangible) (Pavlogeorgatos, 2003; Trova, 2003).

Today, policies and tools for the protection of the monumental heritage of Greece fall mainly under the jurisdiction of the competent Ministry of Culture, which is charged with the responsibility to proactively act for the protection, not only of the monuments found within the Greek territories, but also of the Greek monuments detached from Greece, or originally constructed abroad. At the same time, extra tools are also provided by the Ministry for the Environment, which is the competent Ministry for spatial planning tools and regulations for the protection of all kinds of valuable resources of the country.

2.1. The Spatial Dimension of Legislation Launched by the Ministry of Culture

The liberation of Greece from Ottoman rule (beginning of 19th century) is considered to be the milestone for Greek antiquities to acquire adequate attention (Pavlogeorgatos, 2003). Indeed, the first Greek Law setting specific rules for the preservation of the Greek monumental heritage was adopted in 1834. However, it was not until the end of the 19th century (1899) that the notion of protection was set as a sine qua non when dealing with the antiquities of Greece (Karybali-Tsiptsiou, 2004).

The Law of 1899 was amended several times, until it was totally revised in 1932. Codifying all previous legal documents, this Law 5351 of 1932 remained in force for seventy consecutive years and was the first to include spatial regulations for the protection of the antiquities in Greece (Christofilopoulos, 2002).

Indeed, article 23 of Law 5351 prohibited any construction and intervention at a distance of less than 500m from an ancient monument, unless previous permission was given by the Ministry of Culture. This means that in Greece it was realized early that optimal protection cannot be achieved if limited to the strict location of a monument. However, this early concern for launching a **buffer zone of 500 m** was not inspired in favor of the protection of cultural landscapes. On the

contrary, it was inspired in favor of the protection of underground space against any inappropriate construction that would result in harming the monument or its non-revealed parts in the proximity.

The first time that direct reference to the protection of cultural landscapes was made in Greece was in 1950. Following the European practice, the Hellenic Ministry of Culture introduced through Law 1469 the **Landscapes of Outstanding Natural Beauty**, i.e. a zone applicable to areas combining exceptional natural and cultural heritage of all periods of time. These zones though − as launched by L.1649 − were only of semantic and not of practical use, since no spatial planning restrictions or obligations accompanied their designation.[1]

Today, after the amendment of the Greek Institutional Law for the Protection of Cultural Heritage in 2002 (Law 3028 of 2002), the new regulations with spatial dimension that were launched regard the following Protection Zones (applicable to all kinds of monuments in Greece, both of ancient and modern times):

– **Protection Zone A**: **Zone of Absolute Protection** that usually includes the strict location of the monument or archaeological site, in which all kinds of interventions and constructions are prohibited (with the exception of actions taken for the restoration and protection of the monument).

– **Protection Zone B**: **Buffer Zone** extending to such a distance as to include areas that interact with the monument and its surrounding landscape. According to the provisions of the Law, in this Zone, measures must include land-use restrictions and regulations, ensuring that the monument is protected from any kind of visual, aural and olfactory nuisance, as well as other nuisances that are provoked by inappropriate action and excessive construction activity.

Table 1. Codification of spatial planning tools for the protection of monumental heritage of Greece

Spatial planning tools under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture	
1932	Buffer zone of 500m radius
1950	Landscapes of Outstanding Natural Beauty (in 2011 transferred to the Ministry for the Environment)
2002	Protection Zone A and Protection Zone B
Spatial planning tools under the jurisdiction of the Ministry for the Environment	
1983	Zones for Building Activity Control
1997	Local Spatial Plans (at the Municipal level)

Source: processed by the author.

[1] This deficiency of Law 1469 of 1950 was finally confronted in 2011, when 'Landscapes of Outstanding Natural Beauty' were incorporated in the Institutional Law 1650 for the Environment (amendment of 2011, by Law 3937), becoming a concrete type of Protected Area of natural heritage in the country.

2.2. Spatial Planning Tools for the Protection of Cultural Heritage

Apart from the Ministry of Culture, responsibility for the spatial protection of built and monumental heritage in Greece lies also with the Ministry for the Environment. Former Laws for Spatial Planning (of 1997 and 1999), as well as their reformation in 2014 (Law 4269/2014), consider both natural and cultural heritage as invaluable assets of the country and therefore highly prioritized in terms of protection, when planning at all levels. However, among all levels of Spatial Plans, those achieving better conservation of monumental heritage are the **Local Spatial Plans (at the Municipal level)** which have a more regulatory nature (compared to the rest that are more strategic).

Other zones of a regulatory nature that also serve the spatial protection of monumental heritage in Greece are the **Zones for Building Activity Control**, applicable to peri-urban and rural settings only. Introduced in 1983 (by Law 1337), 'Zones for Building Activity Control' are now considered to be obsolete planning tools and therefore no new designations of such zones take place. However, the few existing ones (about 30 in the whole country) are still the only ones to provide spatial regulations for several monuments that are located in rural areas, in which no Local Spatial Plans yet exist.[2]

Finally, one should not forget that after 2011, on the responsibility of the Ministry for the Environment, lies the 'Landscapes of Outstanding Natural Beauty'. As a concrete type of the Natural Protected Areas System, designation of a 'Landscape of Outstanding Natural Beauty' should be followed by a special spatial plan, providing the appropriate land use and building regulations for the protection of the cultural landscape in question.

3. MANAGEMENT AND SPATIAL PLANNING IN THE WORLD CULTURAL HERITAGE OF GREECE

3.1. Key Information on the UNESCO Sites of Greece

The UNESCO World Heritage Convention was adopted in 1972 and came into force in 1975. According to the official site of UNESCO, within the scope of the Convention, until the year 2014, 188 world sites were listed as world natural heritage, 745 sites were listed as world cultural heritage and 29 as mixed (natural and cultural) heritage sites.

---

[2] Local Spatial Plans at the Municipal level are progressing at a very slow pace in Greece. In fact, according to a study made in 2014 in the University of Thessaly (Greece), only 16% of Local Spatial Plans were approved and only 31% were then in progress.

Fig. 1. The UNESCO sites of Greece

Source: processed by the author

The UNESCO World Heritage Convention was ratified by the Hellenic Parliament in 1982. Since then, 17 designation acts (including 21 sites in total) took place in Greece between 1986 and 2007.[3] Among these, 19 are cultural heritage

[3] According to the official site of UNESCO, Greek Properties submitted in the Tentative List are the following: i) Late Medieval Bastioned Fortifications in Greece, ii) National Park of Dadia – Lefkimi – Soufli, iii) Ancient Lavrion, iv) Petrified Forest of Lesbos, v) Archaeological site of Ancient Messene, vi) Minoan Palatial Centres (Knossos, Phaistos, Malia, Zakros, Kydonia), vii), Archaeological site of Nikopolis, viii) The broader region of Mount Olympus, ix) Archaeological site of Philippi, x) The Area of Prespa Lakes: Great and Small Prespa which includes Byzantine and post-Byzantine monuments, xi) Gorge and Samaria National Park, xii) Fortress of Spinalonga, xiii) Ancient Towers of the Aegean Sea, xiv) Zagorochoria – North Pindos National Park, xv) Ancient Greek Theatres.

sites and 2 are registered as mixed sites (i.e. natural and cultural heritage sites). Despite the fact that Greece for the moment has no sites belonging to the natural heritage category, it is placed in a rather high position of the UNESCO ranking, considering both the size of the country and also the fact that many ancient Greek monuments − according to contemporary political geography − are now registered as sites of neighbouring countries.

The majority of UNESCO sites found in the Modern Greek territory regard monuments of the classical era; some of them are monuments of the Byzantine era (Monasteries, Medieval Fortresses etc), while only one is a monument of modern times (the Old Town of Corfu). The majority of them are non-living (uninhabited) monuments, while very few are living and inhabited/populated. However, it should be noted that sometimes human pressure in uninhabited monuments is much stronger, due to the tourism factor.

3.2. Spatial Protection Practices in the UNESCO Sites

In order to evaluate planning practices for the spatial protection of the Greek UNESCO sites, thorough research was conducted in several databases, both of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and the Hellenic Ministry for the Environment. These databases, as well as databases from the official site of UNESCO, are included in a special section of the References at the end. The information collected from these databases is presented in table 2.

Table 2 includes all 21 Greek UNESCO sites (categorized according to their character and location in urban or rural settings) and all existing spatial zones and tools (both under the jurisdiction of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and the Ministry for the Environment) for the protection of the monumental heritage of Greece. However, Buffer Zones of 500m radius (introduced by the Law of 1932) are not included in the Table, since they do not require previous designation and they apply automatically in all cases. Evaluating the information included in Table 2, it is concluded that:

– the vast majority of the monuments not only have Protection Zones A, but also Protection Zones B (buffer zones) for the optimal protection of the monument in question. Exception to this rule concern only a few monuments, located in urbanized areas that have no Buffer Zones;

– the vast majority of designations regarding Protection Zones A and Protection Zones B were made before 2002 (that is the year of the existing new Law for the protection of cultural heritage);

– when a monument is close to a settlement(s), Buffer Zone B usually includes part (or the whole) of the settlement(s);

– in monuments found close to the coast, Buffer Zones B include part of the marine space;

Table 2. Spatial protection applied to the Greek UNESCO sites

	Greek UNESCO sites	Protection Zone A	Protection Zone B	Landscape of Outstanding Natural Beauty	Local Spatial Plan	Zone for Building Activity Control
Sites located in urban areas	Acropolis	✓	✓	–	✓	–
	Historical centre (Chora), Monastery of Saint John the Theologian and the Cave of the Apocalypse in Patmos	✓	✓	–	–	✓
	Medieval city of Rhodes	✓	–	–	✓	–
	Daphni Monastery	✓	–	–	✓	–
	Old Town of Corfu	✓	✓	–	✓ **	–
	Paleochristian and Byzantine Monuments of Thessaloniki	✓	–	–	✓ **	–
Sites located in rural settings	Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae	✓	–	✓	–	–
	Archaeological site of Delphi	✓	✓	✓	–	✓
	Sanctuary of Asklepeios at Epidaurus	✓	✓ +	–	*	–
	Meteora (mixed site)	✓	✓	–	✓ **	–
	Mount Athos (mixed site)	✓	✓	–	X	X
	Archaeological site of Olympia	✓	✓	✓	–	–
	Medieval Castle of Mystras	✓	✓	–	–	–
	Delos island	✓	✓ +	–	X	X
	Monastery of Hossios Loukas	✓	✓	–	✓	–
	Monastery of Chios	✓	✓	–	–	–
	Pythagoreion of Samos	✓	✓ +	–	–	✓
	Heraion of Samos	✓	✓	–	–	✓
	Archaeological site of Aigai (modern name Vergina)	✓	✓	–	✓	–
	Archaeological sites of Mycenae	✓	✓	✓	*	–
	Archaeological sites of Tiryns	✓	✓	–	–	–

* Local Spatial Plan in progress
** Local Spatial Plan under revision
\+ Protection Zone B exceeding to marine space
X not applicable to the area, due to autonomous/peculiar status

Source: processed by the author.

– in the total of the UNESCO monuments located in urbanized areas, either an Urban Plan or a Zone for Building Activity Control is in value. On the other hand, only half of the monuments located in rural settings are subject to spatial planning regulations, either imposed through a 'Local Spatial Plan' or a 'Zone for Building Activity Control';

– in some cases of exceptional monuments, the Ministry of Culture proceeded to an extra designation, such as the 'Landscape of Outstanding Natural Beauty'.

3.3. The Case of the Archaeological Site of Delphi

The sanctuary of Delphi is a unique artistic achievement and one of the most famous tourist destinations in the world. Located in the mountain of Parnassos in central Greece, the archaeological site includes multiple monuments dating back to the Neolithic era, with the most important being those of antiquity. The archaeological site of Delphi is a typical example of an uninhabited site, situated in a mountainous and rural setting. Due to its importance, the Hellenic Ministry of Culture proceeded to the enactment of several legislative acts (starting from the early 1970s).

In 1975, the site was designated as 'Landscape of Outstanding Natural Beauty', while in 1985, a 'Zone for Building Activity Control' (extending up to the sea), was launched by the Ministry for the Environment, for the optimal spatial protection of the monument and its surrounding cultural landscape.

The archaeological site of Delphi was designated as world cultural heritage by UNESCO in 1987, while Protection Zones A and B were launched by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture after quite a delay, just in 1991. Since both Protection Zones A and B were designated before the year 2002, their delimitation was based on a totally different concept from that described in the amendment of the Institutional Law for Cultural Heritage (Law 3028 of 2002). As demonstrated in figure 2, Protection Zone A does not include only the strict location of the archaeological site (as L. 3028 suggests for all Protection Zones A). On the contrary, it includes a wider area, within which several modern buildings and facilities (such as mills) exist. Regarding Protection Zone B, it was designed so as to coincide with the limits of 'Zone for Building Activity Control', which was designated 6 years earlier (in 1985).

Due to the early application of spatial planning regulations to the wider area of the site (mainly by the 'Zone for Building Activity Control') the archaeological site of Delphi constitutes an intact cultural landscape and one of the best spatial protection practices in Greece. Indeed, planning regulations adopted, managed to suppress unnecessary and inappropriate building activity and to maintain the rural and natural landscape intact. In this however, largely contributed the fact that settlements found in the surrounding area of the site remained small-sized, with no special needs for development or extension.

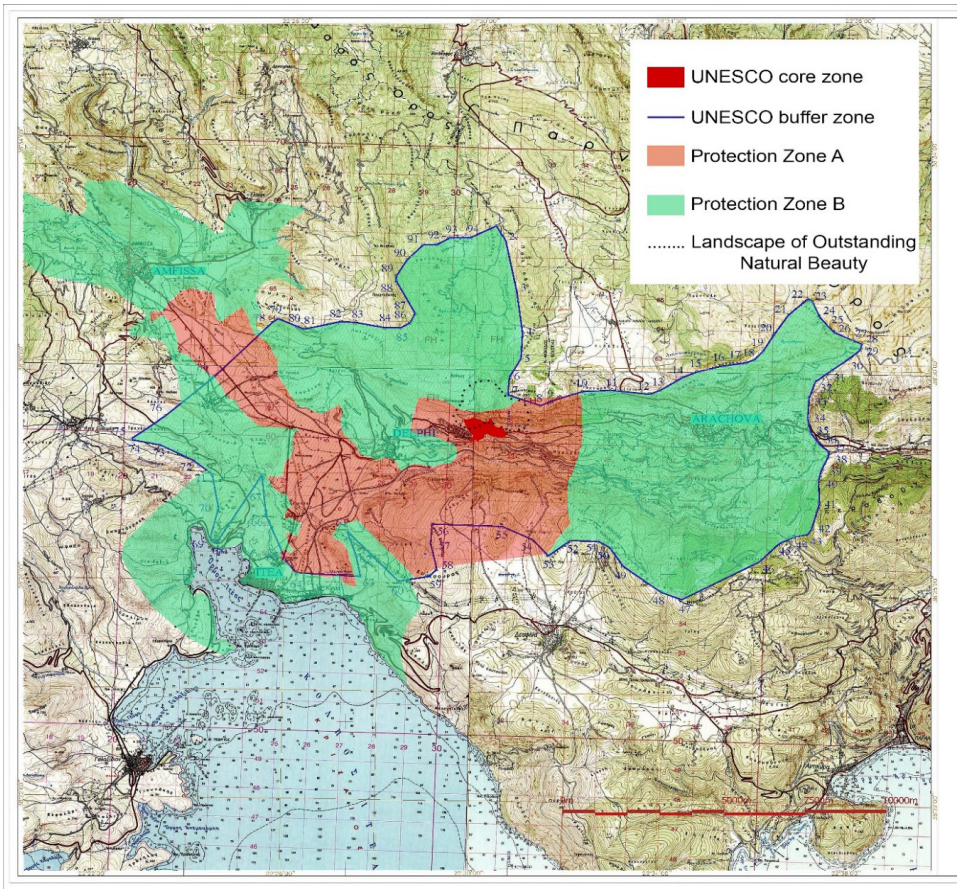

Fig. 2. Spatial protection zones in the archaeological site of Delphi
Source: processed by the author

3.4. The Cases of the Medieval City of Rhodes and the Old Town of Corfu

Rhodes and Corfu both constitute cases of living (inhabited) monuments located in an urban setting in the insular part of Greece. In fact, they both constitute parts of medium-sized cities that are inhabited and extremely touristic places.

Designated in 1998 as a UNESCO site, the medieval city of Rhodes consists of fortifications built from 1309 to 1523. On the other hand, Corfu – which is the last of the 21 Greek UNESCO sites (designated just in 2007) – is an urban and port ensemble that, although built in the 8th century B.C., it is better known from the Venetian period (mainly the 19th century). Given their cultural - and touristic at the same time – importance, both cities obtained Urban Plans for the first time in

the mid 20th century (which is considered to be quite early in the Greek reality). It was then too (decade of 1960), that their first designations as archaeological sites by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture took place.

Since the Medieval city of Rhodes is clearly delimitated by its fortification walls, only Protection Zone A was designated for the site. The fact that no Protection Zone B was designated in Rhodes can only be justified by the existence of the Urban Plan. This, however, is not the case in the Old Town of Corfu, in which both Protection Zones (A and B) were designated, including vital parts of the old urban tissue and leaving the rest of the modern urban tissue to be regulated by the Local Spatial Plan (which is currently under revision).

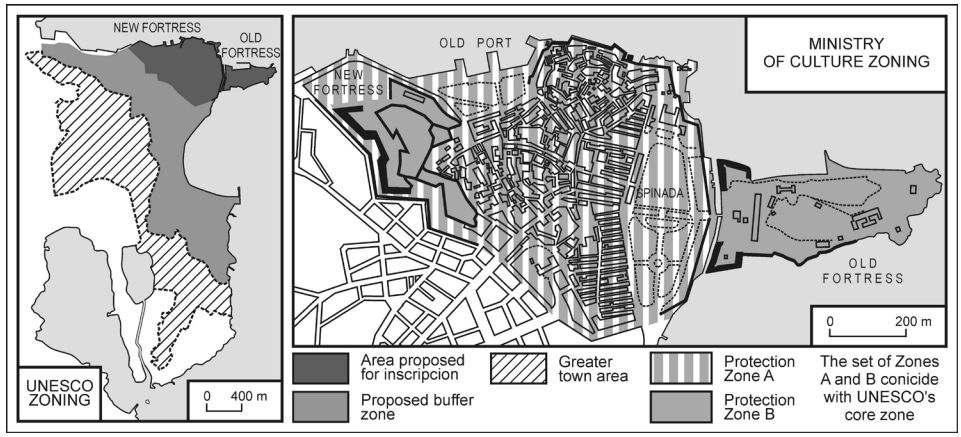

Fig. 3. Spatial protection zones in the Old Town of Corfu

Source: www.unesco-hellas.gr

The fact that both UNESCO sites obtained Urban Plans at a very early stage, has largely contributed to their spatial protection, especially since they both constitute highly visited tourist destinations. Indeed, Urban Plans proved invaluable in terms of wisely organizing the building activity and the land-uses both in the site areas and in their surrounding urban space. At the same time, designation of Corfu and Rhodes as 'traditional settlements' (in 1978),[4] made possible not only the preservation of their urban structure but also the maintenance of their architectural features, so as modern extensions or building activity is in accordance with the cultural sites.

[4] As 'Traditional Settlements' are usually designated villages, cities or parts of cities, with special architectural features, distinct urban form and unique social and historical characteristics, which may vary according to local geographical conditions and building traditions (Papageorgiou and Pozoukidou, 2013).

3.5. The Case of Meteora Mixed (Cultural and Natural) Site

The geological formations of Meteora is the first (of the two) mixed (natural and cultural) UNESCO sites of Greece, designated in 1988. Located in central Greece, Meteora archaeological site is a typical example of an inhabited monument (Orthodox Monasteries) in a rural setting, surrounded by a small-sized city (Kalambaka) and a village (Kastraki).

It was first designated by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture as an archaeological site in 1929. For the optimal protection of the monument, additional designation of a buffer zone took place in 1967. A 'Zone for Building Activity Control' that was under process in the 1980s by the Ministry for the Environment was never approved. Spatial protection of the monument is achieved through regulations provided by an Urban Plan, which since 2012 is under revision in order to include the total area of the Municipality of Kalambaka.

Indeed, efforts made even by the first Urban Plan ensured that extension of Kalambaka city would take place on the opposite side of the monument area, as well as that building densities in the districts found in the proximity of the monument would remain lower than those in other parts of the city. Initial Urban Plan however, regulated only the strict area of the city of Kalambaka. That means that for a long time rural space and natural areas in the surroundings were left without planning regulations; therefore building activity in many cases proved a negative factor for the monument and its landscape. At the same time, urban regulations failed to protect architectural features of Kalambaka city, which is considered to be the reception pole and the gate towards the UNESCO site.

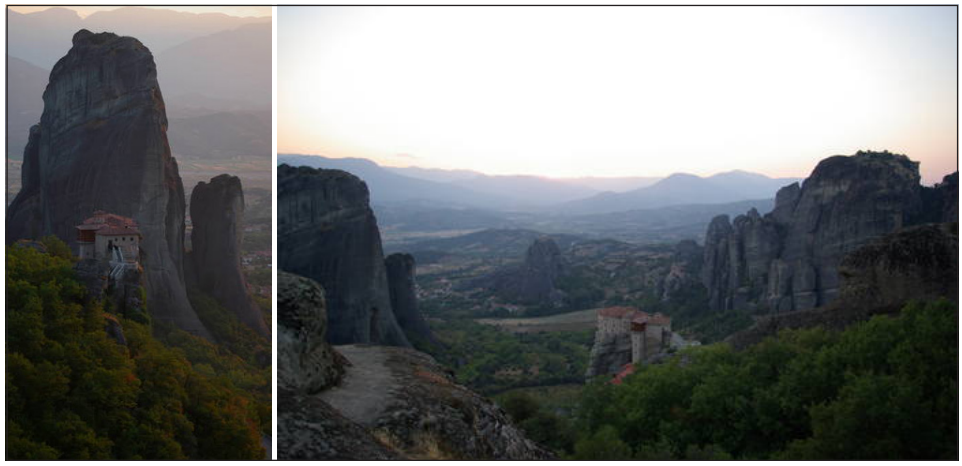

Fig. 4. The geological formations of Meteora (mixed UNESCO site)
Source: http://whc.unesco.org/

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Greece is a country with a long and important history that is reflected in its cultural heritage (tangible and intangible) and its 'endless' list of designated monuments, dating from all periods of time. This importance of its cultural heritage was recognized early enough by the New Greek State, leading to successive enactments, which eventually formulated a strict and firm legislative framework.

On the initiative of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture, legislation regarding the protection of cultural heritage of the country was very soon enriched with a spatial dimension. In the beginning of the 20th century (in 1932), regulations proactively protected the underground space of the area surrounding a monument (buffer zone of 500m), while by the 1950's protection expanded to the ground level and the cultural landscape as well (zone of 'Landscapes of Outstanding Natural Beauty'). However, spatial protection of an area with a designated monument or site was never implemented, before the Hellenic Ministry for the Environment took action in the 1980s; then a series of 'Zones for Building Activity Control' and a series of Urban and Local Plans set spatial regulations and restrictions that on a secondary level protected several Greek monuments as well. Till then, all enactments launched by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture were dedicated either to designating a monument or site as protected, or to emphasizing its importance and value (when additionally designated as 'Landscapes of Outstanding Natural Beauty'). This means that all actions undertaken for the monuments by the competent Ministry of Culture were void in terms of spatial protection, except for the case of the buffer zone of 500m. Even in this case however, conditional prohibition of constructions that is applied within it, results in a project-by-project and permit-by-permit approach that usually ends up working against the monument and its landscape value.

This deficiency in spatial regulations deriving from the Ministry of Culture legislation was finally confronted in 2002 (by the new Institutional Law for the Protection of the Cultural Heritage of Greece). By introducing Protection Zones A and B, the competent Ministry of Culture launched a zoning that would have clear reference to spatial rules and restrictions. However, few such zones were designated in Greece after the adoption of the Law, in 2002. The vast majority of such zones were designed before 2002, and still maintain the same limits as in their initial designation, circumventing the spirit of the new Law and its new concept regarding the spatial protection of monuments and sites. In addition, extra efforts of the Ministry of Culture in 2011 (to transfer the jurisdiction of 'Landscapes of Outstanding Natural Beauty' to the Ministry for the Environment) failed too. Even today, 'Landscapes of Outstanding Natural Beauty' are zones with no reference to spatial regulations, since the Ministry for the Environment has put on hold all such plans related to the protection of the natural heritage of the country.

As revealed by the case study conducted for the Greek UNESCO sites (which constitute exemplars in planning practices for the spatial protection of the heritage of the country), despite the fact that most of the monuments under protection are subject to multiple and complex zoning, little is accomplished for their spatial protection, especially in the cases of monuments found in rural settings. This is either because zoning and planning launched by the Ministry for the Environment is absent or taking too long to be approved or because zoning deriving from the Ministry of Culture is void of spatial regulations. This means that on the one hand the Ministry for the Environment should proceed at a faster pace to the elaboration of Local Spatial Plans (that are necessary especially in the case of monuments in rural settings), while on the other hand the Ministry of Culture should immediately proceed to the revision of Protection Zones A and B, so they fall into the guidelines of the new Law 3028 and they acquire spatial restrictions and regulations; a condition that can only be achieved with the involvement of Spatial Planners.

To conclude, despite the fact that Greek legislation provides adequate tools and zones for the spatial protection of the country's monumental heritage, simple designation and delimitation of such zones is never enough, if not followed by the implementation of spatial restrictions. Therefore, collaboration among Spatial Planners and Archaeologists and among competent bodies is not only necessary but also indispensable, if monumental heritage is to be appropriately and adequately protected. This cooperation is even more necessary in the case of the UNESCO sites, which are part of the world's cultural heritage. Addressing deficiencies of spatial protection for the UNESCO monuments can therefore become a unique opportunity for the establishment of close cooperation among Archaeologists and Planners, to their mutual benefit and to the benefit of the monumental heritage of each country.

REFERENCES

BERIATOS, E., PAPAGEORGIOU, M., LAINAS, I. and NIKOLAKOPOULOU, Ch. (2011), 'Towards a sustainable management of cultural heritage in Greek cities and Regions: The role of spatial planning', paper in the 47th ISOCARP Congress 'Liveable cities – Urbanizing World: Meeting the Challenge', organized by ISOCARP and the People's Government of Wuhan Municipality (UPSC), Wuhan (China), 24–28 October 2011.

CHRISTOFILOPOULOS, C. (2002), *Cultural environment − spatial planning and sustainable development: shaping cultural (man-made) environment through spatial and urban planning: the city of the 21st century*, Athens: P. N. Sakkoulas (in Greek)

COUNCIL OF EUROPE (2005), 'Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society'.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE (2000), 'European Landscape Convention'.

GEPPERT, A. (2014), 'Planning systems facing heritage issues in Europe: from protection to management, in the plural interpretations of the values of the past', *European Spatial Research and Policy*, Vol. 21 (2), pp. 9–12.
GREFFE, X. (2004), 'Is heritage an asset or a liability?', *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 5 (3), pp. 301–309.
KARYBALI-TSIPTSIOU, G. (2004), *Monuments and their Habitat according to the Law 3028/2002*, Athens−Thessaloniki: Sakkoula (in Greek).
KOZLOWSKI, J. and VASS-BOWEN, N. (1997), 'Buffering external threats to heritage conservation areas: a planners perspective', *Landscape and Urban Planning*, Vol. 37 (3–4), pp. 245–267.
KUNZMANN, K. R. (2004), 'Culture, creativity and spatial planning', *Town Planning Review*, 75 (4), pp. 383–404.
KURZ, P., RULAND, G., ZECH, S. (2014), 'Towards governance for the management of cultural landscapes', *European Spatial Research and Policy*, Vol. 21 (2), pp. 67–82.
PAPAGEORGIOU, M. and POZOUKIDOU, G. (2014), 'Traditional settlements in Greece: spatial planning and protection issues', *Geographies*, Vol. 24, pp. 107–125 (in Greek).
PAVLOGEORGATOS, G. (2003), *Conservation of material cultural heritage*, Athens: Epikentro (in Greek).
TROVA, E. (2003), *The cultural environment in the constitution*, Athens: Sakkoulas (in Greek).
TWEED, Ch. and SUTHERLAND, M. (2007), 'Built cultural heritage and sustainable development', *Landscape and Urban Planning*, Vol. 83 (1), pp. 62–69.
UNESCO (1972), 'World Heritage Convention', Paris: UNESCO.
VECCO, M. (2010), 'A definition of cultural heritage: from the tangible to the intangible', *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 11 (3), pp. 321–324.
VOS, W. and MEEKES, H. (1999), 'Trends in European cultural landscape development perspectives for a sustainable future', *Landscape and Urban Planning*, Vol. 46 (1–3), pp. 3–14.

Legislative Documents

Law 5351 (1932), 'Antiquities' (Official Gazette 275/A/24.08.1932).
Law 1469 (1950), 'Protection of modern built heritage and works of art subsequent of 1830' (Official Gazette 169/A/7-8-1950).
Law 1337 (1983), 'Urban development and planning of cities and settlements of Greece' (Official Gazette 33/A/14-3-1983).
Law 1650 (1986), 'Protection of the Natural Environment' (Official Gazette 160/A/16-10-1986).
Law 3028 (2002), 'Protection of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage' (Official Gazette 153/A/28-6-2002).
Law 3937 (2011), 'Conservation of Biodiversity' (Official Gazette 60/A/31-3-2011).

Online Databases for Cultural Monuments in Greece

http://www.unesco-hellas.gr − Hellenic National Commission for UNESCO (for Greek UNESCO sites)
http://whc.unesco.org/ − UNESCO official site
http://www.yppo.gr − Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism
http://listedmonuments.culture.gr − Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism (Permanent List of monuments)
http://odysseus.culture.gr − Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism (database MCT – ODYSSEUS)
http://www.ypeka.gr − Ministry of the Environment, Energy and Climate Change (database of Zones for Building Activity Control and Local Spatial Plans)
http://itia.ntua.gr/filotis − National Technical University of Athens (Filotis Database for Landscapes of Outstanding Natural Beauty)

EUROPEAN SPATIAL RESEARCH AND POLICY

Volume 22 2015 Number 2

https://doi.org/10.1515/esrp-2015-0029

PART II

Colin C. WILLIAMS[*], Ioana A. HORODNIC[**]

EXPLAINING THE PREVALENCE OF THE INFORMAL ECONOMY IN THE BALTICS: AN INSTITUTIONAL ASYMMETRY PERSPECTIVE[1]

Abstract. Reporting a 2013 Eurobarometer survey of participation in the informal economy across eight Baltic countries, this paper tentatively explains the informal economy from an institutional perspective as associated with the asymmetry between the codified laws and regulations of the formal institutions (state morality) and the norms, values and beliefs of citizens (civic morality). Identifying that this non-alignment of civic morality with the formal rules is more acute when there is greater poverty and inequality, less effective redistribution and lower levels of state intervention in the labour market and welfare, the implications for theorising and tackling the informal economy are then discussed.

Keywords: informal sector, tax morale, social contract, institutional analysis, Baltics

1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, numerous studies have revealed that the informal economy is not some minor peripheral feature but a large and growing sphere in the Baltic states (Kukk and Staehr, 2014; Meriküll and Staehr, 2010; Putniņš and Sauka, 2014a,b).

[*] Colin C. WILLIAMS, Sheffield University Management School, University of Sheffield, Conduit Road, Sheffield S10 1FL, UK, e-mail: C.C.Williams@sheffield.ac.uk

[**] Ioana A. HORODNIC, Department of Management, Marketing and Business Administration, Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iasi, Romania. E-mail: ursachi_ioana_alexandra@yahoo.com.

[1] This work was supported by the European Commission's Framework 7 Industry-Academia Partnerships Programme (IAPP) under grant no. 611259 entitled 'Out of the shadows: developing capacities and capabilities for tackling undeclared work' (GREY).

As Putniņš and Sauka (2014b) reveal, the informal economy is the equivalent of 23.8% of GDP in Latvia, 15.7% in Estonia and 15.2% in Lithuania. Tackling the informal economy therefore, is essential because of not only the public revenue losses but also the resulting lack of control over the quality of working conditions, weakened trade union and collective bargaining and unfair competition for legitimate businesses (Andrews *et al.*, 2011; ILO, 2014; OECD, 2014; TUC, 2008; Williams, 2014a).

This paper advances knowledge by proposing tentatively a new way of explaining the informal economy that results in a very different approach towards tackling this sphere than has so far been adopted. Drawing inspiration from institutional theory, all societies are viewed as possessing not only formal institutions (i.e., codified laws and regulations) but also informal institutions which are socially shared unwritten rules that express the wider norms, values and beliefs of the population (Baumol and Blinder, 2008; Helmke and Levitsky, 2004; North, 1990). The proposition in this paper is that the greater is the non-alignment of these formal and informal institutions, the greater is the likelihood of participation in the informal economy. When the norms, values and beliefs of the informal institutions (i.e., here termed 'civic morality') do not align with the codified laws and regulations of the formal institutions (i.e., here termed 'state morality'), such as due to a lack of trust in government, the likelihood of participating in the informal economy will be higher. The aim of this paper is to evaluate the validity of this institutional asymmetry thesis and, through an identification of the reasons for this asymmetry, to formulate a new policy approach for tackling the informal economy.

In the next section therefore, the previous explanations for the prevalence of the informal economy will be briefly reviewed along with how institutional theory provides a potentially new lens for doing so. To evaluate the proposition that the prevalence of the informal economy is associated with the asymmetry between 'state morality' and 'civic morality' and the reasons for this, the third section then introduces a 2013 survey involving 8,548 face-to-face interviews in eight Baltic nations (Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Sweden) followed in the fourth section by the results of an ordered logistic regression analysis evaluating the association between participation in the informal economy and the degree of institutional asymmetry. The fifth and final section then tentatively discusses some potential theoretical and policy implications.

Reflecting the widespread consensus, the informal economy is here defined as paid activities not declared to the authorities for tax, social security and/or labour law purposes when they should be but which are otherwise legal in all respects (European Commission, 2007; OECD, 2012; Schneider, 2008; Schneider and Williams, 2013; Williams *et al*., 2012). The only illegal aspect about the informal economy therefore, is that these paid activities are not declared for tax, social security and/or labour law purposes when they should be. If paid activities differ in other respects to formal work, which is paid work declared to the authorities for tax,

social security and/or labour law purposes, then they are not here defined as part of the informal economy. For example, if paid activities involve the exchange of illegal goods and/or services (e.g., illegal drugs), then these activities are not part of the informal economy but rather the wider 'criminal' economy (Williams, 2014a). As with all definitions, nevertheless, there exist fuzzy edges, such as when payment is in the form of gifts or reciprocal labour instead of money. In this paper however, only paid activities are included in the definition of the informal economy.

2. EXPLAINING THE INFORMAL ECONOMY: AN INSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Numerous studies have revealed how the prevalence of the informal economy varies not only cross-nationally (ILO, 2012; Schneider and Williams, 2013) but also locally and regionally (Kesteloot and Meert, 1999) and by employment status (Slavnic, 2010; Taiwo, 2013), age (Pedersen, 2003), gender (ILO, 2013) and income level (Barbour and Llanes, 2013; Williams, 2009). The outcome has been a more contextualised understanding which recognises how the informal economy can be large and growing in some populations, but smaller and declining in others (Pfau-Effinger, 2009; Williams and Horodnic, 2015).

To explain the varying prevalence of the informal economy, and as Williams (2014b,c) highlights, three main competing explanations exist. 'Modernisation' theory explains the prevalence of the informal economy in terms of the lack of economic development and modernisation of governance, 'neo-liberal' theory explains the informal economy as resulting from high taxes and over-burdensome regulations, and 'political economy' theory conversely explains the informal economy as resulting from inadequate state intervention and a lack of safeguards for citizens. All these theoretical approaches however, fail to explain why some individuals and population groups facing the same country-level structural conditions participate in the informal economy and others do not; put another way, agency is missing from such accounts.

Here therefore, a new way of explaining and tackling the informal economy is proposed that draws inspiration from institutional theory (Baumol and Blinder, 2008; Helmke and Levitsky, 2004; North, 1990). Viewing institutions as the cognitive, normative and regulative structures that give meaning to social behaviour (Scott, 1995), all societies are viewed as having codified regulations and laws (i.e., formal institutions) that constitute the legal rules of the game, and informal institutions which are the 'socially shared rules, usually unwritten, that are created, communicated and enforced outside of officially sanctioned channels' (Helmke and Levitsky, 2004, p. 727). Viewed through this institutional lens, the propo-

sition in this paper is that when formal and informal institutions are in symmetry, and consequently state and civic morality are aligned, then the informal economy will not prevail. However, when civic morality is not aligned with state morality, such as when there is a lack of trust in government, then there will be a greater prevalence of the informal economy.

To evaluate the validity of this institutional asymmetry thesis, a way of measuring institutional asymmetry is required. When studying the informal economy, this can be measured using 'tax morale', which refers to the population's morality regarding engagement in the informal economy (Alm and Torgler, 2006; Cannari and D'Alessio, 2007; McKerchar *et al*., 2013). Using this, the following hypothesis can be tested:

Institutional asymmetry hypothesis (H1): the prevalence of the informal economy will be greater in populations with lower levels of tax morale.

If valid, it is important to understand what determines the lack of alignment of state morality and civic morality. Until now, the tax morale literature has conducted various exploratory analyses. On the one hand, studies of a range of socio-demographic and socio-economic variables have revealed that tax morale is lower among men, single people, the upper classes, the unemployed and self-employed, and increases with age, religiosity and income but is negatively related to education level (Alm and Torgler, 2006; Cannari and D'Alessio, 2007; Torgler and Schneider, 2007).

On the other hand, exploratory analyses of a range of country-level variables have revealed that national pride increases tax morale (Martinez-Vazquez and Torgler, 2009), as do satisfaction with public services (Russo, 2013) and trust in government and the judiciary (Daude *et al.*, 2013; Giachi, 2014; Martinez-Vazquez and Torgler, 2009), lower levels of perceived corruption (Dong *et al*., 2013), trust in others to obey the law (Giachi, 2014), higher tax rates (Lago-Peñas and Lago-Peñas, 2010) and greater social security expenditure (Kanniainen and Pääkkönen, 2009).

In this paper however, a more structured approach is adopted. Here, we select country-level variables to test the three existing theories explaining the varying prevalence of the informal economy. The intention however is not to test these theories as free-standing explanations of the informal economy but rather, to identify the structural conditions that lead to lower institutional asymmetry.

As Williams (2014b, c) highlights, previous explanations of the informal economy can be grouped into three major theories. Firstly, 'modernisation' theory argues that the informal economy becomes less prevalent with economic development and the modernisation of government (Geertz, 1963; Lewis, 1959). Applying this to understanding tax morale, this perspective would thus view the degree of institutional asymmetry as greater in less developed economies, measured in terms of GNP per capita, and societies in which there is a lack of modernisation of government. To test this, the following hypothesis can be evaluated:

Modernity hypothesis (H2): the degree of institutional asymmetry will be greater in poorer economies with unmodernised state bureaucracies.

Secondly, 'neo-liberal' theory claims that the informal economy results from high taxes and state interference and thus that reducing taxes and the level of state interference in work and welfare is the way forward (De Soto, 1989; 2001; London and Hart, 2004; Nwabuzor, 2005; Schneider and Williams, 2013). Viewed through this lens, the degree of institutional asymmetry will be greater in those nations with higher taxes and levels of state interference in work and welfare systems. As such, the following hypothesis can be evaluated:

Neo-liberal hypothesis (H3): the degree of institutional asymmetry will be greater in economies with higher tax rates and levels of state interference.

Third and finally, 'political economy' theory, in stark contrast to neo-liberal theory, claims that the informal economy directly results from inadequate levels of state intervention in work and welfare arrangements, which leaves workers less than fully safeguarded and thus dependent on the informal economy as a survival strategy in the absence of other means of livelihood and support (Davis, 2006; Gallin, 2001; ILO, 2014; Slavnic, 2010; Taiwo, 2013). As such, the informal economy is to be tackled by increasing expenditure on labour market interventions to protect vulnerable groups and increasing social protection expenditure. From this perspective therefore, the degree of institutional asymmetry will be higher in countries with relatively low levels of such state interventions. The following hypothesis can be therefore evaluated:

Political economy hypothesis (H4): the degree of institutional asymmetry is greater in more equal economies with lower tax rates, levels of social protection and public sector intervention in labour markets which safeguard citizens from poverty.

Until now, evaluations of these competing theories have simply used bivariate correlations (European Commission, 2013; Eurofound, 2013; Williams, 2014b, c, d). These reveal support for the modernisation and political economy theories but little or no support for neo-liberal theory. None have evaluated whether these bivariate associations remain significant when other variables are introduced and held constant, or whether the informal economy is associated with the degree of institutional asymmetry. Here, therefore, these gaps are filled.

3. METHODOLOGY

To analyse this institutional asymmetry thesis and what determines the level of institutional asymmetry, data is reported from special Eurobarometer survey no. 402, which involved 8,548 face-to-face interviews conducted in 2013 in eight Baltic nations (Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Estonia, Germany, Denmark, Finland and

Sweden). In all eight Baltic countries, a multi-stage random (probability) sampling methodology was employed. This ensured that for each country, the sample was representative of the population in terms of gender, age, region and locality size. For univariate analysis therefore, we employ the sample weighting scheme as recommended in both the wider literature (Solon *et al*., 2013; Winship and Radbill, 1994) and the Eurobarometer methodology, to obtain meaningful descriptive results. For the multivariate analysis however, a debate exists over whether to use a weighting scheme. Reflecting the dominant viewpoint, the decision has been taken not to do so (Pfefferman, 1994; Sharon and Liu, 1994; Solon *et al*., 2013; Winship and Radbill, 1994).

The face-to-face interview schedule firstly asked attitudinal questions regarding participants' views on the acceptability of engaging in the informal economy, followed by questions on whether participants purchased goods and services from the informal economy and participated in informal work. In this paper, we focus upon the attitudinal questions to examine the level of tax morale and thus the degree of institutional asymmetry. To do this, we analyse participants' responses to six questions that rate the acceptability of various types of informal work on a 10-point Likert scale (where 1 means absolutely unacceptable and 10 means absolutely acceptable), namely:

(1) an individual is hired by a household for work and s/he does not declare the payment received to the tax or social security authorities even though it should be declared;

(2) a firm is hired by a household for work and it does not declare the payment received to the tax or social security authorities;

(3) a firm is hired by another firm for work and it does not declare its activities to the tax or social security authorities;

(4) a firm hires an individual and all or a part of the wages paid to him\ her are not officially declared and

(5) someone receives welfare payments without entitlement;

(6) someone evades taxes by not declaring or only partially declaring their income.

Collating the responses to these six questions, an aggregate 'tax morale index' is constructed for each individual, population group and country. Using the 10-point Likert scale format, the higher is the index value the greater is the degree of institutional asymmetry and thus the lower is the tax morale.

To analyse the hypotheses therefore, the dependent variable is the degree of institutional asymmetry, measured using this tax morale index. As the dependent variable is a 10-point Likert scale index, we employ ordered logistic regressions. To analyse H1, the variable used measuring participation in the informal economy is:

– **Participaton in the informal economy**: a dummy variable with recorded value 1 for persons who answered 'yes' to the question 'Have you yourself carried out any undeclared paid activities in the last 12 months?' and recorded value 0 otherwise.

To both analyse tax morale across population groups, the socio-demographic, socio-economic and spatial variables identified above as important in previous studies of tax morale are analysed, namely:

– Gender: a dummy variable with value 1 for men and 0 for women.

– Age: a numerical variable for the exact age of the respondent.

– Level in society: a 10-point Likert scale variable for the respondent perception regarding the level in society to which it belongs, coded from 1(the lowest level in society) to 10 (the highest level in society).

– Difficulties paying bills: a dummy variable for the respondent difficulties in paying bills with value 1 for having difficulties and value 0 for not having difficulties in paying bills.

– Employment: a dummy variable with value 1 for employed respondents and 0 for unemployed respondents.

– Area respondent lives: a categorical variable for the area where the respondent lives with value 1 for rural area or village, value 2 for small or middle sized town, and value 3 for large town.

– Country: a categorical variable for the country where the respondent lives with value 1 for Germany, value 2 for Denmark, value 3 for Finland, value 4 for Sweden, value 5 for Estonia, value 6 for Latvia, value 7 for Lithuania, and value 8 for Poland.

Meanwhile, to analyse hypotheses H2−4 regarding the country-level determinants of tax morale, various structural conditions are analysed, whilst holding constant the above individual-level characteristics. To evaluate the modernisation hypothesis (H2), the indicators used are:

– GDP per capita in purchasing power standards (Eurostat, 2014a),

– European Quality of Government Index – this includes both perceptions and experiences with public sector corruption, along with the extent to which citizens believe various public sector services are impartially allocated and of good quality. The index is standardised with a mean of zero, with higher scores marking a higher quality of government (Charron *et al*., 2014).

– Employment participation rate − calculated by dividing the number of persons aged 15 to 64 in employment by the total population of the same age group (Eurostat, 2014b).

To evaluate the tax tenet of the neo-liberal hypothesis (H3), the indicators previously employed when evaluating this perspective in relation to the informal economy (European Commission, 2013; Williams, 2014a, b, c, d) are used, namely the:

– Implicit tax rate (ITR) on labour, which approximates to the average effective tax burden on labour, and is the sum of all direct and indirect taxes and employees' and employers' social contributions levied on employed labour income divided by the total compensation of employees (Eurostat, 2014c);

– Current taxes on income, wealth, etc, which covers all compulsory, unrequited payments, in cash or in kind, levied periodically by general government and by the rest of the world on the income and wealth of institutional units, and some periodic taxes assessed neither on income nor wealth (Eurostat 2014d).

– To evaluate the contrasting views on the influence of state intervention of the neo-liberal (H3) and political economy (H4) hypotheses meanwhile, the indicators analysed, akin to previous studies (European Commission, 2013; Eurofound, 2013; Williams, 2014a, b, c, d), are:

– The level of income inequality, measured using the income quintile share ratio S80/S20, which is the ratio of total income received by the 20% of the population with the highest income (the top quintile) to that received by the 20% of the population with the lowest income (the bottom quintile) (Eurostat, 2014e);

– The level of severe material deprivation, measured by the percentage of the population unable to afford at least four items on a list of nine items considered by most people to be desirable or even necessary to lead an adequate life (Eurostat 2014f);

– Public expenditure on labour market interventions aimed at correcting disequilibria. This covers all public interventions in the labour market aimed at reaching its efficient functioning and correcting disequilibria which explicitly target groups with difficulties in the labour market, namely: the unemployed; those employed but at risk of involuntary job loss; and people who are currently inactive in the labour market but would like to work (Eurostat 2014g);

– Social protection expenditure contain: social benefits, which consist of transfers, in cash or in kind, to households and individuals to relieve them of the burden of a defined set of risks or needs; administration costs, which represent the costs charged to the scheme for its management and administration; other expenditure, which consists of miscellaneous expenditure by social protection schemes (payment of property income and other). It is calculated in current prices as percentage of GDP (Eurostat, 2014h); and

– The impact of social transfers, which is a computed indicator based on the formula, 100*(B−A)/B, where B = the proportion at-risk of poverty before social transfers excluding pensions (which is the share of people having an equivalised disposable income before social transfers that is below the at-risk-of-poverty threshold calculated after social transfers), and A = the proportion at risk-of-poverty (which is the share of people with an equivalised disposable income (after social transfers) below the at-risk-of-poverty threshold, which is set at 60% of the national median equivalised disposable income after social transfers) (European Commission, 2013).

To evaluate the institutional asymmetry hypothesis (H1), and given the nonparametric nature of the data, firstly, a two-sample Wilcoxon rank-sum (Mann-Whitney) test evaluates whether the median tax morale of participants in the informal economy significantly differs to the median score of those not participating, whilst secondly, a Spearman's bivariate correlation evaluates whether a statistically significant relationship exists between cross-national variations in tax morale and participation in the informal economy. To evaluate whether H1 remains valid when a range of individual- and country-level variables are introduced, an ordered logistic regression analysis is then provided.

To evaluate the three hypotheses (H2−4) investigating the country-level determinants of tax morale meanwhile, and given the significant correlation between these country-level structural conditions, an ordered logistic regression analysis is employed, adding each structural condition in turn to the individual-level variables to evaluate whether they are significantly associated with the degree of institutional asymmetry.

4. FINDINGS

Table 1 reports the level of tax morale and prevalence of the informal economy across various population groups in all eight Baltic countries surveyed (Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Estonia, Germany, Denmark, Finland, Sweden). This displays that men, younger age groups, those who self-classify themselves as in the lower levels of society, those having difficulties paying the household bills, the employed and those living in rural areas have a lower tax morale. The same trends are identified when examining participation in the informal economy. To test whether those with lower tax morale are also more likely to participate in the informal economy, a Wilcoxon Rank Sum test reveals that this relationship is statistically significant. Those participating in the informal economy have a median tax morale index score of 4 compared with a score of 2 for those not participating in the informal economy (where 1 = totally unacceptable and 10 = totally acceptable across six tax non-compliance behaviours).

Table 1. Tax morality index and the prevalence of the informal economy in Baltic nations: by individual group and country

N = 8,548	Tax morality index (where 1 = totally unacceptable and 10 = totally acceptable)	% engaged in informal economy	% of all doing informal work	% of all population	€ earnings from informal economy (mean)
1	2	3	4	5	6
All Baltic nations	2.39	3	100	100	676
Informal work					
Yes	3.67	–	–	3	–
No	2.33	–	–	97	–
Gender					
Men	2.48	4	64	48	734
Female	2.31	2	36	52	586

Table 1 (cont.)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Age					
15–24	2.90	7	29	14	543
25–34	2.55	5	20	15	782
35–44	2.53	4	18	16	1 127
45–54	2.46	4	20	18	357
55–64	2.17	2	9	15	866
65+	1.95	1	4	22	343
Level in society					
Low level	2.57	5	33	22	620
Middle level	2.37	3	46	53	644
High level	2.29	3	21	25	802
Difficulty paying bills					
Not having difficulties	2.23	2	54	76	674
Having difficulties	2.91	7	46	24	694
Employment					
Employed	2.44	4	58	52	787
Unemployed	2.34	3	42	48	495
Area					
Rural/village	2.56	2	23	34	799
Small/middle town	2.29	4	47	40	638
Large town	2.35	4	30	26	640
Country					
Latvia	3.98	11	4	1	478
Lithuania	3.16	8	5	2	696
Poland	2.97	3	27	27	438
Estonia	2.96	11	3	1	885
Germany	2.16	2	35	54	479
Denmark	2.01	9	10	4	821
Finland	1.96	3	3	4	420
Sweden	1.93	7	13	7	1 346

Table 1 also reveals the cross-national variations. The level of tax morale is lowest in the post-communist societies of Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Estonia, whilst civic morality is better aligned with state morality in the western socie-

ties of Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Germany. To test whether participation in the informal economy is greater in those countries with lower levels of tax morale, a Spearman's bivariate analysis reveals a statistically significant association ($p<0.001$***).

To determine whether this association remains significant when other characteristics are taken into account and held constant, Table 2 reports the results of an ordered logistic regression analysis. Model 1 examines whether this association remains significant when purely individual-level characteristics are added, and models 2–11 when various country-level variables are further added. The first row in models 1–11 reveal that the level tax morale remains strongly associated with the prevalence of the informal economy across all models, whether individual-level characteristics alone are analysed, or various country-level structural conditions are further added. As tax morale improves, the prevalence of the informal economy significantly declines. This positively confirms the institutional asymmetry hypothesis (H1).

Table 2. Prevalence of institutional asymmetry in Baltic nations: ordered logistic model

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Informal work (Not engaged in informal work)						
Engaged in informal work	1.270*** (0.0873)	1.273*** (0.0867)	1.331*** (0.0866)	1.336*** (0.0867)	1.215*** (0.0868)	1.365*** (0.0872)
Gender (Women)						
Men	0.212*** (0.0422)	0.275*** (0.0427)	0.255*** (0.0427)	0.257*** (0.0425)	0.241*** (0.0426)	0.234*** (0.0425)
Age (exact age)	–0.0219*** (0.0013)	–0.0185*** (0.0013)	–0.0173*** (0.0013)	–0.0192*** (0.0013)	–0.0196*** (0.0013)	–0.0196*** (0.0013)
Level in society (Self placement)	–0.106*** (0.0138)	–0.0563*** (0.0140)	–0.0416*** (0.0141)	–0.0788*** (0.0139)	–0.0802*** (0.0139)	–0.0614*** (0.0140)
Difficulty paying bills (Not having difficulties)						
Having difficulties	0.663*** (0.0492)	0.324*** (0.0511)	0.243*** (0.0517)	0.437*** (0.0505)	0.408*** (0.0507)	0.418*** (0.0508)
Employment (Unemployed)						
Employed	0.0406 (0.0444)	0.0442 (0.0448)	0.0295 (0.0448)	0.0676 (0.0447)	0.0296 (0.0448)	0.0386 (0.0447)

Table 2. (cont.)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Area (Rural/ village)						
Small/middle town	−0.346*** (0.0500)	−0.227*** (0.0505)	−0.230*** (0.0505)	−0.277*** (0.0502)	−0.286*** (0.0503)	−0.289*** (0.0503)
Large town	−0.273*** (0.0549)	−0.277*** (0.0554)	−0.315*** (0.0555)	−0.260*** (0.0552)	−0.305*** (0.0554)	−0.311*** (0.0552)
GDP per capita in PPS 2013		−0.0222*** (0.0009)				
European Quality of Government Index 2013			−0.709*** (0.0267)			
Employment participation 2013				−0.0925*** (0.0048)		
Implicit tax rate on labour 2012					−0.186*** (0.0086)	
Current taxes on income, wealth, etc. 2013						−0.0535*** (0.0029)
Constant cut1	−2.203*** (0.120)	−4.042*** (0.143)	−2.162*** (0.121)	−8.317*** (0.342)	−8.713*** (0.325)	−2.642*** (0.123)
Constant cut2	−1.019*** (0.118)	−2.792*** (0.139)	−0.899*** (0.119)	−7.097*** (0.339)	−7.480*** (0.321)	−1.419*** (0.121)
Constant cut3	−0.117 (0.118)	−1.829*** (0.137)	0.0712 (0.119)	−6.158*** (0.336)	−6.538*** (0.319)	−0.487*** (0.120)
Constant cut4	0.653*** (0.119)	−1.016*** (0.137)	0.892*** (0.121)	−5.358*** (0.335)	−5.738*** (0.318)	0.302** (0.121)
Constant cut5	1.430*** (0.123)	−0.211 (0.140)	1.704*** (0.125)	−4.561*** (0.335)	−4.941*** (0.318)	1.093*** (0.125)
Constant cut6	2.149*** (0.131)	0.524*** (0.147)	2.443*** (0.132)	−3.831*** (0.337)	−4.211*** (0.321)	1.820*** (0.132)
Constant cut7	2.837*** (0.144)	1.222*** (0.159)	3.145*** (0.146)	−3.136*** (0.342)	−3.515*** (0.326)	2.514*** (0.146)
Constant cut8	3.523*** (0.168)	1.912*** (0.180)	3.837*** (0.169)	−2.448*** (0.353)	−2.825*** (0.337)	3.202*** (0.169)
Constant cut9	4.546*** (0.234)	2.937*** (0.243)	4.863*** (0.235)	−1.424*** (0.389)	−1.800*** (0.374)	4.227*** (0.235)
N	7603	7603	7603	7603	7603	7603
Pseudo R^2	0.0470	0.0711	0.0757	0.0617	0.0660	0.0608
Log likelihood	−12084.644	−11779.252	−11720.620	−11898.012	−11843.137	−11909.587
χ^2	1149.46	1709.46	1787.62	1492.22	1613.29	1414.43
p>	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000

	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11
Informal work (Not engaging in informal work)					
Engaged in informal work	1.281*** (0.0866)	1.179*** (0.0869)	1.337*** (0.0871)	1.269*** (0.0869)	1.343*** (0.0870)
Gender (Women)					
Men	0.243*** (0.0426)	0.249*** (0.0426)	0.240*** (0.0425)	0.265*** (0.0426)	0.242*** (0.0426)
Age (exact age)	−0.0176*** (0.0013)	−0.0176*** (0.0013)	−0.0199*** (0.0013)	−0.0188*** (0.0013)	−0.0177*** (0.0013)
Level in society (Self placement)	−0.0622*** (0.0139)	−0.0506*** (0.0140)	−0.0645*** (0.0140)	−0.0520*** (0.0140)	−0.0335** (0.0142)
Difficulty paying bills (Not having difficulties)					
Having difficulties	0.202*** (0.0522)	0.301*** (0.0511)	0.380*** (0.0509)	0.280*** (0.0515)	0.431*** (0.0502)
Employment (Unemployed)					
Employed	0.0236 (0.0448)	0.000845 (0.0448)	0.0293 (0.0447)	0.0255 (0.0448)	0.0187 (0.0448)
Area (rural/ village)					
Small/middle town	−0.245*** (0.0503)	−0.220*** (0.0505)	−0.266*** (0.0504)	−0.226*** (0.0505)	−0.236*** (0.0506)
Large town	−0.301*** (0.0554)	−0.284*** (0.0554)	−0.321*** (0.0553)	−0.307*** (0.0554)	−0.294*** (0.0553)
Severe material deprivation 2012	0.0806*** (0.0030)				
Income inequality 2012		0.755*** (0.0283)			
Public expenditure on labour market interventions 2011			−0.485*** (0.0234)		
Social protection expenditure 2011				−0.0863*** (0.0034)	
Impact of social transfers 2012					−0.0519*** (0.0023)
Constant cut1	−1.163*** (0.127)	1.747*** (0.190)	−2.754*** (0.124)	−3.986*** (0.141)	−3.632*** (0.137)
Constant cut2	0.0906 (0.126)	3.004*** (0.191)	−1.520*** (0.121)	−2.729*** (0.137)	−2.387*** (0.133)
Constant cut3	1.067*** (0.127)	3.977*** (0.194)	−0.578*** (0.120)	−1.762*** (0.135)	−1.439*** (0.131)

Table 2. (cont.)

	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11
Constant cut4	1.901*** (0.129)	4.807*** (0.197)	0.220* (0.121)	−0.948*** (0.135)	−0.635*** (0.132)
Constant cut5	2.727*** (0.134)	5.628*** (0.202)	1.016*** (0.125)	−0.141 (0.138)	0.165 (0.135)
Constant cut6	3.476*** (0.142)	6.374*** (0.208)	1.745*** (0.133)	0.595*** (0.145)	0.897*** (0.142)
Constant cut7	4.184*** (0.155)	7.079*** (0.217)	2.441*** (0.146)	1.295*** (0.157)	1.593*** (0.154)
Constant cut8	4.878*** (0.177)	7.772*** (0.234)	3.131*** (0.169)	1.986*** (0.179)	2.282*** (0.177)
Constant cut9	5.906*** (0.241)	8.799*** (0.285)	4.156*** (0.235)	3.012*** (0.242)	3.305*** (0.240)
N	7603	7603	7603	7603	7603
Pseudo R^2	0.0756	0.0759	0.0648	0.0729	0.0685
Log likelihood	−11722.187	−11718.690	−11858.742	−11755.973	−11811.524
χ^2	1779.50	1797.34	1478.47	1727.60	1644.68
p>	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000

Notes: significant at *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 (robust standard errors in parentheses). All coefficients are compared to the benchmark category, shown in brackets.

Model 1 also identifies that when other factors are held constant, men have lower tax morale than women and tax morale decreases with age and with a higher position in society. Strong evidence also exists that those having difficulties paying their household bills and those living in urban areas have lower tax morale.

Models 2–11 meanwhile, test hypotheses H2–4 regarding the country-level determinants of tax morale. Given that partial correlations reveal that these country-level variables are strongly correlated with each other, each is here analysed in separate models. Starting with the modernity hypothesis (H2), models 2, 3 and 4 provide strong evidence that tax morale improves with higher levels of GDP per capita, higher qualities of government and higher employment participation rates. This positively confirms the modernisation thesis.

Models 5 and 6 meanwhile, reveal a significant relationship between tax morale and taxation. However, the direction of the association is in the opposite direction to that suggested by neo-liberal theory. Tax morale improves as the tax rates increases. This therefore tentatively negatively confirms the neo-liberal hypothesis (H4) and positively confirms the political economy hypothesis (H4). Caution however, needs to be exercised in terms of not reading into this

a cause-effect relationship. This cannot be simply interpreted as meaning that higher tax morale is a consequence of higher tax rates. The taxation level could also be a consequence of tax morale, exemplified by governments in post-communist societies being unable to raise taxation levels due to the low tax morale of the population. Models 7 and 8, furthermore, provide strong evidence that institutional asymmetry is lower in countries with lower levels of severe material deprivation and lower income inequalities, and models 9, 10 and 11 strong evidence that tax morale improves with higher levels of public expenditure on labour market interventions, higher levels of social protection expenditure and more effective redistribution via social transfers, providing further positive confirmation for the political hypothesis (H4).

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Drawing upon institutional theory, this paper has proposed a new way of explaining and tackling the informal economy. Evaluating its validity in the context of eight Baltic countries, the above analysis reveals that when the codified laws and regulations of formal institutions (state morality) are not aligned with the values, norms and beliefs of informal institutions (civic morality), participation in the informal economy occurs. The greater is the level of institutional asymmetry, the greater is the prevalence of the informal economy.

To reduce the prevalence of the informal economy therefore, what is required is a policy shift away from the current approach which seeks to detect and punish those operating in the informal economy and towards an approach that seeks to reduce this institutional asymmetry. On the one hand, this requires policies to re-align civic morality with state morality. Firstly, this requires citizen education regarding the importance of the social contract in general, and paying taxes more particularly, such as by providing information on the public goods and services paid for by taxation. At present, governments have not done this, especially in those Baltic countries where tax morale is low. Secondly, therefore, advertising campaigns are required informing citizens about the virtues of adhering to the social contract between the state and its citizens regarding the payment of taxes and the costs of violating this social contract. In these Baltic countries, as model 1 in Table 2 reveals, such campaigns could usefully be targeted at men, younger age groups, those living in urban areas and other groups shown above to have lower levels of tax morale.

To align civic morality and state morality nevertheless, formal institutions also need to change. On the one hand, and as model 3 in Table 2 clearly reveals, citizens will not improve their tax morale if there remains a low level of trust in

government and extensive public sector corruption, as is the case in those Baltic countries where tax morale is lowest and the informal economy more prevalent (European Commission, 2014a,b). To tackle this, a modernisation of governance is needed. This requires improvement in procedural and redistributive justice and fairness so that citizens believe that the authorities are treating them in a respectful, impartial and responsible manner, that they believe they pay their fair share and received the goods and services they deserve (Molero and Pujol, 2012; Murphy, 2005).

On the other hand, and as models 4–11 in Table 2 display, wider economic and social developments are also required to align civic morality and state morality. These models clearly reveal how Baltic countries with higher tax rates, greater income equality, higher expenditure on labour market interventions to help vulnerable groups, higher expenditure on social protection and more effective redistribution via social transfers, have lower levels of institutional asymmetry and thus smaller informal economies. In consequence, for the post-communist Baltic countries with relatively lower levels of progress on these wider economic and social developments (e.g., Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia), greater attention to them is required if institutional asymmetry is to reduce, and thus the informal economy be tackled. For the more affluent western Baltic countries with established market economies which are relatively 'progressive' on these fronts however (e.g., Germany, Finland), the policy approach will need to be more attentive to pursuing tax education and advertising campaigns to improve civic morality, and the pursuit of procedural and redistributive justice and fairness to elicit greater alignment of civic morality with formal institutions.

In sum, this paper has proposed a new way of explaining and tackling the informal economy which tentatively views the informal economy to be associated with the lack of alignment of state morality and civic morality. Whether this institutional asymmetry approach is also valid when explaining and tackling the informal economy across post-communist East-Central Europe more generally and in other global regions and countries now needs to be evaluated. So, too, is an evaluation required of whether such an association is applicable over time within individual countries (e.g., the informal economy shrinks as the degree of institutional asymmetry falls, and vice versa). If this paper stimulates such evaluations, it will have fulfilled one of its intentions. If it also stimulates governments to recognise how the informal economy is closely associated with the asymmetry between state morality and civic morality, and to begin discussing policy measures for improving tax morale, rather than continuing to simply detect and punish participation in the informal economy, then this paper will have achieved its broader goal.

REFERENCES

ALM, J. and TORGLER, B. (2006), 'Culture differences and tax morale in the United States and in Europe', *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 27 (2), pp. 224–46.

ANDREWS, D., CALDERA SANCHEZ, A. and JOHANSSON, A. (2011), *Towards a Better Understanding of the Informal Economy*, Paris: OECD Economics Department Working, Paper no. 873, OECD.

BARBOUR, A. and LLANES, M. (2013), *Supporting People to Legitimise their Informal Businesses*, York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

BAUMOL, W. J. and BLINDER, A. (2008), *Macroeconomics: principles and policy*, Cincinnati, OH: South-Western Publishing.

CANNARI, L. and D'ALESSIO, G. (2007), *Le Opiniomi degli Italiani sull'Evasione Fiscale*, Rome: Temi di Discussione, Bank of Italy.

CHARRON, N., DIJKSTRA, L. and LAPUENTE, V. (2014), 'Mapping the regional divide in Europe: a measure for assessing quality of government in 206 European regions', *Social Indicators Research*. DOI: 10.1007/s11205-014-0702-y.

DAUDE, C., GUTIERREZ, H. and MELGUIZO, A. (2013), 'What drives tax morale? a focus on emerging economies', *Review of Public Economics*, 207 (4), pp. 9–40.

DAVIS, M. (2006), *Planet of Slums,* London: Verso.

DE SOTO, H. (1989), *The Other Path: the economic answer to terrorism,* London: Harper and Row.

DE SOTO, H. (2001), *The Mystery of Capital: why capitalism triumphs in the West and fails everywhere else*, London: Black Swan.

DONG, B., DULLECK, U. and TORGLER, B. (2012), 'Conditional corruption', *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 33 (4), pp. 609–627.

EUROFOUND (2013), *Tackling Undeclared Work in 27 European Union Member States and Norway: approaches and measures since 2008*, Dublin: Eurofound.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2007), *Stepping up the Fight against Undeclared Work*, Brussels: European Commission.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2013), *Economic and Social Developments in Europe 2013*, Brussels: European Commission.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2014a), *Flash Eurobarometer 374. Business' attitudes towards corruption in the EU*, Brussels: European Commission.

EUREOPAN COMMISSION (2014b), *Special Eurobarometer 397: Corruption*, Brussels: European Commission.

EUROSTAT (2014a), *GDP per capita in PPS*, available at: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tec00114

EUROSTAT (2014b), *Employment rate*, available at: http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do

EUROSTAT (2014c), *Implicit tax rate on labour*, available at: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=tec00119&plugin=0

EUROSTAT (2014d), *Current taxes on income, wealth etc*, available at: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=tec00018&plugin=0

EUROSTAT (2014e), *Income inequalities*, available at: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=tessi180&plugin=1

EUROSTAT (2014f), *Severe material deprivation*, available at: http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=ilc_mddd11&lang=en

EUROSTAT (2014g), *Public expenditure on labour market interventions*, available at: http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=lmp_expsumm&lang=en

EUROSTAT (2014h), *Social protection expenditure*, available at: http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=spr_exp_sum&lang=en

GALLIN, D. (2001), 'Propositions on trade unions and informal employment in time of globalisation', *Antipode*, 19 (4), pp. 531−549.

GEERTZ, C. (1963), *Old Societies and New States: the quest for modernity in Asia and Africa*, Glencoe, IL.: Free Press.

GIACHI, S. (2014), 'Social dimensions of tax evasion: trust and tax morale in contemporary Spain', *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 145, pp. 73–98.

HELMKE, G. and LEVITSKY, S. (2004), 'Informal institutions and comparative politics: a research agenda', *Perspectives on Politics*, 2 (6), pp. 725–740.

ILO (2012), *Statistical Update on Employment in the Informal Economy*, Geneva: International Labour Organisation.

ILO (2013), *Women and Men in the Informal Economy: statistical picture*, available at: http://laborsta.ilo.org/informal_economy_E.html (last accessed 18.12.2014).

ILO (2014), *Transitioning from the informal to the formal economy*. Report V (1), International Labour Conference, 103rd Session (2014), Geneva: ILO.

KANNIAINEN, V. and PAAKONNEN, J. (2010), 'Do the catholic and protestant countries differ by their tax morale?', *Empirica*, 37 (2), pp. 271–290.

KESTELOOT, C. and MEERT, H. (1999), 'Informal spaces: the geography of informal economic activities in Brussels', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 23 (2), pp. 232–251.

KUKK, M. and STAEHR, K. (2014), 'Income underreporting by households with business income: evidence from Estonia', *Post-Communist Economies*, 26 (2), pp. 257–266.

LAGO-PENAS, I. and LAGO-PENAS, S. (2010), 'The determinants of tax morale in comparative perspective: Evidence from European countries', *European Journal of Political Economy*, 26, pp. 441–453.

LEWIS, A. (1959), *The Theory of Economic Growth*, London: Allen and Unwin.

LONDON, T. and HART, S. L. (2004), 'Reinventing strategies for emerging markets: beyond the transnational model', *Journal of International Business Studies*, 35 (5), pp. 350-370.

MARTINEZ-VAZQUEZ, J. and TORGLER, B. (2009), 'The evolution of tax morale in modern Spain', *Journal of Economic Issues*, 43 (1), pp. 1–28.

McKERCHAR, M., BLOOMQUIST, K. and POPE, J. (2013), 'Indicators of tax morale: an exploratory study', *e-Journal of Tax Research*, 11 (1), pp. 5−22.

MERIKULL, J. and STAEHR, K. (2010), 'Unreported employment and envelope wages in mid-transition: comparing developments and causes in the Baltic countries', *Comparative Economic Studies*, 52, pp. 637–670.

MOLERO, J. C. and PUJOL, F. (2012), 'Walking inside the potential tax evader's mind: tax morale does matter', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 105, pp. 151–162.

MURPHY, K. (2005), 'Regulating more effectively: the relationship between procedural justice, legitimacy and tax non-compliance', *Journal of Law and Society*, 32 (4), pp. 562–589.

NORTH, D. C. (1990), *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

NWABUZOR, A. (2005), 'Corruption and development: new initiatives in economic openness and strengthened rule of law', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 59(1/2), pp. 121–138.

OECD (2012), *Reducing Opportunities for Tax Non-Compliance in the Underground Economy*, Paris: OECD.

OECD (2014), *Informal Entrepreneurship*, Paris: OECD

PEDERSEN, S. (2003), *The Shadow Economy in Germany, Great Britain and Scandinavia: a measurement based on questionnaire surveys*, Copenhagen: The Rockwool Foundation Research Unit.

PFAU-EFFINGER, B. (2009), 'Varieties of undeclared work in European societies', *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 47 (1), pp. 79–99.

PFEFFERMANN, D. (1993), 'The role of sampling weights when modelling survey data', *International Statistical Review*, 61 (2), pp. 317–337.
PUTNINS, T. and SAUKA, A. (2014a), 'Measuring the shadow economy using company managers', *Journal of Comparative Economics,* http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jce.2014.04.001
PUTNINS, T. and SAUKA, A. (2014b), *SSE Riga Shadow Index for the Baltic countries 2009–2013*, Riga: SSE Riga.
RUSSO, F. F. (2013), 'Tax morale and tax evasion reports', *Economics Letters*, 121, pp. 110–114.
SCHNEIDER, F. (2008) (ed.), *The Hidden Economy*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
SCHNEIDER, F. and WILLIAMS, C. C. (2013), *The Shadow Economy*, London: Institute of Economic Affairs.
SCOTT, W. R. (1995), *Institutions and Organizations*, Thousand Oaks CA: Sage
SHARON, L. and LIU, J. (1994), 'A comparison of weighted and unweighted analyses in the National Crime Victimization Survey', *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 10 (4), pp. 343–360.
SLAVNIC, Z. (2010), 'Political economy of informalisation', *European Societies*, 12 (1), pp. 3–23.
SOLON, G., HAIDER, S. J. and WOOLDRIDGE, J. (2013), *What are we weighting for?* Bucharest: National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. 8.
TAIWO, O. (2013), 'Employment choice and mobility in multi-sector labour markets: theoretical model and evidence from Ghana', *International Labour Review*, 152, pp. 69–92.
TORGLER, B. and SCHNEIDER, F. (2007), *Shadow economy, tax morale, governance and institutional quality: a panel analysis*, Bonn: IZA Discussion Paper no. 2563, IZA.
TUC (2008), *Hard Work, Hidden Lives: the short report of the Commission on Vulnerable Employment*, London: TUC
WILLIAMS, C. C. (2009), 'Evaluating the extent and nature of envelope wages in the European Union: a geographical analysis', *European Spatial Research and Policy*, 16 (1), pp. 115–129.
WILLIAMS, C. C. (2014a), *Confronting the Shadow Economy: evaluating tax compliance and behaviour policies*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
WILLIAMS, C. C. (2014b), 'Explaining cross-national variations in the prevalence of envelope wages: some lessons from a 2013 Eurobarometer survey', *Industrial Relations Journal*, 45 (6), 524–542.
WILLIAMS, C. C. (2014c), 'Explaining cross-national variations in the prevalence and character of undeclared employment in the European Union', *European Spatial Research and Policy*, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 115–132.
WILLIAMS, C. C. (2014d), 'Out of the shadows: a classification of economies by the size and character of their informal sector', *Work, Employment and Society*, 28 (5), pp. 735–753.
WILLIAMS, C.C. and HORODNIC, I. (2015), 'Rethinking the marginalisation thesis: an evaluation of the socio-spatial variations in undeclared work in the European Union', *Employee Relations*, 37 (1), pp. 48–65.
WILLIAMS, C. C., NADIN, S. and WINDEBANK, J. (2012), 'Evaluating the prevalence and nature of self-employment in the informal economy: evidence from a 27-nation European survey', *European Spatial Research and Policy*, 19 (1), pp. 129–142.
WINSHIP, C. and RADBILL, L. (1994), 'Sampling weights and regression analysis', *Sociological Methods and Research*, 23 (2), pp. 230–257.