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IN MEMORIAM

SERGEY S. ARTOBOLVSKIY
(1953–2014)

Two major figures in Russian regional science – both highly regarded in international professional circles – have died in recent years.

Academician *Alexander Granberg*, who died in August, 2010, in his 75th year, began his scientific career in the Institute of Economics and Industrial Engineering of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Novosibirsk. As a renowned researcher into regional programming and modelling, he was appointed head of Institute in succession to the ‘reform economist’ Abel Aganbegyan. Later he moved to Moscow where he was elected Chairman of the Academy’s Council for the Study of Productive Forces (SOPS). He directed the Regional Science Committee of the Russian Academy for many years as a member of the Presidium of the Academy. During the last phase of his career, he also headed the Department of Regional Studies of the State University of Economics in Moscow and published a series of books on Russian regional development and policy and on various subjects in the methodology of regional analysis (e.g. Westlund *et al.*, 2000; Granberg, 2000; Granberg, ed., 2001, 2004; Granberg *et al.*, 2007).

Sergey Artobolevskiy, who died at the age of 61 on March 18, 2014, was an active member of Granberg’s intellectual workshop.

This outstanding researcher was born into a Russian historical family of intellectuals. His grandfather, a descendant of a family of priests, was Ioann Artobolevskiy, professor of the Department of Theological Studies of the Agricultural Academy of Moscow, and a prominent theologian. The Soviet regime first imprisoned and then executed him in 1938. He was declared a martyr in 2000. It was due entirely to chance that the next generation of the family, Sergey’s father and uncle, were saved from the repression of the regime. The father, also named Sergey Artobolevskiy, was an eminent Professor at the Moscow University of Energy, and he became a hugely respected international expert on Automation, and his brother, academician Ivan Artobolevskiy, founder of the Faculty of Mechanics and Mathematics of the Lomonosov University was later elected Chairman of Society Knowledge (Znanie).

Sergey Artobolevskiy, educated in a broad-minded family of scientists with great cultural traditions, graduated from his English-language high school and studied at the Faculty of Geography of the Lomonosov University in Moscow. Whilst still a university student, he began to carry out research at the Department of Economic Geography of Capitalist Countries at the Faculty of Geography. In 1974 he was employed by the Institute of Geography of the RAS, where his research topic was the study of the regional aspects of Britain's manufacturing industry. He prepared and defended his Candidate of Sciences dissertation on this topic in 1982.

Thanks to his excellent knowledge of English, he was able to join the international network of regional science quite early. He was a member of the editorial board of the International Geographical Congress of 1976 in Moscow, and from the mid-1980s he gathered material for his doctoral dissertation within the framework of his foreign study visits to the UK, the Netherlands and several Central European countries. At the end of the second phase of his career, in 1992, he successfully defended his doctoral dissertation entitled *The Regional Policy of West European Countries*. The book based on his dissertation was published by Jessica Kingsley Publishers in London and brought international recognition for the author (Artobolevskiy, 1997). During the last fifteen years of his scientific career – the last phase – he participated in countless international conferences and research programmes, and numerous foreign journals elected him to their editorial boards and advisory bodies. He was, in fact, a member of the editorial board of *European Spatial Research and Policy* for some years. Foreign organisations invited him as an external expert to participate in their Russian programmes, and he was a permanent participant in international scientific forums, conferences and debate sessions held in Moscow. He worked in the TACIS programme of the European Commission and in Russian projects of the World Bank. He was chief scientific secretary of the International Academy of Regional Development and Cooperation in Moscow and a promoter of regional research on the boards of international foundations such as Carnegie Centre Moscow and Information Science for Democracy. He held courses and undertook research on several occasions in the Universities of Oxford, Glasgow and Amsterdam and frequently lectured at German, Belgian, Hungarian and Polish universities.

He had a wide-ranging research profile: he published a Russian-language study on British regional development in 1992 and also laid the scientific groundwork of modern Russian regional policy based on the investigation of European regional development and policy (Artobolevskiy, 1992). He published several studies on Russian regional development and on the interpretation, instruments and institutions of spatial policy (Artobolevskiy and Treivish, eds., 2001). On several occasions he used the mass media to present his standpoint on spatial settlement, demographic, spatial economic and regional power relations of the Russian transi-

tion, crisis eras and future renewal. He was a well-known and popular participant in televised debates.

He had an outstanding capacity for organizing scientific life, something which was already visible in the early years of his scientific career. He was appointed head of the Department of Economic and Social Geography of Institute of Geography of RAS in 1996, and under his leadership the international relations of the country's pre-eminent regional research workshop blossomed, the number of its international publications increased and its scientific results were recognized by the Russian political and economic decision-making elite. He became a key figure in the Academy's regional research programme managed by Granberg. Their common dream was to improve the international competitiveness of Russian regional development and to domesticate this scientific discipline within the Russian nomenclature and higher education. Their aim was to establish a regional scientific research network comprising 15–20 units, and in this the experience of the Centre for Regional Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was utilized to define the operational system and scientific programme of the network. Foreign dissemination of the results achieved by Russian researchers remained close to his heart, and he developed the concept of a journal under the name *Regional Research of Russia* for this particular purpose. The journal publishes studies written in English in prominent Russian-language journals. The chief editor of the journal – issued four times per year since 2011 – was Sergey Artobolevskiy. In addition to this, he was appointed a member of the editorial board of a dozen Russian journals.

Managing large-scale research projects and editing books to disseminate the research findings were important elements of his activities directed at the organisation of scientific life. The Russian Economist Publishing House published a volume analysing the socio-economic transformation of the Khanty-Mansi autonomous *okrug* in 2007, which was prepared by Artobolevskiy's workshop (Artobolevskiy and Glezer, eds., 2007). The conclusions to be drawn from studying the development of a principal area of the Russian oil and gas industries (where GDP *per capita* far exceeded the national average) were that diversification together with the development of the necessary infrastructure and human resources had to be launched as soon as possible. The volume summarising the results of the research on Russian regional development and policy produced by the scientific community under his leadership was published by Artobolevskiy in 2011 and achieved immediate success on the Russian scientific book market (Artobolevskiy and Glezer, eds., 2011).

Sergey Artobolevskiy cultivated strong ties to the Centre for Regional Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and from the beginning of the 1990s he held presentations at almost every international conference organized by the Institute, several of his publications being published in Hungarian professional journals. He was the chief promoter of – and driving force behind – almost twen-

ty years of cooperation between the Russian and Hungarian Academies, and we are profoundly grateful for the 2011 publication in Moscow of a volume on the regional aspects of the Hungarian and Central European transition (Artobolevskiy and Horvath, eds., 2011). He appreciated the results of Hungarian regional research and contributed greatly to their popularisation in Russian scientific life.

My friendship with Sergey flourished for nearly thirty years, and I invariably enjoyed his sense of humour, his familiarity with Russian culture and also his European mentality. I highly esteemed his sensitivity to scientific problems and his innate curiosity, which extended far and embraced the most minute detail. I appreciated both his natural modesty and his own, very characteristic manner. We had, in fact, several common plans, and I sincerely hope that at least some of these will be realised in partnership with his colleagues and students. This, at least, we owe to his memory.

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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 first of two numbers 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 planners decided to compare the experiences we have at the interface between heritage and planning in a range of European countries.

European societies are becoming increasingly fond of the historical dimension of their cities. Traces from the past, both physical and cultural, are cherished because they are carrying territorial identities. This evolution has reached the European discourse, with the Florence convention of the Council of Europe (2000), as well as the Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities, which states in its Preamble that ‘Our cities possess unique cultural and architectural qualities, strong forces of social inclusion and exceptional possibilities for economic development’ (Informal Council of the Ministers in charge of Urban Development of the European Union, 2007).

At the global level, UNESCO promotes a similar vision. The Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (2011) defines historic urban landscape:

[...] the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of ‘historic centre’ or ‘ensemble’ to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting. This wider context includes notably the site’s topography, geomorphology, hydrology and natural features, its built environment, both historic and contemporary, its infrastructures above and below ground, its open spaces and gardens, its land use patterns and spatial organization, perceptions and visual relationships, as well as all other elements of the

urban structure. It also includes social and cultural practices and values, economic processes and the intangible dimensions of heritage as related to diversity and identity (Articles 8 and 9).

But does ‘cultural practices and values’ have the same meaning in all European countries? Indeed, similar evolutions can be witnessed. Since the 19th century, most European countries have protected outstanding natural sites, architectural monuments and urban landscapes. Progressively, humble traces of daily life are being considered heritage, because they are representative of collective memories and identities: post-industrial neighbourhoods, modernistic settlements, rural areas etc. Authentic or fake historicity becomes a driver of regeneration strategies and territorial branding. Rather than strict protection, usually in the hands of national authorities, these landscapes call for planning and management.

However, so far, the situation is not homogeneous. The aim of this issue is threefold. On the one hand, we wish to compare the values underpinning national definitions of, and approaches to, heritage. On the other hand, we intend to compare how different European planning systems respond to this evolution. Finally, we wonder how the context, institutional, social, economic – not a minor element in these times of crisis – impacts the protection and management of cultural landscapes.

Suzanna Alves brings to the debate a concept derived from ecological psychology – affordance analysis. Historic urban landscapes appear as affordances, or potentials of a place. The definition of tangible and intangible values results from a transaction between the diversity of members of the society. The planner is then the mediator of this ‘transaction’. Public spaces, vacant spaces, ‘in-between spaces’, become essential places for its realisation and the constant re-creation of collective identities.

Pablo Alonso Gonzalez focuses on a trans-Atlantic comparison of cultural parks, an object between heritage and planning, often used for place-branding. He suggests that albeit each European country has its institutional setting and national traditions, Europe and the United States feature different ideal-types. In Europe, institutional stakeholders prevail in defining and implementing policies, while in the US, cultural parks are mainly stemming from local initiatives. However, reciprocal influences exist and may generate some cross-contamination.

Two papers address the management of sites from the UNESCO World Heritage List, showing quite different dynamics. From an Italian perspective, Francesco Lo Piccolo and Vincenzo Todaro analyze the tension between Management Plans, based on a performative model, and planning instruments and tools, very conformative. This hampers integration between management plans and the planning system, which leads to a loss of efficiency in their implementation, eventually even a loss of meaning, when Management Plans become ‘a collection of goals derived from pre-existing planning and programming tools’.

From an Austrian perspective, Sibylla Zech, Gisa Ruland and Peter Kurz show how, in the Hallstatt-Dachstein region, the inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List has fostered the emergence of a regional development strategy built on a consensus between stakeholders. Public participation and good governance are the key of success and the authors suggest a series of principles which may help in achieving it.

Yet, is not heritage a luxury for wealthy societies? The strike back of social and economic realities is addressed by Vojtech Novotný, Alca Wranová, and Jíka Trevisan. On the case of Mšeno (Czech Republic), they show how the 19th century heritage is being damaged, in spite of a strong ‘expert, top-down and repressive’ protection. The main reason is the resistance of the owners, for whom the cultural value is, before anything else, a heavy financial cost. The tension is worsened by the distrust between citizens and public authorities, due in particular to the precedent of some building permissions perceived as arbitrary.

From a Greek perspective, Ioanna Katapidi shows how, despite conservation policies, cultural and environmental values of landscapes are threatened by urban development. Analyzing the case of Mount Pelion, she elaborates a typology of problems coming from development, underdevelopment, administration, and the still vivid illegal sphere. She shows that sectoral regulations, environmental or cultural, are not sufficient as long as they remain fragmented and disconnected from social and economic realities.

To what extent are these differences linked to the differences between planning cultures? According to the *European Compendium of Planning Systems* (European Commission, 1997), the Austrian system embodies the ‘comprehensive integrated approach’, where public participation and policy integration prevail. Italy and Greece represent the ideal-type of ‘urbanism’, where statutory plans are legally dominant, yet challenged by informal developments and deals. The Czech planning system illustrates the ‘Land use management’ model, where local authorities have some flexibility in the delivery of building permits. As a result, in the post-socialist context, the suspicion of corruption is never far away.

Beyond the particularities, are there lessons to be learned from one country to another? Is a common understanding of heritage emerging? Is there a convergence with respect to heritage planning and management? The forthcoming issue of this journal will bring additional light to these questions.

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INVITED ARTICLES

Susana ALVES*

AFFORDANCES OF HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPES: AN ECOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN INTERACTION WITH THE PAST

Abstract. Heritage has been defined differently in European contexts. Despite differences, a common challenge for historic urban landscape management is the integration of tangible and intangible heritage. Integration demands an active view of perception and human-landscape interaction where intangible values are linked to specific places and meanings are attached to particular cultural practices and socio-spatial organisation. Tangible and intangible values can be examined as part of a system of affordances (potentialities) a place, artefact or cultural practice has to offer. This paper discusses how an ‘affordance analysis’ may serve as a useful tool for the management of historic urban landscapes.

Key words: affordances, historic urban landscapes, place, culture, tangible and intangible heritage.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper addresses humans’ interaction with historic urban landscapes (HUL) to explore how tangible and intangible dimensions can be integrated in the management and policy practices. Heritage has been defined differently in European and international contexts (Ahmad, 2006). Despite differences, a common tension in heritage definition is the consideration of tangible and intangible dimensions (Vecco, 2010; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004). Intangible cultural heritage, ignored for a long time, has now been acknowledged by UNESCO (adoption in October 2003) as heritage to be protected and safeguarded. Heritage is no longer defined

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solely on the basis of its material goods transforming it in a more inclusive concept which considers a cyclic vision of history and the value attributed to oral and immaterial culture of many non-Western societies.

Parallel to an inclusive approach to heritage, the UNESCO selection of cultural heritage has advanced to account not only for historic and artistic tangibles but to include 'landscapes' and local practices. This advancement in heritage definition and management, however, seems still quite fragmented and in need of a conceptual framework and tools to integrate tangible-intangible dimensions and specify the role of different stakeholders in the management of cultural goods.

The first section of this paper introduces an ecological view of human perception. It states that heritage perception is an ecological process part of a person-environment system where humans perceive their everyday environment 'as a place of functionally meaningful objects and events' (Heft, 2003, 2013). My argument proceeds by describing the concept of 'affordances' or possibilities for action in the environment and in humans interplay with tangibles and intangibles (Gibson, 1979). The next step is to explain how tangible and intangible dimensions are entangled in human experience, especially through memory, images, and symbols and to point to a relational analysis of HUL (Heft and Kyttä, 2006). The final argument is to show how an 'affordance analysis' can be a tool to support the management of HUL by uncovering its multiple potentialities.

2. AN ECOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN PERCEPTION

An ecological view of human perception has been developed in the field of ecological psychology to show that humans perceive their surrounding environment in a dynamic and direct way (Heft, 2012, 2013; Gibson, 1979; Barker, 1968). An ecological approach is a systemic way of thinking that rejects the stimulus-response claim of human perception and holds the mutuality of human-environment relations. We perceive the world: 'with the eyes-in-the-head-on-the-body-resting-on-the-ground' (Gibson, 1979, p. 205). Humans perceive even what they cannot immediately see (the environment behind their head) as they perceive what surrounds or encloses them: their behavioural space which is composed of material and immaterial attributes.

For Gibson (1979, p. 8), the individual is at the same time 'a perceiver of the environment and a behavior in the environment'. Gibson coined a new word – *affordances* – to express the emergent properties, possibilities for action, and meaning which is derived in person-environment relationships. Affordances make the point that perception is 'not the achievement of a mind in a body, but of the organism as a whole in its environment' (Ingold, 2000, p. 3).

Some of the main tenants of an ecological view have been summarized by Heft (2013) and can be applied to the study of heritage: (a) Humans perceive their environments in a direct way. This is to say that humans perceive heritage affordances neither as a physical property nor as a human characteristic – but as a action possibility which emerges from the fusion of these two components; (b) Human-landscape interaction is embedded in nested systems over different time frames. Each species is related to a particular eco-niche which has a set of features that complement the behaviour of that specie. The unit of analysis is thus person-in-the-environment; (c) Because there is a nesting in micro-macro level processes, time can never been taken as static and linear. Past and present events are part of a continuum with particular events occurring at different time frames: phylo-genetic (species history), cultural-historical (socio-cultural context), ontogenetic (life history of the individual), and micro-genetic (time course of the action being performed) (Vygotsky, 1978). What is remembered and considered heritage needs to be approached within diverse historical time-frames; (d) Change requires both a biological structure and a certain condition to actionate it. By examining relational functional properties within a time-frame for a particular cultural group, we can discover environmental attributes and how they sustain change (evolutionary change or micro-based changes); (e) Human evolution was linked to the capability to discover new affordances and produce artefacts that supported the well-being and survival of the group. By selecting those features that supported behaviour, humans have revealed hidden possibilities which have led to the invention of new artefacts, and new socio-cultural practices in the landscape; (f) Human perception is not static but organized into ecological units. Ecological units are made up of ‘invariants’, the substances, medium, and the surfaces in which humans and non-humans evolved available in the ambient array and ‘variants’ (humans, their activities, and the objects they create) (Glotzbach and Heft, 1982). The interplay of variant/invariants with the diverse activities and the tempos they provide can give rise to different ‘behaviour settings’ and places with a specific *ambiances*, roles, and meanings (Sloterdijk, 2011; Thibaud, 2011; Rapoport, 1990; Barker, 1968).

How can this direct, non-mediated, and ecological way of perceiving be applied to the study of HUL?

3. HERITAGES AND THEIR AFFORDANCES

The UNESCO World Heritage Convention for the Safeguarding of the Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage defines tangible heritage to include ‘buildings and historic places, monuments, artefacts; and objects which bear signifi-

cance to the archaeology, architecture, science or technology of a specific culture' (UNESCO, 2014c) and intangible heritage as referring to 'traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts' (UNESCO, 2014b). This international classification of heritage has led to a dualistic view separating 'tangible heritage' as material artefacts and structures and the 'intangible heritage' linked to abstract concepts including that of cultural values, meanings, memories and feelings (Swensen *et al.*, 2013; Smith, 2006). The tangible-intangible divide adheres to a dualistic mode of perception: it is as if cultural values and meanings could be separated from a physical locale, material culture and a community's *mode de vie*.

The affordance concept due to its intermediate realm between matter and mind frees us from such dualism (Gibson, 1979) and solves an old impasse: neither physical nor mental but both. Either as the spatial organisation of micro-sphere settings or macro-sphere settings, the activation of affordances demands the addressing of inter-laced time-space structures (Heft, 2012). Affordances make the point that heritage is rooted both in universal (relatedness that comes from being human), socio-cultural contexts, and individually-based values and rights (UNESCO, 2003).

3.1. Tangible Heritages and Their Affordances

Since 2005, the notion of HUL has gained prominence (Gábor, 2011) in the study of heritage. There have been various definitions of heritage (Ahmad, 2006) with the recent expansion of the concept to include tangible and intangible values and environments, however, there are important differences among countries to what constitutes heritage, what is an environment and its tangible and intangible aspects. From an ecological point of view, environments can be defined as systems of settings composed of systems of activities (Rapoport, 1982). The environment as such is considered a *medium* which contains substances, surfaces and their layout, enclosure, objects, places, events, and other organisms and human beings (Gibson, 1979; Glotzbach and Heft, 1982). Being part of every organism's lives, the environment is directly linked to that which takes place every day in the life of an organism.

These everyday happenings are structured as intra- and inter-individual real-time behaviour patterns (Barker, 1968; De Certeau, 1984). They are natural happenings which are social by nature, but also tangible as they necessitate a physical locale to take place. The physical locale and what it contains can be evaluated in terms of their affordances: what kinds of activities and interactions it invites and what types of meanings it sustains. Environment therefore is a broad term that can be operationalized in terms of ecological units called *behaviour settings*. What an

environment affords and what it means to people will depend on the action taking place together with the objects which make the action possible (Barker, 1968; Schoggen, 1989).

To clarify this point, let us consider an example from archaeology, a discipline that deals directly with material culture. Hodder (2012) has pointed out that things and objects are connected to other objects and to people and the entire network where they are situated. Tangibles are always entangled with intangibles in a dynamic way. Hodder has applied the notion of affordances to make contextualized claims about artefacts and how ancient dwellings and settlements were used in Çatalhöyük, a 9000-year old archaeological site in central Turkey inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2012 as the ‘most significant human settlement documenting early settled agricultural life of a Neolithic community’ (UNESCO, 2014a). An affordance analysis of the house clusters of Çatalhöyük enquire about the actions they invited. If we consider how first of all, clay, the material from which mud brick and plaster residences were constructed, we may reveal the different aspects of behaviour settings which are at play in this first urban centre. Clay, a material surrounding Çatalhöyük, had multiple interlinked uses and functions (Hodder, 2012). Clay was extensively used and afforded diverse entanglements: clay with houses; clay with skulls; and clay with burials, thus making clay a central element in everyday practices and creation of meaning. The houses in Çatalhöyük were made of sun-baked bricks and placed close to each other without leaving space for streets. Because of that people could walk on the flat roofs and enter the houses from a hole placed in the roof. Walking on roofs was just one affordance provided by this spatial arrangement. It follows that skulls were used to support the posts and walls of the houses thus creating a close link between the dead and the living and between the past and the present. According to Hodder (2012, p. 132), ‘the role of the ancestor skulls was to help support the posts and walls of the houses’. The houses, called history houses, had many burials with the dead buried beneath the floors, and the bodies divided and passed around. This procedure not only kept people in contact with their dead but generated a type of society that valued the social and the collective. Mud, which was available in the surrounding landscape, afforded re-plastering of the walls, an activity which not only brought people to cooperate but also gave form to a behaviour setting – a season or time for the plastering of the walls. The fact that the walls were plastered also allowed people to paint the walls, a very important activity which invited collective action. It has been found that in some cases, 120 layers of plaster were found on a single wall, thus leading Hodder to conclude that use of mud for re-plastering the walls was an important activity which shaped life but also had a symbolic value for humans at Çatalhöyük.

Plastering and re-plastering were important activities at Çatalhöyük and can be interpreted as a ‘play’ – a serious kind of play which gave coherence to other

spheres of life (Huizinga, 1955). Re-plastering may be called ‘imaginative actualisations’ directed to the plastering of human and animal heads to afford continuity beyond individual lives. The nature of being was transformed to integrate present and past and bind the living and the dead. For this continuity to survive, a repetition was necessary – a re-enactment of sequences of behaviour which could only be performed by linking that which was tangible (e.g., clay, houses, skulls, house posts) with that which was not tangible (e.g., connection with the dead and sense of collectivity). What lay in between, the action: smearing plaster, cutting and disassembling heads, installing walls, re-plastering the walls etc. was afforded (meaning a possibility was created) by the association and entanglement of tangible and non-tangible things.

Many types of entanglements in heritage literature can be cited but the point here is to show that they are open systems that constantly generate new phenomena. In Çatalhöyük: ‘a particular type of body and person was generated – one that could be refreshed to live again and one that could be divided up and passed between people’ (Hodder, 2012, p. 135). A new form of agency emerged from the entanglement between things-humans related to new materialities – one that changed notions of self and personhood. It is clear that humans’ link to clay and hearth in Çatalhöyük shaped a particular type of settlement and at the same time, created a need for transcendent meaning. The burial practices to divide and pass the dead around, the work invested to hold the houses in place point to the investment given to build continuation and memory. Heritage, therefore, is not a modern concept as humans’ relationship with the past and how they actively managed aspects of that past is a very ancient pursuit (Harvey, 2001).

Returning to the issue of what tangible heritage affords, we can argue that the value of tangibles needs the examination of the history of the thing itself in a longer time lapse and in a rich historical contextualisation. As shown in the example of Çatalhöyük, things have a social life and their materiality lie both in their physical attributes and their latent potentialities (Appadurai, 1986; Latour, 2004). Affordances of tangible heritage exist within *behaviour settings* therefore the processes of valuation which characterise UNESCO evaluations need to be analyzed in relation to the ongoing dynamics of action in which the ‘tangible good’ takes place.

3.2. Intangible Heritages and Their Affordances

According to UNESCO, intangible heritage involves: (1) past heritage but also contemporary rural and urban practices of diverse cultural groups; (2) inclusiveness where heritage can be related to different communities and to the society at large; and (3) dependence on the community and its traditional knowledge, skills, and customs. One striking point in this intangible cultural heritage specification is ‘vagueness’ to how intangibles relate to both people and physical things. Af-

fordances as ‘meaningful qualities of immediate experience embedded in the dynamic flow of perceiver-environment processes’ (Heft, 2003, p. 177) can be easily related to tangible cultural heritage and immediate experience. However, how can we apply affordances in relation to non-tangible heritage?

Work by James Gibson and other scholars in ecological psychology have dealt primarily with physical attributes (Moore and Cosco, 2007; Clark and Uzzell, 2005; Heft, 2003; Kyttä, 2002). Little has been written about the role of affordances to understand non-tangible heritage (e.g., Heft, 2014). A relevant question at this point becomes: are intangibles directly perceived? How can we deal with issues of collective memory, time, and symbolic activity in an ecological way? How can we affirm that the ‘creation of images’ in indigenous societies – including knowledge which comes in form of dreams or liminal states (e.g., shamans in South America) – are practices where these ‘images’ are directly perceived?

To propose an ecological understanding of non-tangible heritage, it is necessary to show that first, perceptual information is gathered by an active perceiver (humans) and second, that there is an ‘invariant structure’ which defines what could be perceived by an active organism. These invariant structures are present in light, in substances and in the textures of earth – our common and immediate environment (Gibson, 1979). These underlying structures Gibson (1979) called invariants while Jung (1959) named them archetypes to refer to the inherited arrangements and patterns that link the human psyche to nature and the legacy of ancestral life and archetypal images. For Gibson, these invariants are rich in affordances which can be picked up while for Jung, archetypes are also invariants materialized in archetypal images or motifs.

I approach Carl Jung’s (1963/1983, 1964/1978) work with the pragmatic question of understanding how non-tangible heritage and its meanings (affordances) are ecologically perceived. As the affordance concept, archetype motifs are neither subjective nor objective but found in-between these two realms. As affordances, archetypes are unfilled patterns that acquire significance when actualized in immediate action when they are filled with meaning.

For example, the use of stone and the invention of core/flake technology by Oldowan hominids two-million years ago represented a significant evolutionary leap for humankind. The *prima-materia* of stone (i.e., archetype) was the medium through which a given combination of core(s) and flake(s) could generate an endless repertoire of activities. Core-flake afforded utilitarian (e.g., chopping, scraping, and cutting) and non-utilitarian possibilities as in Oldowan sites at Olduvai Gorge, artefacts with no utilisation wear and baboon-headed anvils have been found suggesting that these tools may have been produced for their own sake, aesthetic value, and symbolic meaning (Harrod, 2013). This illustration shows that the archetypal motif of core/flake is not a mental image imposed upon a substance but the name of an action (Harrod, 1992).

Given this need to be related to an action, affordances and archetypal motifs cannot be arbitrarily or universally interpreted – they must be empirically examined in relation to a life-situation. Jung (1959, p. 48) explains: ‘there are many archetypes as there are typical situations in life. Endless repetition has engraved these experiences into our psychic constitution, not in the form of images filled with content, but at first only as forms without content, representing merely the possibility of a certain type of perception and action’. The point made by Jung (1959) that archetypes are similar to patterns of behaviour – is what makes archetypal motifs significant for our present discussion as archetypal motifs appear in images, symbols and myths, and non-verbal communication (Eliade, 1963); in sum in what is considered intangible heritage.

However, there remains the problem of intangible heritage being manifested in images as if of a private and subjective nature stored in the mind. And this supposition does not fit with an ecological approach to perception. For instance, rituals are filled with archetypal images and motifs; are they indirectly perceived? Let us take the example of the indigenous culture of Colombia’s Yurupari jaguar shamans which has been added to the Intangible Cultural Heritage List by UNESCO in 2011. The Yurupari shamans see themselves as guardians of nature with the task of taking care of life in their land – the surrounding Pira Parana River and Amazon region in South America. The native interpretation is that they are transformers which turn into jaguars to acquire certain faculties that these animals have, such as aggressiveness, agility, and night vision. When they refer and ‘talk to’ these animals they are referring to an archetypal image and a metaphor but not exactly to the jaguars we may find in a zoo. The jaguar transformation is part of a ritual which aims for the protection of the community. These rituals are liminal states which afford a transformation and are used to overcome a crisis: ‘it acts out a transition and induces a transition in the participants’ (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1987, p. 11).

The shamans’ images and practices can only be ‘preserved’ if first, we acknowledge that these images are as real as the things of the physical world; and second, if then we can treat them as part of an ecological reality where their meanings can be discovered. An ecological reality is that which does not dissociate between tangible-intangible and which can give validity to the symbolic rites and mystical experiences of traditional societies, and of intangible heritage as a whole. Here we arrive at the important issue of politics of consciousness – the need to preserve and enrich imaginative consciousness (Csikszentmihalyi, 2014). For the politics of non-tangible heritage to be promoted, a change of perception is needed to broaden our view of what consciousness is and what it should contain.

Images and imaginary are words used to describe intangibles but as posed by French orientalist Henry Corbin (1964) these words in Western cultures are identified with ‘fantasy’, ‘utopian’, ‘unreal’ and ‘imaginary’. Corbin proposed the Latin term *mundus imaginalis* to convey the idea of an intermediary and intermediate

world, which by its own faculty of perception, imaginative capacity, gives expression to the world of archetypal images proposed by Jung, and here I add – to the world of affordances as proposed by Gibson. Thus, for Corbin (1969, p. 7) ‘active imagination is the mirror *par excellence*, the epiphanic place for the Images of the archetypal world’. Active imagination, in this respect, refers to *Imaginatio Vera* of the type practiced by the Yurupari shamans as exemplified before.

In this sense, the *mundus imaginalis* as used by Corbin, active imagination as used by Jung (1997) and affordances as proposed by Gibson provide us with link-concepts to integrate the personal and the collective, the tangible and intangible. Originated in different theories, these concepts are bound by the place given to the imaginative function and the space where it takes shape – in the intermediary world *mundus imaginalis*, the world of affordances, and the realm of the archetypes.

4. AFFORDANCE ANALYSIS: ENTANGLEMENT OF TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

An affordance analysis considers both manifest and latent meanings in a relational manner and can be applied to heritage by drawing on past-human-thing entanglement (Hodder, 2012). As argued, intangible values can only exist in relation to material vectors, and the immaterial provides value to things as far as meaning is attached to it (Pasquinelli, 2010). In other words, symbolic practices, ceremonies, and rituals without their attached emotions are empty and meaningless (Jung, 1964/1983). Based on this rationale of entanglement, an affordance analysis is relevant to heritage planning as it (re)-joins and (re)-veals potentialities: in past, present, and future; individual and societal processes; and instrumental and symbolic meanings. The emergence of new forms of acting as well as new modes of valuation can be derived from this integration. A first step on an affordance analysis is to explore the diverse entanglements or contexts of heritage. We may ask: What is the activity in consideration? What are its physical and non-physical characteristics? What does it afford? How is the activity conducted? Where does it take place? What other things and people are associated with the activity? What feelings and meanings are related to it?

Let us consider the Samba de Roda of the Recôncavo of Bahia, a typical dance in the Northeast of Brazil which has been inscribed in 2008 on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity as an illustration of the entanglement of tangible and intangible heritage in a behaviour setting. The Samba de Roda of the Recôncavo of Bahia is a behaviour setting with specific affordances because: (1) it requires a specific group of people and a specific place to exist. It is a natural phenomenon with a space-time locus and a surrounding boundary; (2) it

is objective with sets of components, such as people, dance, talking, singing, playing instruments; (3) it has a spatial boundary as a circle ('roda' in Portuguese) that encloses the behaviour patterns (dance), the objects, and the people. The on-going behaviour and the physical objects within the 'roda' are easily discriminated from what is happening outside it; (4) there is a similarity in structure, form, and shape – a synomorphic relation – between the behaviour patterns in the 'roda de samba' and the characteristics and arrangement of the physical objects; (5) the presence of other people to dance are necessary to fit the dancing/playing/singing activity.

The behaviour patterns taking place in the 'roda de samba' are as much a part of a psychological and symbolic environment as are the physical and temporal components of the setting (Schoggen, 1989). This is an important aspect for heritage management as it shows that the traditional features of the streets of Bahia, the larger system of the samba-de-roda needs to be sustained over time in order for the 'authenticity' of this activity to continue (Zhu, 2012).

4.1. Affordance Analysis: Relating Past-Present-Future and Individual-Social Memories

As argued, an ecological view of perception considers different time scales (Vygotsky, 1978). When questioning heritage and its regimes of temporality, Hartog (2005, p. 15) has pointed that 'the itinerary of the concept has undoubtedly shown that heritage has never thrived on continuity but on the contrary from ruptures and questioning the order of time'. He continues to say that the concept of heritage has had several phases that were related with important moments of questioning the order of time.

When considered ecologically, remembering is viewed as a process that relates to an action in the present 'as a means of verifying that our concepts connect back to our experience of the world and as a way of uncovering new qualities of perceptual experience for investigation' (Heft, 2003, p. 149). An affordance analysis considers actual lived time related to the life cycles of humans, urban landscapes, things, and ecological processes. This view of time and space calls for the integration of past-present-future, and individual-social memories in design and management practices. In dealing with the past, heritage practices may tend to hold on a static view but time itself is full of affordances: it allows coordination of working times, public and private service times, it can be exchanged for money and wasted in waiting in queues, metro and bus stops, and in the so called non-places of HUL (Augé, 1992).

In acknowledging the value of time in heritage, we are obliged to consider the categories of time people employ to make sense of their past (Ingold, 1993). Archetypal understandings can be imposed by cultures, such as the idea of time as linear. However, the analysis of time in social settings reveal that time is non-

linear and linked to actual everyday conditions (see Núñez and Sweetser, 2006 for the reverse concept of time of Aymara). An affordance analysis asks how heritage and the institutions governing it integrate the life-cycle time of humans and things. Within a linear and cumulative view of time much is lost in term of promoting heritage. Old age, for instance, has been associated with decline even though this is the life stage with the greatest amount of life experience. Older people themselves are great sources of heritage but their role in heritage management processes is seldom acknowledged. New possibilities for heritage may arise when unusual combinations are envisaged through abduction reasoning, such as asking about the potential of shrinking cities as green retirement cities (Nefs *et al.*, 2013).

A dichotomic view of time in heritage separates traditional and modern societies and splits social and individual memories. To escape this trap, a new insight for memory is needed to acknowledge social frameworks (e.g., family); media technologies (e.g., internet); cultural institutions (e.g. museums); political situations (e.g. national and international conflicts) consistently overshadowed by an economic mode of thinking (Olick *et al.*, 2011).

4.2. Affordance Analysis: Relating Instrumental and Symbolic Meanings

An affordance analysis asks what the functional possibilities of heritage are to enhance humans' well-being. Affordances, as a tool encourages professionals involved in HUL management to elucidate functional possibilities and psychological meanings in the context of specific stakeholders and local environments (Heft, 2012; Heft and Kyttä, 2006). It should be noted that functional possibilities is used to express the need for integration in HUL and the use of urban design to create gradual transitions and to open up spaces for public use.

An affordance analysis examines the different layers of HUL to uncover symbolic significance beyond the limited notion of the historic centre (Bandarin and van Oers, 2012). Instead of reinforcing the separation of activities and segregation of spaces – which is the case when historic centres are disconnected from the rest of the city and targeted only to tourists – an ecological view of heritage stresses the existence of transitions to create integration between what is considered 'historical' from that which is 'not historical' and provide spaces for cultural diversity and place attachment (Lewicka, 2005). The qualities offered by transitional spaces (i.e., in between spaces) reside in the type of experience they can furnish to people. They can be used to change people's perceptions and patterns of activities to create flow and used to recognize the symbolic value of everyday spaces in addition to those landmarks of outstanding value. This evaluation has its merit as it appreciates the claims for ownership and heritage from other groups, including indigenous people and women.

The affordance analysis proposed here is mindful of the symbolic value of HUL and its role on humans' imaginative capability. As active imaginative agents, humans' well-being depends on the creation of symbolic meanings. There is a fundamental misunderstanding of equating symbolic activity with 'psychologism' and 'subjectivism', but as previously expressed, I am referring here to a world which transcends fantasy called '*imaginatio vera*' which is key to well-being (Corbin, 1964). We can affirm that the capacity for symbolic activity is the greatest heritage of all and that which can give continuity to human flourishing. In order to promote well-being, we need to address the creation of symbols and the communication of these symbols to others (Jones, 2001). The way heritage enhances humans' capabilities is a right to be acknowledged in the context of plural cultural identities (Logan, 2007; Hodder, 2010). Who controls access to heritage artefacts which are considered valuable? How can we design spaces that invite creative behaviour?

5. MANAGEMENT OF CHANGE: HERITAGE AS 'COMMONS'

Commons refers to 'any natural or manmade resource that is or could be held and used in common' (Berge and van Laerhoven 2011, p. 161). Without a clear understanding of meanings given to things past and present, it will become unlikely that heritage will be well managed. Heritage as a 'commons' means to use heritage as a common resource for the betterment of people's lives and the continuation of their memory and identity. What common values does heritage generate?

To manage the different interpretations of the past, we need to consider the nature of what is shared as it characterises the specific nature of a community (Alonso Gonzalez, 2014). This will lead to a concrete understanding of people and their activities and behaviour settings.

An affordance analysis supports a 'living heritage' by defining who are the communities and groups involved, what are their practices and how they are physically located within the surrounding environment (Alonso Gonzales, 2014). In this regard, cultural heritage is not just about social relationships but is also profoundly spatial. To measure the values of heritage according to an affordance analysis means to act in the middle – be a mediator – between global and private interests. It is necessary to consider the implications of common property management in contexts of cultural preservation and sharing.

Agrawal (2001) has identified four relevant factors for the governance of the commons: heritage entities, user groups, such as communities, tourists, experts and entrepreneurs, national (e.g., UNESCO) and regional bodies, and macro-political factors (e.g., market functioning).

In terms of the management of change, we need to consider the relational interplay of territorial projects which are based on the territorial values of each area but also part of a process of competition to branding and marketing places (Magnaghi, 2005). The revival of historic quarters, for example, has implied the expulsion of communities and the marketing of areas for tourists. Affordances as a tool would ask what these areas mean for particular groups of people in terms of their interpretations and values. Other areas of commons management, such as restoration of historic buildings and redesign in the public realm require marketing. Social marketing can be derived from analysing what specific environmental attributes offer to cultural groups and different segments of the population, such as older people (Alves *et al.*, 2008). Marketing a place needs a connection with its inhabitants. Whatever is the definition of heritage, community involvement will depend on methodologies, concepts, and documents that frame its implementation.

5.1. HUL Integration with Open and In-between Spaces

How can we approach the past through the medium of the built environment? HUL's affordances and potential lie in their relationship with other urban spaces. According to UNESCO in its recommendation (adopted on November 2011), HUL should provide cultural diversity and enhance human creativity but this goal may be difficult to achieve if historic neighbourhoods continue to be shaped solely as 'themed environments' with fixed functions and schedules and little room for flexibility. An ecological approach to perception and planning proposes that historic neighbourhoods and new developments can intermingle, particularly through the means of open and in-between spaces.

Different terms have been used in the literature to denote intermediate/in-between spaces – loose spaces (Franck and Stevens, 2007), spatio-temporal transitions (Hofmeister, 2002), and *terrain vague* (Solà-Morales, 2013/1968) to name a few. What is important to note in all concepts is the feature of porosity – a connecting quality to promote place memory in the continuum of time-space. Hofmeister (2002, p. 114) poses, in-between spaces as 'spatiotemporal transitions acquire value by virtue of being unordered, "marking-free" zones beyond spatiotemporally fixed orders. This is where new things can take shape. In the In-Between – in the Already-Left-Behind and Not-Yet-Arrived – much is possible. Transitions contain the promise of possibilities not provided for, and they create options'.

Permeable boundaries give concrete shape to a conceptual integration between tight and loose space, public/private, past/present, and tangible/intangible. Symbolically speaking, porosity expresses a state of in-betweenness, a passage, the archetype of change and the temporal-spatial figure of transition and transformation (van Gennep, 1960).

The diverse layers which structure HUL, such as infrastructures, cultural practices, and built environment demand the use of integrative tools. An affordance analysis, interested in spaces for possibilities, approaches in-between spaces as ‘commons’ (e.g., open spaces, streets, urban gardens) to connect different groups of people and to provide a space for collective memory. For instance, consider urban gardening practices as carriers of collective memory and heritage and an efficient source of resilience for ecosystem management. However, in many cities, such as Istanbul, urban gardening has played a small role in branding and marketing the city. Nonetheless, these spaces are the repositories of thick familial and cultural ties which have been continually replaced by new developments. To be clear here: intermediate spaces, third places (Oldenburg and Brissett, 1982; Oldenburg, 1989), which may vary in their level of regulation can sustain HUL when seen in the broader ecological view of inter-connected systems.

5.2. HUL Management as a Playful Enterprise

As previously stated, HUL are transitional landscapes composed of *behaviour settings*. HUL’s management is a spatial challenge which involves different scales, but at the bottom line, touches directly on settings that are public and of common use. To manage change effectively in the context of the current socio-economic and environmental crisis, a longer historical analysis that combines archaeological, anthropological and historical data is required.

In-between spaces and in-between roles are critical in the process of transition towards change (e.g., psychological, environmental or otherwise). The key characteristics of these transitional spaces need to be analyzed to reveal their positive qualities and potentialities (affordances). Some of the positive qualities of transitional landscapes are its opportunities for sustaining cultural ties, enhancing creativity, play and *imaginatio vera*, and providing a platform for innovation. Change – be it positive or negative in terms of human well-being is always tied to the mutual dependency between humans, landscapes, and things. Seizing opportunities for change that support well-being requires openness to the *Homo Ludens* (Humans as players) as it is in the realm of ‘make-believe’ that impossible things become possible. *Homo Ludens* can manifest themselves in spaces which invite and afford playful action (Huizinga, 1955). Playfulness requires play-grounds – that is, grounds for people to play; a ludic city (Stevens, 2007). Open spaces, green spaces, public spaces, and the spaces in-between all invite a kind of action which is open to creativity and making the ‘impossible’, possible (Franck, 1998).

Public spaces, urban streets and marginal spaces (e.g., *terrain vague*), alongside monuments and ancient architecture have an ‘outstanding universal value’ and their value as a commons needs to be re-thought (Mills, 2010; Carney and Miller, 2009; Ward Thompson, 2002). They are liminal, open, loose, and flex-

ible and can support greater creativity and diversity. These everyday places and the way they engender specific social relations, is what render them valuable to heritage. Intangible heritage in the form of festivals, storytelling, dances occur in public realms and in-between spaces. If we take Huizinga's *Homo Ludens* and Jung's active imagination into consideration, we can recognize their playful character and need for multi-cultural spaces to continue existing. HUL offer many affordances for creativity – that is, to support the creativity of individuals and communities in the form of cultural interfaces; new roles of universities; cluster policy; and creative platforms like 'ideas labs' (Héraud, 2011). As a creative asset and economic resource, heritage re-connect people to their past in the sense of devising inclusive management practices to integrate old and new uses (Cominelli and Greffe, 2012; Ashworth and Voogd, 1986).

6. CONCLUSIONS

I aimed to integrate the tangible and non-tangible aspects of heritage through an ecological approach to heritage and the notion of affordances. Attention has been drawn to the entanglement between tangible-intangible heritages to show how these two aspects are part of a system of behaviour settings. What an affordance analysis offers is a relational way of approaching heritage. It welcomes active imagination as a legitimate way of reasoning to open up possibilities in HUL management. The affordances analysis is a tool relevant for a mediator discipline such as planning. It can be applied as an integrative tool in HUL management to acknowledge cultural practices and the values held by diverse stakeholders, such as experts, indigenous people, and those whose history is not readily acknowledged. As such, public spaces and in-between spaces become essential for the politics of cultural continuity. As affordances, archetypes, *mundus imaginalis*, and behaviour settings, these spaces occupy a third places and act as key mediators between the local and the global. Looking forward, novel conceptual advances and integrative management practices can be derived from an ecological approach to heritage and the application of an affordance analysis.

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Pablo Alonso GONZÁLEZ*, Alfredo Macías VÁZQUEZ**

BETWEEN PLANNING AND HERITAGE: CULTURAL PARKS AND NATIONAL HERITAGE AREAS

Abstract. The number of cultural parks and heritage areas is increasing in Europe and the United States. Those are spreading over other areas where the economic sectors related to tourism and leisure gain weight. Heritage areas or parks are heterogeneous initiatives that place cultural heritage at the heart of spatial planning policy and economic development, aiming at the reinvention of large territories and local community participation in planning. Their relevance stems from their potential influence on the territorial configuration of broad regions and their impact upon the articulation of traditional protected areas. Notwithstanding this, they have attracted scant academic attention so far. **Key words:** cultural parks, national heritage areas, spatial planning, cultural heritage, development.

1. INTRODUCTION

Cultural parks are ‘slippery objects’ (Law and Mol, 2002) that make it impossible to disentangle some aspects from others, to ‘purify’ and analyze separately each element. Spatial planning, tourism, institutional organisation, heritage and museum management among others, interact in such a way that it is impossible to define precise areas of activity for each discipline. Thus, cultural parks can take different meanings depending on the disciplinary root of the author who is accounting for them. They can be simultaneously spatial planning instruments, cultural heritage stewards or vectors for tourism attraction and sustainable development. In parallel, cultural parks can be articulated differently at the local level depending on who plans and supports them, with which objectives and in what context. This paper sets out to analyze cultural parks in a cross-Atlantic comparative perspective, addressing the different assumptions underlying their organisation and implementation. It suggests that Europe and the United States generally

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have different approaches to the cultural park phenomenon in terms of definition, objectives and management that derive from these different assumptions.

Essentially, the fields of spatial planning and heritage studies converge in cultural parks. Those move beyond the conception of a ‘park’ as a publicly-owned, enclosed space, aimed at conservation. Cultural parks seek to actively preserve extensive inhabited landscapes and their heritage resources, linking them to the tourist economies through the creation of a management structure. Thus, they overcome the idea of ‘heritage sites’ as dots in space, embracing the notion of territorial heritage or cultural landscape, thus being overall regarded as positive technical territorial interventions and devices of local development based on heritage resources.

Although their number is growing rapidly, cultural parks have attracted little scholar attention (figure 1). As Bray (1994, pp. 3–4) argues,

Heritage Areas don’t fit neatly within any concept or specialization we are familiar with. [...] Planning, development and management of heritage areas requires the coordination of many specialized skills [...]. A positive consequence of this circumstance is the opportunity to enlarge the dimension of specialized skills by linking up disciplines. But it has left heritage areas to be an orphan without one specialized profession able to claim it as its very own.

Also, management guidelines and projects are only made publicly available in exceptional cases (e.g., Casas, 2006). Not only there is a lack of interdisciplinary

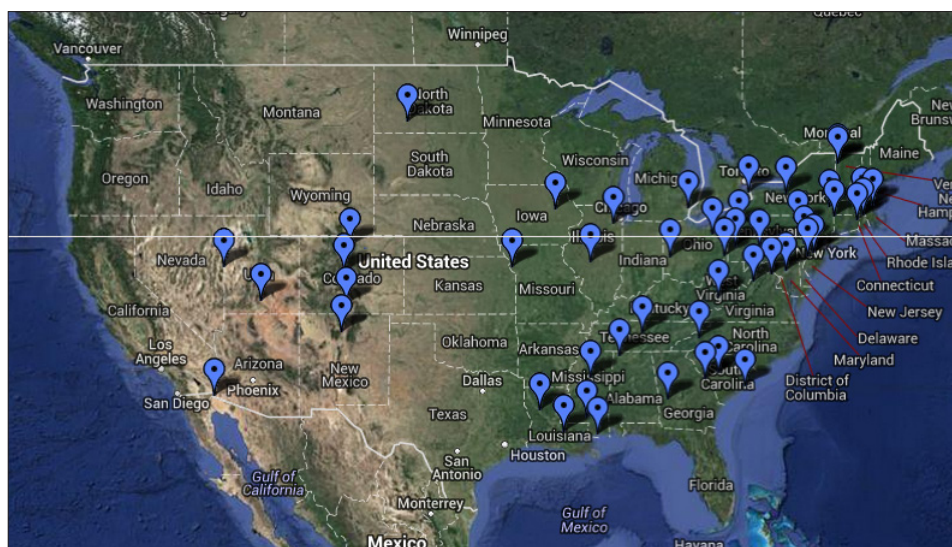


Fig. 1. Map of National Heritage Areas in the United States. Since the 1980s, forty four national heritage areas have been implemented for only ten new national parks

Source: <http://www.nps.gov/history/heritageareas/VST/INDEX.HTML> (24.04.2011)

investigations about them, but almost all the studies come from the US and Europe due to the fact that very few cultural parks exist out of these areas. This fact is related to the close relation between the emergence of cultural parks and advanced levels of socio-economic development. Cultural parks thrive in post-industrial economies. In those areas, the role accorded to the territory by spatial planners changes due to processes of de-industrialisation that impoverish many areas. One way forward is to reinvent themselves and shift towards post-productivist economies based on the tourism sector. In this context, cultural parks emerge as suitable instruments for the articulation of the territory towards tourism-based economies.

This paper traces the genealogies of cultural parks and sets out their fundamental defining traits, patterns of creation and trends of development. It presents the results of theoretical research in the topic which was afterwards extended with ethnographic studies of cultural parks in the Barcelona area and in Asturias (Spain). This multidimensional methodology or methodological bricolage (Viejo-Rose, 2011) has enabled me to gain a holistic knowledge about cultural parks that moves beyond disciplinary boundaries.

2. A GENEALOGY OF CULTURAL PARKS AND HERITAGE AREAS

The concept of 'landscape' underlies most initiatives for the creation of cultural parks. Specifically, the concept of 'cultural landscapes' (Cleere, 1995) and its increasing acceptance among institutions and planners has been fundamental for the development of cultural parks in both the US and Europe. Currently, both UNESCO and the National Park Service (NPS) of the US have established frameworks for the study, definition and preservation of cultural landscapes. At least one and a half century of debate between geographers, spatial planners and social scientists have resulted in manifold conceptualisations of landscapes and cultural landscapes. What interests us here is that the concept 'cultural landscape' is bounded to that of 'heritage', implying an idea of something valuable that has to be preserved, a trait that is no straightforwardly present in the traditional idea of 'landscape'. Doménech Reinoso (2005, p. 134) defines cultural landscape as 'the result of a gradual and continuous sedimentation of socioeconomic processes that reflect the evolution of a society in a given territory. It is unfeasible to discuss about landscape, art or heritage without taking into account the role of human beings in the territory'. Thus, 'cultural landscapes' are *special* landscapes that for some reason are set apart from *landscape* in general. Cultural landscapes are beautiful, exceptional or unique, and therefore generate added territorial value. Also, they are considered to be heritage by academics and institutions (Fowler, 2003). Consequently, the disciplinary 'hinterlands' of spatial planning and heritage stud-

ies coalesce in them. Thus, the concept of cultural landscape is fundamental for understanding the growth of cultural parks in the last decades and especially since the 1980s. However, the genealogy of cultural parks can be traced back to the 19th century in both Europe and the US.

Europe presents a wide heterogeneity of practices depending on each State. However, it is possible to outline some common trends that have led to the development of cultural parks. A crucial factor is the conceptualisation of the museum (i.e. Prado or Louvre) as an essential cultural foundation of the legitimacy of the nation state born in the 19th century (Sherman, 1989). This idea is still very influential and has led to a clear-cut separation between museums and protected areas such as national or natural parks,¹ which are associated with the idea of natural preservation. Actually, national parks appeared relatively late when compared to the US. During the 20th century several processes and forms of management have facilitated the advent of cultural parks:

1. The Scandinavian tradition of open-air museums where folkloric collections were exposed in contact with nature, such as the Nordiska Museet in 1880, or the Skansen museum in 1891. This tradition strongly influences contemporary Scandinavian ecomuseums and cultural parks such as Bergslagen (see Hamrin, 1996).

2. The advent of New Museology and the Ecomuseum. The latter influenced cultural parks in their focus in becoming instruments of economic and social growth and representatives of their communities (Maggi and Falletti, 2000).

3. The Italian tradition of protected area management did not conceive parks as enclosed spaces or wildlife sanctuaries but as part of a complex ecological and cultural fabric (Gambino, 1997). Moreover, it has a strong cultural character that contrasts to the naturalist-functionalist American school (Magnaghi, 2005), serving as a base for the constitution of cultural parks and cultural park networks such as the one in the Italian Tuscany (Regione Toscana, 1995).

4. The French regional park scheme created during the 1960s. Whereas national parks are owned and managed by the State, regional parks are locally-driven initiatives that involve different types of ownership and social actors. Natural and cultural heritage conservation is not a scope in itself, but a way of providing the region with an image of quality that supports socio-economic development, attracting tourism and enhancing local capabilities.

5. Industrial Archaeology has been a determining factor on both sides of the Atlantic since the 1960s. It has promoted a spatial conception of industrial heritage sites and a democratic approach to their management that is usually linked with socio-economic development.

¹ National Parks are State-owned areas set aside for the preservation of nature with a view to purposes of recreation. Normally, these are conceived as enclosed spaces with clear limits where human intervention is absent or reduced to a minimum degree.

In the US, the National Park scheme began with Yellowstone in 1872 and was institutionalized with the establishment of the NPS in 1916. Since their inception, the parks functioned as a 'pastoral myth' and as repositories of the national identity (Bray, 1994). National parks strive to reach a balance between preservation of natural wilderness and the narration of the conquest of that nature and the events associated with it. The constitution of cultural parks has been a controversial and difficult process to assume in the US due to a deeply rooted idea of parks as conservationist and enclosed spaces with gates that are publicly owned and managed (Bray, 1988).

The creation of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1949 and the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966 paved the way to the emergence of National Heritage Areas (NHA) (Eugster, 2003). Then, from the 1960s onwards there was a shift in the management of the parks associated with the environmentalist turn represented by the ecological planning school in the US (Steinitz, 1968) and landscape ecology in Europe (Forman and Gordon, 1986). This new paradigm overcomes the idea of a park as a delimited space to embrace an all-encompassing idea of large ecosystems that include socio-cultural elements. The 1980s witnessed the appearance of new spatial and heritage management programs at a regional scale in the states of Connecticut, Illinois, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts.

3. CULTURAL PARKS: DISTINCTIVE TRAITS AND DEFINITIONS

The traditional foundations of national and natural parks or biosphere reserves in its multiple forms responded to a paradigm grounded on the conceptual couple of nature and conservation. Their aim was to delimit spaces and remove them from their social contexts to preserve wildlife and spectacular panoramas. Also, they were regarded as entities of public and national concern that should be publicly funded. Government ownership of land involved a technical-scientific and bureaucratic approach to management *against* people, whose opinions and forms of life were barely taken into account (Phillips and World Commission on Protected Areas, 2002). Cultural parks seek to differentiate themselves from this management paradigm. First, the goal of cultural parks is not preservation but the active management of heritage resources in order to promote the local identity of the territory and economic development (Bray, 1994). Unlike most other models of spatial planning, they are often organized bottom-up by grassroots groups. Usually, local communities create partnerships where different social actors participate in collaboration with public institutions. Both in Europe and the US, this usually entails that the preservation of natural and cultural resources is carried out by partnerships without any institution assuming land ownership (Frenchman, 2004). This

is a usual procedure in other forms of park management in the US and Europe, where the NPS or the States hold the property of parks (Barrett, 2003).

Normally, management entities are created to guide the implementation of the park, develop long-term plans that identify objectives for the territory and assign responsibilities to stakeholders (Daly, 2003). Also, they actively intervene in the design of the territory, creating links between cultural and natural corridors, tourism services and cultural assets like museums or interpretation centres. Cultural parks draw on the territorial resources of a specific area to generate both an image of the park and an administrative structure that provides cohesion and meaning to space (figure 2). These projects focus ‘on the interaction between people and their environment. Heritage areas seek to tell the story of people over time and how the landscape shapes the traditions of the people’ (Vincent and Whiteman, 2008, p. 1). Thus, the territory is generally organized from cultural landscapes or cultural itineraries, which are organized around a central theme such as the industrial past, military episodes, archaeological sites etc. (Battaglini *et al.*, 2002). In all them, heritage normally functions as the overall organising principle from which local communities plan their economic, environmental and cultural future. According to Eugster (2003, p. 51), cultural parks provide cohesion to communities

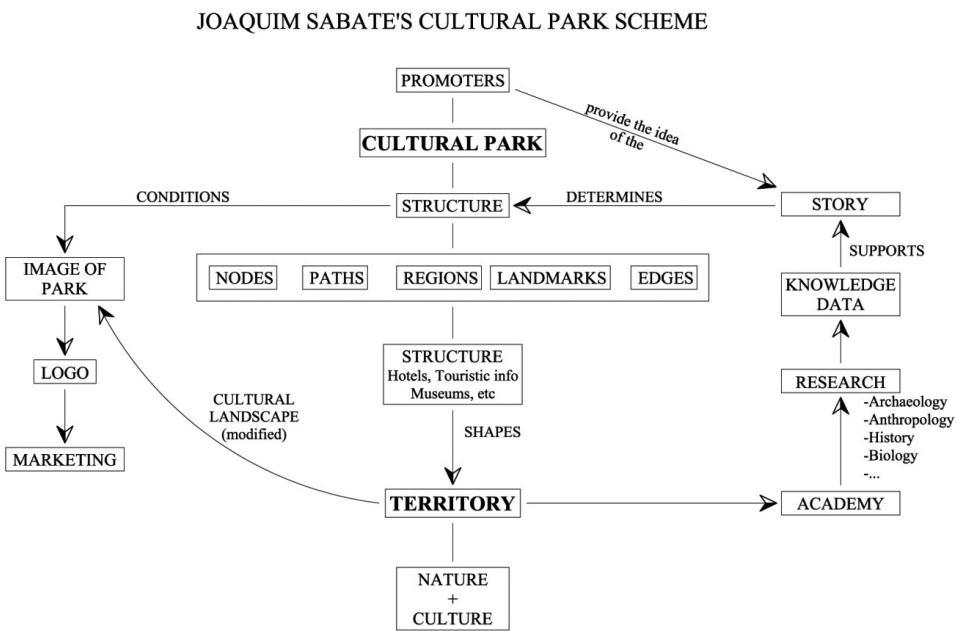


Fig. 2. Scheme summarizing Joaquim Sabaté’s view of cultural parks according to his ‘ideal cultural park’ formulation

Source: author from Sabaté (2002)

[...] because all people have a heritage and it has meaning to them [...] Heritage areas have a heart, soul, and human spirit that many traditional master plans, land use plans, and zoning ordinances lack. Heritage areas allow people to claim these places and make our communities, landscapes and regions relevant and special to the populations they serve.

Accordingly, the emphasis shifts from the national to the local level, and management responsibilities move from scientists and experts to local agents and intermediaries who combine technical and local knowledge and perform manifold tasks (Phillips, 2003). In all cases, the geographic scope of the parks varies according to the local circumstances (figure 3). The cases presented in the figures have been selected for their relevance, the availability of data and their representativeness within the sample. They provide a useful way of understanding the complexity of cultural parks in terms of territorial scope, type of heritage employed, the predominant objective and their topological shape.

As the parks are underpinned by the socially constructed notion of 'cultural landscapes', rather than by the objective notion of a reified 'nature' to be preserved, their conception and planning should shift from a technical-bureaucratic perspective to a heritage-centred interpretative stance. The enhancement of a landscape is considered to be a way of providing visitors with a 'code' to understand the territory, in order to

[...] enhance the cultural significance of the territory through a reading, which giving value to memory, transposes its meanings to the current day situation. Identity and economic, social and cultural energies able to transform memory into an innovative factor, in new forms of development and in preservation. It is an initiative, which permits an innumerable number of transformations in the sense of a productive metamorphosis of places in which a cultural identity and sense of belonging to the territory, are regained (Barilaro, 2006, p. 101).

The will to recover the 'soul' of places, the local identities and the senses of belonging is an strategy allowing territories to differentiate themselves from other areas within the global competition for markets, tourists and investments, a process that Rullani (2004) defines as the repersonalisation of economy. Cultural parks reinforce those territorial synergies 'by capturing and telling the stories of the people and their place. These stories, when linked together, reflect a regional identity and support a collective awareness of the need to protect and enhance what makes our places unique' (Daly, 2003, p. 2).

Cultural parks are places of leisure and entertainment for both local people and visitors in humanized environments that are not enclosed anymore as 'green areas' in delimited spaces (Sabaté and Frenchman, 2001). Ultimately, their aim is the transformation of economically and demographically depressed areas into dynamic territories (Battaglini *et al.*, 2002). To do so, they employ marketing strategies that support the development of brand images that allow for the identification of the territory, its values and cultural assets, as commodities (Busta-

mante and Ponce, 2004). Cultural parks are normally interventionist in terms of spatial planning and have commercial objectives. However, this fact does not render them thematic parks because they manage real identities and heritages for the sake of sustainable development and not for the intensification of profit (Sabaté and Lista, 2001).

In Europe, definitions of cultural parks are heterogeneous. Those basically draw on ideas from UNESCO and the European Landscape Convention. Contrarily to the US, there is no overarching cultural park system. However, there are some regional cultural park schemes such as the one in Aragon (Spain) or in Tuscany (Italy). According to the Cultural Park Law of Aragon, a cultural park is 'a territory that contains significant elements of cultural heritage, integrated in a physical frame of unique landscape and/or ecological values, which enjoy global promotion and protection as a whole, with special protective measures for relevant assets' (Ley 12/1997). In turn, Sabaté (2009, p. 630) conceives them as 'instruments of project management, which acknowledge and enhance the value of a particular cultural landscape, pursuing not only the preservation of their heritage or the promotion of education, but also local economic development'. For Bergdhal (2005, p. 71), 'the cultural park concept has expanded its reach [...] their aim is not only to preserve the history of a region. They seek to contribute to a positive economic development of an area, a rather uncommon objective for a museum, which means that they are more projected towards the future of a territory than towards its past'. Meanwhile, Bustamante and Ponce (2004, p. 14) consider them as projects 'that privilege the production of an image that grants an identity to a territory, where heritage along with other natural and cultural resources are combined, presented, and promoted intentionally in order to form a patterned landscape that tells the story of such territory and its dwellers'.

In the US, it is common for heritage areas to develop their own synthesis publications midway between the spheres of scientific and outreach literature. Their framework is closer to issues of tourism, leisure and local community, in contrast to the European focus on landscape management. For Barrett and Copping, heritage areas are 'large-scale living landscapes where community leaders and residents have come together around a common vision of their shared heritage' (Copping and Martin, 2005, p. 1), whereas Bray (1988, n.p.) considers them

[...] multi-resource urban and regional settings with a coherence or distinctive sense of place based on factors like rivers, lakes, transportation systems (canal and historic railroad lines) and cultural heritage. They have been called partnership parks because of the diversity of stakeholders (including private land owners, NGOs and multiple units of governments and functional governmental agencies) involved in the planning and management for the area's intersecting goals of preservation, recreation, education and sustainable economic development like cultural and eco-tourism. Successful heritage areas keep current residents in the forefront in terms of ownership, control and celebration.

In addition, successful cultural parks and heritage areas know how to achieve a balance between the enhancement of a wide variety of heritage resources and drawing on one main typology (figure 2).

In the United States, the National Park System defines them as places

[...] designated by the United States Congress where natural, cultural, historic, and recreational resources combine to form a cohesive, nationally distinctive landscape arising from patterns of human activity shaped by geography. These areas tell nationally important stories about our nation and are representative of the national experience through both the physical features that remain and the traditions that have evolved with them (National Park System Advisory Board, 2006, p. 2).

Despite their different disciplinary and geographic roots, these definitions together provide an idea of how cultural parks work and how they are conceived by different actors. Those are seen as instruments, projects, landscapes, regional initiatives or museums, which draw on the couple territory – heritage to promote a transition towards a new socio-economic model based on leisure and tourism. That is, the element to enhance becomes the identity of a territory and the social groups living in it as tangible and intangible heritage. Thus, cultural parks are not only oriented to the preservation of nature or the past, as traditional parks and reserves did, but rather to the planning of the future through the reorganisation of a space by a social group rooted in it.

There is a difference, however, between the assumptions sustaining cultural parks in Europe and the United States. In Europe, these projects are usually framed in close relation with terms like ‘museum’ and ‘landscape’, as the management of some heritage assets located in a certain area which are enhanced in order to promote economic development (figure 5). In turn, American definitions emphasize the role of local communities and the potential benefits of heritage areas for their cohesion, sense of belonging and identity preservation. Also, they underscore the importance of ‘telling the stories’ of local communities or of the American nation. In fact, many heritage areas are actually articulated around those narrations, a feature which is less common in Europe (Sabaté, 2005).

4. ORIGINS AND MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES

Cultural parks can be also characterized by certain common procedures and ‘ways forward’. The aim of this section is to outline the most common forms under which cultural parks are created and begin to function. Concerning geographic location, there is a clear tendency to create parks around linear features such as rivers, canals and historic roads, as they facilitate the storytelling and the articulation of space (figure 6). Although a detailed analysis of the constitution of cultural

parks reveals how each of them responds to specific coordinates, there are certain elements that are commonly repeated.

The American NHA often arise bottom-up, from grassroots groups or heritage associations. According to Conzen and Wulfestieg (2001), the usual promoters during the 1990s were fundamentally environmentalist NGOs. Once the project is launched local groups set out to seek technical and financial support from the NPS, the State and Federal governments, and private sponsors (Nelson and Sportza, 1999). Management tasks are usually carried out by corporate consultants. Economic and legal issues prevail over cultural aspects, an understandable attitude considering that the NPS only provides funding for fifteen years to each NHA and therefore those need to seek outsourcing to survive.

In Europe, and also in Latin America (Flores, 2005), the nature and extension of heritage areas 'varies from country to country, as does the level of national support. However, important examples of heritage area development can be found in almost every country' (Frenchman, 2004, p. 2). Despite the wide variety of contexts, a model of bureaucratic management prevails according to which the parks are organized top-down, basically by public national and regional institutions with the support of universities or research centres. Whereas in America economists and lawyers are normally in charge of the projects, in Europe the leading role is assumed by architects, engineers and spatial planners, and, to a lesser extent, by archaeologists and geographers. Reflecting on the case of Catalonia, Sabaté (2004) considers that cultural parks were originally an academic initiative that later gained support by regional institutions and local communities. Normally, European cultural parks foster the participation of local actors within their schemes. However, it is rare that projects are organized bottom-up by grassroots groups. For example, the Cultural Parks of Aragon (Spain) are an initiative by the regional institutions, whose governing councils are composed by representatives from the regional government of Aragon, the University of Zaragoza, local city councils, and from civil associations of all kinds.

The process of creation of the managerial bodies usually runs in parallel to the spatial articulation of the park. Typically, the first step undertaken is the compilation of a preliminary inventory of natural and cultural assets and their classification according to their typology and value in relation to the intended aims of the project. According to Sabaté (2002), all successful cultural parks articulate their resources around a story, a narration that serves as a guide for the visitors. His stance is clearly influenced by American standards that emphasize the need for a high degree of interventionism in the territory and to narrate a story. Despite this is currently being revisited, the European perspective remains bounded to a museological perspective that emphasizes scientific and ecological values, territorial identities and the need to reach sustainable development. Consequently, heritage assets are often integrated within networks and routes

without forming an overall narrative or 'story'. Rather, cultural parks serve as 'umbrella' denominations under which a number of museums, monuments, archaeological sites, historic towns and landscapes are brought together. Thus, whereas American NHA are easily associated with a specific theme related to the origins of the nation or to a certain part of it, European parks most often arrange heterogeneous elements that overlap chronologically and thematically in the landscape palimpsest.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The fields of heritage management and spatial planning converge in the sphere of cultural parks, which have become a novel way of assembling heritage assets to govern territories for the sake of sustainable development. Spatial planning, understood as the ways through which we define how to use space and govern the territory, always reflects the ideology or the specific dominant system of values and beliefs of each era (Gunder, 2010). This paper suggests that cultural parks are an expression of contemporary ideology because they combine the spheres of culture and leisure via the concept of heritage. In parallel, they provide a suitable solution to the territorial problems posed by de-industrialisation and the subsequent transition towards a post-industrial economy in the US and Europe (Benito del Pozo and Alonso González, 2012). At the level of management, they are useful instruments that enable different social actors and institutions to participate in decision-making at the local level, reflecting a more democratic approach to planning issues. At market level, they facilitate the reinvention and theming of certain territories and cultural landscapes, generating brand images that add symbolic value to local products by endowing them with a distinct identity. This usually enhances the performance of tourism economies and the attraction of investment.

It is important to note that there is an increasing tendency for most protected areas of all kinds to adopt management and planning frameworks similar to those deployed in cultural parks. This is basically due to the increasing involvement of protected areas with economic development and to the awareness among planners and institutions of the impossibility of managing parks and reserves as islands with clear-cut boundaries. The wide variety of cultural parks configurations, their potential influence on macro-territorial and protected area planning frameworks, and the novel ways of assembling and enhancing heritage assets they set out, makes it necessary to situate them as specific objects of investigation.

This paper has shown that a comparative cross-Atlantic perspective can be useful for understanding the different assumptions underlying cultural parks and how this reflects different mentalities, management strategies and political contexts. It

seems clear that there are some differential traits between European and US models, especially given that the US has an overall framework for their management and implementation which Europe lacks. However, despite the heterogeneous European national cultures, there seems to be a prevalence of bureaucratic and institutional actors in the design and implementation of cultural parks, while the US present a tendency to develop managerial approaches usually stemming from local initiatives. Therefore, instead of talking of a radical differentiation between the US and European frameworks, we should refer to two ideal-types with reciprocal influences, shared features and a certain degree of cross-contamination. There is a tendency for cultural parks to become hybrid realities, drawing from different influences in their conceptual and practical evolution. Then, their formation, functioning and structure will always be a combination of national traditions and international charts, the strength of local grassroots organisations, institutions and research centres, and the different objectives each park aims to achieve in relation with specific socio-economic and political contexts.

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FROM PLANNING TO MANAGEMENT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE SITES: CONTROVERSIES AND CONFLICTS BETWEEN UNESCO WHL MANAGEMENT PLANS AND LOCAL SPATIAL PLANNING IN SOUTH-EASTERN SICILY

Abstract. The paper investigates the relationship between the preservation of cultural heritage and planning in UNESCO World Heritage List (WHL) sites, with special reference to the relation between Management Plans and other (local and regional) planning instruments and policies able to influence the promotion of sustainable and responsible development. This will be explored through a case study related to South-Eastern Sicilian UNESCO sites (in particular Syracuse). The analysis of this case study will point out the challenge of integrating different management and planning regimes – which mainly refer to a performative model – in a (still) very conformative planning system. The paper will show how supranational protection tools and models often lose their efficacy in relation to local planning systems.

Key words: UNESCO Management Plan, Sicily, natural and cultural heritage, planning efficacy.

1. INTRODUCTION

This article aims to investigate the relationship between sustainable development and planning in UNESCO World Heritage List (WHL) sites. Its focus is the relationship between WHL Management Plans (MP) and other (local and regional) planning instruments and policies able to influence the promotion of sustainable and responsible development. This will be explored through the case study of the site *Syracuse and the Rocky Necropolis of Pantalica*. The analysis of this case study will point out the challenge of integrating different management and planning regimes – which mainly refer to a performative model – in a (still) very conformative planning system. The paper will show how supranational policies often lose their efficacy in relation to regional and local planning systems, being in opposition to such systems. The selection of the Sicilian case study is particularly appropriate un-

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der this perspective, as it represents significant or even extreme example of the gap between the supranational performative approach of the UNESCO WHL MP model and the conformative nature of the Sicilian planning system; at the same time, the case of *Syracuse and the Rocky Necropolis of Pantalica* highlights difficulties in the use of standard procedures and guidelines for local contexts and specific purposes.

The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (World Heritage Convention), adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1972, established a unique international instrument that recognizes and protects both the cultural and the natural heritage of outstanding universal value (UNESCO, 1972). Through these systems of protection, WHL contributes to sustainable local and regional development (Rössler, 2006). Most nations are certainly interested in promoting monuments and sites for the WHL in order to improve prestige and economic growth in the form of tourism: a country obtaining a place on the WHL can be compared to a restaurant receiving a Michelin star (Brattli, 2009, p. 37). A large literature shows how tourism benefits from the UNESCO WHL label. Yet, simultaneously, UNESCO promotes awareness of world heritage sites and advocates principles of sustainable tourism (Drost, 1996; Evans, 1999; Jones and Munday, 2001; Lyon, 2007). This raises important questions. Yet, the implicit assumption that UNESCO WHL ‘automatically’ promotes sustainable development is questionable.

Brattli (2009) suggests that the use of a common world cultural heritage – in an actor-network context where multiple and even conflicting interests take place – has first and foremost a rhetorical purpose. The rhetorical purpose of the UNESCO label is evident in the ‘sustainable’ attribution that is often awarded to all the tourist activities which are developed in the UNESCO sites, notwithstanding the nature and impacts of each activity or initiative. Therefore, if the convergence of the targets of the 1972 UNESCO Convention and the WHL with activities promoted at local or global level are not taken for granted, what is the role of planning instruments and policies to facilitate integration and reconciliation? Which are the strategies implemented by the planning system in order to manage and improve a sustainable approach? On the other hand, does the UNESCO heritage label (and its related policies and management plans) guarantee international and global control over local changes and planning decisions?

2. PRESERVATION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: THE CONTESTED ROLE OF THE WHL MANAGEMENT PLAN

Potential conflicts between sites’ preservation and development have gradually become objects of attention for UNESCO, with an increasing focus on management as a solution (UNESCO, 2002, 2005). In order to outline the importance of proper

heritage management, in 2002 the WH Committee adopted the Budapest Declaration where Member States are invited to support the protection of heritage, trying to assure a proper balance among preservation, sustainability and development. The general strategy of the Management Plans (MPs) is based on the conservation of listed sites for future generations, thus applying the sustainability principle to the management of cultural heritage. With the *Operational Guidelines* of 2005 it is compulsory to submit the MP for new sites entering the list (UNESCO, 2005). This plan is then extended to all sites, including those already inscribed. The Convention requires the governments to encourage MP preparation for all the WHL sites, including older WHL sites, which had no MP (Blandford, 2006, p. 356). Such obligation has been strengthened after the negative experiences in some cases, at world level, because of the lack of adequate management systems.

Consequently, the submission of a MP has been a prerequisite of WHL inscription, in order to guarantee an effective and efficient work of goods' protection and management. The MP is intended to specifically reveal how possible conflicts can be solved and how conservation of a candidate site will be managed, administered and monitored in the future (Blandford, 2006, p. 356). The MP is not only involved in the protection of goods/objects, but also in their management because one of the several targets to achieve is the integration of the management of protected goods into the life of the economic and social community they belong to (Solar, 2003).

When the good is not protected or managed according to the established terms and when the state does not have to solve a problem or cannot solve a problem, the Convention establishes the possibility to remove such item from the List, depriving it of the title of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV); to this end, there are provisions regarding regular inspections. The UNESCO World Heritage Committee, in considering site nominations, has put increasing emphasis on the requirement for MPs as a 'vital long-term framework for the ongoing management and conservation of the OUV of sites' (Blandford, 2006, p. 356). Thus, UNESCO avoids a position where countries which do not take their responsibilities seriously can undermine the system itself.

Starting from the values which led to the inscription on the UNESCO's WHL, the MP arranges a management system that carries out an integrated analysis of the site status, spots the changes in action, assesses future scenarios that can be reached through targets and possible interventions and also assesses their impact on the locality. It also chooses the strategies to attain prefixed goals and verifies their achievement using indicators which are monitored systematically. Consequently, a strategic MP leads to the formulation of projects that are incorporated into the annual work programme; many of these measures can be found in the development plans covering the sites (Lyon, 2007). The two fundamental elements in a MP are thus its strategic aspects and its operating features. The MP, as Palo

(2007) states, should not be intended only as an instrument of protection and preservation as an end in itself, but should establish an effective management model for historical, cultural and natural resources. This model should also be able to address the choices on urban and economic planning for the development and enhancement of a wide area. Within this perspective, the MP represents the connection between different planning instruments and policies in order to: (a) preserve over time the integrity of values leading to the registration within UNESCO's WHL; (b) combine the protection and preservation through the integrated development of local economic resources such as tourism; (c) involve numerous actors (even those having opposing interests) in a common and local decision-making process (Feilden and Jokilehto, 1998; UNESCO, 2005; Blandford, 2006); for example, the MPs can address issues arising when visitor numbers and conservation demands are in conflict (Evans, 1999).

This aspect underlines how the interrelation among the MP and other (local and regional) plans is on the one hand necessary and on the other hand problematic, due to the diversity of planning systems in each country. This is also the reason why the UNESCO World Heritage Committee does not submit a single model of MP. Each national and local reality has to spot the most adequate configuration for this instrument, in the light of existing laws and specific cases (Wheatley, 1997; Pedersen, 2002; UNESCO, 2005). In our experience, this difficult relationship between supranational and local levels is to be ascribed primarily to the different, and even opposing, nature of planning models, that is performative versus conformative. Mastop and Faludi (1997, p. 820) borrowed from Barrett and Fudge (1981) the distinction between performance and conformance: 'Conformance means concurrence between the original plan and changes in the outside world. Performance has to do with the way in which a strategic plan holds its own during the deliberations which follow its adoption'.

In some European countries (Italy included), plans and policies at a broader level – Provincial or Regional – treat local implementation in terms of 'conformance', meaning that plans (or even projects) at a local level must conform to the broader strategy of the 'general' plan. The main 'nature' of the plan is, consequently, regulatory, usually through a land-use zoning design. Scholarly literature (Alexander and Faludi, 1989; Mastop and Faludi, 1997; Faludi, 2000) as well as many examples highlight the limits of conforming planning. This is mainly due to the difficulty of plan implementation in the context of 'putting together' (in a conforming, top-down approach) multi-level collective strategies within a growing plurality of local visions, ideas or projects of spatial development. On the other hand, the EU – and also UNESCO – has developed territorial (spatial) governance processes based on a principle of 'performance' (Janin Rivolin, 2008).

In the case study we will analyze the gap between performative and conformative approach that is at the base of the difficulties in the implementation of WHL

MPs. However, there are also other sources of conflict, notably the general conflict between conservation and development (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996).

Nowadays – in Sicily as in many other places in the world there is a great risk of loss (or of great variation) of local identity. This loss is a consequence of a substantial homologation of places and sites, due to a great acceleration of the transformation processes. The increasing urbanisation, with its models of standardized development, foreign to local times and contexts or only aiming at the consumption of soils and the utilisation of irreproducible resources, is clashing with the preservation of cultural, historical, artistic and environmental heritage.

Another source of conflict is due to the difficult relation between procedures and contents of the WHL MP and those of local and regional planning systems. The status of World Heritage Site is a material factor in planning policy and development, and it is also crucial in the decision-making process on planning applications affecting the sites (Lyon, 2007). But these factors are differently considered in each national context.

In Italy, the National Ministry for Cultural Activities and Heritage, during the Conference held in Paestum (May 25/26, 2004), has developed and submitted a MP model in order to show local authorities how to connect it to the reality of managing their actual sites. The Italian Law introduced the MPs of UNESCO sites through the Law February 20, 2006, no. 77 ‘Special measures for the protection and the fruition of Italian cultural, landscape and natural sites, inscribed on the World Heritage List, under the protection of UNESCO’. This law identifies the Advisory Commission for the management plans of UNESCO sites and local tourist systems, established at the Ministry for Cultural Activities and Heritage. The Commission approves the MPs for the WH Italian sites and ensures the contents of the different MPs proposed in relation to the sites. In reality, the MPs differ in their site nature and in their internal structure and dialogue ability with other plans.

The MP represents, within the Italian law, a flexible instrument able to create a dialogue with plans of different nature (local and regional, regulative and strategic) to guarantee the site protection and its development as a cultural and tourist resource. However, some problematic aspects emerge. The first is that the competent Ministry is the Ministry for Cultural Activities and Heritage which, in Italy, is not in charge of the land use planning. The second problem is that MPs have been basically implemented in Italy as established by UNESCO, without any compliance with the Italian planning and protection system. In fact, Italian MPs – apart from dealing with sites which widely differ in features, size and issues – are forced to tackle a planning system that is highly fragmented because of the competences and the plurality of regional planning laws. In Italy, regional planning laws are very different from each other and do not often present the flexibility required to comply with the MPs needs, as they still refer to regulatory policies and instru-

ments and as they are far away from a more strategic, development-led approach. In such contexts, the limits of conforming, statutory planning regard the disappointing results in implementation due to the difficulty in reconciling multi-level collective strategies to a plurality of local plans or projects of spatial development (Janin Rivolin, 2008, p. 168).

3. SYRACUSE AND THE ROCKY NECROPOLIS OF PANTALICA: THE CONTROVERSIAL INTERACTION BETWEEN WHL MP AND LOCAL PLANNING SYSTEM

Sicily is a meaningful example of the described situation. Sicilian planning law, which dates back to 1978, implements basically the Italian legislation of 1942, giving a central role to PRG (Piano Regolatore Generale),¹ according to a conformance approach. The PRG essentially governs the land use for the Municipal area, in a temporal effectiveness of twenty years.

In relation to their conformance nature, planning tools covered by the 1978 law are inappropriate compared to the multi-level supranational planning that has a predominantly conformance nature. The PRG is therefore an instrument that nowadays refers to obsolete and outdated laws and planning models.

Regarding this context, it is difficult that the WHL MPs can be considered efficient instruments of interpretation, preservation and 'development' of the past values.

Currently in Sicily there are five sites included in the UNESCO WHL:

- The Archaeological Area of Agrigento (1997);
- The Villa Romana del Casale in Piazza Armerina (1997);
- The Aeolian Islands (2000);
- The Baroque towns of the Val di Noto (2002);
- Syracuse and the Rocky Necropolis of Pantalica (2005).

These sites differ significantly with regard to their nature and size, and to the type of institution responsible for managing the site.

Entering into the merits of the structural, political and technical factors that make complex the execution of the WHL MPs in their local application, the case study of Syracuse, 'Syracuse and the Rocky Necropolis of Pantalica', was selected. The reasons for this choice are manifold and are based on two main issues:

1. Timing and execution status of MP;
2. The peculiarity and the international significance of the site.

As regards the first aspect, the chosen case study is the first of UNESCO sites in Sicily for which, as required by the application guidelines UNESCO (2005),

¹ In the Italian planning system, the PRG is the main urban-level planning tool ruling the land use.

the MP was prepared on the occasion of the nomination for its inclusion in the WHL. In addition, a long time has passed since the site approval (2005) (in fact the 5-year duration of the plan has been exceeded) to allow a full analysis of the effects of this instrument (Lo Piccolo *et al.*, 2012).

As regards the second aspect, the site represents a 'historic urban landscape' (Rodwell, 2010) of outstanding value recognized internationally.

Compared to the planning and development models of this land, however, some conflicts come to light: they do not concern only the inconsistency/gap between the safeguarding policies and enhancement policies. For its structural features, due to the high level of anthropisation, Syracuse is the place where the line of conflict between preservation and transformation is historically very subtle (Trigilia, 1985). Where the 'dichotomy between recognized beauty and violated beauty is the recurring theme of all those [...] who from the 18th century to nowadays come across this reality' (Lo Piccolo, 2007, p. 152).

In addition, the case of Syracuse shows a considerable gap between the performative WHL MP model and the conformative model of the local and regional planning system. Although this gap is not found exclusively in Sicily, but can easily be found in other contexts, it makes the MP a passive instrument, only able to implement the actions promoted by other planning instruments, without introducing significant elements of innovation. And when that happens, the role of the MP is weak, if not downright questionable (Lo Piccolo, *et al.*, 2012).

In 2005, UNESCO recognized the 'Outstanding Universal Value' of the 'Syracuse and the Rocky Necropolis of Pantalica' site and declared it a 'World Heritage Site'. In relation to the declaration of the site, UNESCO, referring to specific criteria (Jokilehto, 2008), has motivated the reasons for its decision stating that:

[...] the sites and monuments which form the Syracuse/Pantalica ensemble constitute a unique accumulation, down the ages and in the same space, of remarkable testimonies to Mediterranean cultures. The Syracuse/Pantalica ensemble offers, through its remarkable cultural diversity, an exceptional testimony to the development of civilisation over some three millennia.²

The UNESCO site consists of two different parts: Syracuse and the Pantalica Necropolis. These areas on the whole represent a heritage of exceptional historical value, witness of the continuous development and integration of different models of territory's anthropisation, starting from the Neolithic age, continuously for nearly four thousand years, until our days (Trigilia, 2007). The boundary of the site related to the Syracuse area includes, in the Core Area, the entire island of Ortygia (Syracuse's historic centre) and the areas of Epipoli, Acradina, Neapolis, Castello Eurialo, Scala Greca and the Dionigiane walls. The Buffer Zone includes

² World Heritage Scanned Nomination, July 15, 2005, Decision of the World Heritage Committee.

the areas of the 'Porto Grande', 'Porto Piccolo', part of the coastal system and urban development areas of the 19th century.³

The other part of the UNESCO site is the Necropolis of Pantalica which, within the Core Area, features over 5,000 tombs dug into the rock, dating back to a period between the 13th and 7th centuries B.C.⁴ The Buffer Zone is affected by the presence of the Pantalica nature reserve, established in 1997. Therefore, it is a site that presents components of archaeological interest of different ages (Neolithic, Greek, Hellenistic, Roman), components of architectural interest (from the Middle Age to the Baroque), and elements of natural and landscape interest.

Table 1. Articulation zones of the 'Syracuse and the Rocky Necropolis of Pantalica' site

Denomination	Core zone	Buffer zone	Total
Necropolis of Pantalica	205.86 ha	3,699.70 ha	3,905.56 ha
Syracuse			
Epipolae, Achradina, Tyche and Neapolis, Euryalus Castle, Dionysian fortifications and the Scala Greca area	635.96 ha	874.45 ha	1,510.41 ha
Ortygia	56.64 ha	945.25 ha	1,001.89 ha
Total	898.46 ha	5.519,40 ha	

Source: Syracuse (2004), p. 9.

However, in relation to the development model followed by the city, in particular from the post-war time to nowadays, evident conditions of conflict related to the generated effects on the heritage and cultural landscape come to light.

The understanding of the recent transformation processes of Syracuse cannot be separated from an analysis of the role that, starting from the second half of the 20th century, the settlement growth and industrial complexes have had in this area. The permanent feature of these transformation processes is the mis-recognition of the richness and value of the cultural heritage (Lo Piccolo, 2007). Comprehension of these recent transformation processes in Sicily cannot be separated from a close examination of the role that, historically, the building industry and housing revenue have played in the economy of the region. While in the rest of Italy the

³ Ortygia Island offers unique testimony on the development of Mediterranean civilisation for over three thousand years, returning much of the history of Sicily, from the Greeks to the Romans, from the Byzantines to the Normans, from the Aragonese to the Bourbons. On the island, which is the compact and layered core of the city founding, established in the 8th B.C. by the Greeks from Corinth, the Temple of Athena, in particular, converted into a cathedral in the Christian age, still shows the architectural and decorative layers made on the Hellenistic structure in Byzantine and Norman times, until reaching the late Baroque age. In the area of the Neapolis, the Greek Theatre, built in the second half of the 5th century B.C., was almost continuously used up to the present day.

⁴ The Necropolis of Pantalica constitutes the largest system of catacombs in the world, second to Rome's one.

building industry played a leading role in the economic recovery after the war, in Sicily, as in most of Southern Italy, this sector became exceptionally important, as a consequence of the fragility of the productive and social systems in this region and the pathology that this fragility yielded. An analysis of the housing market, land prices and production costs reveals economic mechanisms which are in some ways 'anomalous' consequences of the marginal and underdeveloped context as well as a building industry that is strongly dependent on the mafia system.

The indifference shown towards land regulations in the past, as with the overlapping of private goals and interests with local government policies, contributed to producing a growth in urbanisation which was only partly due to the attempt to meet the need for housing. This growth may instead be interpreted as a privileged opportunity for the production and distribution of income. With a lack of significant productive activities and adequate development, and the presence of a predominantly assisted economy (Marcelloni, 1978; Guarrasi, 1994) the tertiary residential character of many towns and cities has given rise to urbanisation that is very little, if at all, regulated by planning instruments and actions. The legal and illegal building on countless areas of high naturalistic-landscape value, together with the density of residential housing has not only jeopardized the environment, but has staked a heavy claim on its future.

The growth of the city has been typified by urban complex events, characterized by a constant alternation of good planning tools, in terms of content and technical aspects (Lo Piccolo, 2007), made inoperative and/or overturned by the charge to hold back the 'physiological' building development of the city, through the constant recourse to the use of 'varianti urbanistiche' (zoning modifications).⁵ This phenomenon is the result of prevailing of the private business interests and financial lobbies on a weak and often unprincipled public administration, which has pursued firstly a development based on the industrial model, and then on that of mass tourism,⁶ proved alien to local social and economic context, and in

⁵ The Italian planning system provides the possibility that plans can be modified through zoning modifications named 'varianti urbanistiche'. It is however common practice in Italy the use of this instrument to adapt the existent plans to the occasional private interests.

⁶ The territory in which the site falls shows a significantly increased of hospitality's offer in recent decades, especially in terms of quantity; nevertheless it needs to address flows and tourism demand towards a more sustainable, responsible and innovative tourism. The current offer, in particular, is based on a cultural short and fragmented chain, weak in terms of system services and innovative contents compared to the central role of cultural heritage and it collides with a strong national and international competitiveness in the market of tourist destinations of cultural interest. The province of Syracuse in Sicily is second only to that of Messina for the number and level of hotel. In 2012 it counts four 5-star hotels (in 2005, the year of introduction of Syracuse in the WHL, it was one), thirty four 4-star hotels (in 2005 they were fourteen), forty eight 3-star hotels (in 2005 they were forty three), sixteen 2 star-hotels (in 2005 they were seventeen), nine 1-star-hotel (in 2005 they were sixteen). The four 5-star hotels are all in Syracuse; two of them in Ortygia. However, a significant increase of tourists does not correspond to the increase of the 4 and 5 stars hotels. In 2012, for number of tourists, the province of Syracuse (1,249,936) comes after those of Messina (3,464,271),

many cases fatal to the natural and historical heritage. All this has allowed an uncontrolled urbanisation, beginning with the post-war period and characterized by a widespread growth (Mertens, 2012), with serious forms of building speculation and widespread phenomena of illegal buildings (Agnello and Giuliano, 2001).

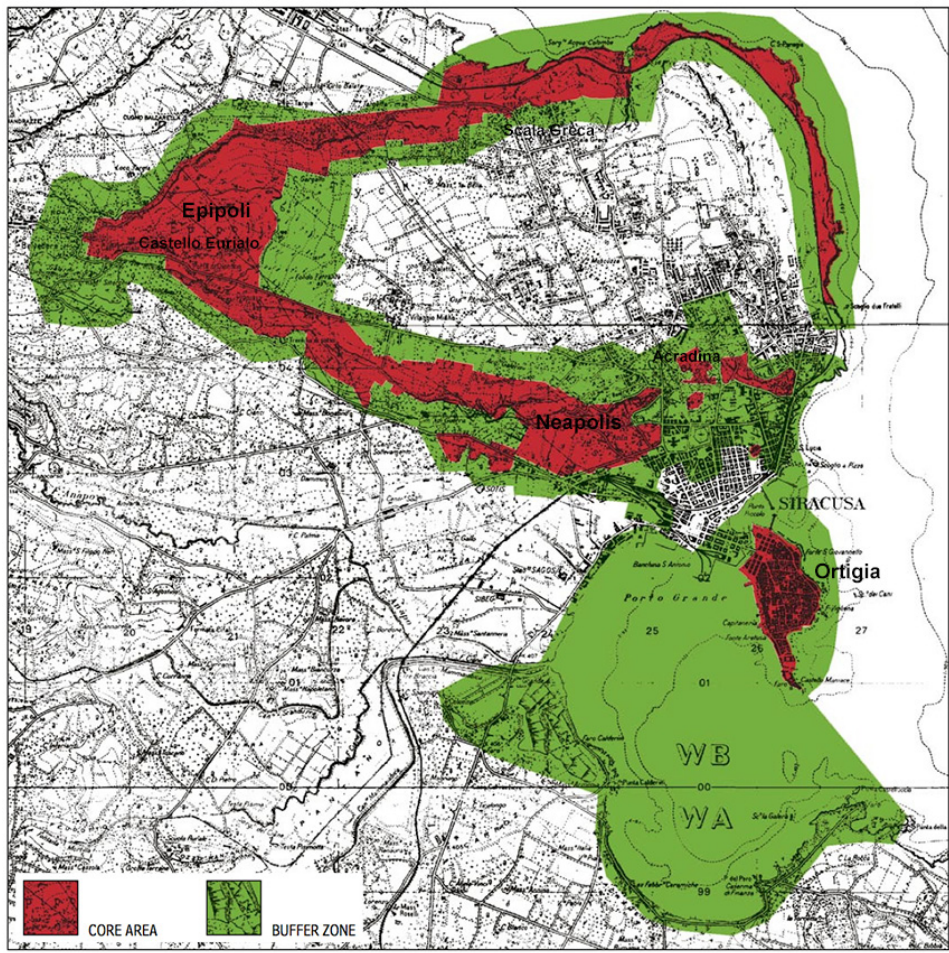


Fig. 1. Zoning of the site (Syracuse)

Source: Syracuse (2004)

Initially, to this growth has corresponded the gradual abandonment of Ortigia and then, starting from the 1990s, the requalification process of the ‘Piano Particolareggiato’ (detailed and executive plan) approved in 1990 (Pagnano1989; Cann-

Palermo (3,057,733), Trapani (2,084,475), Catania (1,871,849) and Agrigento (1,300,906). Tourim Observatory data, Department of Tourism, Sport and Entertainment, Regione Siciliana, 2014.

arozzo, 1989). In these years, several projects of urban regeneration were enabled, with incentives for creating renovation and economic revitalisation initiatives. Ortygia Island was then involved in a process of renewal that, even through the localisation of key administrative functions, has reinstated centrality to the island that has returned to be inhabited by the Syracusans (Liistro, 2008). This process resulted in the reactivation of the housing market, also thanks to the significant presence of foreigner investments, increasing significantly real estate values and causing consequences that this entails (Cannarozzo, 2006).

The WHL MP operates in a context in which the enhancing of the archaeological heritage (necropolis, archaeological areas and historical urban network), identity element of the city, still nowadays remains a lacking goal (Lo Piccolo, 2007).

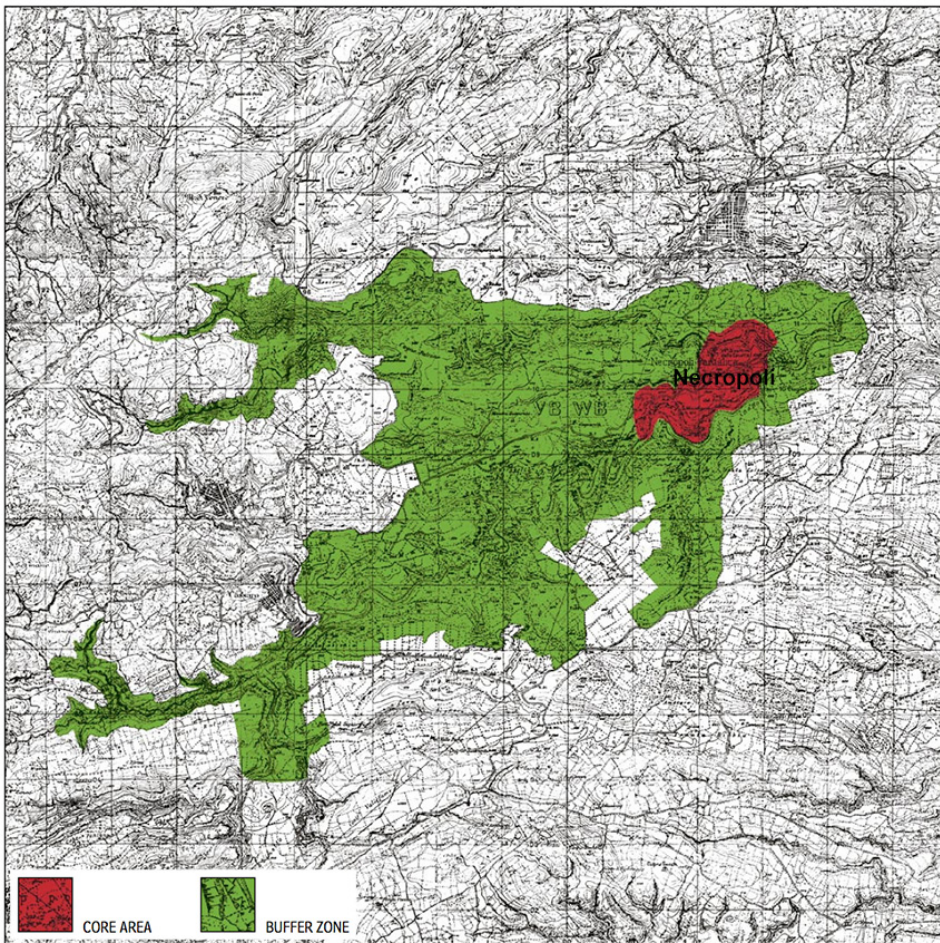


Fig. 2. Zoning of the site (Pantalica)

Source: Syracuse (2004)

The WHL MP aims to act upon this heritage through preservation and valorisation interventions, promoting a sustainable development that integrates safeguarding actions with expectations of socio-economic growth of local communities.

To achieve these objectives, the WHL MP has been divided into three sublevels: (1) the plan for the protection of knowledge and preservation; (2) the plan of cultural and social promotion; (3) the plan of socio-economic and cultural valorisation.

In relation to the above mentioned objectives and intervention strategies, the WHL MP appears a wider-ambition instrument. However, if we look in detail at its specific actions, the MP choice seems clear: to introduce measures already put forward by other existing plans, rather than to build from scratch a coherent system of innovative policies.⁷

In particular, the instruments from where the actions and interventions of the WHL MP are borrowed follow below:

- The Piano Integrato di Sviluppo Sostenibile (LDPP – Local Development Partnership Program);
- The Programma di Recupero Urbano (LDPP);
- The Programma di Iniziativa Comunitaria (PIC) URBAN (LDPP);
- The Programmi di Iniziativa Comunitaria (PIC) Leader II and Leader Plus (LDPP);
- The Patto Territoriale dell'Agricoltura (LDPP);
- The Progetto Integrato Territoriale (PIT) Hyblon-Tukles (LDPP);
- The Piano di Risanamento Ambientale (ERP – Environmental Rehabilitation Plan);
- The Programma di Riqualificazione Urbana e Sviluppo Sostenibile del Territorio (PRUSST) Akrai e Ecomuseo (LDPP).⁸

In fact, the presence of actions already undertaken by other existing plans and the lack of an innovative political system appear as a serious weakness, mainly due to two factors. Firstly, the clash between the performative model of the WHL MP and the conformative nature of local plans, the consequence of which is that the WHL MP becomes the recipient of actions and forecasts of other plans. Paradoxically, the result is an 'inverse', and totally inefficient conformity, which is that of the WHL MP compared to the other existing local plans (Lo Piccolo *et al.*,

⁷ This choice is explicitly declared by the MP and it is related to the need to build a relationship with the previous development actions. Syracuse (2004), pp. 34–36.

⁸ Among the instruments approved at territorial scale, in temporal order, after the MP are: the Schema di Massima of the Piano Territoriale Provinciale (PTP) of the Provincia of Syracuse; the Piano Paesaggistico; the Programma S.I.S.Te.M.A. (Sviluppo Integrato dei Sistemi Territoriali Multi Azione). Among the instruments at urban or sub-urban scale there are: the PRG (the main urban-level planning tool which rules the land use); the Piano Particolareggiato Operativo of Ortigia (detailed and executive plan); the Programma di Riqualificazione Urbana di Ortigia (LDPP); the Progetto di Territorio (LDPP); the Progetto Integrato d'Area di Siracusa (LDPP); the Programma Comunitario TERRA-Progetto DIAS (LDPP); the Agenda 21 Locale (LDPP); the Piano Strategico (LDPP).

2012). Secondly, WHL MPs, at least in Sicily, have not been able to generate and/or distribute economic resources, such as local development programmes (Lo Piccolo and Schilleci, 2005), and are therefore considered less effective instruments in the local political agenda.

The new instruments (and related funds) are considered to be income generating and demand supporting instruments; that is, they implement distributive and re-distributive policies and have considerable financial resources at their disposal. In contrast, town-planning policies are essentially perceived as regulative or, even worse, as restrictive. In many cases a real clash between the former and the latter can be perceived. On the one hand, local development policies have distributed considerable financial resources in a context of fiscal crisis and serious economic deficiency in local administrations, and have therefore imposed themselves with the 'supremacy of money'. On the other hand, traditional town-planning policies have not been understood by local communities and authorities as real opportunities for guiding and stimulating development and have often been put into practice in a bureaucratic way (Lo Piccolo and Schilleci, 2005, p. 86).

In addition, looking specifically at the outcomes of these plans, emerges an urban context significantly affected by changes in physical, economic, social and environmental components. However, some critical issues emerge. Although the island of Ortygia in the last twenty years has attracted the interest of planning and programming, the activated instruments, especially the older ones, have resulted in the realisation (sometimes only partial) of 'punctual' interventions that did not follow an unitary and organic project (Lo Piccolo and Schilleci, 2005; Lo Piccolo, 2007). It shows, in fact, the evident imbalance between the localisation of recovery interventions carried out in the proximity of archaeological or historic-monumental interest areas or the seafront and inland areas, which are still characterized by serious condition of physical and social degradation. Added to this is the growing investment by individuals and real estate companies, not governed by the public action, which determines the progressive replacement of traditional socio-economic network with commercial and tourism activities. This phenomenon, accompanied by the progressive disappearance of neighbourhood services (especially for children and the elderly), is causing the loss of the minimum requirements to ensure the habitability.

It is, however, in relation to PRG forecasts that there is major criticism related primarily to two different aspects: the different nature of the instruments and the difference among the forecasts. With regard to the first aspect, the main problem is the difference between the 'times' of the PRG and the MP. The MP (2005), which has a 5-year time horizon, relates to a PRG which was started in the late 1990s, completed in 2002 (three years before the MP), adopted in 2004, approved in 2007 (three years before the time horizon of MP) and in force for the next twenty years. Related to the conflicting conditions with the forecasts of the PRG, it should be noted that as early as 2004, during the elaboration of the candidature of the site to the WP List, was adopted a PRG with evident conflicting choices with the site perimeter. About

such conditions of conflict nothing has been done, due to the non-conformative character of the MP, and in relation to its alleged normative non-validity.⁹

This conflict among the forecasts is further compounded by the different nature of the instruments. The conformative PRG, which mainly deals with the regulation of land use, prevails on the MP which has a performative character, causing in this way its ineffectiveness. However, the most serious conflicting conditions between MP and PRG mainly relate to a distorted vision of promoting tourism development, with serious effects on high-quality soil consumption (coastal areas and inland agricultural areas) and impact on the environment and the landscape.

Among the forecasts of the PRG that determine the most serious conflicting conditions we find:

The building of a shopping mall to Epipoli at the former Fiera del Sud, on the UNESCO site. The PRG allows the possibility to increase by 20% the areas intended for commercial activity.

The creation of huge new residential areas in the Buffer Zone (in Epipoli and Tremilia) of the UNESCO site.

In addition to these actions, the PRG allows building permissions for a great deal of the land in the south of Syracuse, especially along the coastline that, although outside the perimeter of the UNESCO, due to its environmental, landscape and cultural and historical features should also be preserved for the purposes of a more sustainable tourism. Finally, other serious conditions of conflict relate to the creation of two new marinas (one for the big cruise ships, authorized in 2007 and already partly realized, and one for the boating, 2008) within the Porto of Syracuse, that falls within the Buffer Zone of the UNESCO site and has been declared a Site of National Interest.¹⁰

The different aim of these instruments (planning instruments of land use and socio-economic programming instruments), their different nature (conformative and performative) and the different articulation and duration have not allowed the MP to devise long-range operations and, consequently, effective action. The MP cannot take decisions on land use, nor enable economic investments.

The principle of integration on which the MP is based, therefore, refers exclusively to the collection of actions from other plans and programmes, and not the creation of clear and shared reference frameworks, from which emerge new

⁹ In this respect, the Regional Administrative Court (TAR) of Catania in 2008 has recognized the effectiveness and substantive skill of the MP, but no change to the PRG was made and, therefore, the conflicting conditions remain.

¹⁰ These interventions are provided as variants of the master plan of the port, which rules the use of land and sea in the port area. In relation to the first intervention, after complaints presented by several environmental groups and the starting of a judiciary survey, the regional Department of Beni Culturali e Ambientali revoked the permissions. Therefore, the works are currently still suspended. In relation to the second operation, the project is taking into consideration some adjustments according to some remarks highlighted by the environmental impact assessment.

actions and effective intervention strategies. Due to the inefficiency of the MP, the presence of UNESCO site not only fails to represent real added value to local economies, but goes against the level of preservation that derives from it, causing thus abnormal and contradictory interpretations of the past values.

4. CONCLUSIONS

If the aim of this contribution was to understand if and how to implement the actions of the WHL MP when a site is included in the WHL, the analysis made in the case of Syracuse, according to previous researches (Lo Piccolo *et al.*, 2012), shows that the implementation of the plan actions is underestimated (or even non-existent), because the main objective of the process is to get into the list of UNESCO sites. The inscription in the WHL is generally considered a contributing factor to the rise in popularity of the site, in its 'appeal' and consequently in promoting tourism. In the case of Syracuse, growing tourism offer, together with directly or indirectly linked forms of speculation, could impair the value of cultural heritage for which the site has been included in the WHL. To this real risk does not correspond a significant increase in tourism flows and economy. On the contrary, the process of replacement of traditional handicraft and commercial activities in Ortygia, together with the process of construction of coastal strip and internal or close interventions to the UNESCO site, show how the presence of UNESCO site has been an accelerator of the forms of pressure without the effective promotion of development actions, or – even less – the implementation of safeguarding actions. The inclusion of a site in the UNESCO WHL involves not only the recognition of its universal value but, above all, a strong assumption of responsibility in its safeguard (Badia, 2011).

In the analysis of the Syracuse case study, the first questions were: how much do the WHL and the Management Plan influence the planning system, shifting it towards a 'sustainable' approach? and how does the MP orient or collaborate with other planning instruments/systems (and *vice versa*) in order to enhance more effective and sustainable tourism policies? Also, according to previous analysis (Lo Piccolo *et al.*, 2012), the WHL MPs have a slight influence on those tourism policies addressed to increasing and qualifying tourism flows and economy.

According to UNESCO, the WHL MPs should act as a 'guide' for management of the site, like a governance instrument of safeguard policies, conservation actions, enhancement strategies of the UNESCO site (Sibilio Parri, 2011). This would require integration of the plan with other instruments of planning and programming, according to a holistic and coherent vision of preservation and development. However, this does not occur in many national and regional contexts,

such as Sicily, where the local very conformative planning regime clashes with the performative approach of the WHL MP model. In fact, the latter applies in practice through the promotion of non-binding spatial policy programmes and the consequent promotion of initiatives and projects which prove themselves capable to ‘perform’ (Alexander and Faludi, 1989; Faludi, 2000) an agreed collective strategy, while local planning systems and instruments are still based on a conforming approach and a (formal) regulatory tradition. If the ‘implementation gap’ between plans and interventions in the real world are inevitably endemic (Mastop, 1997), a conformative approach in the implementation of supranational guidelines and plans in local contexts is destined to fail. The reason is that local plans will look at a plan such the UNESCO WHL MP as a statutory plan, and here all the differences at the normative level arise, impeding any real fulfilment. On the contrary, in a performative approach ‘the prime concern should not be with whether or not the plan is followed, but with whether the plan plays a role in those decision situations in which it was meant to be used’ (Mastop and Faludi, 1997, p. 820). In fact, the ability of a WHL MP to affect the existing planning tools in national contexts depends on two main issues: (1) the level of responsibility of national and local authorities in the identification of intervention strategies and the effectiveness of their operational capability in the implementation of the interventions; (2) the level of integration of the MP with the local legislation relating to urban and regional planning. The paradoxical result is that in the case of Syracuse, as well as in other Sicilian sites (Lo Piccolo *et al.*, 2012), MPs, rather than take a ‘leading role’ in promoting innovative strategies and actions, become a ‘collection’ of goals and actions deriving from other pre-existing planning/programming tools, according to a process of ‘inverse’ conformity.

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TOWARDS GOVERNANCE FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

Abstract. Many (World Heritage) cultural landscapes are a living environment for thousands of inhabitants, visitors, entrepreneurs, farmers and other land users. In order to manage such landscapes we have to consider the legal framework and the reality of the regional planning culture. The ‘landscape of regional players’ consists of a wide range of stakeholders. How should regions tackle natural and cultural heritage as an integrated part of regional development? The discussion of Austria’s Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut World Heritage region involves vertical and horizontal dimensions of governance, including politics, administration, private businesses and civil society.

Key words: UNESCO World Heritage, regional planning, rural development, adaptive co-management.

1. CULTURAL LANDSCAPES, REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE IN AUSTRIA

The Austrian canon of cultural landscapes with ‘outstanding universal value’ ranges from the alpine landscape of the Dachstein and the ancient salt mining town of Hallstatt, the *fin de siècle* summer retreat landscape around the mountain railway over the Semmering,¹ the Danube landscape of the Wachau and the Pannonian cultural landscape of Fertő / Lake Neusiedl.² Sadly it has not yet been possible to position a cultural landscape in the lower mountain ranges as a World Cultural

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¹ With the construction of the Semmering Railway, areas of great natural beauty became more easily accessible, and as a result these were developed as recreational areas with the construction of villas and hotels, creating a new form of cultural landscape (Stadtland, 2010).

² Cf. several research activities from Sibylla Zech in these world heritage regions, for example Zech *et al.* (2003).

Heritage site. The Bregenz Forest, a region shaped by its traditional agricultural economic system and, in architectural terms, by its extraordinary merit in both historic and contemporary timber architecture, attempted in 2006/2007 through a committed regional development process involving many people, businesses and institutions from the region to become a World Cultural Heritage site, but was unable to win out on the international stage.

There is a fundamental challenge facing Austrian World Heritage sites: in federal Austria almost every legal aspect affecting spatial and thus landscape development falls within the jurisdiction of the provinces or municipalities. On the one hand this safeguards bottom-up processes, regional identity and initiatives. However, on the other hand it makes it difficult for regions equipped with only modest resources to compete without adequate support 'from above' (Republic of Austria) among candidates receiving commensurate support from their nation states (for UNESCO only national governments and not regions are treated as contracting parties).

Each of Austria's World Heritage cultural landscapes is a living environment for thousands of inhabitants, tourists, entrepreneurs, farmers and other land users. These landscapes – often farming landscapes – are by their very nature not static, but instead reflect the changing methods of cultivation and management practised there. For its part, UNESCO has stated that the objective in these landscapes is not preservation but rather the intertwining of conservation and development goals. The strategy defined is one of 'gentle development' (cf. Rössler, 2006).

The importance of cultural landscape potential for regional development in different regions was recognized as long ago as the 1980s. Building on traditions of 'independent regional development' that reach back to the 1970s, different rural and urban regions rehabilitated their historic heritage and made it ready to play a part in their development, e.g. the Iron Road in the Eisenwurzen region, the textile regions in the Mühlviertel and Waldviertel districts, and the Bregenz Forest. What all of these examples have in common is that the development of regional identities is taking and has taken place within broad regional discussion processes in which many local stakeholders with different backgrounds are or were involved. Practical experiences with the governance of regional cultural landscape heritage are closely connected to regional development initiatives, which to a certain extent came about as self-help projects 'from below' in the rural regions and which have also received much attention and recognition on the international stage (cf. Heintel, 1994). In terms of the development of Austria as a tourist country, these initiatives for enhancing cultural landscape potential in economically weaker regions have provided vital stimuli.

These experiences are an important point of reference for management planning in World Heritage cultural landscapes. However, World Heritage status plac-

es further demands on their management. In the assessment by UNESCO, criteria such as ‘authenticity’, ‘uniqueness’ and ‘integrity’ are of great importance. The member states undertake to develop suitable management plans for the protection of such areas. World Heritage management ‘best practice’ guidelines propose a strategy of ‘adaptive co-management’ for continuing cultural landscapes (Mitchell *et al.*, 2009).

One of the central challenges in planning the management of Austria’s World Heritage cultural landscapes has proven to be combining the top-down concept of the ‘UNESCO landscapes of universal value’ with regionally-established strategies for ‘gentle development’. The use of existing cultural landscape potential for regional development essentially depends on the strategic form of the management mechanisms: these include the interaction of formal and informal planning levels and instruments, cooperation and quality assurance strategies, the applicable regional institutional landscape, the historic structures and the planning culture that has evolved on a local level. In Austria these are diverse and individual as a result of the federal way in which the Austrian legal and planning systems are organized, as well as the cultural and geographical diversity of the regions. As a result of this variety and heterogeneity, differing models of governance have developed in the individual World Heritage regions. For management planning it is essential to start with the regional conditions, tap them, build on them and also ‘adaptively and carefully develop’ the ‘social landscapes’ of the regional and national stakeholders in the sense of a ‘smart governance’ (Zech and Linzer, 2013).

Taking various different examples, with the emphasis on the Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut region, governance approaches in the management of World Cultural heritage regions in Austria are presented and discussed below.

2. BASIC PLANNING PARAMETERS FOR THE UNESCO WORLD CULTURAL HERITAGE REGIONS IN AUSTRIA

Austria signed the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (World Heritage Convention) in 1992. There are now nine World Heritage sites.

At national level, a range of Federal sectoral legislation (Austrian Monument Protection Act, Environmental Impact Assessment Act – EIA Act, forestry law, water law, railway law, federal highways law etc.) has an impact on the development of World Heritage regions, even if it does not refer directly to World Heritage sites. The EIA Act is the only one where World Heritage is specifically mentioned: inscribed UNESCO World Heritage sites are named in Appendix 2 of

the act as ‘Special Protected Areas (Category A)’. Cultural landscapes, and thus relevant ‘usage and protection’ content for World Heritage cultural landscapes, are primarily governed by the spatial planning laws, building laws and nature and landscape conservation laws of the individual federal provinces. To date, in terms of spatial planning instruments, only the development programme for Burgenland has actively taken up the subject of World Cultural heritage. This programme firmly establishes zoning and the aims of management planning at province level. On the other hand, local spatial planning – and consequently land use and construction planning – falls within the competence of the municipalities. The federal Republic of Austria is subdivided into 9 provinces and 2,345 municipalities (as of March 2014). Around three quarters of these municipalities have fewer than 2,500 inhabitants, and the autonomy of municipalities is traditionally attributed a high degree of importance. Cultural landscapes do not stop at municipal boundaries. The area of World Heritage cultural landscapes consistently embraces several municipalities, which demands a high level of inter-municipal coordination and cooperation.

Again, a number of Federal sectoral planning laws operate in the agrarian cultural landscapes, which, however, contain no direct reference to the subject of World Heritage. Among others, these include forestry spatial planning, hazard zone planning, agricultural sector planning and water management planning. Overall, as a consequence, management planning and implementation for World Heritage sites in Austria takes place in what is legally a somewhat complex environment.

Of great importance for the management of cultural landscapes are the subsidy framework for agriculture (ÖPUL, Austria’s programme for the promotion of an agriculture that is appropriate to the environment, extensive and protective of natural habitats) and the rural regions (rural development programme) together with the regional development structures and their institutions (Leader, Interreg, Regional Agenda). These structures are strongly interconnected. They are overlain, so to speak, by World Heritage status as an overarching element without its own legal status, which generally has only limited resources of its own. The practice of management planning depends therefore on the defined conservation object on the one hand and essentially also on the regional planning culture that has evolved locally. Figure 1 shows the profile of the different planning and legal responsibilities for the management of cultural landscapes taking the Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut region as an example.

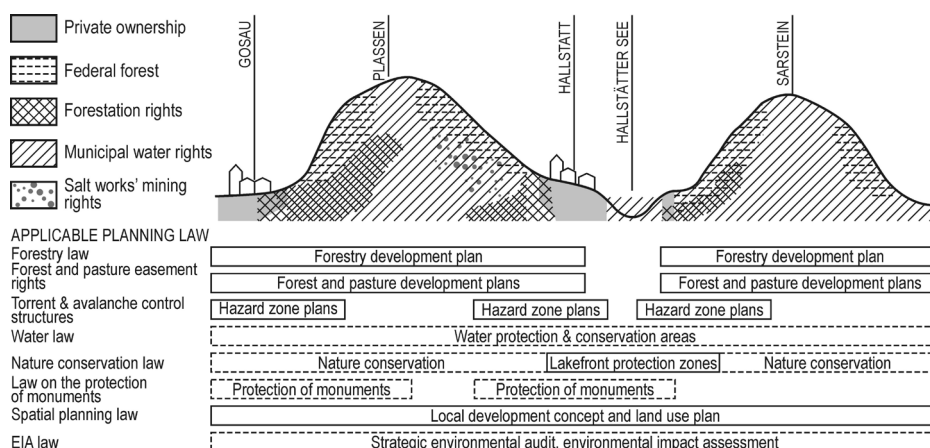


Fig. 1. Profile of the Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut World Heritage region – schematic representation of the planning framework and its legal foundations

Source: authors' elaboration, 2014

3. THE CASE OF THE HALLSTATT-DACHSTEIN / SALZKAMMERGUT WORLD HERITAGE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE³

The Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut cultural landscape in the province of Upper Austria was awarded the title of UNESCO World Cultural Heritage site in 1997 for its 5000-year history as an alpine industrial region (salt mining). At this time, the region was undergoing a severe developmental and identity crisis. Following the privatisation of the two large state enterprises in the region – the Austrian Federal Forests and the Austrian Salt Works – a large proportion of the area's industrial jobs were lost and municipal budgets were cut. A peripheral location and poor accessibility, low availability of land for development as a consequence of the geographic conditions and – for historical reasons – the low level of capital resources provided poor conditions for a reorientation of the region. In some cases dramatic demographic developments were the result. At the same time, due to the isolated location of individual municipalities and their functional integration in the centrally organized system of the salt industry, there was a rather underdeveloped tradition of cooperation and thus few points of contact for cooperation – as well as resistance to forms of planning and management prescribed 'from above'.

³ This case study is based on a research project from Peter Kurz and Gisa Ruland for the Federal Chancellery Austria (Kurz, Ruland, in preparation) and two student projects at the Vienna University of Technology, Department of Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture (Auzinger *et al.*, 2012 and Bachmair, 2014, unpublished).

3.1. World Heritage Management in the Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut Region

The Hallstatt-Dachstein World Heritage region is historically characterized by very specific social and economic, legal and institutional structures: whilst around 80% of the land area and the larger lakes fall under the planning authority of a centrally organized state forestry company (today the privately structured, state-owned Bundesforste AG) and many of the larger properties were owned by the – formerly state, now privately structured – salt industry administration, the remaining municipal areas are characterized by very small-scale, fragmented rural ownership. This historic heritage of an economic monostructure of local resource extraction and a population characterized by salt mining and forestry work, forms the developmental basis of the municipalities in the region to the present day. Where historically the fundamental infrastructure was provided by the state-dominated salt extraction industry, the scope for planning freedom in the individual municipalities was traditionally low. Despite the favourable landscape conditions and the early discovery of the region as a summer retreat destination at the beginning of the 19th century, the development of a tourist infrastructure remained rather modest until the very recent past. Tourism may have become established as an increasingly important mainstay, but has remained a somewhat decentralized, moderately commercialized phenomenon.

World Cultural Heritage status was awarded to the region at the same time as the salt industry lost its importance as the basis for physical and economic survival. This was the starting point of a more intensive exploitation of the inherited resource of the ‘cultural landscape’. The UNESCO brand was recognized as an opportunity and powerful basis for greater development of tourism and the professional foundations were established to market the area with the setting-up of a regional tourist association. In parallel, the four Upper Austrian municipalities in the World Heritage region came together formally as an association and thought was given to how the region could be furnished with the ‘hard’ infrastructure required for tourism-based development (bypass tunnel and parking deck in the mountain for the municipality of Hallstatt, development of the cycling and hiking network, accommodation and hotel establishments, other tourist offerings). To this end, with the province of Upper Austria as the financing partner, a specific management model was agreed for the World Heritage region, at the centre of which was a ‘round table’. The development of the World Heritage region was declared a ‘top-level issue’, with the governor, members of the provincial government and leading officials from the different specialist departments meeting at the ‘round table’ to discuss development projects for the region with their mayors and to clarify the support and financing possibilities. The tasks that had to be accomplished in the World Heritage region became the responsibility of the Upper Austrian spatial planning department. The head of local spatial planning was appointed World Heritage coordinator, responsible for collating, checking, discuss-

ing and preparing for the implementation of the concerns and project ideas raised by the World Heritage communities. Whilst the ‘round table’ meets once a year, strategic meetings take place between the coordinator and the representatives of the four municipalities quarterly, in order to coordinate the project catalogue to be discussed. The World Heritage coordinator consequently fulfils the role of link, hub and moderator between the ‘bottom-up’ levels of the municipalities and the ‘top-down’ levels of the state. An important role in the development of World Heritage projects also plays the regional LEADER’s management.

A management plan in the traditional sense, as intended by UNESCO, does not exist (yet). Instead, a concept of ‘regional economic support’ has been developed. In particular, subsidies are made available for development measures and investment in the key areas of tourism and infrastructure. In the process, the World Heritage status has been used as a pretext and motive for increased inter-municipal cooperation. The four World Heritage municipalities and the province of Upper Austria are currently involved in discussions regarding a strategic document that will set out longer-term development objectives.⁴ The basis for planning measures is a map defining the boundaries of the World Heritage region and surrounding buffer zones (see figure 2).

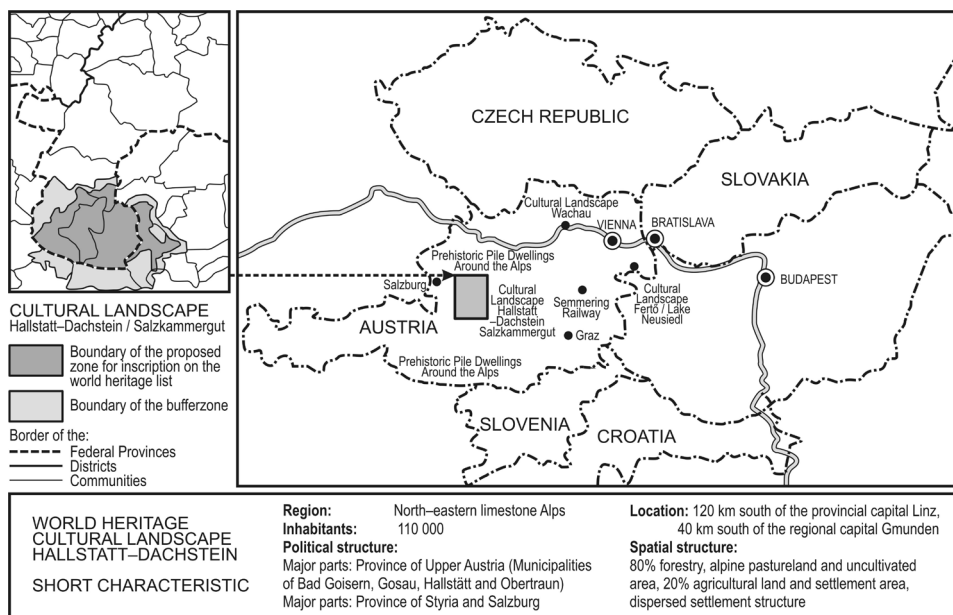


Fig. 2. Overview of World Heritage sites in Austria and World Heritage region zoning plan

Sources: UNESCO (2008), Stadtland (2013), authors' elaboration, 2014

⁴ As part of several projects in the region by students from the Vienna University of Technology, Department of Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture, discussions have been carried on regarding the regional potential and possible World Heritage management (cf. <http://www.landscape.tuwien.ac.at/index.php/de/archiv>) (25.06.2013).

3.2. Strengths and Weaknesses of the Practised Model

The example of the Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut region shows an approach for making the ‘UNESCO World Cultural Heritage’ category that is prescribed from the top down useful for a strategy of regional economic development and for expanding internal networking and cooperation. At the same time, this approach demands that the World Heritage status and criteria be dealt with continuously. The motive for ‘regional economic support’ using the instrument of the ‘round table’ was to quickly and efficiently establish items of infrastructure in order to prepare for the transformation to a modern tourist region and to create incentives for investment. In the process, the management planning of the World Heritage site was focussed on the cooperation between municipalities and the province of Upper Austria.

The strengths of the model presented are as follows:

Due to its lean bureaucracy the management model described works effectively and has so far been able to quickly implement a number of projects (e.g. two heritage hotels in Hallstatt, a holiday village complex in Obertraun, a viewing platform etc.). Since the area was inscribed as a World Heritage site, tourist numbers have risen continuously. The region is a popular destination for visitors from the Austrian urban centres, Germany and the Far East.⁵

Through their integration in the provincial spatial planning department, quality assurance mechanisms for the observance of World Heritage criteria, which are established diffusely in different pieces of legislation (SEA,⁶ EIA, nature conservation, monument protection) and/or can be interpreted, are incorporated in project development. In the process, the World Heritage coordinator plays an advisory role. In addition, representatives of the province (lakefront protection, environmental advocacy office) and of ICOMOS are involved in an advisory capacity at the initial stage of project development.

For the municipalities, their status as a UNESCO World Heritage region provided the incentive to coordinate their actions among themselves – taking into account the UNESCO requirements – and as a region to appear as a cohesive unit in their dealings with the province of Upper Austria. This is also significant in light of the fact that in the province of Upper Austria, the regional planning level is only weakly developed and thus infrastructure projects of regional importance are only rarely realized ‘from the bottom’. In this context, the instrument of the ‘round table’ may be seen as a thorough success, and the awarding of the UNESCO label as the driver for the regional development that has been initiated.

⁵ China has built its own ‘alpine idyll’ in the sub-tropical province of Guangdong. The ‘true to life’ copy of the village of Hallstatt was opened in 2012.

⁶ Strategic environmental assessment.

However, the experiences of the last ten years also show the limits and weaknesses of this model:

To the present day, the local population views the status of World Heritage region in two ways. On the one hand it is seen as an instrument for tourism marketing, and on the other as the reason for the restriction of individual freedoms, primarily in connection with the protection of monuments. The direct personal contact points with the World Heritage are predominantly associated with experiences of restricted use.

Since in the context of World Cultural Heritage spatial development efforts are concentrated on the building and infrastructure level, other important areas recede into the background. In particular, the aspects of a cultural landscape shaped by agriculture and forestry and its importance for the World Heritage and the debate around possible development prospects have been neglected. As a consequence, not only has a central aspect been excluded so far from the debate on the ‘continuing cultural landscape’, but also important regional stakeholders have not been involved accordingly in development matters.

The strategy employed to date has had no discernible positive impact on the demographic problem of a shrinking and ageing population in the region. On the one hand this is due to the fact that the regional tourist economy is still not perceived as an attractive area of employment by local young people, and on the other hand there has been no appreciable diversification of the industrial structure and employment market in the region as part of the ‘regional economic support’ programme. The number of people forced to commute out of the region has increased strongly during the period in which it has been a World Cultural Heritage region.

Due to the low level of human and financial resources – the involvement of the four mayors and the World Heritage coordinator from the province of Upper Austria in the management of the World Heritage site is secondary to their other activities – the full development potential arising from the World Heritage status has not yet been fully exploited.

Combining World Cultural Heritage with regional development and regional identity has also changed the external image and marketing of the region. It is not primarily the beauty of the alpine scenery (mountains, rugged summits, alpine pastures, lake) that the tourism advertising presents us with, but art and culture (cf. dachstein.salzkammergut.at and www.hallstatt.net). Many artists popularized Hallstatt and the Salzkammergut through pictures and literary works. Even if it can be surmised that these pictures also have an effect on the self-image of the various stakeholders in the World Heritage communities, there needs to be still more awareness-raising and participation to turn the World Heritage into a common cause, ‘our World Heritage’.

3.3. Current and Future Challenges for Governance and Management in the Region

Therefore, challenges for the future management planning in the region include

- to improve ‘in-house’ communication and to better involve the citizens in the everyday management of World Heritage regions. This means amongst others participation in the development of strategies for the region, greater transparency, e.g. in monument protection matters and the quality assurance of World Heritage values, improved culture in dealing with ‘official’ instruments;

- to design a participatory planning process for visions and guidelines, containing a common understanding and agreement of the future orientation and further development of the region;

- to network the regional players to create synergies, e.g. a closer cooperation between skilled labour and those responsible for monument protection, to establish networking and cross-financing between tourism, the hospitality industry and agriculture in terms of the care and preservation of the cultural landscape and to sound out other possibilities for diversification of the regional economy under the seal of World Heritage;

- to intensify the existing cooperation with the traditional (forestry, saltworks, energy companies) and new ‘big’ players (nature and monument conservation) in the region in the planning of the management of the World Heritage site and to increase their involvement in the responsibility for the strategic development of regional resources.

4. GOVERNANCE AS A GROUNDWORK FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF WORLD HERITAGE CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

From our experiences and the management processes that were started in (World Heritage) cultural landscapes in recent years, seven action approaches are derived below (cf. among others Zech and Linzer, 2013):

1. Governance refers to regional conditions and builds on them positively. Regionally meaningful points of departure are, in particular, the cultural, social, economic and political relationships and those pertaining to the natural environment, plus ownership structures. Here the landscape constitutes the basis for planning action. Positively establishing that which makes regions special and the values of the respective cultural landscape in people’s minds and/or strengthening what is often an existing awareness of the special importance of their landscape area, among other things in respect of World Cultural Heritage, is a basic building block for the success of governance processes. This means being conscious of and com-

mitted to the ongoing development of cultural landscapes – we are building the World Heritage cultural landscape of tomorrow today.

2. Governance is based on the relationships between the regional actors. A democratically-based development of World Heritage regions is among the basic values of UNESCO. The stakeholder landscape that secures the continuity of the cultural landscape is highly diverse. Platforms for debate and dialogue on an equal footing are needed. State-run and/or today's partially privatized major stakeholders, both historic and current, such as, in the case study presented, Bundesforste AG (Austrian Federal Forests), Salinen AG (the federal salt extraction company), Energie AG (energy company of Upper Austria) or the Austrian Federal Railways among others, should be involved in responsibility for the protection and strategic development of the regions.

3. Governance places the prospects of the inhabitants and those working in these regions at the forefront. Aspects of the continuity of a cultural landscape include: the preservation and development of the economic livelihoods of the people, which have mostly changed in respect of the original grounds for protection, landscape protection and development and monument / settlement protection and development. It is necessary to take the historic heritage seriously and to integrate the varying requirements that are placed on the landscape as a resource in its necessary and sensible development. Continuing development is a creative task that requires mindfulness and courage – one could say 'cultural planning virtues' – in equal measure.

4. It is important that the inhabitants of cultural landscape areas have a genuine sense of the prospects and an opportunity to help actively shape them. Cultural heritage can be used as a starting and integration point for new developments even aside from tourism, especially in regard to the regional culture of building and the associated technical and artisanal know-how. Combining traditions with new developments, as demonstrated, for example, at Hallstatt Federal Higher Technical Institute, which in teaching and research combines the subject of the restoration of old windows with new techniques. Networking of regional stakeholders, e.g. production and marketing of regional products under special regional brands; cross-financing between tourism, the hospitality industry and agriculture in terms of preserving the cultural landscape, cf. the tourism contribution to agriculture for the preservation of the landscape around Lake Weissensee in Carinthia. This means designing participatory processes to anchor common goals of sustainability in everyday decision-making.

5. Governance requires property responsibility and care takers. Who is, in fact, responsible for the World Heritage property? Here, on the one hand, it is a matter of the legislative responsibility of the public authorities and the private responsibility that ownership entails, and on the other hand the operational role in the management of the World Heritage cultural landscape. Regional asso-

ciations of municipalities such as, for example, the REGIS regional development association in the Salzkammergut can serve as management platforms. The broad experience of regional management can be used for the operational business of the regions. Regional managers are established in many Austrian regions – they have the capacity to listen to local concerns, provide impetus for ideas from the municipalities and the region and facilitate their development and implementation. Not all Austrian World Heritage sites have a specific World Heritage management team. To establish efficient and lean management structures it is necessary to make available more funds for regional heritage management to fulfil its task as promoter and ‘care taker’ in a very complex stakeholder environment.

6. Governance is based on planning instruments and planning principles. Existing planning instruments and/or their revised versions should focus more clearly on the topic of cultural landscapes, especially for the World Cultural Heritage regions. Within the Austrian provinces Burgenland has taken the lead on this with its development programme (Land Burgenland, 2012) integrating World Heritage as a framework for regional or local development plans. The natural and cultural heritage is an attractive – even if often controversial – means of exploiting the respective opportunities of the region. A management plan for the individual World Heritage regions can be developed in coordination with different existing instruments and/or link them. In comparison with questions of infrastructure and location development, cultural landscapes and cultural heritage are topics with little presence in everyday planning practice. We must increase the use of existing planning instruments (e.g. zoning regulations, village renewal concepts, subsidies for revitalisation and provincial planning programmes) and put natural and cultural heritage on the spatial planning agenda. Heritage management planning should be implemented as an active instrument for regional development.

7. Governance enables integration in larger, higher-level provincial and federal structures and needs their support. In a federal political system, World Heritage needs strong national representation on the international level. This applies to existing World Heritage sites as much as to the positioning of new initiatives for World Heritage sites and regions. For this reason, to achieve successful implementation – especially with regard to the regional economic potential – integration at higher levels is essential (in Austria in the functional departments of the federal and provincial governments, among other things in the tourism strategies and development plans of the provinces). The local/regional level (World Heritage communities, World Heritage regions) needs, on the one hand, expert support, motivation and systematic financial aid, whilst on the other hand it offers local, first hand experience and knowledge, which, in turn, should be incorporated at the strategic, higher levels.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Cultural landscapes are ‘complex’ systems. Their development is determined by many diverse influences and a large number of stakeholders with a range of different interests, ideas and action strategies. Sometimes fundamental doubt is cast on the possibilities of managing cultural landscapes. Actually cultural landscapes are the physical expression of the complexity of social relationships, shaped by present and past, internal and external interdependencies, many of which elude the influence of management measures. On the other hand, the experiences – such as presented in the case study of the Hallstatt-Dachstein region – show that cultural landscapes can provide a viable concept for the development of regional identity and – further – the foundation for integrated regional development processes. The idea of a common heritage, that should be cared for, used and developed, as is the basic principle of the World Heritage concept, may constitute the starting point for debate and negotiation between the regional stakeholders. Gailing and Röring (2008, p. 5 et seq.) see cultural landscapes as social settings in which the different dimensions of regional identity can be discussed and defined. The ‘common regional asset of the cultural landscape’ (Apolinarski *et al.*, 2006, p. 81 et seq.) is an important ‘soft location factor’ with whose help the ‘social capital’ of an area may unfold (cf. Curdes, 1999). Working on one’s own history opens up one’s eyes to its uniqueness and hones one’s perception of the existing, special qualities and potential and strengthens the self-perception and external view of regions (cf. Fürst *et al.*, 2008). Cultural landscape management measures are, according to Apolinarski *et al.* (2006), the manifest outcomes that result from these processes of shaping social settings and working on regional identities. The success, quality and sustainability of the management depend on the form taken by these processes.

The management of sensitive cultural landscapes – with their cultural and natural values, their often fragile eco- and land use systems and their special potential for sustainable and resilient development need ‘top down’ control by the democratically legitimate government officials as well as ‘bottom up’ by private industry and the general public. Government here stands for the traditional steering of society by a government that functions ‘from the top down’. Governance expresses the concept that not only the nation, but also private industry and the general public (associations, special interest groups, citizens’ initiatives, the media etc.) interacting via formal and informal networks, have an interest in control and management. The role of the state should not be subverted, but instead redefined. In this connection participation plays a big part. This is the setting for the agreement and implementation of the different interests of private and public stakeholders. Here Austria already has a long tradition of and experience with different models of independent regional development and joint development of landscape areas and regions taking into account traditional values and a wide variety of inter-

est groups. This knowledge on governance and its principles and processes may provide a useful pool for the management of World Heritage cultural landscapes in Austria, but possibly also in other regions of the world.





Fig. 3–5. Impressions from the UNESCO World Heritage Cultural Landscape Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut

Source: phot. Gisa Ruland, Peter Kurz

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HERITAGE PROTECTION VERSUS INDIVIDUAL INTERESTS IN A POST-SOCIALIST COUNTRY: THE CASE OF MŠENO, CZECH REPUBLIC

Abstract. Large-scale investment is routinely believed to be the main danger to urban heritage. The measures designed to sustain heritage thus traditionally focus on steering investment into respectful ways of real-estate development. The majority of Czech built heritage is, however, located in towns and villages that rather face economic decline. Losses of objects of heritage in such places are often due to lack of maintenance. The case study of this article discusses the issues of heritage protection and restoration of the Enlisted town zone of Mšeno, where affordability and communication of values are the key issues in heritage protection.

Key words: planning, heritage, remote areas, public participation.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Legal Environment of the Czech Republic

The legislative system of the Czech Republic is based on the continental (Roman) tradition, where the legal system is defined by relatively detailed normative acts approved by representatives of the people, which are further interpreted either by the executive power of the Republic, or by the findings of the judicial power of the Republic (Czech Constitution, 1993). These normative acts are subsequently executed by the bureaucratic apparatus of the state. Its hierarchical organisation was broadly inherited from the former Austro-Hungarian Habsburg Monarchy, which has been altered by the various regimes that have succeeded, yet these have kept the overall structure relatively intact (Malý, 1997). The execution of the nor-

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mative acts in the Austro-Hungarian tradition includes publishing instructions for interpretation of the normative acts, so that the officers do not interpret the laws by themselves, but merely apply the instructions as provided by their respective ministries.

The country as a whole is further sub-divided into regions and communities that possess both legal and executive powers to self-govern themselves, the latter being the smallest self-governing units of the Republic. As some of the communities are as small as a few dozen people, they indeed do not have sufficient personal capacity to realize their executive power. This was the reason why executive powers have been granted to a selection of 200 communities, of which the majority are traditional local centres (referred to as municipalities with extended powers), where the base-level bureaucratic apparatus is located. The system expects that there are no overlaps between agendas of the different ministries, so that contradicting interpretations of the protected phenomenon are avoided.

1.2. Spatial Planning

The system of Czech spatial ('territorial') planning conforms with and builds upon this structure of public administration. It is realized through a hierarchy of legally binding planning documents and the respective Planning Offices responsible for their execution, with the tiers corresponding to the spatial sub-division of the Republic into the self-governing units.

This is to achieve the two tasks spatial planning is expected to fulfil. The first is to coordinate spatial development of the society so that the expressed needs of the population of the territory are fulfilled providing they do not threaten sustainability of the territory. The second is to coordinate the spatial imprint of nation-wide policies.¹

(3) The authorities of the town and country planning coordinate, by means of a procedure pursuant to this Act, the public and private programmes of changes in the area, construction and other activities influencing the development of the area, and putting the protection of public interests arising from special regulations in concrete terms (§18/3 Planning and Building Act No. 183/2006).

The process of procurement of the legally binding planning documents is designed so that the public has a reasonably strong voice and the requirements posed by the nation-wide policies are respected. The planner has to develop creative solutions, which address the requirements of the public (in as much as it is possible²) within the frame that is set by the national policies and hierarchically higher bind-

¹ Such as landscape and nature protection, water resources protection, environmental hygiene, management of mineral resources, national heritage protection and others.

² The planner has to justify his decisions in all cases when he does not fulfil the call.

ing planning documents. During the public deliberation of the plan, the planner needs to come in terms with the executive power (as, of course, the plan has to obey the law).

After the planning documents have been approved by the respective (regional or local) councils, they are binding for any intended change of land use, particularly for all development investments, which is executed by the respective Planning Offices.³

In order to assure the different values and public interests are known prior to the plan procurement itself, the 'Planning Analytical Materials' were introduced to the system of planning. These must cover all protected areas (including those of nature and landscape protection, such as 'significant landscape components') when the respective authorities are required by law to deliver to the planning office. Besides those, the Act has obliged the Nature Protection Authorities to delineate and describe so called 'places and areas of landscape character' (MLRD, 2006), which aims at greater transparency of the approval process.

1.3. Landscape and Monument Protection

An expert, top-down and repressive approach is the traditional form of Czech public administration.

Monument protection developed through isolated legal actions until the end of World War II, when the first attempt to institutionalize it was made by the National Commissions for Culture Act No. 137/1946. The need for such an act was necessitated by the vast numbers of monuments that were nationalized during the process of expropriation of Germans and collaborators with the Nazi regime. The Nature Protection Act No. 40/1956 introduced the protection of landscape aesthetic values, yet the context of the act works specifically with the term 'nature' in regard to landscapes (i.e. ecosystems, water and air quality). Two years later, monument protection was systemized through Monument Protection Act No. 22/1958. The re-enacted Monument Protection Act No. 20/1987 and the Act on the Conservation of Nature and Landscape No. 114/1992, which are still in power, generally inherited the system of administration from their predecessors. The main difference was that the original Institute for Monument and Nature Protection, as an organisation providing support in expertise for both, was disintegrated into the National Heritage Institute for monument protection and the Nature Conservation Agency of the Czech Republic for landscape and environmental protection.

The reason why landscape protection is discussed together with monument protection is twofold. First, the 1992 Act on the Conservation of Nature and Land-

³ The approval of the planning office is conditioned by an approval by all executive offices whose areas of interest are affected by the proposed investment.

scape has introduced a new landscape agenda by the requirement for the authorities of nature protection to protect landscape character, to which historical and aesthetic values are also relevant:

(1) The landscape character of a place or area shall be its natural, cultural, and historical character, and it must be protected from activities that reduce its aesthetic and natural values. Interference in the character of a landscape, especially the approval and placing of buildings may be carried out only with regard to the preservation of significant landscape components, specially protected areas, and cultural landscape landmarks, and for harmonious standards and relations within a landscape (§12/1, Act No. 114/1992).

Having distinguishing so called ‘general’ and ‘special’ nature and landscape, certain territories of ‘special’ nature and landscape protection (the so-called Protected Landscape Areas, PLA) are dedicated to protect values of cultural landscapes. As a result, as those landscapes comprise artefacts and structures of both (and often combined) natural and cultural origin, the realisation of the ‘special’ nature and landscape protection often includes areas that are recognized by the monument protection as well. Besides other reasons, this tendency of nature and landscape protection to overstep into built up areas derives from the very definition of landscape in Czech law, which defines the term ‘landscape’ as follows:

(k) A landscape shall mean a part of the Earth’s surface, with a characteristic relief, formed by a complex of functionally integrated ecosystems and elements of civilization (§3, Act No. 114/1992).

Thus the nature and landscape protection has to (by law) encroach into the domain of the monument protection bodies of Czech administration, thus corrupting the basic bureaucratic expectation that one phenomenon is administered by a single body. To make things even less transparent for the end user (the citizen), monument protection recognizes so called Enlisted landscape areas, which are landscapes of a high historic value (e.g. well preserved medieval landscape structure).

There indeed is an objective reason for the encroachment of (special) landscape protection into the fields of monument protection. Enlisted monuments and areas are typically too scattered to provide enough grounds for protection of character of landscapes. Thus the PLA management needs to influence the built up areas, where monument protection is not present.

1.4. Planning Process

Since 2006, the official planning system of the Czech Republic recognizes three levels of planning procurement and realisation. Planning offices are required to prepare analytical documents that comprise (among others) the requirements of monument and nature and landscape protection. Subsequently, when the plans are

enacted, the planning office issues planning permissions. During the plan procurement, planning offices oversee the process of the procurement. Nevertheless, it is an exception for the planning offices to actually create the plan.

The detailed regulatory plans are relatively scarce. Plans, on the other hand, consider organisation of uses of the land within the municipality. As such, the authorities may express themselves about the extent of the development only.

Based on the above, for any planning permission an approval of either the Monument Protection Authority or the Nature Protection Authority, eventually both, is a pre-condition for planning permission issued by the respective Building Authority (Act. No. 183/2006). Both of these authorities are seated in the offices of the 'municipality with extended powers', which is responsible for base-level state administration within its territory. Both have two superior levels, their direct superior seated with their respective Region and either the Ministry of Environment or the Ministry of Culture as the central authority. The above-mentioned National Heritage Institute and the Nature Conservation Agency are expected to provide them with expert consultancy.

The position of the areas with special status (nature parks or protected landscape areas) in nature and landscape protection is somewhat exceptional, for their

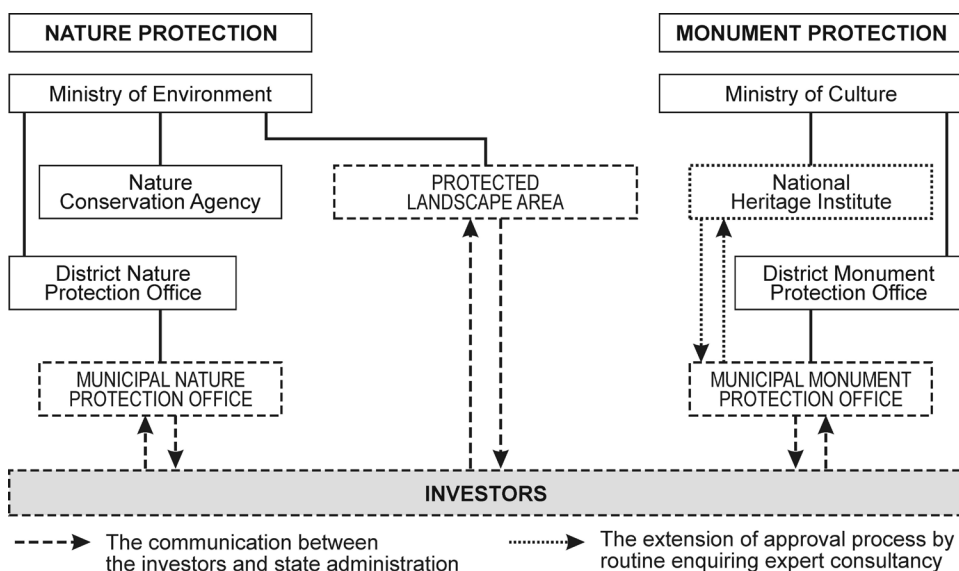


Fig. 1. Outline of the approval process for planning permits in the fields of nature protection (left) and monument protection (right)

Source: authors' elaboration based on Czech legislation

management serves as the approval authority (working besides the general Nature Protection Authority) and is subordinate only to the Ministry of Environment.

As a rule, the owner of a property in an area subject to monument protection is responsible for any changes to his property to be delivered properly (i.e. abiding by the law). Failure to this may lead to relatively severe punishment.⁴ As the law does not prescribe any universal rules of 'proper practice', it is typically the monument protection officer with whom the owner must come to terms (§14 of Act No. 20/1987). It is very difficult to foresee the demands of the Monument Protection Authority when planning a reconstruction of either a registered monument or a general property within Enlisted Town Zones. The approval process resembles blind shooting both for the investor and surprisingly even for the Ministry of Culture itself (Legislative Commission of Czech Government, 2013). This is because the interpretation of what may be considered an interest of the monument protection is quite vague. This is partially due to the fact that Enlisted Town Zones have been registered by the ministry in waves of multiple zones at a time (in 1987, 1990, 1995, 1996, 2003 and 2004), which indeed (unlike it was with the PLAs) does not allow for thorough description of each one of them (Legislative Commission of Czech Government, 2013).

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The information published in this paper is derived from semi-structured interviews with the representatives of the municipality, analyses of available documents on the Enlisted Town Zone of Mšeno and materials published and distributed by the opposition to the enlistment of Mšeno as a heritage site. The interviews were conducted in the period between 2010 and 2014 as one of the authors' workload as a commissioner in the Commission for the Reconstruction of Mšeno Enlisted Town Zone. As such, the interviews cover the reactions of the local population in the period comparatively long after the Ministry of Culture has registered the Enlisted Town Zone of Mšeno in 2003. Nevertheless, the case appears to be still vivid among the local population.

The interviewees fall into three distinct groups. The first and most numerous are the homeowners, the second are representatives of the municipality (the mayor, the members of the Commission for the Reconstruction of Mšeno Enlisted Town Zone and the members of the City Council) and the third the representative of the Monument Protection Authority.

⁴ §39 of the Monument Protection Act No. 20/1987 allows the municipality with extended power to assess a private person with a fine at up to 2,000,000 CZK/ 70,000 EUR plus the cost of reconstruction, which is roughly the cost of a decent house in the countryside.

As for the first group, open interviews were conducted with around a hundred of interviewees during the above – indicated period. As an addition to the open interviews public hearings on the ETZ at the City Council were analyzed. A typical respondent of this group is a local inhabitant seeking to improve his/her private home, trying to minimize the cost of the reconstruction. As for the second group, 10 semi-structured interviews were realized. Typical interviewee of this group would recognize heritage as a value in itself as well as its importance as a symbol of continuity for the local population. There was one representative of the Monument Protection Authority in service and therefore interviewed during the period of preparation of this article.

3. CASE STUDY

Mšeno is a small town some 70 km to the north from Prague. It is built over a little creek in a place where the flat agricultural landscape of Pojizeří meets the dramatic sandstone landscape of Kokořínsko. It is generally assumed that the history of human habitation in Mšeno is very long, thanks to the proximity of fertile soils, well defensible landscape and relatively scarce water resource. While the first written evidence of the town existence comes from 1080, archeological site of a (pre) Slavonic fortification in its close quarters indicates a history much older than that (Kuča, 2001).

Through its history, Mšeno developed an intricate urban structure. It is believed that the original settlement was a rural village, now called Podolec, to which a new triangular town square was attached during the first half of the 14th century. The street connecting the town square with the original rural village evolved into a third main public space, especially after the old Podolec common was built up during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Most of the original wooden houses, as well as all of its most important buildings, were destroyed during massive fires of 1820, 1864 and 1867. Ambitions of the town to gain importance were hindered by its lack of rich enough resources of drinking water and remoteness from paved roads and railway lines, which were built no sooner than the second half of 19th century. Therefore, besides almost complete reconstruction of the burned town centre, the town has experienced only a decent growth during the 20th century.

As for now, Mšeno displays a unique and very well conserved urban structure, as well as its silhouette as viewed from the surrounding landscape. As such, the town centre, which is nearly the whole town, was registered as an Enlisted Town Zone (ETZ) in 2003 (Ministry of Culture, 2003) (figure 2). Almost all its buildings are the 19th century, there are just a few Enlisted Monuments within the zone

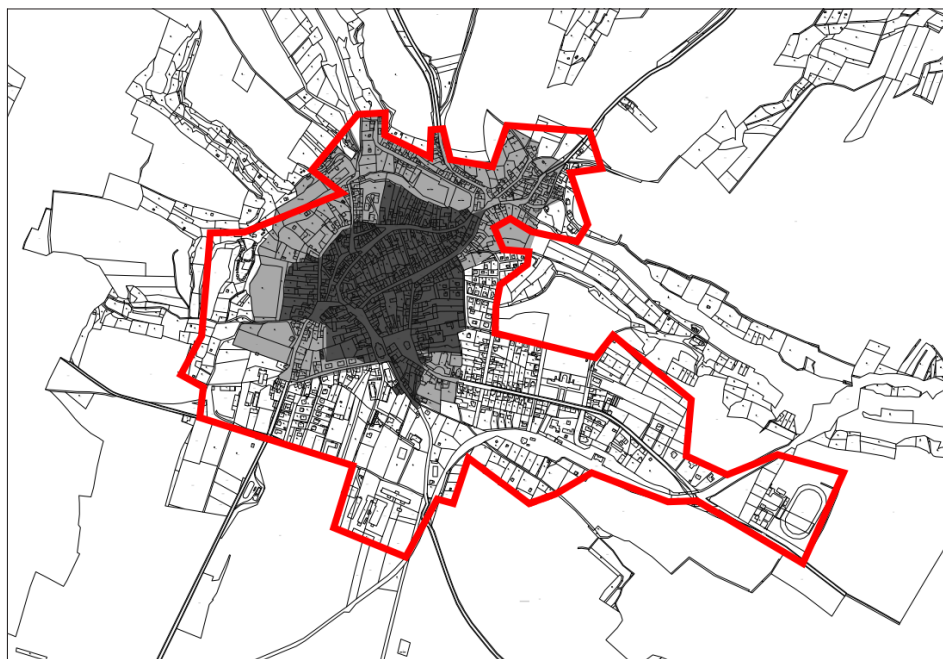


Fig. 2. Plan of the Enlisted Town Zone. It shows the core of the ETZ (in dark grey), the protection zone of the ETZ (grey) and the built up area of the town (solid line). As is clearly visible, the ETZ and its protection zone comprises substantial part of the town

Source: authors' elaboration based on background map Czech Office for Surveying, Mapping and Cadastre and Edict No. 108/2003

itself. Besides the ETZ, Mšeno is also included into the Protected Landscape Area (PLA) Kokořínsko. Any property owner thus needs to come to terms with both the Monument Protection Authority and the Protected Landscape Area Management.

Mšeno had become a part of the PLA Kokořínsko, enacted by the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in 1976. As the Czech legal definition of 'landscape' includes also urban environments (§3, Act No. 114/1992), the management of PLA already has a long experience in discussions with the landlords and homeowners. The PLA management pioneered (at least within the Czech Republic) publishing simple guidelines for investors, thus making the approval process relatively transparent (Maier, 2014).

Enacted by the Ministry of Culture in 2003, the ETZ of Mšeno is relatively recent. Within the zone, there are only five Enlisted Monuments of which four are public buildings (church, town hall and swimming pool) or street furniture (baroque statue of St. Mary) and one is a private home. Most buildings within the perimeter of the ETZ, therefore, do not enjoy any other form of monument protection. Unlike the PLA, the Monument Protection Authority had never published any form of guidelines.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

There was only a limited awareness of the new ETZ among the general public, although the ETZ was enacted with the agreement of the municipal representatives (Mach, 2011). As late as in 2006 the head of the ETZ Commission pointed out that ‘some citizens learned about the existence of the Enlisted Town Zone of Mšeno while planning reconstructions of their homes’ (Lejtnarová, 2006). This quote indicates the lack of information provided during the initial phase of the ETZ.

To make the communication towards the public more difficult, the Mšeno ETZ consists of buildings from late 19th century, so their architecture is far from being generally accepted to be worthy of monument protection, as is officially reflected by the number of Enlisted monuments within the ETZ. This, combined with the routine of the Monument Protection Authority, which typically focuses on isolated elements, has led to a growing misunderstanding between the local citizens and the Monument Protection Authority. To make things worse, the Ministry of Culture does distribute financial support to individual ETZs, yet these resources cannot be used on buildings within the zone that are not Enlisted monuments at the same time⁵ (Trevisan, 2014).

In 2005, in order to ease the tension between the ETZ, the Monument Protection Authority and the town citizens, the municipality founded a Commission for Regeneration of the Enlisted Town Zone. The commission employed members of the town hall, external experts, and representatives of the public and monument protection authority (Lejtnarova, 2006). Nevertheless, failing to fulfill its task it gradually lost its pace of work until halting for two years in 2008. The Commission was reactivated in a different personal composition only in 2010 (Mšeno, 2010).

As the mayor recalls, the Monument Protection Authority behaviour is often regarded as arrogant and equivocal (Mach, 2014). The custom to routinely ask for consultancy from the National Heritage Institute or Publishing Approvals that are deemed subjective by the public⁶ further hinders the informal authority of the officers among the local population. Besides involving experts even remoter to the local conditions than themselves, this practice leads to painstakingly long approval times, sometimes even longer than 3 months (Mach, 2014). Moreover, the management of protected landscape area employs utterly different approach, publishing simple principles for reconstruction and providing approval by its own means. The practice of monument protection towards the reconstructing home-

⁵ This is one of the reasons why the 2013 Programme for Restoration proposes 21 new structures to be enlisted (Pešta, 2013). Of those, 18 are private town houses and only 3 are public buildings. Besides those, the Programme for Restoration lists 23 buildings as very important for the character of the ETZ, of which 20 are private town houses and three are memorials.

⁶ Such as is the colour of facades, where the citizens suspect the Monument Protection Authority of ‘just liking grey’ (Mach, 2014).

owners has led to several waves of resistance towards the existence of the ETZ. The last, from 2011, calls for a local referendum to abolish the ETZ altogether (Hrdlička and Měšťáková, 2011).

A very bitter aspect of the relationship between the Monument Protection Authority and the Local People is the effect of the punishments imposed over the homeowners who failed to meet the requirements of heritage protection. As the mayor recalls, some of the town citizens were economically ruined by either the fines themselves or the need to change the reconstruction (Mach, 2014). As a result, mutual distrust grew between the Monument Protection Authority and the Citizens. The citizens' representatives were caught in the middle.

In this environment, the new Programme for Restoration of the ETZ is being prepared (Pešta, 2013). Unlike its predecessors, the new Programme for Restoration set itself three goals to achieve. The objective of the program, and probably its most challenging task, is to restore (or build) the citizens' identification with the object of the ETZ, which is the character of the town (Trevisan, 2014). Thus, it attempts to bridge the nearly ten years of lack of communication of the values protected by the ETZ that are not always clear to the town citizens. In order to achieve this, the program attempts to provide a comprehensive set of rules for behaviour within the area of the ETZ and thus enhance the transparency of the approval process for reconstructions. Besides this, the new Programme for Restoration introduces a Restoration Fund, aiming to support the individual owners of buildings in the ETZ in know-how and with finance from tight municipal budget (Pešta, 2013; Mach, 2014). The need for transparent redistribution of the scarce municipal resources between individual homeowners indeed requires a very detailed description of priorities within the Programme of Restoration.⁷

5. CONCLUSIONS

Protection of values in an environment of a living society is always a very delicate activity. Some conflicts arise from the simple fact that what is valuable for one person may not have any value to another (Hume, 1742); besides, they need to resolve their own inner value conflicts (Schwartz, 2013). Objects of values, including those that we theoretically all share, because our representatives have decided so, indeed are but one of these conflicting values. It is hardly imaginable that someone would wilfully damage something he values. The damage the people do to their (own) heritage thus just displays that they do not recognize it as a value

⁷ As, obviously, otherwise each homeowner receiving additional duties from either the ETZ or the PLA would require financial support, which is way beyond the capability of the municipality.

that can stand a competition with other values in stake. It is indeed possible to use power to make them undertake actions they do not agree with out of fear of persecution (and that is why it appears to be so successful).

What is particular for the case study is the class aspect of the conflict between the local people and the authorities. Rural populations in the Czech Republic typically distrust those who come to them from a faraway city. The monument protection officer coming into a rural town is automatically identified as a delegate 'of those above' and as such invited with caution (Grazuleviciute-Vileniske and Urbanas, 2014). This is in essence yet another example showing the aspect of different social value systems inherent to heritage protection. The monument protection officer comes to tell the locals what their heritage is (Chambers, 1997; Mowfort and Munt, 2003) and force it over other values they possess. Successful resistance to the authorities, especially when the general public regards monument protection a threat to their liberty and creativity (Kuča *et al.*, 2004, p.8) therefore often endow the resisting individual with a respect from the community, which presents a value in itself (Schwartz, 2013).

The first contact between the monument protection and the local community is, therefore, absolutely crucial for further development of a relationship between himself and the community (Ashworth, 1990; Orbasli, 2002; Aas *et al.*, 2004). Obviously, once the first wrong step(s) are taken, it is very difficult to regain trust and authority.

Resistance of the residents of Mšeno to the official protection of values they have inherited presents an illustrative case of miscommunication of historical values (see Ashworth and Kuipers, 2001). The academic discussion over whether it is the looks of the buildings or the construction or whether the restored environment should reflect a particular period or not (Larkham, 1996; Legislative Commission of Czech Government, 2013) is relatively harmless to the case of heritage protection as long as only a handful of (predominantly) public buildings are at stake. When it starts affecting wide public residing in buildings all of a sudden recognized as a heritage, it may damage the institution of monument protection itself (Aas *et al.*, 2004; Mach, 2014). Especially so when obviously controversial projects of strong investment receive permission from the authorities despite strong public resistance (Bečková *et al.*, 2011).

Built heritage is one of the fundamentals of local identity, as well as it is its product. The above-mentioned case has presented three main obstacles that may shape the acceptance of the institution of top-down heritage protection amongst the local population.

Firstly, the legislation defines vaguely what is to be protected by the Monument Protection Authority within the ETZ limits. It is therefore both the public and the officer who is left without guidance on what changes to the built environment may be accepted and which cannot. To overcome this, the law expects

the Commissions for Restoration of ETZs to Develop Regeneration Plans. This, although undoubtedly led by good intentions, unfortunately created a second obstacle. The Ministry of Culture failed to provide guidance on how the regeneration plans are to be developed, and how the Monument Protection Authority should act prior to the plan has been approved by the City Councils. The third obstacle is financial. Cost of refurbishment of any building that enjoys monument protection of any kind tends to be substantially higher than that of a refurbishment of a building that is not, simply because the latter has more options when it comes to materials and procedures that may be used. This is the reason for which the Ministry of Culture delivers financial support to owners of Listed Monuments to compensate for the excess costs. An owner of a building within an ETZ that is not a Listed Monument often faces similar limitations, yet is not eligible for any form of support.

Overcoming the third obstacle in heritage protection is indeed the most difficult. Several municipalities (including, recently, the municipality of Mšeno) have decided to overcome the third obstacle by creating their own programs that aim to compensate the owners of buildings within the limits of their ETZ substituting the role of the Ministry of Culture. To overcome the first two obstacles is comparatively simple. The legislation of monument protection should above all define the process of procurement of the regeneration plans. Procurement of the regeneration plans⁸ that would enforce the role of the public, in a manner similar to the procurement of the land use plans,ⁱ would provide grounds for more open deliberation on the differences between the views of the experts and the general public to the benefit of both. Open discussion between the general public on one side and the experts on the other on what and how should be preserved from the recent built environment for future generations could, moreover, help to understand the nature of the local 'built heritage'. Subsequently, plans procured in this way could provide further legitimacy to the municipalities' compensation to the affected homeowners, if the need be. This is because any plan of this kind needs to define the borderlines between self-interest of the owners on one side and the public interest of the municipality and mankind on the other.

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⁸ During land use plan procurement, the public has a right to comment or appeal against any regulations indeed. The respective state authority may veto any of these provided they violate legal regulations. The planner, on the contrary, does not have to accept these appeals provided he could justify his decision in such a manner that would stand an appeal in a court.

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DOES GREEK CONSERVATION POLICY EFFECTIVELY PROTECT THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPES? A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF POLICY'S EFFICIENCY IN TRADITIONAL GREEK SETTLEMENTS

Abstract. The paper discusses the role of Greek conservation policies in protecting the cultural landscape with focus on traditional Greek settlements. Drawing on secondary data but also on empirical evidence the paper examines the contribution of above policies to the protection of cultural landscapes.

The first part focuses on the legislative framework, providing a critical examination regarding the way that cultural landscape is approached. The second part discusses the effects of this policy on a group of traditional settlements in central Greece, presenting the achievements and drawbacks of conservation policy as viewed by experts and residents in the area.

Key words: cultural landscape, conservation policy, traditional settlements.

1. INTRODUCTION

The interest in cultural landscape has been particularly increased during the last two decades, as noted by the European Landscape Convention (2000) and the Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (2005). However, the issue of cultural landscape is still overlooked or underestimated in some countries, even in those that have rich cultural resources, such as Greece.

According to the European Landscape Convention, Article 1 (2000), 'Landscape means an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors'. Similarly the World Heritage Committee defines Cultural Heritage as the 'combined works of nature and of man' (World Heritage Convention, 1972, Article 1).

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Hence, three aspects are crucial for the composition of landscape: the spatial, the environmental (natural and manmade environment) and the human/perceptual aspect. Article 5 of the European Landscape Convention further highlights the importance of integrating landscape into spatial, environmental, cultural and other policies, promoting also the participation of the general public and local authorities. Thus, taking into account all the above aspects is crucial in shaping effective landscape policies.

Despite the acknowledgment of public's perspective to cultural landscape and its conservation there are still gaps in research on lay people's perceptions of heritage places. Townshend and Pendlebury (1999, pp. 315) characteristically note that 'while public opinion may have been instrumental in the advent of conservation areas, however, conservation planning has largely remained the preserve of the "expert professional" stressing further that little attention has been given to those whose daily lives are affected by conservation area designation. What are the perceptions of those who live, work and recreate in conservation areas?' Larkham (1999) also identifies the lack of knowledge about local communities' perspectives on conservation stressing the need for lay people's input while Ashworth (2002, 2012) cannot even perceive conservation without taking into consideration communities' perceptions of it.

Furthermore, despite the evolution of cultural landscape there are also countries which still present a restricted approach to cultural heritage, as is the case with Greece.

In the context of the above gaps the current paper aims to examine how conservation policies impact on cultural landscape, by reviewing the current legislative framework and involving both experts' and residents' perceptions on the issue, in the area of Mount Pelion in central Greece.

2. METHODOLOGY

The examination of the legislative framework regarding cultural landscape is based on a secondary data analysis. Legislative documents and acts relevant to cultural landscape are examined. Concerning the effects of particular policies on the cultural landscape, data from a case study and in particular a multiple case which has been conducted within a context of a wider study regarding inhabitants' perceptions of their heritage have been useful for the purpose of the research. In particular, 6 traditional settlements in Mount Pelion in central Greece have been selected as the main area of research and the fieldwork has been carried out between May and October 2013 (figure 1).

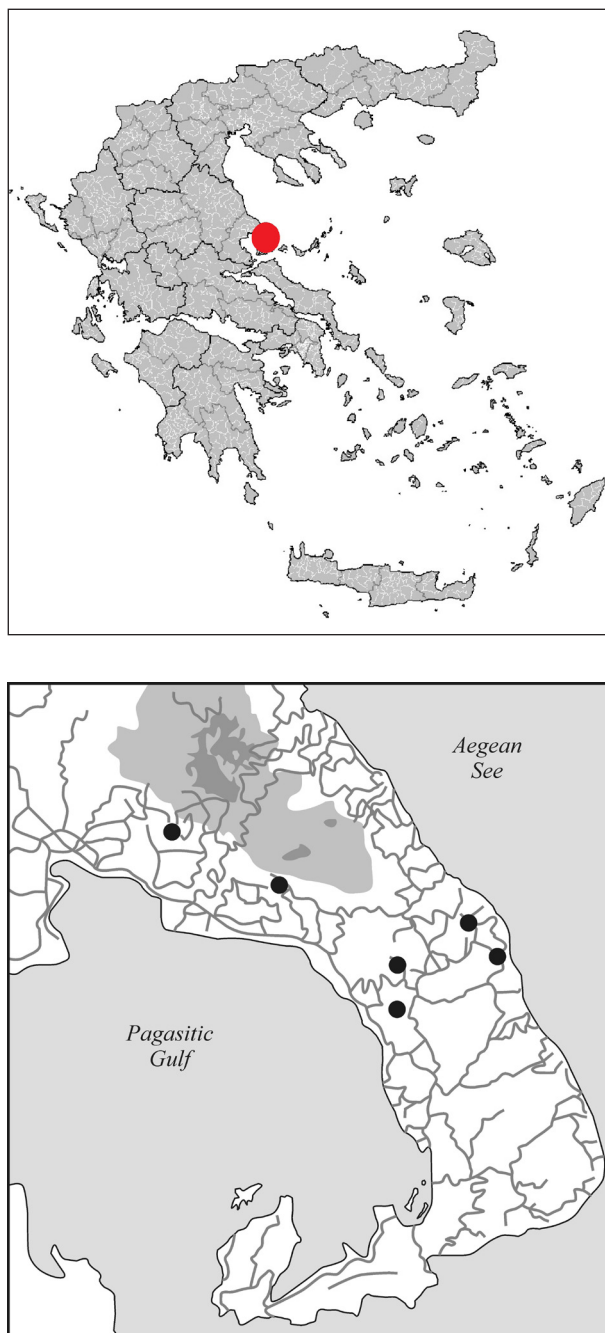


Fig. 1. Case studies settlements

Source: <http://filotis.itia.ntua.gr> (10.02.2013)

The selected settlements are similar in terms of size, ranging from 300 to 700 inhabitants, as well as their natural and built environment characteristics, representing typical traditional settlements in the area. In addition, the population is quite homogeneous in a sense that there are no major social, cultural and economic diversities. In an attempt to identify the various perceptions and issues that may exist, 90 semi-structured in depth interviews with locals of different ages and occupations as well as 8 interviews with experts at central and regional level have been conducted. In the context of this paper, the relevant questions relate to viewpoints of the value of cultural landscape and of relevant policies. The data have been transcribed, coded and continuously compared in order to identify main themes for analysis. These are combined and further juxtaposed to those identified from the review of legislative documents. The main themes presented here focus on the effectiveness of conservation policy in dealing with the cultural landscape.

Finally, observation and site visits not only in 6 settlements but in the wider Mount Pelion area, in order to ‘detect’ tangible effects of relevant policies on the landscape, have further enhanced the findings of this research.

3. POLICIES RELEVANT TO CULTURAL LANDSCAPE IN GREECE

Landscape policy in Greece is still in its infancy; Greece ratified the European Landscape Convention with ten years delay, in 2010. Landscape in general, and cultural landscape in particular, tended to be viewed as a dimension complementary to spatial and environmental aspects. Cultural or not, landscape tended to be approached by the following policies:

- conservation policies for the natural environment;
- conservation policies for heritage;
- planning policies.

Regarding the first one, until the 1970s the most pertinent regulation was the Landscapes of Exceptional Beauty referring to landscapes of high aesthetic value. Almost 500 Greek landscapes have been characterized as Landscapes of Exceptional Natural Beauty. However, neither the criteria of characterisation nor the protection and control mechanisms had been clearly specified, while the identification of such landscapes was based on experts’ ‘objective’ criteria constraining thus the possibility of pluralistic views and interpretations (Vlantou, 2012).

The interest in landscape was intensified during the 1970s in the light of concern about the protection of the environment, reflected in the Constitution (1975)

which sets the protection of 'natural and cultural environment as State's obligation and everyone's right'. Furthermore, new acts were released. The legislation regarding conservation of natural environment (Acts 1650/1986, 3937/2011) touches directly upon the issue of the landscape, focusing on natural areas, including also extensive areas such as villages or settlements due to their natural or cultural characteristics.

The legislation regarding heritage places as well as the planning and spatial policies touch upon the manmade and cultural aspect of landscape. The General Construction Code (Act 4067/2012) has a reference to the protection of architectural heritage while the Act for Conservation of Cultural Heritage (Act 3028/2002) draws further but indirectly on cultural landscape, by expanding the notion of cultural goods, placing also the protection of monuments, archaeological sites and historic places among the priorities of planning bringing thus together the notion of cultural heritage with that of space and place (Vlantou, 2012). However, both of the above acts do not target directly at cultural landscape as they serve different purposes. Furthermore, while the spatial and environmental aspects of landscape are taken into consideration in both cases, the human/perceptual aspect of landscape, such as local communities' perceptions, is overlooked.

Concerning the planning policies, the most pertinent to landscape is the Act for Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development (Act 2742/1999), which requires the recognition of landscape as a distinct parameter in spatial plans. In 2011, new specifications regarding the principles of updating and amending the Regional Spatial Plans require equal to other spatial aspects attention to landscape. However, the methodology followed is a copy of parts of Landscape Convention and as such it is too general, while similarly to environmental policies the examination and management of landscape is based on researchers' personal interpretations with no involvement of the broader community.

In total, the issue of landscape is addressed by a number of different acts relevant to conservation and planning policies, which however do not provide a comprehensive approach (Beriatos, 2007, pp. 123–133). This is due to three main reasons (a) those policies have different aims and priorities and thus landscape is a secondary issue, (b) even in cases where landscape seems to be a priority, policy consists in generalisations without setting specific criteria and priorities for its protection and (c) the identification and characterisation is based only on experts overlooking the contribution of communities in selecting and interpreting cultural landscapes. Furthermore, there is no coordination among the above policies, while the lack of a data base, such as a registry, makes the venture of landscape protection even more difficult.

4. THE CASE OF PELION MOUNT IN GREECE

4.1. Setting the Context-introducing the Area

The Mount Pelion in the region of Thessaly has been characterized as a site of outstanding aesthetic value 'due to its exceptional character, its unimagined variety of colours and the outstanding combination of dense vegetation and views to the sea' (Act 1469/1950).

Regarding the natural environment, the Mount presents rich vegetation with high trees especially at the northeast side while it is also surrounded by the sea. With regard to the built environment, the settlements located at the mount are small size villages (most of them with 100–800 people). A great number of these settlements started to develop during the 18th century and they now compose an ensemble of special architectural and cultural interest, having been characterized as traditional. Although differences exist among the villages, the small scale of buildings which rarely exceed three storeys with characteristic roofs made of local stone, the cobblestoned roads and the squares at the centres of the villages in which old cathedrals are located constitute the main elements that characterize the settlements.

While attempting to examine a broader area, a more in depth research was carried out in 6 selected settlements, Mouresi, Tsagkarada, Makrinita, Vizitsa, Afetes and Agios Lavrentios, to achieve the purpose of this paper (see figure 1).

4.2. Conservation Policies in the Area

Similarly to the national level, cultural landscape in Mount Pelion has been indirectly addressed by conservation policies for the natural environment and built environment. Concerning the first one, a big part of Pelion Mountain (see figure 2) has been included in Natura Network¹ as it has been characterized as a Site of Community Importance (SCI) (Natura, 2000).

Concerning the second one, from the almost 110 settlements located in the area, 52 have been characterized as traditional according to two Presidential Decrees (11.6/4.7.1980; 85185/11.4.1997). According to an older Act (1469/1950), these settlements are viewed as

[...] sites to be protected as they have maintained their character since the period of Turkish occupation, presenting a large number of traditional architecture houses/residences and houses of distinctive architecture such as those called 'arhontika', picturesque public squares and cobbled roads/paths which all combined together constituting a unique identity, while they also remind and depict the rich past.

¹ Natura is an EU-wide network of nature protection areas which aims to 'assure the long-term survival of Europe's most valuable and threatened species and habitats'.

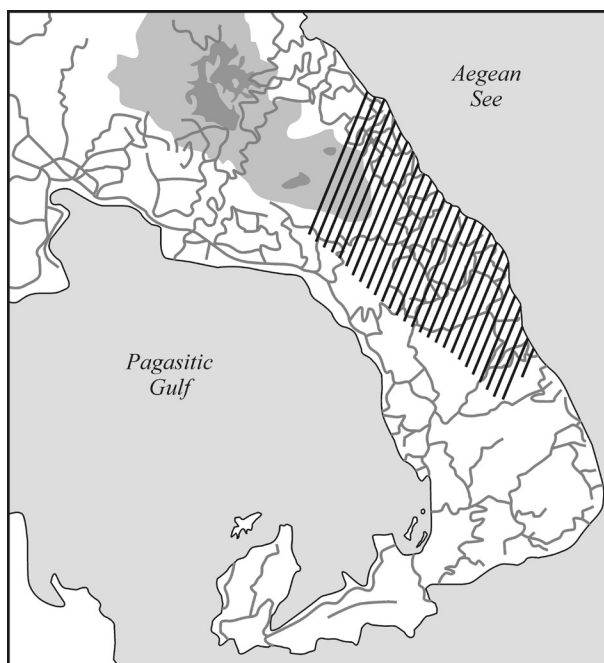


Fig. 2. Natura area

Source: <http://filotis.itia.ntua.gr> (10.02.2013)

The Presidential Decrees aim at the protection of built heritage and the maintenance of the physical state of traditional buildings and structures, setting directions and restrictions regarding construction and interventions in buildings and land uses. Depending on their traditional character and the extent of distortions, settlements fall into three categories with different level of protection from the strict provisions of the first category to the more flexible third category. Currently only three settlements belong to the first category, which means less distortion, 2 of which are included in this study, while the great majority belong to the second category from which I selected the remaining 4. Among the top policy priorities are the scale and the pattern of settlements. Further regulations refer to size and geometrical characteristics of the buildings as well as to construction materials and to aesthetics of new buildings in order to adjust to the traditional character of settlement.

Regarding the legislation that refers both to the natural and manmade environment, six big parts of Mount Pelion have been characterized as landscapes of exceptional natural beauty (see figure 3). However, the inclusion of the particular areas in this framework seems to be just a label as no specific regulations have been set for their protection.

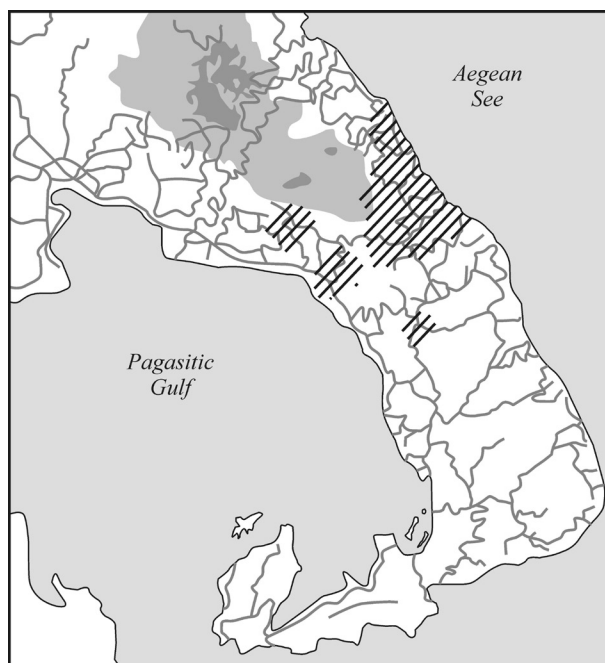


Fig. 3. Landscapes of exceptional natural beauty

Source: <http://filotis.itia.ntua.gr> (10.02.2013)

In general, the legislation at this scale reflects the situation at national level. Landscape policy is usually applied indirectly via the legislation for conservation of built and natural environment keeping separately these two elements rather than approaching it as an entity. What constitutes cultural landscape as a whole has yet to be addressed, while elements worthy of protection are missed due to the lack of public engagement, as revealed by residents and experts. Indeed, while the protection of elements of landscape is divided between the natural and cultural elements residents usually do not separate these two when they talk about the qualities of their place and the elements which appreciate most referring for example to views and sites in total. In addition, some residents refer to individual elements of appreciation which are usually missed or overlooked by legislation and experts. For example, a number of residents in the case studies referred to small agricultural houses most of which are nowadays derelict. Although they were built at the same time as other very appreciated constructions such as the mansion houses, they are usually disregarded by policy, experts and often other lay people who tend to give more attention to the more dominative structures. Similarly, other ‘visual’ elements of cultural landscape which are identified by residents due to their personal experiences, memories and stories are often missed or disregarded by the relevant policies.

Furthermore, although the new legislation requires the embedding of such policies in spatial planning, this has not yet applied in the area. Indeed the review of legislation as well as the interviews with experts indicate that both the regional plan for the widest area and local plans have only minor statements with regard to cultural landscape, which are restricted to general comments relating to its importance. Hence, both of the main aspects of landscape, the spatial and perceptual, are to a certain extent overlooked.

4.3. Conservation Policies for Pelion Mount: Achievements and Risks for the Landscape

The lack of appropriate basis and tools as well as the recent incorporation of Landscape policy only in legislation has made the assessment and monitoring of landscape a difficult task, while there is lack of data concerning local residents' and experts' perceptions on the issue. Hence, this section attempts to provide an overview of conservation policies' achievements and drawbacks in the particular area as understood by experts and residents, triggering further research in the field.

The contribution of conservation policies to landscape relates mainly to the containment of threats for the cultural landscape. Concerning the natural environment, participants claim that the characterisation of a big part of the area as 'landscape of exceptional natural beauty' as well as its inclusion in Natura Network has averted large scale and disturbing projects, which could potentially pollute and distort the environment and landscape. Furthermore, participants point out the prevention of the intense exploitation of the area due to the rich natural resources, such as massive logging and mining. Participants also point out the abolishment of the use of streams and other natural areas as places for waste disposal, although illegal action is usually observed. Finally, the particular legislation has increased the sensitivity and awareness of local people, who have only recently started to realize what assets they have. Indeed a number of residents admitted that it was when rules were established that people started realizing the quality of their area, while previously they tended to take things for granted. Residents' and especially long stay residents' habituation of the place impacted on their appreciation of elements of landscape. Legislation, however, provided in a way new information, triggering thus residents' awareness of the natural elements of the cultural landscape. What is interesting to note here is that a number of residents, particularly in second category settlements, refer to the particular legislation as the main and only 'conservation' policy in the area, not being aware of other regulations such as the conservation framework for the built environment. It is worth mentioning here that all the above is due to the environmental concern, while elements of the natural environment have never been regarded as cultural landscape by the relevant policies, although a number of residents referred to elements of natural environ-

ment as their heritage. In a number of cases residents refer primarily to the natural resources as elements of high value rather than to built environment, despite the cultural and architectural importance of the last one. This is particularly evident in second category settlements where built heritage is not as dominative and non-distorted as it is in the first category locations.

Regarding conservation policy for the built environment, the characterisation of settlements as traditional and the rules that this entailed is recognized to have played a significant role in protecting the manmade aspect of cultural landscape. Both residents and experts acknowledge that specific regulations have contributed to the maintenance of human scale, pattern and open spaces as well as typical characteristics of those settlements. For example the limits determined for the size of plots in which building is allowed as well as for the height of buildings contributed to the maintenance of human scale. Furthermore, the obligation to use specific materials such as the local stone in roofs has been important in maintaining the uniformity in the area, which has been pinpointed as an important positive element of landscape in the area by both residents and experts. Participants in general claim that conservation framework has been important in restricting locals' 'distortive' interventions in the built environment – they tended to use any sort of materials and constructions so as to accommodate their needs with limited or no concern at all about the built heritage. There are even residents who admit that they would use other cheaper materials in their buildings even though these may not be aesthetically as appropriate as those imposed by the current policy, if there was not the conservation framework.

These attitudes may be attributed to three main reasons: lack of awareness/knowledge of the value of historic environment in the area, habituation and economic restrictions. Indeed, with regard to the first one, many residents and especially the older ones claim that before the adoption of the conservation framework the majority of residents did not know that old buildings and constructions had historic, architectural or in general cultural value. Hence it was quite usual the people were intervening in the built environment without any concern about appropriate ways of avoiding distortions. In addition and in the light of massive urbanisation during the 1980s there were many cases of residents who either abandoned or sold their old houses, believing that those houses are not worth much. However, the characterisation of their settlements as traditional made them understand that these may be of value, starting thus to gradually change their attitude, as both experts and residents denote. Residents started to be more careful when intervening in the built environment due to the restrictions but also due to the fact that they started to appreciate its aesthetic qualities. Indicatively, in all the interviews I had with residents, they all support that traditional materials are much more aesthetically pleasant than other artificial ones. Habituation and economic restrictions on the other hand may surpass the appreciation of aesthetic qualities, but conservation framework balances the situation by its rules as recognized by a number

of participants. Furthermore, the characterisation of the particular settlements and noticing the qualities of the area stimulated the feeling of pride in many residents.

Despite the contribution of the above policies to landscape, the inadequacies of those policies paired with the challenges and threats for the area, indicate that the current legislation is inadequate for dealing with cultural landscape (Sapounakis, 2007). The problems and challenges identified may be grouped in two categories: (a) officially legal, in the sense that the current conservation frameworks have allowed their emergence and (b) illegal in the sense that other forces surpass the relevant policies. Within the first category, problems and challenges may be further subdivided to those resulting from development, those from underdevelopment and those relevant to administrative issues.

4.3.1. 'Legal' Problems and Challenges

A. Problems resulting from development. Among the most often mentioned problems in this category are the big bulky touristic complexes that have been built especially in the most touristic areas. Although the Presidential Decree for traditional settlements does not allow the development of large scale buildings within the settlement there is an exception with regard to tourist-oriented units out of the settlements' borders. The legislation allows the development of larger units and is more flexible as regards the distances among buildings and their layout. Claiming that they have incorporated 'traditional' elements in their structure, such as local materials and architectural elements, these units present a bad imitation of village's traditional character, as noted by both experts and residents (e.g. figures 4 and 5). It is similarly with smaller units; a number of participants pinpoint new buildings which imitate the old ones as harmful to the character of their village, distorting the authenticity of the 'traditional'. My personal observation of such cases indeed affirms such claims as looking at these buildings made me feel that something is wrong at least in terms of aesthetics.

Another problem pointed out mainly by experts is the development – construction outside the settlements' borders. The legislation, by setting minimum sizes of plots, allows building in areas out of the borders of settlement. As a result buildings and constructions have been put up in purely natural areas, giving the sense of an abrupt violation of the natural landscape. A typical example provided by two interviewees is building on the ridge of the slopes. They also underlined that the disruption of landscape is further intensified due to the networks necessary for those constructions, i.e roads.

The destruction of traditional elements within settlements is another main problem for the character of villages and landscape as participants and observation show. Many interviewees for example refer to the replacement of the typical cobblestoned roads with conventional ones in order to facilitate the vehicular access. Although those elements are supposed to be conserved, if they are not listed



Fig. 4. A typical traditional house

Source: phot. Ioanna Katapidi

they can be legally destroyed, as it has happened in many cases. On the other hand, there are residents who although they acknowledge this problem in terms of aesthetics they do not consider it as important as they believe that functionality is crucial and has priority.

Finally traffic and parking is another issue raised by residents, who point out that vehicles are disorderly parked anywhere within the settlements, creating thus a serious aesthetic problem. The situation becomes even more problematic in touristic areas during specific seasons.

B. Problems resulting from underdevelopment. Problems in this category are mainly attributed to economic shortages, resulting in the ‘creation’ of derelict landscapes. For example dereliction of historic, architectural and cultural significant public buildings, structures and spaces is among the most often mentioned and observed problems in this category. Due to inadequate economic sources, as claimed by mayors in the area, a number of significant public buildings and spaces suffer from dereliction. Churches and monasteries that date back centuries, historic public buildings, traditional bridges and more rarely public squares and even



Fig. 5. A new building, imitation of traditional old ones

Source: phot. Ioanna Katapidi

castle have been in a state of constant degradation and negligence. The same is also apparent in private properties. The lack of funding or the restricted incentives paired with the high costs of maintenance, due to the expensive materials and often the high labour costs, make their maintenance unaffordable as both residents and experts claim. Hence, a great number of these properties have been abandoned, constituting now elements of a derelict cultural landscape (e.g. figure 6).

C. Problems relating to administrative issues. The unification of conservation framework is criticized by experts at regional and local level as problematic in incorporating the variety of heritage. According to them, the attention to uniformity without taking into account the various architectural characteristics disregarded different elements and styles of built heritage. As they note, traditional settlements in the area have been put under the same conservation framework with no attention to the peculiarities of different cases. The framework has taken into account some as claimed by experts ‘characteristic’ examples of settlements as a basis for shaping the particular rules, which apply more or less to all traditional settlements in the area, missing the elements of the various architectural styles in



Fig. 6. Abandoned derelict properties

Source: phot. Ioanna Katapidi

the area. What is more, due to this omission the conservation framework does not in many cases allow the incorporation of those different ‘traditional’ architectural elements, which contributed to the uniqueness of settlement, in new constructions.

4.3.2. ‘Illegal’ Problems

Illegal issues constitute further threats for the cultural landscape as revealed by the research. Illegal constructions and interventions in the built environment are among the first mentioned in this category. These include flimsy constructions and the use of other than the allowed materials. A typical example is the use of ceramic tiles instead of the local stone for the construction of roofs due to the high costs of the second one or even the construction of flat roofs. One more usual example of illegal and flimsy constructions relates to ‘secondary’ spaces such as store houses and henneries, which are made from cheap materials such as zinc and plastic. What is interesting to note here is that despite the fact that most participants refer to the above illegalities, many of them, including experts, do not consider them as great problems to landscape, especially those in the small scale buildings and constructions. Stressing the high cost of construction and materials, as well as the fact that the settlements protected today are the result of spontaneous construction in the past and thus current residents should have to some extent the same right nowadays, many participants claim that small scale constructions using different materials do not really distort the landscape. On the other hand larger scale con-

structions such as retaining walls made from cement instead of local stone have been more easily referred to as harmful.

Public networks such as those of electricity and communication, which were supposed to be underground, have been also identified as destructive to the image of traditional character by some participants, who further highlight that if the state acts illegally how citizens can be legal.

Another noticeable destruction of landscape is the use of bright and extraordinary colours on buildings as well as signs and labels of different sizes and colours especially in the touristic areas.

Finally, threats for the natural environment were identified by a number of participants. Fires in the area, during the summer season, which are in many cases purposeful, for obtaining land for development in a high quality area, illegal logging, which threatens the density of vegetation and thus the 'green' colour of landscape, and the illegal disposal of waste in rivers and other natural areas have been pointed as serious threats to the quality of landscapes.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Despite the richness of cultural landscape in Greece, landscape policies are still in its infancy. Cultural landscape has been directly and indirectly addressed mainly by a number of conservation policies, which however are not adequate especially in the case of especially sensitive areas as the case of Pelion Mount.

The review of relevant policies as well as the interviews with participants indicate that although conservation policies have contributed to the protection of cultural landscape they have not been sufficient as they do not provide a holistic approach, addressing the various elements of landscape as a totality. In addition to that the review of all the relevant to landscape policies reveals that the perceptual aspect of the cultural landscape is systematically disregarded.

Concerning the impacts of conservation frameworks on the cultural landscape as perceived by participants, it is important firstly to note that not all of the participants, residents in particular, are aware of conservation frameworks in the area, so it is difficult to examine their perceptions on the issue.

Regarding the advantages of conservation frameworks to landscape there is an agreement between experts and residents on the restriction of certain actions and interventions as imposed by current policies for aesthetic purposes. On the other hand, however, aesthetics may impede functionality or may not be possible due to economic shortages, and consequently, participants are willing to 'sacrifice' aesthetics or may value this aspect less. Hence while the wide majority agrees on the 'beauty' of traditional elements and materials as suggested by conservation policy, a great

number of them would ‘sacrifice’ them to a greater or lesser extent for functionality and economic purposes. Being thus aware of this, most participants assert that conservation framework for the built environment has been important in restricting this kind of actions and maintaining the character and integrity of the villages.

In relation to the problems for cultural landscape two main categories have been identified: those that are legal in the sense that they are not prohibited by conservation framework and those that are illegal. Concerning the first group of problems, they may be further subdivided into those posed by development, those resulting from underdevelopment and those that relate to administrative issues, showing the multiplicity of challenges that cultural landscape faces and which current conservation policies cannot effectively address. It is interesting, however, to note that in all categories a great majority of participants pinpoint problems which are most obvious and noticeable, such as those that are of big scale, extensive, frequently repeated or ‘eye-catching’. Less obvious issues are also raised, but these are usually not perceived as a big problem or important distortion to cultural landscape, by both experts and residents.

In sum, while conservation policies contribute to the protection of cultural landscape they are not adequate in dealing with such a complex issue, especially when different judgments, needs and interpretations are involved. This calls for more holistic approaches which do not only focus on the elements of landscape in an objective way but they further work on the inter-subjectivism among the various viewpoints.

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PART II

ARTICLES

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EXPLAINING CROSS-NATIONAL VARIATIONS IN THE PREVALENCE AND CHARACTER OF UNDECLARED EMPLOYMENT IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Abstract. The aim of this article is to evaluate the competing theories that variously explain the greater prevalence of undeclared employment in some countries either as: a legacy of under-development; a result of the voluntary exit from declared employment due to the high taxes, state corruption and burdensome regulations and controls, or a product of a lack of state intervention in work and welfare which leads to the exclusion of workers from the declared economy and state welfare provision. Analyzing the cross-national variations in the prevalence of, and reasons for, undeclared employment across the European Union using evidence from a 2007 Eurobarometer survey, the finding is that undeclared employment is less prevalent and more of the voluntary variety in wealthier, less corrupt and more equal societies possessing higher levels of social protection and redistribution via social transfers. The theoretical and policy implications are then discussed.

Key words: informal sector, undeclared work, shadow economy, neo-liberalism, European Union.

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the turn of the millennium in Europe, there has been growing recognition that undeclared employment not only lowers work quality standards and creates risks for the health and safety of workers, but also acts as a brake on economic growth, puts at greater risk the financial sustainability of social protection systems and undermines the legitimate business environment through unfair competition

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(European Commission, 1998, 2003, 2007; Gallin, 2001; Williams and Renooy, 2013). The result is that greater attention has started to be paid to not only understanding the prevalence of, and reasons for, undeclared employment (GHK and Fondazione Brodolini, 2009; Renooy *et al.*, 2004; TNS Infratest *et al.*, 2007) but also what needs to be done to tackle the undeclared economy (Dekker *et al.*, 2010; European Commission, 1998, 2007a, b, 2012a, b; European Parliament, 2008; Williams and Renooy, 2013). The intention of this article is to further contribute to this emergent understanding by evaluating critically three competing theories that explain the cross-national variations in undeclared employment in Europe in different ways.

To achieve this, the first section will briefly review the competing theories that variously explain the cross-national variations in the prevalence of, and reasons for, undeclared employment either as: a legacy of under-development (modernisation perspective); an outcome of voluntary exit from declared employment due to the high taxes, state corruption and burdensome regulations and controls (neo-liberal perspective), or a result of the lack of state intervention in labour markets and social protection which leads to the exclusion of workers from the declared economy and state welfare provision (political economy perspective). To evaluate critically the validity of these explanations, the second section will then report the methodology of the 2007 Eurobarometer survey here used to analyze the cross-national variations in the prevalence of, and reasons for, undeclared employment in the EU-27 and the validity of the competing perspectives. In the third section, the descriptive results will be reported regarding the cross-national variations in the prevalence of, and reason for, undeclared employment followed in the fourth section by a critical evaluation of the competing theories that have sought to explain these cross-national variations. Finding a strong correlation between cross-national variations in the prevalence of, and reasons for, undeclared employment across the EU-27 and cross-national variations in some of the societal characteristics identified by each of the theoretical explanations but not others, the fifth and final section will then call for the adoption of a new 'neo-modernisation' perspective and tentatively discuss the policy implications of these findings.

In this paper, undeclared employment is defined as 'productive activities that are lawful as regards their nature, but are not declared to the public authorities, taking into account the differences in the regulatory systems between Member States' (European Commission, 2007a, p. 1). As such, these are activities not declared to the public authorities when they should be for tax, social security and labour law purposes, but they are legal in all other respects (European Commission 1998, 2007a, b; OECD 2012; Renooy *et al.*, 2004; Pfau-Effinger, 2009; Sepulveda and Syrett, 2007; Williams, 2006). If the goods and services involved are illegal or the work is unpaid, these activities are not delineated as undeclared employment but rather, part of the 'criminal' or 'unpaid' economies respectively. There

are of course blurred edges, such as when gifts or in-kind labour are exchanged in lieu of money (White, 2009). Here, nevertheless, it is only deemed undeclared employment if money changes hands between the employer/purchaser and employee/supplier.

Conventionally, only fully undeclared employment has been analyzed. This is where the employee is not in a declared employment relationship. Recently, however, especially in East-Central Europe, it has been recognized that declared employers sometimes pay a declared employee both a declared salary and an additional undeclared ('envelope') wage (Karpuskiene, 2007; Neef, 2002; Sedlenieks, 2003; Williams, 2007, 2009, 2010; Williams and Padmore, 2013; Woolfson, 2007). In this article therefore, not only wholly undeclared employment but also under-declared employment is considered.

2. EXPLAINING CROSS-NATIONAL VARIATIONS IN UNDECLARED EMPLOYMENT

It is now widely recognized that across the globe, undeclared employment is extensive and even growing relative to declared employment (Buehn and Schneider, 2012; ILO, 2011; Jütting and Laiglesia, 2009; Mehrotra and Biggeri, 2007; OECD 2012; Schneider, 2008, 2011). However, it is also recognized that undeclared employment is unevenly distributed across different global regions (ILO, 2011) and cross-nationally (Buehn and Schneider, 2012; Feld and Schneider, 2010; ILO, 2002; Schneider, 2011). Reviewing how this has been explained, three rival theories can be identified. Each is here briefly reviewed in turn.

2.1. Modernisation Perspective

Over the course of the 20th century, a common belief was that as economies developed, undeclared employment, which was viewed as a leftover from a pre-modern mode of production, would recede and declared employment would become ever more hegemonic as countries modernized. Undeclared employment was thus depicted as concentrated in less modern economies and a signal of their 'backwardness' and 'under-development' (Geertz, 1963; Lewis, 1959). It became increasingly apparent however, that not all 'under-developed' economies were indeed making this transition towards a modern developed economy, as evidenced by the widespread persistence and even growth of undeclared employment which in many economies was found to be growing relative to declared employment (Buehn and Schneider, 2012; Dibben and Williams, 2012; Feld and Schneider,

2010; ILO, 2002, 2011; Jütting and Laiglesia, 2009; OECD, 2002; Rodgers and Williams, 2009; Schneider *et al.*, 2010). The outcome was that it began to be realized that if the cross-national variations in undeclared employment were going to be understood, then new explanations would be required.

2.2. Neo-liberal Perspective

For neo-liberal commentators, undeclared employment is extensive because those engaged are making a rational economic decision to voluntarily exit the declared economy in order to avoid the high taxes, corruption in the state system and the burdensome regulations that increase the cost, time and effort associated with declared employment (e.g., Becker, 2004; De Soto, 1989, 2001; London and Hart, 2004; Nwabuzor, 2005; Sauvy, 1984; Small Business Council, 2004). Undeclared employment from this neo-liberal perspective, in consequence, is seen as more prevalent in nations with higher taxes and public sector corruption and greater state interference in work and welfare provision. The consequent solution is to reduce taxes, corruption and state intervention.

2.3. Political Economy Perspective

For many political economy commentators, in contrast to neo-liberals, undeclared employment is not the result of too much but too little state intervention in work and welfare. From this perspective, undeclared employment is conceptualized as a tool used in the new downsizing, sub-contracting and outsourcing arrangements emerging under de-regulated global capitalism since this form of work provides businesses with a production channel to attain flexible production, profit and cost reduction (Amin *et al.*, 2002; Castells and Portes, 1989; Davis, 2006; Gallin, 2001; Hudson, 2005; Sassen, 1996; Slavnic, 2010). The outcome is that the full-employment and comprehensive formal welfare state that characterized the Fordist and socialist era is disappearing (Amin *et al.*, 2002; Fernandez-Kelly, 2006; Hudson, 2005). In its place, a new post-Fordist and post-socialist regime of deregulation, liberalisation and privatisation is emerging (Castells and Portes, 1989; Meagher, 2010; Sassen, 1996). Undeclared employment is thus conducted out of necessity as a last resort in the absence of other means of livelihood (Ahmad, 2008; Castells and Portes, 1989; Sassen, 1996) and is more prevalent in economies in which there is less state intervention in work and welfare provision in the form of active labour market policies, social protection and social transfers. The remedy to reduce undeclared employment is therefore to pursue greater intervention in work and welfare arrangements (Davis, 2006; Gallin, 2001; Slavnic, 2010).

Until now, few if any studies have evaluated the validity of these competing explanations. To do so, attention now turns to an analysis of the cross-national variations in undeclared employment across the EU-27 and whether this is correlated with the various societal characteristics used by each theorisation.

3. METHODOLOGY: EXAMINING UNDECLARED EMPLOYMENT IN THE EU-27

Here, the only extensive cross-national survey currently available is used, namely Special Eurobarometer No. 284 (*Undeclared Work in the European Union*), conducted as part of wave 67.3 of the 2007 Eurobarometer survey (European Commission, 2007a). Similar to other Eurobarometer surveys, this used a multi-stage random (probability) sampling method in every member state. To examine the prevalence of, and reasons for, undeclared employment, participants were firstly interviewed for their opinions and attitudes regarding undeclared employment and having established a rapport, questions were then asked about their acquisition of goods and/or services on an undeclared basis over the year prior to the survey. Following this, those participants in formal employment were questioned about whether they had received envelope wage payments from their employer, and if they were happy with this or would have preferred to have had their full gross salary declared. And finally, their participation in wholly undeclared employment was investigated, including their reasons for participating in this work in terms whether it was due to exit and/or exclusion rationales.

To analyze the validity of the various explanations, official data sources have been employed wherever feasible to examine statistical indicators of the various societal characteristics each perspective asserts are the key drivers underpinning engagement in undeclared employment, such as the level of GDP *per capita*, taxation levels, levels of social protection and state redistribution (European Commission, 2011, Eurostat, 2007, 2010, 2013a, b, c). The only indicators derived from unofficial data sources are the level of public sector corruption, derived from Transparency International's (2013) corruption perceptions index for 2007 and evidence on the quality of state bureaucracy derived from the International Country Risk Guide (ICRG, 2013).

To explore the relationship between the cross-national variations in the prevalence of, and reasons for, undeclared employment and the range of societal characteristics these perspectives delineate as drivers, and given the small sample size of 27 member states and lack of necessary controls to include in a multivariate regression analysis, it is only possible here to conduct bivariate regression analyses of the relationship between undeclared employment and these different societal

characteristics that each perspective denotes as influential. As will be shown, nevertheless, this produces some meaningful findings concerning the validity of the contrasting theories.

4. FINDINGS: CROSS-NATIONAL VARIATIONS IN UNDECLARED EMPLOYMENT IN THE EU-27

To evaluate the prevalence of undeclared employment in the EU-27, firstly, the 26,659 participants surveyed were asked whether they had undertaken wholly undeclared employment in the prior year and secondly, the sub-set of 11,587 participants who were in declared employment were asked whether they had received an additional undeclared envelope wage from their employer in the year prior to the survey. To estimate the level of wholly undeclared employment, those one-off jobs undertaken for close social relations (e.g., kin, friends, neighbours and acquaintances) for reasons related to redistributing money or helping somebody in need have been excluded since these are 'paid favours' and more akin to unpaid community exchange than an employment relationship. However, all other forms of wholly undeclared employment are included ranging from permanent full-time undeclared waged employment and self-employment, through to all part-time, temporary or short-term work regardless of its duration, just as is the case when analyzing the level of participation in declared employment.

The finding is that across the EU-27, 90.8% of jobs are declared, meaning that 9.2% of all jobs held by participants in the year prior to the survey was undeclared employment (see table 1). Extrapolating from this, 20.6 million of the 224 million jobs in the EU-27 would be undeclared. Undeclared employment, however, is not evenly distributed across the EU-27. The proportion of jobs that are declared ranges from 99% in Luxembourg, 97% in the UK, 96.9% in Germany and 96.5% in Finland to 81.3% in Poland, 76.2% in Bulgaria, 70.4% in Latvia and 64.3% in Romania. At first sight therefore, there appears to be an East/West regional divide in the EU-27 with East-Central European countries having higher levels of undeclared employment than Western European nations.

To analyze this, table 1 groups member states into four EU regions: Western, East-Central and Southern Europe and the Nordic nations. This reveals not only an East-to-West but also South-to-North divide in the EU-27. In Western Europe, 4.6% of employment is undeclared compared with 20.1% in East-Central Europe, whilst in Nordic nations, 8.4% of employment is undeclared compared with 10.3% in Southern Europe. Employment relations on the Eastern/Southern side are therefore less declared than on the Western/Nordic side, although the East-to-West divide is more marked than the South-to-North divide.

Table 1. Prevalence of, and reasons for, undeclared employment in EU-27

Country	% of jobs that are declared	% of undeclared employment driven by:		
		exit	exclusion	both exit and exclusion
EU-27	90.8	51	46	3
Nordic nations	91.6	77	21	2
Finland	96.5	78	22	0
Sweden	92.1	67	33	0
Denmark	87.7	93	7	0
Western Europe	95.4	71	27	2
Luxembourg	99.0	—	—	—
UK	97.0	100	0	0
Germany	96.9	78	22	0
France	95.4	56	44	0
Ireland	93.3	67	33	0
Austria	91.4	65	35	0
Netherlands	90.3	89	8	3
Belgium	88.6	73	23	4
East-Central Europe	79.9	39	56	5
Czech Rep	93.0	58	38	4
Slovenia	91.8	75	25	0
Slovak Rep	87.0	56	44	0
Estonia	82.8	67	33	0
Hungary	82.7	50	36	14
Lithuania	81.8	53	40	7
Poland	81.3	27	66	7
Bulgaria	76.2	59	41	0
Latvia	70.4	70	30	0
Romania	64.3	23	74	3
Southern Europe	89.7	40	56	4
Malta	99.0	—	—	—
Cyprus	94.1	50	50	0
Portugal	91.3	33	67	0
Spain	90.2	49	46	5
Greece	90.2	53	47	0
Italy	88.6	26	70	4

Source: 2007 Eurobarometer survey on undeclared work data-set.

Turning to the reasons for working undeclared in the EU-27, and in line with the neo-liberal and structuralist perspectives, the proportion driven by exit and exclusion rationales can be examined. On the one hand, those receiving under-declared salaries (i.e., envelope wages) were asked ‘Were you happy with getting part of your salary without having it declared to the tax or social security authorities or would you have preferred to have your total gross salary declared?’. Those happy with receiving under-declared salaries are delineated as participating in this form of undeclared employment out of choice (i.e., for ‘exit’ rationales), whilst those preferring it to be declared are delineated as doing so due to their lack of choice (i.e., for exclusion rationales).

On the other hand, to examine whether wholly undeclared employment was undertaken for exit or exclusion rationales, the responses to three survey questions are here analyzed:

- did you do this activity because you could not find a regular job?;
- did you do this activity because the bureaucracy/red tape to carry out a regular job is too complicated?; and
- did you do this activity because taxes and/or social security contributions are too high?

Those agreeing with (1), but not (2) and (3), are delineated as driven into undeclared employment for exclusion rationales, reflecting the political economy thesis that undeclared workers are necessity-driven due to their exclusion from the formal labour market. Meanwhile, those agreeing with (2) and/or (3), but not (1), are delineated as participating in undeclared employment for exit rationales, thus reflecting the neo-liberal thesis that undeclared workers exit the formal economy due to high taxes and the burdensome regulations. Those agreeing with (1) and either or both of (2) and (3) are delineated as participating for a mixture of both exit and exclusion rationales.

Examining the findings, 51% of those engaged in undeclared employment are driven by ‘exit’ rationales, 46% by ‘exclusion’ rationales and 3% by a combination of the two reasons. However, there are marked cross-national variations in the propensity to cite exclusion and exit rationales. Exit rationales are cited by 100% of those in undeclared jobs in the UK, 93% in Denmark and 89% in the Netherlands, but by just 23% in Romania, 26% in Italy and 27% in Poland. Again therefore, there appears to be an East-to-West and North-to-South divide in the rationales for participation in undeclared employment with the neo-liberal thesis being more applicable in some nations but the political economy thesis in others.

To analyze this, table 1 reports the European regional level results. This reveals that in Western Europe and Nordic nations, 71% and 77% of undeclared jobs are undertaken for exit rationales respectively, but just 39% in East-Central Europe and 40% in Southern Europe. Similarly, in Western Europe and Nordic nations, just 27% and 21% of undeclared jobs respectively are conducted for exclusion rationales but 56% in both East-Central Europe and Southern Europe. There is thus again a clear East-to-West and North-to-South divide. Participants in East-Central Europe and Southern Europe are largely driven by exclusion rationales, and thus the political economy is more applicable, whilst those in Western Europe and Nordic nations are largely driven by exit rationales and thus the neo-liberal thesis is more relevant in these European regions.

Taking the variations in the prevalence of, and reasons for, undeclared employment together therefore, a West-to-East and North-to-South divide is delineated. There is a lower prevalence of undeclared employment that is largely of the exit variety in Western European and Nordic nations, and a greater prevalence

of undeclared employment mostly driven by exclusion rationales in East-Central and Southern European nations. How, in consequence, might these cross-national variations be explained?

5. DISCUSSION: EVALUATING THE COMPETING EXPLANATIONS

5.1. Evaluating the Modernisation Perspective

Examining the modernisation thesis that the prevalence of undeclared employment is smaller in modern developed economies and greater in less developed economies, the relationship between the cross-national variations in the prevalence of undeclared employment and GDP *per capita* (European Commission, 2011, table 3) can be analyzed. Employing Spearman's rank correlation coefficient due to the non-parametric nature of the data, table 2 reveals a strong significant relationship between the prevalence of undeclared employment and the levels of GDP *per capita*. The prevalence of undeclared employment is lower in countries with higher levels of GDP *per capita*. A significant relationship also exists between countries with higher levels of GDP *per capita* and the proportion of undeclared workers who do so for exit rationales. The prevalence of undeclared employment and proportion conducted for exclusion rationales decreases as countries become wealthier measured in terms of GDP *per capita*.

Table 2. Relationship between cross-national variations in the prevalence of, and reasons for undeclared employment and societal characteristics: bivariate analyzes using Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (r_s)

Societal characteristic	Prevalence of undeclared employment	Reasons for undeclared employment (% conducted for exit rationales)
Modernisation thesis:		
– GDP <i>per capita</i>	–.633**	.510*
– Purchasing power standards (PPS)	–.666**	.510*
– Quality of state bureaucracy	–.663**	.521**
Neo-liberal thesis:		
– Implicit tax rate on labour income	.042	.062
– Public sector corruption	–.635**	.614**
Political economy thesis:		
– State expenditure on labour market measures	–.329	.178
– Social protection expenditure	–.510**	.368
– State redistribution via social transfers	–.405**	.452*
– Income distribution inequality	.418*	–.419*

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level. ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

Source author's elaboration.

GDP *per capita* however, does not take into account the differences in costs of living between countries. Using purchasing power standards (PPS) to evaluate this relationship with undeclared employment (Eurostat, 2013a), a strong correlation is identified. The higher the PPS in a country, the lower is the prevalence of undeclared employment and the more likely it is to be conducted for exit rationales.

Turning to the quality of the state bureaucracy, the International Country Risk Guide (ICRG) uses a 0–4 scale to assess the quality of bureaucracy in a nation with 4 indicating that the quality of state bureaucracy is high and 0 that it is low (ICRG, 2013). Member states with high quality state bureaucracy have the strength and expertise to govern without drastic changes in policy or interruptions in government services, a bureaucracy that is autonomous from political pressure and an established mechanism for recruitment and training. Member states with low quality state bureaucracy are those where a change in government is traumatic in terms of policy formulation and day-to-day administrative functions. Examining the relationship between cross-national variations in the quality of the state bureaucracy and cross-national variations in the prevalence of, and reasons for, undeclared employment, a significant relationship is identified. The higher the quality of state bureaucracy, the less prevalent is undeclared employment and the more likely is such work to be conducted for voluntary exit rationales. Consequently, the modernisation thesis is valid that more developed countries with higher levels of GDP *per capita*, PPS and better quality state bureaucracies are economies where undeclared employment is less prevalent and more likely to be conducted for voluntary exit rationales. Future research might analyze whether these relationships hold when a wider range of countries and global regions are analyzed.

5.2. Evaluating Neo-liberal Theory

From a neo-liberal perspective, high tax rates drive people into undeclared employment. To analyze this, cross-national variations in the average effective tax burden on employed labour in the form of the level of implicit tax rates (ITR) on labour can be analyzed. This aggregates all direct and indirect taxes paid as well as all employees' and employers' social contributions levied on employed labour income, and this is then divided by the total compensation paid to employees (Eurostat, 2010). No statistically significant correlation is identified between the cross-national variations in the ITR on labour and the cross-national variations in the prevalence of undeclared employment or the reasons for engaging in undeclared employment (see table 2).

To examine the neo-liberal hypothesis that public sector corruption leads to undeclared employment being more prevalent due to a greater desire to exit the formal economy, Transparency International's 2007 Corruption Perceptions Index

(CPI) explores perceptions of public sector corruption and is a composite index drawing on 14 expert opinion surveys (Transparency International, 2013). This index scores countries on a scale from zero to 10, with zero indicating high levels and 10 low levels of perceived public sector corruption. A strong correlation is found between cross-national variations in the level of public sector corruption and cross-national variations in the prevalence of, and reasons for, undeclared employment. The higher is the perceived level of public sector corruption, the greater is the prevalence of undeclared employment. This therefore supports the neo-liberal assertion that undeclared employment is an exit strategy pursued by workers confronted by bribes and corruption when seeking to enter or remain in the declared economy. However, exit rationales decrease in importance as corruption levels increase, suggesting that undeclared employment is not an outcome of voluntary exit as neo-liberals suggest but is more a tactic pursued by employers which they then impose on their undeclared workers.

5.3. Evaluating the Political Economy Perspective

To evaluate the relationship between cross-national variations in the level of state intervention in work and welfare and cross-national variations in the prevalence of, and reasons for, undeclared employment, the first issue examined is whether and how state intervention in the labour market aimed at correcting disequilibria is correlated with undeclared employment. To achieve this, cross-national variations in the proportion of GDP spent by governments on interventions in the labour market are analyzed. This covers both actual disbursements and foregone revenue (reductions in taxes or social contributions normally payable), targeted at groups with difficulties, such as the unemployed, people in jobs but at risk of involuntary job loss, and inactive persons currently not part of the labour force but who would like a job and are disadvantaged in some manner (European Commission, 2011, table 3). In economies which pursue higher levels of expenditure as a proportion of GDP on labour market interventions, the prevalence of undeclared employment is smaller and more likely to be conducted for exit rationales. However, these relationships are not statistically significant.

Turning to welfare expenditure, it is similarly the case that the greater the level of expenditure on social protection (excluding old age benefits) as a proportion of GDP (European Commission, 2011, table 3), the less prevalent is undeclared employment and the more likely it is to be conducted for exit rationales, although this is not a significant relationship. Similarly, the more the state is successful in using direct taxes to reduce the proportion of the population at risk of poverty, the less prevalent is undeclared employment in economies. Examining state redistribution via direct taxes, measured by the decrease in percentage points of poverty (defined as the proportion of the population with an income below 60% of

the national median income) after social transfers (European Commission, 2011, table 3), a statistically significant correlation is found. The greater the reduction in poverty due to state redistribution via direct taxes in a nation, the less prevalent is undeclared employment and the less likely it is to be undertaken for exclusion rationales. This further supports the political economy explanation that greater state intervention in work and welfare arrangements reduces the prevalence of undeclared employment.

The outcome is that a relationship between the level of equality in societies and the prevalence of undeclared employment can be identified. Analyzing the inequalities in the distribution of income (Eurostat, 2013c), measured by evaluating the ratio of total income (by which is meant equivalized disposable income) received by the 20% of the population with the highest income (top quintile) to that received by the 20% of the population with the lowest income (lowest quintile), a significant correlation is identified between the inequalities in the distribution of income and the prevalence of undeclared employment. The more equal the societies in terms of the distribution of income, the less prevalent is undeclared employment and the less likely is undeclared employment to be conducted for exclusion rationales.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This article has evaluated three contrasting explanations for the cross-national variations in the prevalence of, and reasons for, undeclared employment in the European Union, namely the modernisation thesis which views undeclared employment as more prevalent in less developed economies, the neo-liberal thesis which portrays undeclared employment as more prevalent in economies where high taxes, corruption and too much state interference leads workers to choose to exit the formal economy, and the political economy perspective that represents undeclared employment as more prevalent in countries with inadequate state intervention to protect workers which drives workers to engage in undeclared employment due to their exclusion from declared work and state welfare provision.

Analyzing the modernisation thesis, the finding is that wealthier modern economies where GDP *per capita*, purchasing power standards and the quality of state bureaucracy are higher, undeclared employment is less prevalent and such work is mostly undertaken out of choice. No evidence, however, is found to support the neo-liberal assertion that higher tax rates led to a greater prevalence of undeclared employment. However, greater levels of public sector corruption are strongly correlated with a greater prevalence of undeclared employment, albeit not due to the voluntary exit of workers as suggested by neo-liberals but more due to employers

exiting the declared economy and then imposing undeclared employment relationships on their employees. Turning to the neo-liberal thesis that greater state intervention in work and welfare provision results in the greater prevalence of undeclared employment, little evidence is found to support this assertion. Instead, the opposite is the case. As the political economy perspective suggests, a significant correlation is identified between greater intervention in welfare provision and undeclared employment. Those nations with higher levels of social protection expenditure, state redistribution via social transfers and greater equality in the distribution of income, have lower levels of undeclared employment and such work is more commonly conducted out of choice.

Nations where undeclared employment is less prevalent and conducted mostly out of choice therefore, are wealthier, more developed, less corrupt and more equal economies where tax rates are higher and there are higher levels of social protection and more effective redistribution via social transfers. The clear theoretical implication therefore, is that no one existing theoretical explanation suffices. Instead, previous theorisations need to be synthesized. Here, therefore, a 'neo-modernization' theorisation is proposed which recognizes the validity of the modernisation thesis that GDP *per capita*, purchasing power standards and the quality of state bureaucracy, the neo-liberal argument that state corruption and the political economy explanation that state intervention in work and welfare provision are all strongly correlated with cross-national variations in the prevalence of, and reasons for, undeclared employment. Indeed, this certainly explains the higher levels of undeclared employment undertaken more for exclusion rationales in Southern and East-Central European countries, which are generally less developed and equal societies with higher rates of public sector corruption and lower levels of labour market intervention, social protection and state redistribution via social transfers compared with Western European and Nordic nations.

These findings also have clear implications for protecting workers in the undeclared economy and tackling undeclared employment. The advocacy by neo-liberals of lower taxes and de-regulation is not correlated with lower levels of undeclared employment. Instead, lower levels of undeclared employment are correlated with the quality of state bureaucracy, lower public sector corruption and higher social protection expenditure, greater use of redistribution via social transfers and more equal societies. Unlike previous literature on tackling undeclared employment that has focused upon whether punitive deterrence measures or more enabling measures that smooth the transition from undeclared to declared work need to be used (OECD, 2012; Williams and Windebank, 1995), this article has thus very tentatively shown that broader societal characteristics around work and welfare arrangements are also correlated and can no longer be ignored.

Several caveats however, are required regarding these findings. Firstly, care is required not to incur the risk of an ecological fallacy, namely deducing the nature

of individuals from inferences for the group to which those individuals belong. Secondly, care is required not to infer causation from the correlations identified. Thirdly, this paper has only conducted bivariate regression analysis. In future studies, multivariate regression analysis is required to determine how important each characteristic is to the outcome whilst controlling for the other characteristics. This will then enable an evaluation of whether each relationship holds as well as which are most strongly correlated with undeclared employment. However, this will still not allow causality to be determined.

In sum, this evaluation of the cross-national variations in the prevalence of, and reasons for, undeclared employment in the EU-27 has resulted in a new theorization that synthesizes different elements of the existing theories. Whether this neo-modernisation thesis remains valid both in the current crisis period, when other global regions are incorporated into the analysis as well as when longitudinal data within individual nations are examined, now needs to be evaluated. If this article encourages such research, as well as recognition and further investigation of the potential need for a wider approach towards improving the work conditions of those in undeclared employment and tackling such work, then it will have achieved its intention.

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Mariusz KULESZA*

CONZENIAN TRADITION IN POLISH URBAN HISTORICAL MORPHOLOGY

Abstract. The scientific heritage of M. R. G. Conzen, who is considered one of the most outstanding historical geographers and urban morphologists in the world, has made a huge impact on the contemporary urban historic morphology. Nowadays it would be very hard to imagine this scientific discipline without his achievements. He created a new point of view on the city, first within the Anglo-Saxon, and afterwards within European and world geography. Morphogenetic methods, the conceptualisation of historic development, terminological precision as well as cartographic analysis that were typical of his approach, more and more often were considered essential for the development and the role of research on historic urban landscape. This resulted in the increasing interest in morphological studies on an international scale. In Poland, M. R. G. Conzen's opinions have become recognizable since 1960, finding permanent place in urban historic morphology and providing stimuli for its significant development in the following decades.

Key words: M. R. G. Conzen, urban morphology.

1. INTRODUCTION

The scientific heritage of one of the greatest historical geographers and urban morphologists of the second half of the 20th century known for his novel morphological studies – German-born British scholar M. R. G. Conzen – has undoubtedly had a huge impact on the modern historical urban morphology. Without his contribution it is difficult to imagine the current shape of this discipline worldwide (Conzen, 1960a, b, 1968). It opened up a new perspective on the city, first in the Anglo-Saxon, then European and world geography. J. W. R. Whitehand recognizes it explicitly, noting that, in the last quarter of the 20th century, morphogenetic methods, conceptualisation of historical development, terminological accuracy and cartographic analysis typical of his work have been increasingly recognised as essential for the development and the importance of research into the historic urban landscape. This has resulted in increased interest in morphological research on an international

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scale, such as the creation of International Seminar on Urban Form (ISUF), an international, interdisciplinary group of researchers, centred around their own magazine (*Urban Morphology*) and meeting in regular conferences (Whitehand, 2007). In Poland, the views of Conzen became known in 1960 when he presented his work entitled 'The Plan Analysis of an English City Centre' at the International Geographical Union Symposium in Lund, Sweden. From that moment on, they found a permanent place in Polish historical urban morphology, giving a significant boost to its development in the coming decades. This paper describes development and characteristics of the Conzenian schools and gives examples of recent and current Polish research into this tradition (Whitehand, 2001, p. 103).

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MORPHOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Urban morphology is one of the oldest research directions in historical geography, dating back to the end of the 19th century. It was then when first interesting attempts at systematic recognition of different types of descriptions emerged, concerning mainly the external construction of cities, conducted by researchers associated with the German school of geography (Dziewoński, 1956). But it was the work of F. Ratzel *Anthropogeographie* (1882) and O. Schlütter *Bemerkungen zur Siedlungsgeographie* (1899a) and *Über die Grundrisse der Städte* (1899b) that helped to popularise morphology, not only among German geographers. Ratzel focused, among other things, on the analysis of settlements and their physiognomy. Schlütter (1899a) formulated its subject matter, methodological assumptions and research programme. In the foreground was the physiognomic study of the urban landscape (Schlütter, 1899b), which should cover three groups of research questions: (a) geographical and topographical location of settlements, (b) their spatial organisation, i.e. their layout, and (c) physiognomy of settlements. His analysis of the genesis and functions of settlements was based on these factors (Koter, 1974a). K. Hassert is considered the father of contemporary urban geography. In his study of cities, he devoted much attention to urban morphology. His work of 1907, *Die Städte geographische betrachtet* played a significant role in the development of this field since, as rightly observed by Maik (1992), 'it presented in a concise and systematic way the then state of geographic knowledge concerning cities and a set of research problems – ranging from issues of origin and location of cities, the role of communication in their development, to the problems of spatial structure, physiognomy and urban functions'.

In Poland, the geographical and historical studies of cities have an equally long tradition and were initiated in the late 19th and early 20th century by historians: F. Bujak, J. Bystron and K. Potkański. They focused on the development

of settlement – both urban and rural – in a historical perspective, as well as the issues of spatial structures of settlements which came close to settlement morphology, e.g. the study of Limanowa by Bujak (1902) and the study of Cracow by Bystróż (1915).

However, strictly speaking, the first geographical and urban works based on solid empirical studies appeared in the 1920s under the influence of the then fashionable French landscape school and focused mainly on issues of physiognomy, especially the types of landscapes in Polish cities. Contemporary Polish urban geography was dominated by two research trends. The first one focused on the urban landscape and the broader urban physiognomy. Some studies of this period were statistical and spatial in nature (S. Gorzuchowski, S. Leszczycki), others focused on drawing up physiognomic and functional plans of cities (W. Rewieńska, T. Kubijowicz, O. Kossmann). One important figure of this period was Z. Simche, who created a methodological basis for urban physiognomy. The second trend concerned the relationships with the closer and further environment, which practically manifested itself in works devoted to topographic and geographic location of cities, without going into the rules governing the formation of urban landscape and its development (M. Kielczewska, A. Malicki, W. Rewieńska, J. Dylik). The physiognomic approach, as too conservative, was criticized in 1929 by O. Sosnowski, who stated that the development of the city is the result of the impact of a whole range of factors, including natural, historical, political, economic and social ones, and therefore a comprehensive analysis of the structure of cities requires not only critical observation of the current state but also learning about the development of cities using methodological geographical and historical researches based on cartographic material accumulated over the centuries. The response to modern postulates by Sosnowski appeared only in the late 1930s and was expressed most fully in the work of O. Kossmann entitled ‘Geographic Outline of the City of Łódź’ (*‘Rys geograficzny planu miasta Łodzi’*) in which he presented, among others, a plan for the division of the city into morphogenetic units, even though he did not use that exact term then. On a broader scale, the new approach was reflected in the work of Rewieńska from 1938 and 1939, dedicated to the typology of cities and towns in north-eastern Poland (Koter and Kulesza, 1994).

This promising trend, ultimately morphological in the full sense of the word, was cut short by the outbreak of World War II. After it ended, in the new political and social circumstances in Poland, settlement studies, especially geographical and historical studies, were marginalized. We owe their gradual revival to K. Dziewoński, who not only transferred the research achievements of historical and urban studies to geography but, above all, created the scientific foundation for the development of historical urban geography in Poland. He developed the methodological bases of modern urban morphology in Poland, presenting them in the work entitled ‘Issues of Morphological Typology of Cities in Poland’ (*‘Zagad-*

nienia typologii morfologicznej miast w Polsce'), in which he introduced a classification of terms used in this discipline and presented research postulates for the new generation of urban morphologists (Dziewoński, 1962). The existing classifications and typologies of cities – morphological and functional – were developed independently of each other, although their mutual relationship should be obvious. Moreover, the former was not fully homogeneous. Two trends have been visible for a long time: one strictly morphological, which focused on the historical genesis of forms in classification and typology of cities, the other more formal, physiognomic, stemming exclusively from visible characteristics observable in the field. Dziewoński was explicitly in favour of the first approach (Kulesza, 2001). He revealed his functional approach to morphological research even earlier, in his work entitled 'The Issue of Development of Early Medieval City in Poland' (1957) ('Zagadnienie rozwoju miasta wczesnośredniowiecznego w Polsce') (Dziewoński, 1957). He believed that at the core of the early medieval settlement in Poland was the differentiation of settlements into functional types, related to the growing territorial division of work. From a morphological point of view, Dziewoński's statement that the characteristic feature of all settlements beyond city walls was their lack of division into plots (which applied to a lesser extent to merchant settlements), was extremely important. The absence of this element of spatial organisation was the most striking distinguishing factor of early medieval Polish walled towns, whose spatial arrangement was based on the concept of a separate, private urban plot of land (Koter and Kulesza, 2010).

Dziewoński also made an attempt to define the methodological basis of morphological classification. He stated that the classification has to begin with a ranking of the analyzed systems according to their scale and complexity, since size and complexity usually go hand in hand. He distinguished three basic classes of size and complexity of forms and spatial arrangements of cities: *simple*, *complex* and *compound-complex*. He also called for the identification of the most important components of the systems and determining the dominant elements, which would allow for determining the spatial relationship between these elements. He emphasized that the nature of this relationship cannot be determined without general knowledge of the history of a given city. The next step in classification should be to determine the level of compliance of morphological forms and their geographical environment, before determining the dynamics of the spatial arrangement in the context of its historical development. According to him, it is the stage of determining the succession of forms and spatial arrangements of a given city over time (Koter and Kulesza, 1994).

The methodical foundations proposed by Dziewoński coincided in time with the works from the aforementioned British scholar of German origin, Conzen.

Michael Robert Gunther Conzen was born in 1907 in Germany. In 1926–1933, he studied geography, history and philosophy in Berlin. As an anti-fascists, he emigrated to Great Britain in 1933. He continued his studies at the Victoria Uni-

versity in Manchester between 1934 and 1936. He taught at British universities, and as a visiting professor abroad (Norway, New Zealand and Japan). He spent his longest tenure at the university of Newcastle upon Tyne. He conducted research in the field of urban geography, historical geography, human geography, regional geography and geographical methodology. He died in 2000. His most important theoretical and methodological achievement is the concept of the cycle of morphological transformations of urban land (and the urban block), developed on the example of the historic English cities (Koter and Kulesza, 2008). We owe a strict scientific study of the method of analysis of historical city plan. The most important and basic elements of the plan are – according to him – lots, streets, roads and buildings. By studying the morphological development of the two English cities of Alnwick and Newcastle, he also introduced the cycle of morphological urban development to the study of settlements by analyzing the processes occurring on urban lots and dividing them into four stages: initial (introduction of buildings), filling (gradual thickening of building), saturation (maximum filling) and reduction (reducing the area of a developed lot). By considering lots and streets as basic morphological elements of the city, we can explore various systems of components: a network of streets, urban blocks and building complexes in different periods. He noted that the periods (cycles) of urban development vary as to how they operate morphological elements, in other words, the conditions for the formation of settlement. It is therefore possible to accurately identify the basic settlement and morphological stages and, consequently, to determine morphogenetic (morphological) units. He was also probably the first one to develop a map of morphogenetic units of a city, based on downtown Newcastle (Koter, 1974).

Especially important for the development of morphological trend were Conzen's views concerning the mutual relationship between morphological and functional studies. He believed – as did Dziewoński – that both of these aspects of the settlement studies are equally important, interdependent and interrelated, thus contributing in a basic way to the determination of the character of a city. He therefore proposed the need to look at the city anew and interpret the phenomena spatially, genetically and based on the knowledge of functional structure. This interpretation can be carried out by analyzing the directly observable elements of urban landscape in close connection with the written sources. Conzen considered the former to be the most important. Of the three directly observable elements of urban landscape, i.e. (a) the city plan, (b) the types of development, and (c) the forms of urban land use, he considered the first one to be of key importance for his research. Due to the fact that each historical period leaves some material traces in the city plan, he calls for detailed analysis of individual elements of the plan using an evolutionary approach, from initial to modern form. As a result of this study, we can explain the genesis of various forms as well as the whole layout of the city and, at the same time, distinguish genetically different components of the plan (pre-location nucleus, walled area, medieval suburbs, 19th-century neigh-

bourhoods etc.), which, according to Polish terminology, can be called morphogenetic units (Koter, 1969).

J. W. R. Whitehand called the contemporary urban landscape a reflection of accumulated past generations, while M. Koter called it the result of overlap and mutual blurring of the various settlement layers in a long process of city formation. The key to understanding the landscape at any stage of its development is to understand what kind of evolution the landscape underwent. That is why archaeological, historical and historical/cartographic sources are so important in morphogenetic studies. Simple understanding of the urban landscape, as stated by M. R. G. Conzen, and emphasized by M. Pirveli, is not only theoretical, but most of all educational. Conzen has reduced the morphological transformations of urban forms to three following processes: *filling* – involving of filling the formerly created morphological units or layouts with additional elements. In this stage the horizontal and vertical intensity of development changes and the spatial subdivisions in the city plan emerge, but the primary system remains legible; *completion* – mainly involving the creation of new units, which may result in decreasing of intensity of internal changes in the old units. These changes are therefore of extensive and additive character; and *transformation* – entailing, sometimes radical, reconstruction of existing spatial structures in order to create new, more functionally efficient and aesthetically trendier forms. It usually takes place when the two former processes – quantitative in their nature – reach a threshold value, making the current direction of change impossible or ineffective. The transformation is therefore qualitative (Pirveli, 2011).

3. URBAN MORPHOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN POLAND

Urban morphological research¹ can thus focus mainly on the structural components of a city or village – elements, units, simple or complex systems, both by themselves and in mutual relations. Morphological studies encompass settlement forms on a higher hierarchical level than the city, i.e. groups of cities and city networks at different scales (Koter and Kulesza, 2010; Miszewska, 2010; Kulesza,

¹ The methodological foundations created by Conzen were transferred to Poland by Koter, who also introduced the term urban morphology in Polish literature, relating to the study of external (i.e. the shape and physiognomy) and internal (i.e. planning) aspects of an urban or rural organism, as well as the origin and evolution of different components of this organism, i.e. their genesis (Koter, 1974a). In its strict sense, urban morphology deals with the issues of physiognomy and shapes in settlement networks. In the broader sense, it encompasses: (a) different aspects of morphogenesis (settlement stratigraphy, developmental morphology, evolutionary morphology) and (b) comparative morphology (classification and typology). In the strict sense, morphology is analytical, while in the broader sense, it is a more synthetic science (Koter, 1974a, 1994).

2011; Pirveli, 2011). Individual layers building settlement forms are created and then destroyed by different internal and external forces. This is done as a result of different processes, which may be constructive or destructive in nature. The identification of forces and processes that create, and at the same time transform the forms of natural and cultural landscape is the essence of fully scientific morphogenetic research, which focuses not only on time, but also on the method of creation, development and evolution of given forms (Pirveli, 2011).

The method of analyzing a city plan was first used by a team of researchers from the University of Wrocław under S. Golachowski. They were inspired to undertake this type of research by high genetic homogeneity of Silesian towns, well-preserved historical cartographic resources of city plans, the investigations undertaken in this area in England and the introduction of the concept of 'urban cycle' to determine the phases of urban development, as well as the concurrent formulation of the foundations of research approach in historical urban analysis by Dziewoński (Miszewska, 2005). These studies mainly focused on the origins and spatial development of Silesian cities. Conzen's method found fertile ground here, as Silesian cities had interesting, medieval spatial arrangement and numerous valuable architectural monuments from this period. Additionally, unlike cities in other Polish regions, there were many well-preserved archival plans of those cities from the 18th and 19th centuries, as well as rich iconographic resources from earlier centuries, which allowed for the study of the origin of their layout and their spatial evolution in the pre-industrial period. Golachowski's team focused on such morphological issues as descriptions of cities, including their topographic locations, shapes and planning, as well as land use and division of urban land according to their ownership, which was a novelty. Golachowski (1947, 1952, 1956a, b, c, 1967), alone or with co-authors (Golachowski and Pudelko, 1963), published a series of monographs relating to: Trzebnica, Opole, Bytom, Racibórz, Brzeg and Wrocław. Among other things, they discussed plans of those cities, land use and division of urban areas according to their ownership. Based on preserved registers and fire cadastres, the author recreated the size and number of houses, as well as their type of use and differentiation according to their beer privilege. He also analyzed the size and structure of households (Miszewska, 2005). Later works by Golachowski were generally devoted to morphogenetic issues and were related to the origin of the spatial layout of cities and their selected areas, hypothetical modular assumptions governing the layout of medieval towns in Silesia, detailed metrological analysis etc. Together with H. Szulc, he published a paper on urban greens (Golachowski and Szulc, 1963), which became the basis for more detailed analyzes by Tkocz (1966b) on the origins of the plot layouts in cities in Opole region. Szulc (1957) was also the author of valuable works on the typology and planning of settlements near Wrocław in the early 19th century. This work enabled the interpretation of the modern spatial arrangement of Wrocław.

Urban morphology studies are continued in Wrocław by B. Miszewska. In her analyzes of Opole and Wrocław, she used a grid of squares by J. Pudelko to define the rules of spatial arrangement and the Conzenian method of urban cycle to present the phases in the transformation of the market square block (Miszewska, 1971, 1979). In her subsequent works in the field of urban morphology, Miszewska analyzed urban blocks from different morphological periods, the way they are filled with buildings, as well as the layout of the street network. All these elements led to the division of urban built-up areas into morphogenetic units. The spatial development of the city and the complexity of its spatial structure made it possible to study the succession of forms of land use, as well as the succession of types of development (Miszewska, 1979, 1994a, b, 1996). In her study of the spatial structure of cities with particular emphasis on morphological studies in Silesia, Miszewska distinguishes several phases. The first post-war period of research was dominated by works with strong links to history. This was facilitated by the abundance of cartographic resources and historical documents, as well as the strive for better knowledge of the lands annexed to Poland. These works dealt primarily with functional and social diversity within walled cities. The theoretical works by Dziewoński in Poland and Conzen in England provoked, in various centres, morphometric studies, whose aim was to recreate the original layout of cities, as well as the principles that ruled their establishment and the influence of surviving forms of city greens on their current structure. These analyzes resulted in the determination of morphological periods in the development of Silesian cities and the creation of a catalogue of typical morphological units in each period. This general outline of research was supplemented with more detailed analyzes of individual neighbourhoods in the city, the streets and even the urban blocks (Miszewska, 2005).

Although most Polish cities have pre-charter roots, there is no doubt that the core part of their spatial arrangements was formed between the 13th and 15th centuries as a result of the so-called charter according to German law, i.e. according to model patterns that reached Poland from the West through the German states. The Central European model of charter city differed significantly from the English model, so the Polish urban morphologists could not fully benefit from the methodological model by Conzen. One of the most intriguing aspects for Polish geographers and urban planners back then was the determination of measurement bases for Medieval chartered towns – model measurements for urban development lots (within the town walls), the shape and size of the town square etc. Polish researchers mainly focused on reading initial modules of individual elements of Medieval cities from old plans – modules of width and length of charter lots, urban blocks, streets, squares etc. Pudelko was the most successful researcher in the field. Not only did he recreate most of the modules, but also created, based on Silesian cities, a pattern of the most pervasive city plans, as well as shapes and sizes of town squares.

It is worth noting, as emphasized by M. Koter and M. Kulesza, that although the idea of a planned, regular Medieval chartered town was born in Western countries, paradoxically the cleanest model plans of such towns are most numerous in Poland and neighbouring countries. This is due to the fact that there were already a lot of cities with established arrangements in the West, so the new models could only be used to a limited extent. In Poland the network of old cities was less dense and could be supplemented with new cities, established *in cruda radice*, closely following the model concept of Gothic cities, distorted only by topographic circumstances. The new models could also be used in formerly existing early Medieval cities, as those cities underwent massive destruction during the Tartar raids in the first half of 13th century. Moreover, their wooden buildings did not limit new regulatory endeavours. Despite that, the pre-charter elements in those plans remained mostly legible, distorting to a lesser or bigger extent the secondary Gothic model (Koter and Kulesza, 2010).

Accordingly, the basic problem in spatial studies of urban arrangements is the determination of the rules for their measurement (the units of length and surface area). A review of Polish and foreign literature on the subject was presented by such authors as Dunin-Wąsowicz (1992a, b), who indicated the relationship between the various systems of measurement, as well as between the units of measure and dimensions of squares and lots and showing further research directions in this regard (Krasnowolski, 2004, p. 25). Detailed studies of urban modular systems in Poland were started by Golachowski (1956c), who attempted to present the plan of Medieval Wrocław. At the same time Zagrodzki (1956) analyzed the plan of the Old Town in Warsaw. Soon Kozaczewski (1972a, b, 1973, 1975, 1980) undertook an analysis of the principles establishing a chartered city on the example of Old Towns in Warsaw and Toruń, as well as presented the programme, size and spatial arrangement of a small Medieval Silesian town, emphasized the role of hereditary plot in the structure of a chartered town, which distinguished it from pre-charter arrangements. Great contributions to metrological research were made by Pudelko, who used detailed metrological measurements and his own modular square network of a city plan to study the shapes, size and proportions of squares and plots, as well as urban blocks in Silesian cities. He later tackled the issues of size and proportions of the whole city area, creating modular outlines of many Medieval cities in Silesia (Pudelko, 1959a, b, 1960, 1963a, b, 1964a, b, c, 1965, 1967, 1970, 1971).

Based on empirical research, Pudelko recreated the initial dimensions of urban lots and used them to determine the most widely used measuring modules. Next, he used the scale of those modules to create a network of squares imposed on the Medieval part of the city to reconstruct the chartered, model dimensions of urban blocks and whole cities, sometimes blurred by later distortions. In a similar way, he reconstructed the size and proportions of market squares in Silesian towns and

presented their typologies. This is a very important contribution to the theory of research methodology of Medieval chartered towns.

One of the basic metrological methods allowing the reconstruction of the original concept of planned urban arrangement is the measurement analysis of a city plan. This method allows the researcher to determine if the current city plan includes the chartered city's elements or not. Using this method, one can go more deeply into the plan to try and find the measuring module used when establishing the town. The first task of the measurement analysis of a city plan is to find measurement units of length and surface area used when establishing a given settlement. Determining the measurement pattern is of great importance to the correct analysis of a plan, while allowing the study of such details as the surface area occupied by the city, the dimensions of its town square, a building lot, residential blocks, the width and length of streets, interrelations between individual elements of the systems, their proportions etc. The next stage in the metrological analysis is the search for the modular structure of urban lots, squares and other components of the arrangement. One auxiliary operation when seeking modular divisions is the development of the so called grid of squares of the arrangement under consideration, with dimensions cohesive with the assumed module of surface (Pudelko, 1959a, 1962, 1963b, 1964c; Kubiak, 1983). Such grid allows for investigating the hypothetical surface area of a Medieval city. The metrological method was used not only in the case of cities, but also for villages established in Middle Ages (Golachowski and Szulc, 1963; Szulc, 1957, 1963). Using original units of measurement (used when Medieval cities were established) in the studies allowed the researchers to clarify many elements of the contemporary plan.

The retroverse method is also used in studies on spatial urban development. In more specific terms, this method involves dividing gathered information into two groups. The first combines information derived mainly from the analysis of city-forming factors dependent on the laws governing the economic and social sphere, as well as its influence on the development of a given settlement. The second one collects direct information (i.e. research concerning the settlement), which are gathered in separate sets of messages such as: historical data, archaeological, architectural, cartographic and iconographic, metrological and field studies (Książek, 1988). Research conducted using retrogressive method, integrating the results of other, related disciplines allows for relatively full recreation of former spatial arrangement of the studied cities.

As indicated above, one innovative element of Polish morphological research was the study of urban leas – an agricultural unit of spatial structure of a city that is usually omitted in British works. In contrast to western cities, Polish Medieval cities were mostly agricultural, so they had the so called urban leas, such as fields, meadows, gardens, pastures and forests. The arrangement of fields in these leas was immensely complex as, due to the three-field system of farming used back

then, each burgher owned their land in at least three main field complexes (used cyclically for winter crops, spring crops and for fallowing), as well as in other, less agriculturally developed areas. The leas were usually built-up in the last two centuries. Paradoxically, the old, Medieval farming arrangements were petrified in the grids of streets and plots of even the biggest cities in Poland. Their reconstruction, the recreation of measurement modules, etc. was also undertaken mainly by geographers from Wrocław. A work by Golachowski and Szulc (1963) concerning urban leas as a subject for historical and geographical research served as an introduction to this issue. This research was later further developed by Tkocz (1966a), both as detailed studies concerning the origins of plot arrangements in the leas of a chosen city and in broader regional studies concerning the leas around cities in Opole region.

In Poland, morphological studies were conducted by Koter. He was the first one in Polish morphology to introduce not only the Conzenian approaches but, above all, the new theoretical and methodological terms (such as *urbomorfologia* – urban morphology). The main object of his analyzes was Łódź. A series of morphological works was started in 1969 with a study entitled ‘The Origin of the Spatial Arrangement in Industrial Łódź’, in which he used archival sources to make a detailed reconstruction of the area of the so-called Łódź estate at the decline of the feudal era. By subsequent imposing of the regulatory plans from 1823–1840 on this image, he was able to clarify the origin of planning in industrial Łódź. By investigating further stages of urban development in Łódź, he drew an original map of the contemporary morphogenetic structure of this area (Koter, 1969). Later works by Koter (1974b, 1976, 1979, 1984) form a series of studies devoted to the origins of individual morphological units and the transformations in spatial development of Łódź from the Middle Ages up to the present: a reconstruction of the environment of Łódź at the turn of the 18th century with references to Medieval times, the development of settlement in pre-industrial times, the genesis of spatial organisation in agricultural Łódź, the development of urban arrangement of industrial Łódź, and spatial development and buildings in Łódź before 1918.

The second series of geographical and historical works by Koter includes more detailed morphogenetic works based on more detailed research methods. Despite the seemingly different subject matter, they share a common goal – to show how and to what extent the old forms survived in the existing urban structure. He also proposes the application of the concept of index historic monuments, claiming that, like index fossils in historical geology, they can be used to divide history into periods in the case of settlement studies. At the core of the study is a detailed map of the morphogenetic structure of the city, showing the results of aggregation, overlapping and mutual permeation or displacement of listed settlement units (Koter, 1979). Urban historical geography benefited greatly from Koter’s formulation of theoretical and methodological assumptions

of urban morphology as a stand-alone sub-discipline within urban geography, as well as from his own definition of the sub-discipline. Koter (1974a) also introduces the division of research in urban morphology into strict morphology and morphogenesis. Strict morphology means physiognomy and morphometrics, while morphogenesis is a study of the structure of a city at various stages in its history (Miszewska, 2005).

It is worth emphasizing that Koter's studies also showed that one of the most well-known research methods of Conzen, the urban cycle method, can be applied to an industrial city formed in the 19th century. It was used in Poland to illustrate the process of evolution of plots in a 19th-century industrial city of Łódź. In his paper entitled 'The Morphological Evolution of a Nineteenth-century City Centre: Łódź, Poland, 1825–1973' (Koter, 1990) he showed that the Conzenian method of development cycle of urban plots, formerly used only in the case of Medieval cities, is universal and can be used in studies of any type of city.

In Łódź, morphological research is conducted by Kulesza (1994b, 1999a, b), interested mainly in the origin of spatial arrangement of early Medieval cities and their influence on the planning of Medieval chartered cities. In his works, he tackles such issues as the spatial arrangement of merchant settlements in Central Poland (Kulesza, 1999c) and their traces in some city plans (Kulesza, 1994b), as well as historic urban arrangements. Most notable, however, are two of his studies: one devoted to the morphogenesis of cities in Central Poland in the pre-partition period, i.e. until the end of 18th century (Kulesza, 2001), the other to the morphogenesis and planning of Medieval cities in Poland (Kulesza, 2011).

In the first one, he proved that only one city out of a hundred established in this area was created in *cruda radice*, i.e. from scratch, according to a model, regular arrangement of a Gothic city. All other originated either from early Medieval fortified settlement complexes or from former merchant settlements, or were created in the place of old villages, whose relics survived in the arrangements of chartered cities. It is an extremely important statement from the point of view of Polish historical geography. The idea of a chartered city, which reached Poland through Germany, gave some German researchers, especially in Nazi times, reason to claim, that the establishment of Polish cities was a result of German settlement. This was true, especially when first chartered cities were established in Silesia, but was never a widespread rule. Kulesza's study proved this beyond doubt. Besides, as Golachowski and Pudełko showed, most cities in Silesia have pre-charter origins. Similar conclusions can be seen, among others, in works edited by Kaczmarczyk and Wędzki (1967), which studies the planning of all bigger urban centres created in the Middle Ages and located on lower Oder and lower Warta rivers, in Rogalanka's works (1977) concerning Poznań, Sowina's work (1991, 1995) analyzing the Medieval urban plot in the context of written sources and the development of the chartered town of Sieradz in the 15th and 16th cen-

turies, as well in Bettlejewska's work (2004) studying the measurements of towns established in the 14th century by the Teutonic Knights.

In his second paper, Kulesza tries to answer the questions of the formation and origin of the first Polish cities (or proto-cities) in the early Middle Ages, how their oldest spatial arrangements developed and how they later transformed into chartered cities. He also considers which plans of chartered cities became popular in later Medieval times in different regions of Poland, and how they were adapted to different geographic circumstances where the city was established, as well as how, if at all, they referred back to the existing older settlement forms. The study confirmed that the origin of spatial arrangements of urban centres established in Poland in the Middle Ages was not homogeneous. Some of them developed on the basis of earlier, pre-charter structures (from a multifunctional fortified settlement complex or a stand-alone merchant or craftsmen settlement), while other were urban in origin. Relatively few were established *in cruda radice*. Much attention has been given to showing a more frequent phenomenon of adapting the older pre-charter forms by the new charter arrangements, proving that their origin was in fact domestic, and only parts of the charter planning were brand new. An important part of the work involves a study of Medieval metrology used in the charter period, which is an issue rarely tackled in Polish literature on the subject. It discusses the measures used in Middle Ages in various regions of Poland and at different times, quoting numerous examples of urban metrics and verifying earlier calculations from different researchers. The paper also presents the dynamics and diffusion patterns of the models of various types of charter law, from Silesia, which took inspiration from German countries and the Czech Republic, to Wielkopolska, parts of Pomerania, Małopolska and further eastward to the Teutonic lands, from where the Chełm type of the law spread to Gdańsk Pomerania, Kujawy and parts of Masovia. It also mentions the Brandenburg variety, which was most prevalent in Western Pomerania, and the Lubeck variety used mostly in ports.

The other Polish researcher who studied various types of Medieval urban plans in Poland was Książek (1996). The development of towns in Małopolska chartered in the 14th century was presented by Berdecka (1974, 1976, 1982, 1983), who confronted information included in archival sources with a critical analysis of historical and contemporary city plans, combining them with the results of archaeological studies and on-site analyses. The rules for measures, sizes and arrangement of plots in Cracow was studied by Jamroz (1967), Grabski (1968) and Krasnowolski (2004), who put special emphasis on the reconstructions of planning based on modular analysis (juxtaposed with written, archaeological, architectural and planning sources) with hypothetical identification of measurement units for the mid-town and rural areas, as well as the typology of urban arrangements. A similar work is the one by R. Eysymontt (2009), entitled 'The Genetic Code of the City. The Medieval Chartered Cities of Lower Silesia as Compared to Eu-

ropean Urban Planning', where Medieval cities, perceived as works of art, were characterized by analyzing their plans and development. As a background for this comparison of Silesian towns, the author chose planned towns in south-western Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Dalmatia, France, Hesse, Altmark, Lower March, Western Pomerania, Czech Republic and Austria, constituting the counterparts for 78 chosen examples of chartered cities in Lower Silesia. Considering the basic functional and spatial models of Silesian urban centres, he presents several models. Another important work presenting the changes in the topographical structure of a certain group of Medieval cities established as a result of a multi-stage development started before the wave of intense urbanisation of Central Europe in 12th–13th centuries is a study by Piekalski (1999), who analyzes settlement complexes described as early cities, traces their transformation into typical Medieval cities and characterizes their structure. A study by Łosiński (2004) and Malczewski (2006) is similar in nature, though it concerns just one urban centre – Szczecin. Based on cadastral maps from the 19th century, as well as written and archaeological sources, it presents the origins of Prykarpattian towns, reconstructions of their spatial arrangements, changes in the shapes of market squares and street layouts, locations of buildings and their fortifications. Kalinowski (1971, 1986) has published an article about cross-shaped urban arrangements, as well as a brief outline of the history of urban planning in Poland. Z. Morawski's article concerning the urban arrangements of chartered towns in Poland and the relationships between a town and a castle is similar in subject matter, but less controversial.

Cities, especially large ones, absorb the neighbouring rural settlements during their spatial development. These settlements sometimes undergo significant alterations, yet their former rural spatial arrangements remain petrified in the city plan. The genesis and initial forms of planning of these settlements were most widely discussed by Szulc (1957, 1963), Koter (1994), Miszewska (1996) and Kulesza (2001). Koter (1979) first introduced the concept of the settlement stratigraphy and presented, using the example of Łódź, a stratigraphic table and a detailed map of the morphogenetic structure of the city, distinguishing approx. 200 morphogenetic units of both urban and rural origin. This method is now widely used in Polish morphological research, mainly by the aforementioned Kulesza (2001). Miszewska (1971, 1979, 1996, 1997) first studied the structure and morphological transformations of peripheral settlements in the zone around Wrocław.

As already mentioned, most Polish cities have pre-charter origins. Thus, after a period of fascination with studying the plans of chartered cities, researchers naturally turned towards the genesis and spatial forms of those primitive settlements retained in the plans of Medieval cities. Such studies were performed by Zagrodzki (1962, 1991, 1992), Kalinowski (1971), Kozaczewski (1972a, 1973), Rogalanka (1977), Kulesza (1994a, b, 1999a, b, c, 2001). One challenge is the lack of sufficient knowledge, especially plans. Therefore, these studies make it

hard to fully utilise the Conzenian method of analyzing city plans in historical perspective, giving an opportunity to extensively identify the basic settlement and morphological stages and, consequently, to define morpho-genetic units. That is why these studies have to be supplemented by the results of archaeological and historical studies allowing the reconstruction of a hypothetical pre-charter or genetic arrangement of a given settlement unit (Kulesza, 2001).

It was pointed out that just a few Polish cities have a longer sequence of archival plans. In most cases, the first plans were made as late as the end of the 18th century, mostly in the 19th century, usually only when a city underwent a regulation, e.g. after a fire or wartime destruction. For these reasons, in their study of the genesis and early urban layout, Polish researchers are forced to reconstruct city plans.

This method, also called the retrospective method, was most extensively developed by Koter. By analogy to the covert geological map, he introduced the concept of covert city map, which he equates with the contemporary city plan. Then, as in a geological procedure, he 'removes' the latest settlement layer, i.e. elements proven by other sources (cartography, iconography and written documents) to have been created in the latest period (e.g. in the 20th or 19th century). At the same time, we complement the image we discover with elements we know existed but got covered up by later regulations. This way, after removing this urban 'Cenozoic', we reveal an overt urban map, e.g. for the 18th century. In a similar manner, by removing subsequent settlement layers, we can approximately reconstruct the urban 'Archean', i.e. the plan dating back to the charter, or even pre-charter times. Similarly to index fossils which play a significant role in dating the layers in historical geology, index monuments are important in urban morphology.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Unfortunately, such well-developing disciplines as historical geography of urban and rural settlement, as well as historical morphology in the strict sense, have stagnated in recent years. The studies in settlement history and urban morphology for different regions of Poland have been incomplete and their scientific value is varied (cf. Kulesza, 2011). This translates to, *nolens volens*, a certain asymmetry of the subject matter, which is surely influenced by the uneven distribution of research interests in different regions of Poland. The same applies to the synthetic works concerning cities in individual regions. Various studies emphasize that some of them have not been discussed in more comprehensive studies on the subject, especially those tackling individual aspects of the development of Medieval cities, including such important ones as the analysis of their morphogen-

esis, spatial arrangements or development in various historical periods. This was, and probably still is, influenced (though to a lesser extent now) by the hardships stemming from the multidimensional character of research. The deficiencies in the source material, both written and cartographic, make many detailed analyzes hypothetical in nature. Hence the importance of retrogressive studies of spatial arrangements based on cartographic sources, confronted with the results of historical, archaeological and architectural-urban studies, that can facilitate finding the answers to the question concerning the oldest spatial form of Polish Medieval city and the conditions of its development, even though the problems of interest to us are often a very complex challenge, due to their interdisciplinary character.

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REVIEW ARTICLES

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SPECIFIC ISSUES OF URBAN SPRAWL IN BULGARIA

1. INTRODUCTION

The issues of urban growth and urban sprawl are both topical and interconnected. Besides, a major aspect of their connection is related to the issues of sustainability. While the growth of the cities is generally considered to be an important positive factor for efficient social and economic development with many implications for urban and environmental sustainability, sprawl is believed to be one of the main threats to sustainable development at the regional and local level.

The growth of the capital cities of the post-socialist countries has added new strokes to this 'growth-versus-sprawl' dilemma as nearly all of these cities had experienced considerable increase in the number of their population during the last couple of decades. Sofia was no exception to this rule – between 2001 and 2011 – in just ten years its population increased by 10.3% (NSI, 2012b). Eventually, it is not strange that many authors were interested in this development and studied the processes of urban growth in the former socialist countries. Most such studies have, generally, observed processes of urban sprawl around many large post-socialist cities and, in particular, around the capital cities of the Central-European countries and those in the Baltic region (Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, the

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Czech Republic etc.) (Kok and Kovács, 1999; Timar and Varadi, 2001; Tammaru *et al.*, 2004; Sýkora and Novák, 2007 etc.). More or less similar urban processes had been identified in South-eastern Europe, too (Nedovic-Budic and Tsenkova, 2006; Hirt, 2007a). Still, in this part of the continent the issue seems to be less investigated.

The goal of the paper is to examine whether the cities in South-eastern Europe and in Bulgaria, in particular, are facing problems of sprawl of the types already faced in Western and Central Europe. Indeed, local traditions in urban forms do cast some doubts whether Bulgarian cities would follow the sprawling Western model. Urban densities in Bulgaria are typical European, but the urban forms are very compact with clear and distinct city boundaries – similar to the Mediterranean cities (Leontidou, 1990). Distinct city boundaries were a main specific feature of the socialist city, too (Bertaud, 2004; Hirt, 2007a). Nevertheless, Mediterranean cities in Greece, Italy and Spain have already experienced serious problems of sprawl, just like many former socialist cities in Central and Eastern Europe. Yet little research has been carried out on the identification of specific local reasons and features of sprawl in the countries in South-eastern Europe (Hirt, 2007a; Nedovic-Budic *et al.*, 2012; Slaev, 2012b; Slaev *et al.*, 2012). And local specifics are, no doubt, essential for the development of adequate urban policies to combat the negative effects of sprawl and to provide for sustainability.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND APPROACH

The first goal of this paper is to investigate whether the transition from centralized socialist to democratic market society in Bulgaria has resulted in emergence of processes of urban sprawl. For this purpose the paper will study the structure and the development of the housing stock in the different types of districts in Sofia and will examine the current trends of demographic changes and intra-city migration.

Second, if processes of urban sprawl exist, the research should identify to what extent they follow the Western model and, also, in what specific areas and forms and to what extent they deviate from it. For this purpose the paper will examine the causes and the drivers of changes in suburban areas – i.e. the related housing preferences and other motives of the population of Sofia with respect to the historical background of their formation. Next, the impact of housing preferences on suburban forms will be investigated and the specific features of urban development of the city's outskirts and the surrounding rural territories.

3. URBAN EXPANSION OF SOFIA DURING THE LAST DECADES

This part of the study will examine the urban development of Sofia in order to answer the questions whether the processes on the urban fringe should be identified as a form of sprawl. Since Sofia grew dramatically in the course of the 20th century this growth was inevitably associated with spectacular urban expansion. In 1879 when it was proclaimed a capital its population was only about 20,000, but a century later in 1985 the number of its residents was 60 times larger (NSI, 2012b).

The difference between urban growth and sprawl is usually presented by two alternative graphs of urban expansion depicting the density of occupation in a function of the distance from the city centre. While compact urban growth should retain approximately the same gradient of the density of occupation both in the city's central and peripheral areas, sprawling expansion is relating to an obvious decrease in the gradient. Thus, a suitable model of sprawling urban forms is a cone of sand that with time spills onto the surrounding terrain, as cited by Couch *et al.* (2007). Respectively, the changes of residential and housing densities in central city areas and on the urban fringe may be used as a relevant indicator to assess the type of urban growth in Sofia. So the first factor to be investigated will cover the shares of housing construction that had been attracted by different areas of the city in the course of the 20th century and during the last decades. Then the demographic processes in the central and suburban districts of Bulgarian capital will be examined.

In this analysis the districts of Sofia are classified in four main groups. This grouping in general follows the classification adopted by Hirt (2007a), though with some differences. The first comprised the three administrative districts that occupy the central areas. Nine districts form a kind of ring around the centre – referred to as intermediate districts or historical, meaning that most of their territories were urbanized in the first half of the 20th century. Next five districts occupy the peripheral territories of the city. They were urbanized in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Respectively, their housing stock comprises mainly prefab blocks of flats that formed the typical socialist housing estates. The last group of districts occupies the suburban/ rural areas of the municipality of Sofia. It should be studied in three sub-groups because they vary substantially with regard to their trends of development.

The structure of the housing stock in Sofia is shown in table 1 and is depicted by the diagram in figure 1. Obviously, the largest part of the housing stock of the city as a whole had been built in the 1970s and 1980s and is located in the intermediate and the peripheral districts of the compact urban area. It is also evident that the share of the housing stock in the central districts is decreasing after the 1950s. After World War II and particularly from the 1960s most housing units

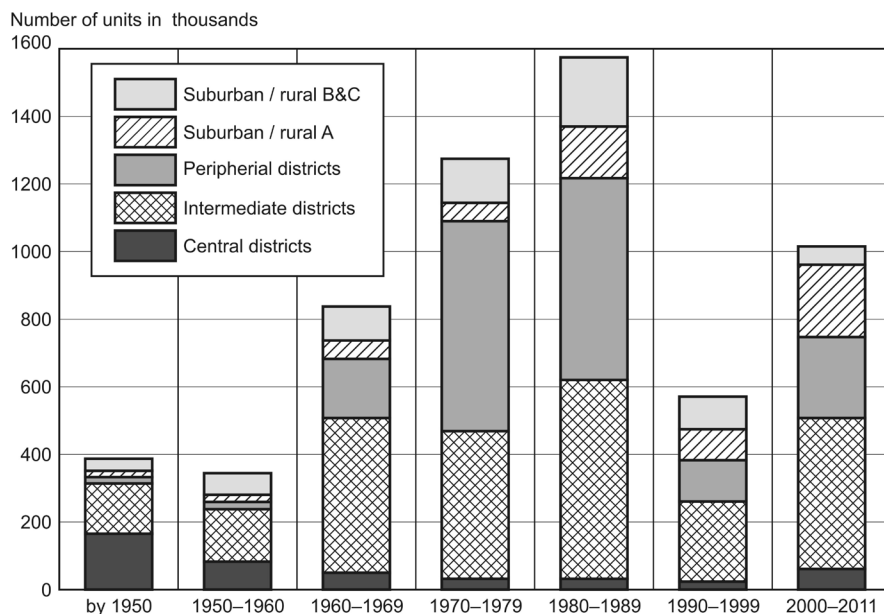


Fig. 1. Housing units in the districts of Sofia by periods of construction

Source: authors' elaboration based on data from NSI (2012a)

were constructed within the intermediate and the peripheral districts – i.e. within the compact city, but outside the central areas. In the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s the intermediate and peripheral districts accounted for 74% to 83% of the housing construction, while since the start of the transition period they accounted for about two thirds (table 1).

Table 1. Percentage of the housing built in different types of districts during each decade after 1970

Types of districts	1970–1979		1980–1989		1990–1999		2000–2011	
Central districts	3,828	3.0%	6,067	3.8%	2,370	4.1%	6,699	6.5%
Intermediate districts	43,972	34.2%	56,748	35.8%	24,323	42.0%	45,302	44.1%
Peripheral districts	62,423	48.5%	59,939	37.8%	12,107	20.9%	23,591	23.0%
Suburban/ rural A	5,547	4.3%	15,746	9.9%	9,622	16.6%	21,564	21.0%
Suburban/ rural B&C	12,841	10.0%	20,080	12.7%	9,494	16.4%	5,467	5.3%
TOTAL	128,611	100.0%	158,580	100.0%	57,916	100.0%	102,623	100.0%

Source: NSI (2012a).

However, examining the rates of construction in the suburban areas of Sofia is most important for this research particularly in comparison with the central districts – see the diagram in figure 2 that illustrates the rates of construction of housing units only in the central and the suburban districts. Again, it indicates the fall of the rates of construction in the central areas during the second half of the 20th century, but parallel to that the rates in the suburban districts had been rising. The total share of the housing construction realized in all suburban/rural areas throughout the 20th century had varied, but it has always been about one fifth (between 14% and 23%). In the 1990s this share increased to 33%, but the next (the last) decade was marked by substantial differences between the districts in the outskirts of Vitosha to the south of Sofia and the districts in the plain to the north of the capital. Figure 2 illustrates two quite different trends in the rates of housing construction in the southern and the northern suburban districts. Until the 1970s the southern suburban territories (referred to in this study as Suburban A) had attracted only about 5% of housing construction in Sofia municipality, while the territories in the plain to the north (i.e. Suburban B) of the city ‘traditionally’ attracted 10% to 13% (16.4% in the 1990s). Since the start of the 1990s the rates of construction in all suburban areas slowed down similarly to the rates in all Sofia’s districts. However, during the first decade of the new century, the rates in

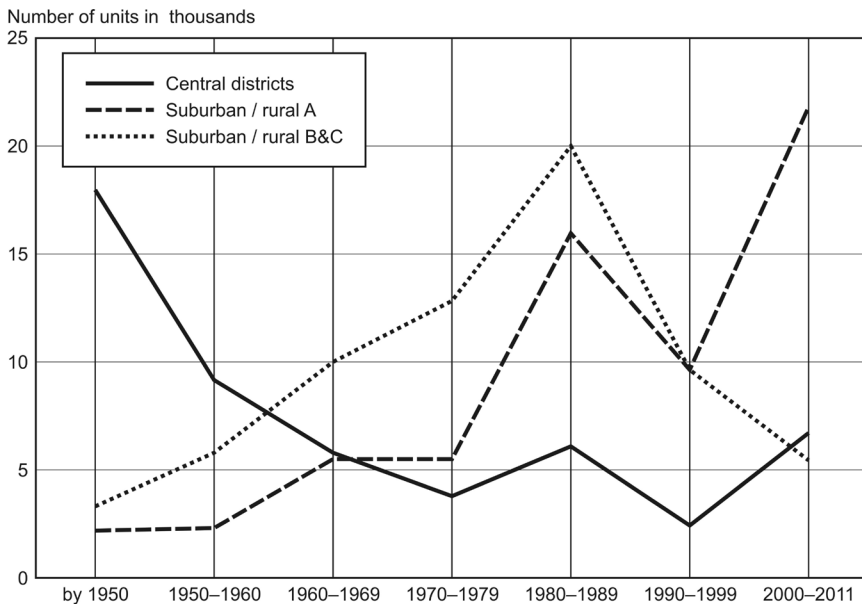


Fig. 2. Housing units in the central and the suburban districts of Sofia by periods of construction

Source: authors' elaboration based on data from NSI (2012a)

the northern suburban districts continued to fall to only 5.3%, while those in the districts to the south of the city accelerated drastically to 21% of the total. Apparently the southern areas were subject to intensive processes of sprawl, while the northern were not.

Demographic data provide stronger evidence of processes of suburbanisation in Sofia. Table 2 displays the size of the population in the different types of districts by periods and respective changes.

Table 2. Percentage change in population levels in the different types of districts of Sofia in the period 1985–2011

Types of districts	1985	1992	Change 1985–1992	2001	Change 1985–2001	2011	Change 1985–2011
Central districts	147,828	116,524	–21.2%	94,651	–36.0%	100,786	–31.8%
Intermediate	502,311	454,425	–9.5%	468,174	–6.8%	512,772	2.1%
Peripheral	362,615	399,651	10.2%	386,989	6.7%	420,826	16.1%
Suburban A	67,352	83,724	24.3%	99,630	47.9%	128,020	90.1%
Suburban B	23,585	23,056	–2.2%	24,342	3.2%	28,586	21.2%
Suburban C	98,028	112,755	15.0%	97,056	–1.0%	100,601	2.6%

Source: NSI (2012b).

The decrease in the population of the central districts by 32% and the simultaneous growth of the population of the suburban districts A by 90% is a direct proof of the decreasing gradient of population densities and obvious trends to suburbanization. At the same time, population of suburban districts C has virtually not changed. Therefore, the conclusion is that the population flows from the city centre are directed to the south to suburban districts A and not to the northern districts of Sofia Municipality.

4. STUDY OF THE HOUSING PREFERENCES OF THE POPULATION OF SOFIA AS THE KEY FACTOR OF URBAN SPRAWL

4.1. Residents' Preferences and Motivations in Various Patterns of Suburbanisation

The nature of suburbanisation is determined by its drivers – the reasons, the preferences and the motives of those who settle in suburban areas. Different reasons and motives generate different types of suburbanisation. The type that

is usually classified first – i.e. the ‘classical’ form (or, in fact, what is generally meant by sprawl) is typical mainly of the developed countries. It is associated with suburbs with high standard of housing and high level of environment, open spaces, greenery, and landscaping. As a rule, residents from the middle and higher social classes settle in such suburbs (Fielding, 1989; Fishman, 1987; Jackson, 1985). The new inhabitants of this type of suburbs come mainly from the urban core or from other urban areas. In contrast to this pattern, a different type of suburbanisation is typical of the developing countries where the prevalent urban processes are caused by rural-to-urban migration. Migrants are mostly poorer rural residents seeking better sources of livelihood (Korcelli, 1990). A third type of peri-urban growth, according to its driving forces and socio-economic reasons, is the stepwise migration to major urban centres (Hirt, 2007a). A fourth type is generated in result of mass relocations of residents due to political reasons, wars or ethnic tensions. It might be considered a form of suburbanization similar to rural-to-urban migration, because residents’ motives in such situations are similar.

While the patterns of urban expansion mentioned above are mostly typical of market societies, such processes were observed in socialist countries, too, though the reasons causing them were rather different. In these states the urbanisation of major peri-urban areas of almost all large cities was caused by large-scale industrialisation associated with rural-to-urban migration (Nikiforov, 2008). Whereas industrialisation was a powerful factor for urban sprawl in capitalist states as well, in socialist states it was a major goal of the socialist policies.

Eventually, it should be noted that the first two types of suburbanisation are most widely spread (Hirt, 2007a). Therefore, the following part of the study has to analyze the processes of urbanisation of territories on the urban fringe and around Sofia with respect to whether sprawl of the typical Western style is observed or whether these processes are caused by rural-to-urban migration. In the first case newcomers to peri-urban areas normally are people of higher-social status, with higher income and, probably – with higher education. Their main motivation is obtaining a higher standard of living in an environment that is closer to nature and in lower densities. Suburbanites typical of the second type of suburbanisation are usually people of other, mainly rural areas of the region or other smaller towns and settlements of the country. Probably, most of them would be of lower social status and in this case the main reason for displacement is expected to be seeking of better job and higher pay. Another important point of research is the analysis of historical experience gained and traditions developed in different stages of development of Bulgarian society as far as this is a crucial factor for the formation of residents’ preferences and motivations and, hence, the patterns of urban sprawl.

4.2. Traditions in Sofia Residents' Preferences Regarding Peri-urban Development

The hypothesis of this part of the study is that historical factors in the course of the 20th century have shaped Sofia residents' preferences more in favour of compact urban forms. Though the ideal of owning a single-family house in a quiet location is and has always been appealing to Bulgarians in all historical periods, it should be stressed that this ideal seemed to have greater value in Western societies than in Bulgarian.

Probably one of the first occasions on which differences between Bulgarian and Western attitudes became obvious was the preparation of the first significant Master Plan of Sofia, after six other general plans (Kovachev, 2005). In the process of planning the approach of the leading planner, the German architect Adolf Muesmann, proved to be quite different from the views of the Bulgarian representatives involved with the process of planning – the Mayor's office, the Chief Architect and other municipal officials, the professional guild etc. The position of Bulgarian professionals and the community was highly predetermined by the experienced extreme growth of the capital over the last five decades. From 1880 to 1934 the city grew more than 15 times in population (NSI, 2009) and in size of its urban area (Hirt, 2007b; Hirt and Kovachev, 2006). According to Lampe (1984), at that time Sofia was the fastest growing Balkan capital. A key factor was the accelerated industrial development – the city became the industrial centre of the country with 50% of the entire industrial workforce. It is clear, therefore, that the urban growth in this period was fuelled by rural-to-urban migration. Along with that, thousands of refugees from the Balkan wars settled in Sofia's outskirts. For all these reasons the new suburbs were poor and shabby. Lampe (1984) noted that during this period the city became more and more crowded and polluted (by industrial plants). It is then no wonder that the middle-class and the wealthy citizens of the capital did not aspire to live in single family homes in the periphery and the local government had a critical view on urban growth. Respectively, when the plan was commissioned one of its important tasks was to limit the expansion of the city (Nikiforov, 1982, 2008; Kovachev, 2003a) since it was perceived as already too expanded and the government could not afford to provide infrastructure in newly urbanized areas. On the contrary – Muesmann's views concerning Sofia's peri-urban areas were quite different. His professional perceptions were typical Western and he favoured the single-family home as the best form of dwelling. Even more – the German architect believed that single-family housing reflected the traditional national values – an idea that was in line with the official ideology of Germany at the time. Therefore, Muesmann envisaged city expansion by urbanizing new hinterland in the form of extensive territories with individual homes. However, since such a view, was not popular with the public and city authority. Muesmann

had to revise his plan in important aspects (Hirt, 2007b), but still the planned expansion was probably the main cause for its failure.

Residents' preferences were further shaped in favour of inner urban areas and the associated higher density housing forms during the socialist period. Despite that the two plans adopted during this period envisaged compact development and limited territorial enlargement, Sofia experienced a second, highly accelerated expansion of its urbanized area. Socialist industrialisation was the main factor for the city's rapid growth till the end of the 1980s. For thirty-nine years (from 1946 to 1985) its population has increased by 670,000 residents to reach 1,200,000 people (Nikiforov, 2008). It is clear that such an expansion could not happen within the original boundaries of the city and the main resources used were rural hinterlands. However, in the course of this development a second major factor had its impact – the wide-spread of the prefab construction technology (Kovachev, 2003b). The 'Socialist suburbs' – prefab housing estates, emerged. They, of course, were radically different from those in Western countries. In capitalist states some similarities could be sought with French and Italian peripheral housing estates. The difference is in the much lower quality of East-European residential buildings and landscaping. What is important with respect to housing traditions is the manner such a development affected the residents' preferences. The end result was that despite the desire to settle in the big city or the capital, the residents considered the prefab buildings the lowest class housing. The entire mechanism proved to be a strong incentive for the majority of the residents of large cities and the capital to strengthen their idea for the central city areas as the most attractive to live in.

4.3. Analysis of Residents' Preferences and Motivations Determining the Trends in the Development of City Areas and Intra-urban Migration

In this section the current preferences and motivations of Sofia residents will be examined based on conclusions already drawn with respect to historically formed traditions and preferences and the conclusions made in section 3 regarding the existing trends in demographic development. Also, research in the same area conducted by other authors will be used and compared to the results of research carried out for this study.

The main objective of the analysis of residents' preferences and motivations is to establish the driving forces of the trends of intra-urban migration to the fringe. This can also be formulated in terms of determining the nature of urbanisation processes in the fringe according to the types explained in section 4.1 – Western type, rural-to-urban, or a third, specific type. In accordance with the objectives and scope of this analysis, special attention is to be paid to the research works of Hirt (2006, 2007a, b), which also addressed the southern outskirts of Sofia – Suburban districts Hirt (2007a, p. 757) identified three key characteristics to be

explored for the purpose: '(1) demographic (i.e., who moves to the urban fringe), (2) functional (i.e., how are the centre and the fringe economically linked and where do peri-urban residents work?); and perhaps most notably, (3) locational and motivational (i.e. where did the peri-urban residents come from and why did they move?)'. As a result of collected data and performed analysis of 54 in-depth interviews and a survey with 150 completed questionnaires, Hirt came to the following conclusions. First, demographic characteristics supported the finding that suburbanization was mainly of Western type: 40% of newcomers that participated in the survey had incomes that were around four times Bulgaria's average for 2006. Second, regarding economical links between the centre and the fringe, the survey found that nearly one third of the long-time residents worked either in the same peri-urban area or in a nearby peri-urban area, while for the newcomers this share was less than one tenth. Third, regarding motivations for settlement in the suburbs or continued living in the same area, Hirt found that 68% of the newcomers had moved from internal Sofia regions. Only 8% of the newcomers had moved from elsewhere in the country, which was a strong argument against any hypothesis that suburbanisation might be due to rural-to-urban migration. Motivations for settlement in this area were also characteristic for suburbanisation of type 1. In conclusion, the findings suggested that 'the dominant processes along Sofia's scenic southern edge was Western type urban sprawl' (Hirt, 2007a, p. 775).

In several other studies in a similar socio-economic situation – i.e. in conditions of transition from socialism to a market society – the prevalent characteristics found most frequently by the researchers were very much the same (Sýkora, 1999; Kok and Kovács, 1999). Therefore, the most common findings of the authors are that these trends in post-communist states are similar to those in developed capitalists states, but are realised with some delay due to the specifics of their socio-economic development – primarily, delay due to the socialist period. At the same time, in post-socialist states there are also a number of specific characteristics due to specific geographical and historical factors and, in this case too, mainly to the socialist legacy: the existing housing stock, economic processes, specific demographic trends and migration between urban, rural and mountain regions (Nedovic-Budic, 2001; Blinnikov *et al.*, 2006, Slaev, 2012a).

5. CURRENT SUBURBANISATION TRENDS IN SOFIA IN RESULT OF RESIDENTS' PREFERENCES AND MOTIVATIONS

As noted earlier, research performed for the present study (analysis of the latest data from NSI, new information supplied by Sofia Municipality, the Registry Agency, the Provincial Directorate of Agriculture and an inquiry made among ten

leading real estate agencies) generally confirms the findings of Hirt. At the same time, some of Hirt's findings are further developed, and also some are interpreted in a different way mainly with regard to the significance of local specifics. In fact, Hirt also reported the presence of important specifics of the processes in the Bulgarian capital, such as: considerable deviations from the Western pattern in terms of social 'homogeneity' of suburban areas; specific preferences regarding the prevailing type of housing units and density of development, and the presence of certain characteristics typical of the pattern based on the rural-to-urban migration. However, the present research attaches greater significance to the specifics relating to densities and social integration. By the time when Hirt undertook her research Sofia had experienced only about five or six years of growth after the crisis of the transition (it was not until 2000 that Bulgaria's GDP reached its 1989 level). The urban trends in the capital are now much more obvious and realistic also because the property boom of 2005–2008 had been 'tempered' by five years of stagnation.

First of all, NSI data, statistics for the last decade and, especially the 2011 census results definitely support the findings for the presence of suburbanisation processes. As it was established in section 3 – for twenty-six years the population of Sofia central areas has decreased by 47,000 people or 32%, while the population of the attractive peri-urban areas (Suburban Districts A) has increased by 61,000 people or 90%. However, the statistics for the recent years (NSI 2009, 2012b) and the complementary surveys – the inquiry among real estate agencies and the new data from Sofia Municipality, give grounds to conclude that, as evident and explicit suburbanization may be, it is many times weaker than the similar trends in/around other former socialist capitals – Prague or Riga, for example (Stanilov and Sykora, 2012; Krisjane and Berzins, 2012). In Bulgaria the preferences of most customers (including many affluent buyers) are still towards central areas and the so-called 'wide centre' rather than the city peri-urban areas. The rates of new housing development in the intermediate districts are still accelerating (42% of the total for Sofia in the period 1990–1999 and 44% in 2000–2011) and higher than the rates in the suburban districts particularly if the northern districts are also taken into account (33% of the total for Sofia in the period 1990–1999 and 26.3% in 2000–2011) (see table 1). Especially in the northern districts the rate of suburbanisation should even be assessed as low – since the number of population in these areas is still at the level of 1985 (see table 2).

In order to clarify the residents' preferences and motivations and their impact on urban processes, the findings from the statistics of the recent years and the inquiry among the real estate agencies will be presented in the same order as those from Hirt's works (2007a):

First, with respect to demographic characteristics of newcomers, data from the inquiry among the real estate agencies attach less importance to the high social status. Just under half (45.5%) of the realtors classify high income as a major characteristic of newcomers. About one third (36.4%) of the respondents believe that the typical buyers of peri-urban properties are intellectuals, and slightly more than one sixth (18.2%) put the locals in the group of buyers. An unexpected result is that nearly four-fifths of the realtors put on the second and third place the low-income buyers – results similar to those of a study of the preferences and motivations in suburbanisation processes around Riga (Krisjane and Berzins, 2012). Most likely, the cause for this difference with the study of Hirt is because she analyzed only the settlers in the southern districts, while in the present study the realtors refer to all peri-urban areas, including northern ones, where property prices are twice lower.

The new research has shed more light on a specific feature mentioned by Hirt and, eventually, puts a bigger stress on it – the higher densities and the variety of housing types of Sofia's sprawl. Data from Sofia Municipality show that new multi-family buildings in Vitosha District in the recent years comprise 28.5% of the total number of new residential developments, and according to NSI data, the average number of dwelling units in a multi-family building in the same area during the same period is 13.3. Consequently, dwelling units in multi-family apartment buildings comprise 83.8% of the total number of new units. The larger share of multi-family housing provides for higher residential densities and higher rates of cohabitation between households of different social status.

Finally, regarding functional characteristics: here again data provided by Sofia Municipality demonstrate deviations from the Western pattern. It is about the presence of higher integration of service and industrial activities in Sofia suburbs. Data by the municipality for the surveyed peri-urban areas testify that on average 13.7% of the new building permits are for service functions (for commercial, service and storage activities), and 4.4% – for production facilities. Though with some disparities in the figures, data provided by the Regional Directorate of Agriculture confirms that the trends towards mixing land-uses in these territories are substantial. In suburban districts A and B 19.5% of the former rural lands converted to urban use were allocated for manufacture. Another 21.9% are allocated to commercial and service businesses – offices, retailing and all kinds of services, so that housing occupies the rest 58.6% of the territories. In suburban districts C 51.2% of the former rural lands converted to urban use were allocated to manufacture, 36.1% – to commercial and service businesses and only 12.7% – to housing. It is obvious that the level of the mix of different land-uses is much higher than the level typical for the 'classical' Western type suburbanisation, which is another important local 'contribution' of the Bulgarian model.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The first conclusion is, no doubt, that processes of urban sprawl have emerged in Bulgaria during the last couple of decades and already have changed the suburban patterns in the outskirts of Sofia. This is a simple, but critically important conclusion, because so far Bulgarian planners have underestimated this threat and, even, have failed to identify it. The main reasons for this omission were due to lack of experience with similar problems and, mainly, to specific traditions relating to comparatively high, though typical European densities and compact urban forms. Yet, due to its unplanned nature and scattered forms, sprawl always generates unsustainable urban processes.

All facts and findings of previous studies and the present one confirm the second main conclusion that, undoubtedly, Sofia suburbanisation pattern is of Western type, so it is characterized by a number of associated problems and issues like overconsumption of land, inefficient use of infrastructure and other resources. At the same time, Bulgarian sprawl in many aspects is shaped by local traditions established in the course of centuries and (especially, the 20th century) by the specific historical development – both socio-economic and urban. Sofia's new suburbs are more compact than typical Western suburbs and they are characterized by higher densities and higher levels of social mix and mix of uses.

Eventually, the third main conclusion is that suburbanisation around Sofia and around other big cities in the country is speeding up and, thus, Bulgarian sprawl turns closer to the Western patterns. This means that policy measures are already needed to avoid associated problems, especially in view of the insufficient land resources of Bulgaria. Apparently, all these issues should be subject to thorough and in depth studies as next steps of research in this area in order to elaborate efficient instruments of relevant policies.

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LANDSCAPE-RELATED ASPECTS OF THE SITING OF WIND FARMS IN POLAND: A CASE STUDY OF THE GREAT MASURIAN LAKE DISTRICT

1. INTRODUCTION

There has been a vivid discourse in Poland over the recent years around landscape-specific consequences of developing the wind power industry. Controversies surround the construction of wind turbines in valuable landscapes, for instance in the Great Masurian Lakes. The wind energy development projects already completed in neighbouring regions as well as developers' declared intentions to invest in some municipalities lying in the above lake district (*Elektrownia wiatrowa...*, 2012) make the problem look real.

The objective of this paper is to determine consequences borne by the landscape due to the construction of wind power facilities in areas endowed with unique scenic values and therefore possessing high tourism assets. Once the problem is diagnosed, the evolving recommendations should be incorporated into the process of spatial planning and management of the region's valuable landscape resources, found in the aggregated area of individual municipalities. The presentation of model guidelines underlying an assessment of the impact and effects of a wind energy venture on landscape values in areas zoned for the development of wind farms is an essential part of this article.

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The above region is characterized by the glacial land relief with a multitude of lakes. Much of the region has been submitted to different forms of nature (landscape) conservation (figure 2).

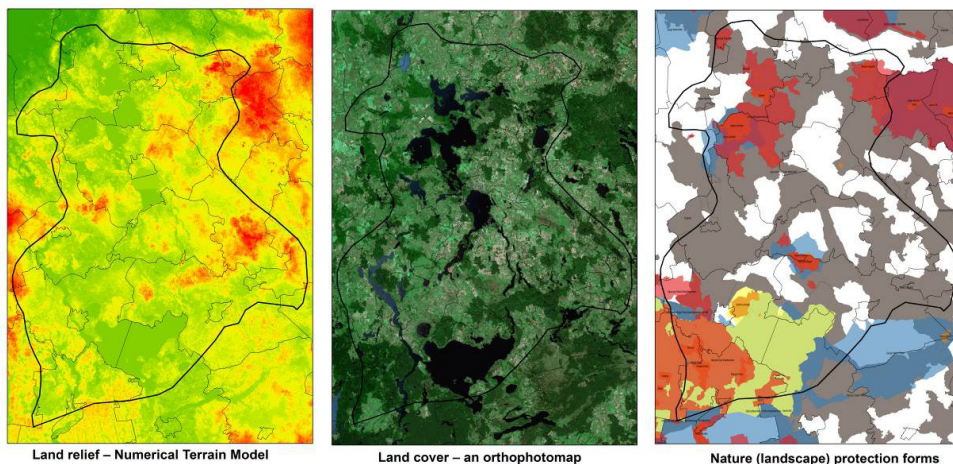


Fig. 2. Land relief – NMT (DTM, DEM), land cover (orthophotomap) and forms of nature (landscape) protection in the Great Masurian Lake District

Source: the co-author: M. Antolak, based on <http://www.nasa.gov/> and <http://www.geoportal.gov.pl> (1.03.2013)

3. METHODS

This paper discusses the growth of the wind power industry in Poland. Additionally, it specifies the scale of the said development in the Province of Warmia and Masuria, as manifested by the number of administrative decisions such as building permits issued for construction of wind turbines and farms in the last eight years, including their power capacity. The policy adopted by individual municipalities with respect to potential wind energy projects and its implementation into planning documents are also discussed. In the later sections of the article, the authors analyzed how the landscape's scenic values can be affected by wind farms located along the shores of the lakes which constitute the main navigation route in the whole district. The extent to which they could interfere with the high-quality landscape was determined. The juxtaposition of the tendency for developing wind farms in the analyzed region and the scale of potential negative consequences to the local landscape highlights the gravity of the problem and the need to anticipate its effects. Finally, the authors recommend basic guidelines for performing analyzes of the impact and effects of building wind farms on the landscape values.

4. THE WIND POWER INDUSTRY IN POLAND

According to the data supplied by the Energy Power Regulation Office, there are 488 wind power facilities in Poland, with the total capacity of 1,480 MW (data of September 23, 2011). In 2009, the wind power industry gained a leading position in Poland with respect to power generation capacity. The increase in the energy power produced by Polish wind farms equalled 382 MW in 2011 (7th position in Europe), that is 52.3% (*Raport*, 2011). A report published by the Polish Wind Power Association (*Raport*, 2011) predicts that the power capacity installed by the year 2020 will reach 13 GW generated by wind farms and 600 MW produced by small wind power facilities. Such a substantial growth of the wind power industry in Poland is encouraged by the EU Directive 2009/28/EC of April 23, 2009 on promotion of energy from renewable resources. It will be impossible to comply with the provisions of the European Union's energy and climate package without an evident growth of the wind energy industry. On the other hand, development of wind power installations provokes numerous social and ecological conflicts. Possible locations of wind energy generation facilities in Poland are limited by the scattered rural land development and dense network of nature protected areas (Stryjecki and Mielniczuk, 2011). In Poland, the wind power industry is characterized by the implementation of highly varied models of turbines, which tend to be demonstrably higher so as to ensure superior profitability. Notable is also the community opposition, frequently encouraged by numerous non-government organisations of ecologists. The distribution of wind power installations in Poland is uneven. Most of such constructions can be found in the north, on or close to the shores of the Baltic Sea. Although each province in Poland has adopted a different policy governing the consenting procedures for wind energy installations, the provisions in planning documentation all across Poland are limited to laconic statements, which leave much freedom to developers. It is only strictly forbidden to construct wind power installations in national parks and nature reserves. Planning documents, however, foresee a possible prohibition to build wind turbines in landscape parks, protected landscape areas and in the Natura 2000 sites. Other contraindications include airfields, most valuable landscape macro-interiors, scenic roads with a defined exposure direction, water landscape platforms and selected, visually attractive components of the material culture (*Plan*, 2009; Kubicz *et al.*, 2003).

5. WIND POWER INDUSTRY – ITS SCALE IN THE PROVINCE OF WARMIA AND MASURIA

The investment activity by the wind power sector in the Province of Warmia and Masuria results from the intensive development of the alternative energy industry observed countrywide. Out of the 378 wind farms built in Poland as of 2010, eleven lie in the Province of Warmia and Masuria, and their aggregated energy capacity contributes approximately 4.5% to the Polish total wind power capacity. It is important to notice how fast wind energy installations have been developed over the recent years. Year after year, the sector has grown by tens of percent and the growth continues (*Raport*, 2010a). The claim that developers are interested in wind power and that this sector in Warmia and Masuria keeps growing is confirmed by the number of building permits issued by the authorities of particular districts in the whole province in the last few years (table 1).

Table 1. Growth of the wind power industry in districts of the Province of Warmia and Masuria

District	Year	No of decisions	The planning basis of issued decisions	No of wind farm	No of wind turbines	Total power capacity
Bartoszycki	2008	1	decision on location of a public purpose investment	0	1	80 kW
	2010	2	decision on location of a public purpose investment	2	40 29	80 MW 58 MW
Braniewski	2011	1	text and map extracts from local spatial development plan	1	10	20 MW
Działdowski	2010	2	text and map extracts from local spatial development plan	0	2	2MW
	2011	1	text and map extracts from local spatial development plan	0	1	2 MW
	2012	1	decision on location of a public purpose investment	–	19	38 MW
Elbląski	no decisions involving development of wind power industry					
Ełcki	2009	1	text and map extracts from local spatial development plan	0	1	10 kW
	2011	1	decision on land development conditions	1	4	9.2 kW

Table 1 (cont.)

District	Year	No of decisions	The planning basis of issued decisions	No of wind farm	No of wind turbines	Total power capacity
Giżycki	2010	1	text and map extracts from local spatial development plan	1	3	4,500 kW
Gołdapski	2007	4	decision on land development conditions	0	1	600 kW
			decision on land development conditions	0	1	600 kW
			decision on land development conditions	1	2	1.2 MW
			decision on land development conditions	0	1	500 kW
	2008	1	decision on location of a public purpose investment	1	23	69
Iławski	2009		decision on land development conditions	1	2	3 MW
	2005	1	text and map extracts from local spatial development plan	1	27	40.5 MW
	2006	1	text and map extracts from local spatial development plan	0	1	2 MW
	2008	1	text and map extracts from local spatial development plan	1	20	40 MW
	2009	3	decision on location of a public purpose investment	1	2	1.6 MW
			decision on location of a public purpose investment	0	1	2MW
			decision on location of a public purpose investment	1	2	1.2 MW
	2011		text and map extracts from local spatial development plan	1	3	6 MW
Kętrzyński	2010	3	text and map extracts from local spatial development plan	1	24	48 MW
			text and map extracts from local spatial development plan	1	9	18 MW
			text and map extracts from local spatial development plan	1	2	4 MW

District	Year	No of decisions	The planning basis of issued decisions	No of wind farm	No of wind turbines	Total power capacity
Lidzbarski	no decisions involving development of wind power industry					
Mragowski	no decisions involving development of wind power industry					
Nidzki	2011	2	decision on location of a public purpose investment	0	1	2 MW
			decision on location of a public purpose investment	1	5	10 MW
Nowomiejski	2009	1	decision on location of a public purpose investment	0	1	0.6 MW
Olecki	2010	1	decision on land development conditions	1	2	1,000 kW?
	2012	1	decision on land development conditions	1	2	3,6MW
Olsztyński	no decisions involving development of wind power industry					
Ostródzki	no decisions involving development of wind power industry					
Piski	no decisions involving development of wind power industry					
Szczygieński	no decisions involving development of wind power industry					
Węgorzewski	no decisions involving development of wind power industry					

Source: the co-author, based on data provided by the district authorities: W. Gadomska.

While commenting on the current progress in the development of the wind power infrastructure, it is possible to predict its scale in the following ten to twenty years. A future tendency for siting new projects can be foreseen based, for example on the Energy Policy of the European Union, which promotes renewable energy resources (Jock and Henrichs, 2010; *Dyrektywa*, 2009). Prospects of the wind power sector in Poland are in accord with the EU policy in that the expected share of energy from renewable resources will have reached 15% by 2020. The predicted energy capacity generated by wind power installations will be more than five-fold higher in 2010 (*Perspektywy*, 2011). At this point, worth noticing is certain spatial asymmetry in the cited forecasts, namely while the predicted 15% increase in renewable energy is attributed to whole Poland, the actual generation of this power will accumulate in only a few, economically most viable areas, whose landscapes will considerably change as a result. The wind turbines and farms which already operate in Warmia and Masuria, are thought to be something of a novelty in the landscape, acceptable as some form of landscape enrichment, but they ought to be seen as a symptom of the future change in the local scenery, prone to rapid multiplication and essentially modifying substantial parts of the region (Gray, 2008).

Several reports have been drawn up regarding the siting of wind farms in Warmia and Masuria, including *Guidelines for the Localization of Wind Farms*

in *Poland's Green Lungs* (Demianowicz, 2011) or *The Nature-specific and Spatial Aspects of Localization of Wind Power Facilities in the Province of Warmia and Masuria* (Olech and Juchnowska, 2006). The Spatial Management Plan for the Province of Warmia and Masuria, which is currently being elaborated, is expected to zone some areas for this type of development. The Marshal of the Province has addressed an official letter to the authorities of all the municipalities in the Province, requesting them to withhold issuing decisions about the siting of wind farms until the new Plan is passed (Pismo, 2012). This notwithstanding, the procedures in particular municipalities are continued. The current localisation of wind turbines in the province often neglects local landscape assets and cause degradation of the cultural landscape. Examples are the wind farms Łodygowo and Łęgowo, both in the municipality of Kisielice, which are now a co-dominant landscape feature, competing with the historic church in Kisielice, and feature strongly in a panoramic vista opening up on the approach to the town (figure 3).

6. LOCAL CONDITIONS CATALYZING INVESTMENT INTO WIND POWER

From the point of view of wind power developers, the analyzed region looks attractive – it reveals such a combination of natural and anthropogenic conditions that favour wind energy generation.

- winds and terrain roughness: on a mesoscale wind map of Poland (Lorenc, 2001) nearly 72% of the Great Masurian Lake District lies in the 2nd (favourable) wind power sphere, 25% is classified into the 3rd (quite favourable) sphere and only 3% presents unfavourable wind conditions. There is also synergy with the local land relief: nearly 12% of the land surface is covered by water bodies, characterized by the best, zero class of roughness, while over 40% belongs to farmland, which is assigned the first class of terrain roughness (Tytko, 2011). These two factors have a direct influence on the wind power generation efficiency (Dillon Consulting Limited, 2009);

- demographic factors and local settlement network: the Great Masurian Lake District lies in a province with the lowest average population density in Poland ([www.stat.gov.pl/...](http://www.stat.gov.pl/)). The extensive settlement network over the analyzed region gathers nearly 75% of the whole population in 9 towns, while the average population density in rural areas is much below the province's average (*Województwo*, 2010). This specific character of the region seems to favour the development of the wind power industry, as it reduces the risk of resistance by local communities and narrows down the fields of possible functional conflicts between wind farms and populated land;

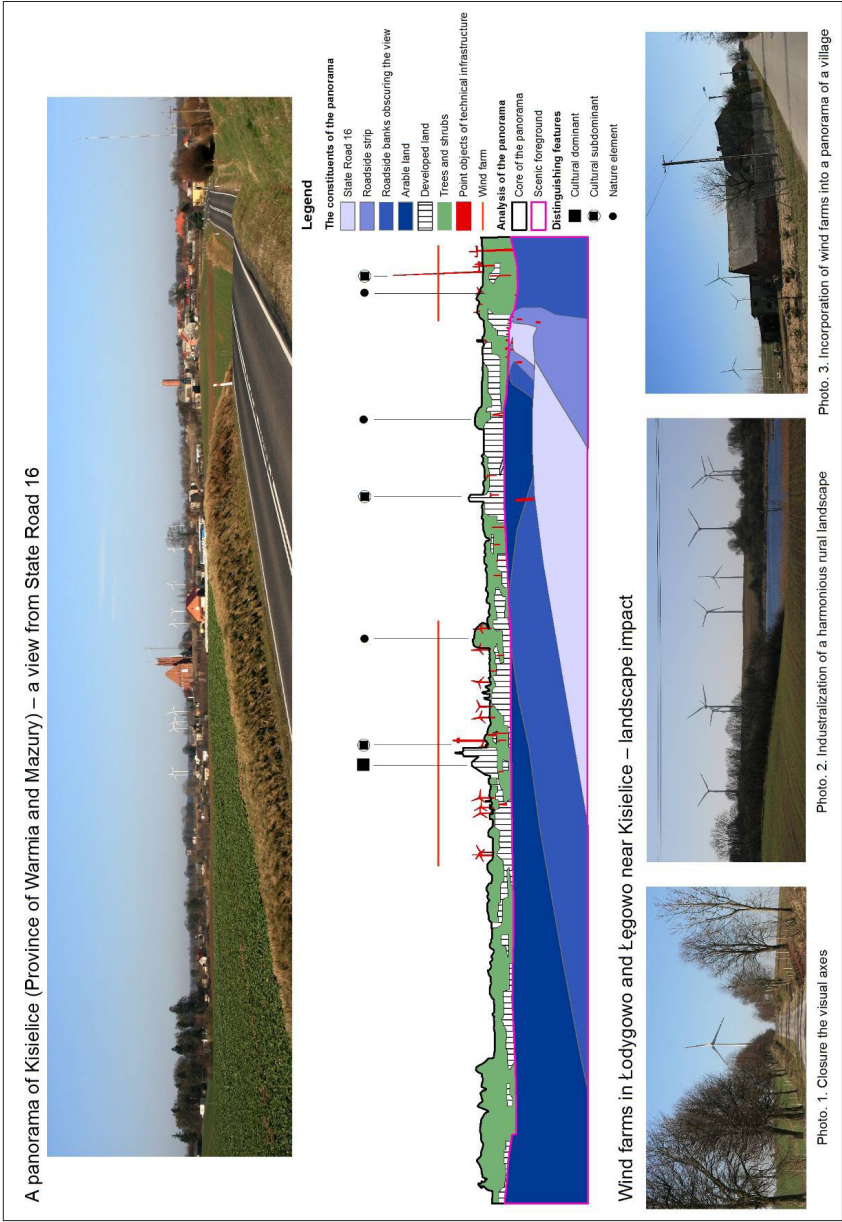


Fig. 3. An adverse effect of wind energy development on landscape assets, a case of wind farms Łodygowo and Łęgowo near Kisielice, the Province of Warmia and Masuria

Source: the co-author: M. Antolak

– economic conditions: the average real estate market price on farmland in Warmia and Masuria is among the lowest quotes in Poland. For developers, this is an advantage, which translates into lower costs of land purchase for construction of a wind farm and ancillary facilities (*Raport*, 2010a). Another essential consideration is the generally weak economic condition of the municipalities in the analyzed geographical region. Most municipalities in the Great Masurian Lake District have a lower average revenue *per capita* than the whole province (województwo warmińsko-mazurskie). An argument in favour of wind energy could be the prospect of an improved budget of a given municipality owing to a completed development project or declarations made by developers to participate financially in various economic ventures pursued by local governments (*Raport*, 2010a).

7. THE ATTITUDE OF MUNICIPALITIES IN THE GREAT MASURIAN LAKE DISTRICT TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF WIND POWER IN THE PROVINCE OF WARMIA AND MASURIA

A survey conducted among the municipalities lying in the region of the Great Masurian Lakes (a questionnaire form was mailed to 16 municipalities in the analyzed region) has revealed the lack of a consistent approach. Out of the sixteen respondents, seven declared being ‘interested in the development of the wind power industry in their territory’, four municipalities concluded they were ‘not interested in the development of the wind power industry in their territory’, and the remaining five communities admitted that they ‘have not arrived at a decision in this matter’. The subsequent sections of the survey showed that six out of the sixteen municipalities had taken steps to prepare local spatial management plans under wind power investments or had already approved such plans. Noteworthy is the fact that declarations to accept the siting of a wind energy installation are encouraged by an actual interest expressed by a specific developer, and that such documents are officially passed by the local authorities usually after an investor has submitted an offer of a specific venture.

8. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE LANDSCAPE OF THE GREAT MASURIAN LAKES

When looking at a wind turbine as a form abstracted from the landscape, some distinguishing aesthetic and design features are attributable. The characteristic silhouette, the slender tower, the mutual proportions of the major construction

components (the tower, hub, rotor blades), the elaborate engineering detail and the colour make it a well-designed spatial form assessed in the categories of industrial design (Fiell and Fiell, 2006). A specific wind turbine constructed in a specific landscape situation enters in strong interactions with the surrounding space, profoundly affecting the landscape (Good, 2006). The principal components in the relationship between a wind farm and its environs are the height of a wind turbine, anthropogenic genesis and industrial connotation.

The landscape typical of the Great Masurian Lakes creates a cohesive unity, in which a unique synthesis of nature (lakes, forests) and man-shaped elements (human settlements, the hydrological system and farmland) is respected (Gadomska, 2012). An advent of an element which is new, alien and dominant in size may lead to the farfetched depreciation of this landscape (Klepinger, 2007). The Great Masurian Lakeland is about 1,730 km² in area (Kondracki, 2000). Relative to this surface size, the area visually affected by a single 150-metre high wind turbine which can extend over 18% of the area of the whole lake district (*Europejska Konwencja Krajobrazowa*, 2011). When several single wind turbines are raised across the region, the problem will reach a perceptible scale, meaning that a strong and culturally foreign dominant element will feature in the perception of the scenery. Any further escalation of the development of wind farms and the region may become dominated by their vast skylines.

Another distinguishing feature of the region is the high percentage of land covered by lakes (Kondracki, 2000). On the one hand, this is the characteristic that makes the region so attractive. On the other hand, it now functions as a catalyst of adverse landscape modifications, imminent should wind farms be constructed. The water table of a lake forms a convenient viewing foreground, ensuring a broad spectrum of long-distance observations of a wind turbine's tower and rotor (Böhm, 2006). Moreover, the sequence of macro-interiors created by the system of the Great Masurian Lakes multiplies scenery viewpoints, axes and planes that can potentially expose single wind turbines or silhouettes of wind farms as landscape dominant components.

A wind turbine standing on the leeward side of the Masurian lakes that constitute a navigable route (an optimal location owing to the prevailing north-westerly winds) will remain permanently visible in the viewing spectrum of an observer moving along the watercourse axis. At the assumed height of a turbine equal 150 m and its location about 500 m off the shoreline, the vertical angle of observation for particular lakes ranges between 10° from the narrow ribbon lake called Tały down to 1° in the case of Śniardwy Lake, a moraine thaw water body (figure 3). Given the freedom of an observer sailing over the whole system of the lakes, the visibility range of wind turbines should be analyzed in parallel to the perspective of a person standing on the lake shore. The lake shoreline is an extremely attractive part of the landscape, where much of the tourist activities concentrates (sail-

ing marinas, camping sites, holiday homes, hotels etc.). The observational sphere delineated around the Great Masurian Lakes, according to the visibility distance of a 150-metre high wind turbine of 10 km (figure 3), will exceed 390,000 ha, which corresponds to 85% of the analyzed area. A more precise determination of the borders marking the visual impact of a wind turbine on the landscape will require a more detailed analytical method, for example one composed of the determination of a series of cross-sectional views perpendicular to the lake shoreline, including the hypsometry of the terrain as an aspect. The above sphere almost completely encompasses the geographical region known as the Great Masurian Lake District (figure 3), in which 75% of the total area has been given a status of protected land, mostly as protected landscape areas (Gadomska, 2011).

9. LEGAL FOUNDATIONS OF LANDSCAPE PROTECTION AND CURRENT STATE OF SPATIAL PLANNING IN THE ANALYZED AREA IN THE CONTEXT OF POTENTIAL WIND POWER DEVELOPMENT

According to the Act on Nature Protection of April 16, 2004, building civil engineering constructions and technical facilities, including wind power installations, is strictly prohibited in national parks and nature reserves. The Great Masurian Lake District does not contain any protected natural environments granted the status of a national park, while nature reserves cover a total area of 12.5 thousand ha, which equals 2.7% of the whole region (Gadomska, 2011). Other valuable examples of landscapes, with the legal status of a landscape park or protected landscape areas, do not exclude possible development projects in wind power generation. The Act on Nature Protection (*Ustawa*, 2004) states that a consent to such a venture depends among others on the results of an environmental impact assessment. With large areas of the Great Masurian Lake District being covered by some legal form of nature protection, including the Masurian Landscape Park with 53 thousand ha (*ca* 11% of the whole district) and protected landscape areas with a total of 285 thousand ha (*ca* 60% of the whole analyzed region), the cited provision of the Act on Nature Protection raises concerns that it may be impossible to elaborate a coherent, uniform policy to protect the unique local landscape against depreciation caused by enforced wind power development projects. It is worth underlining that an environmental impact assessment of a planned development treats landscape-related issues as just one of the aspects taken into consideration (*Ustawa*, 2008), but no way guarantees that professional landscape architects will be engaged in drawing up such a report.

Apart from the generally applicable law, legal regulations binding locally are particularly suited to give protection to landscapes. Any permission or prohibition to raise wind farms and turbines should be precisely stated in local spatial man-

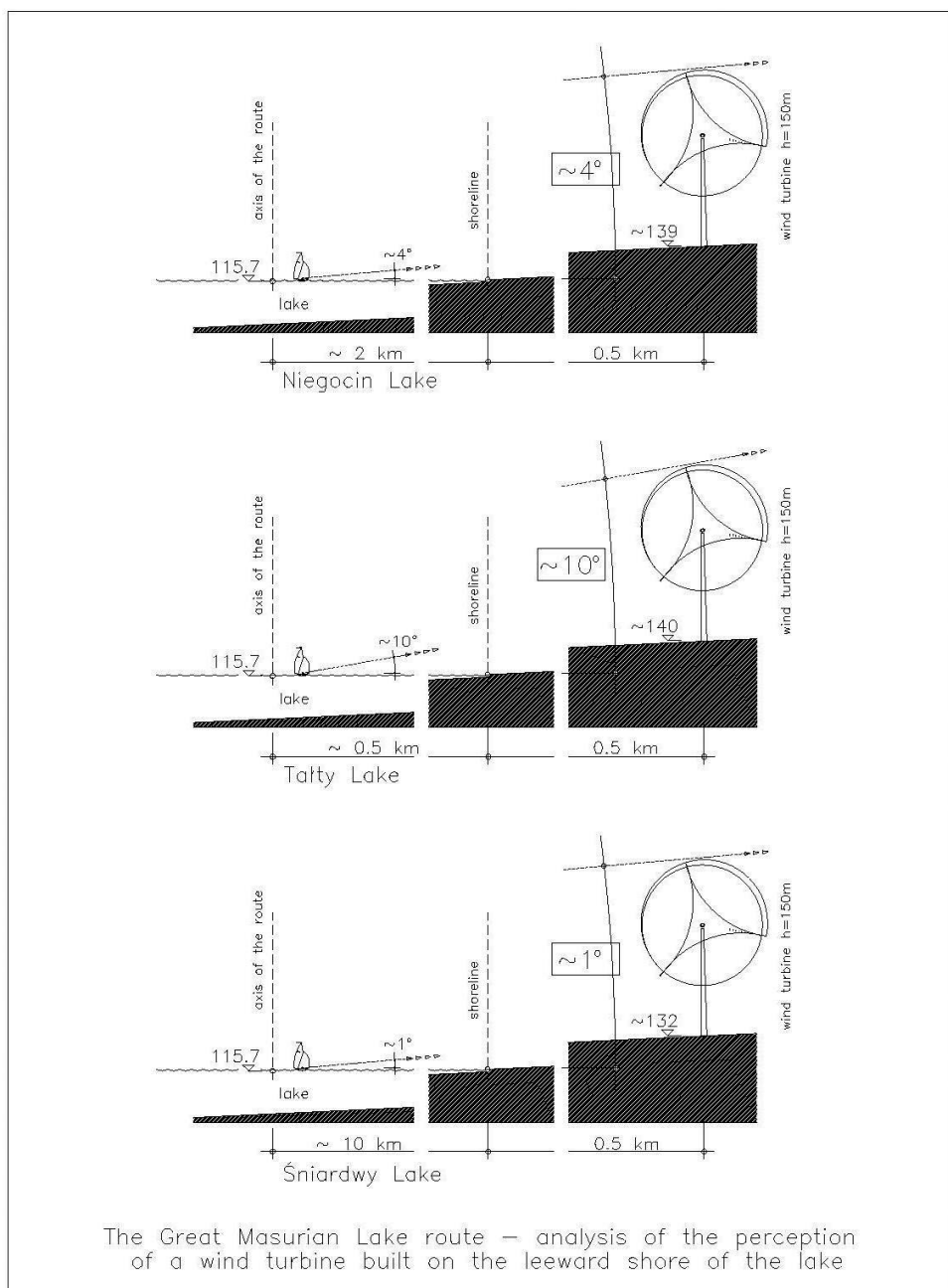


Fig. 4. The route of the Great Masurian Lakes — an analysis of the perception of a wind turbine standing on the leeward shore of a lake

Source: the co-author: W. Gadomska

agement plans, which are the foundation of the spatial management in a given community (Ustawa, 2003). Unfortunately, such plans cover a mere 3.55% of the whole region. Thus, the conservation, protection and management of valuable landscapes in the Great Masurian Lake District raise many concerns, not only because of a potential development of wind farms. Each municipality is obliged to work out a *Study on the Conditions...*, but the quality of these documents varies, which aggravates the situation. Although the *Study on the Conditions...* is not an act of local law, its provisions defining the directions pursued in the spatial management within a given municipality are binding both at the stage of creating local spatial management plans and when issuing decisions on building conditions (Wyrok, 2009). It is very unfortunate that among the 16 examined municipalities, only six included in their *Studies* conditions directly related to the siting of wind farms in their territory (data from the survey). In the remaining cases, the question of wind power has not been mentioned. This can lead to a situation when lack of disagreement can be proven between a planned development project and the provisions of the relevant *Study*, which in turn gives grounds for commencing a procedure of passing a local spatial management plan or initiating an administrative process, which may result in issuing a consent for a development, which is otherwise perceived as questionable.

10. ANTICIPATION OF CONSEQUENCES FOR LANDSCAPE

The modest coverage of the analyzed region with local spatial management plans, in the context of wind power installations, creates a dual threat to the landscape. First, it is worrying that development projects are undertaken based on a *Decision of Building Conditions and Land Management*, passed in the absence of local spatial management plans, often burdened with consequences of a clerical ‘independent decision-making’ process (Böhm, 2006), or justly perceived in many aspects as a ‘lower quality’ planning instrument (Kolipiński, 2011). Another reason for concern is the selective, fragmentary creation of spatial management plans, tailored to specific investment plans (Böhm, 2006) and disregarding a broader spatial context. A plan thus prepared might be compliant with the formal requirements, but can easily transform into a tool for legalisation of a developer’s expectations rather than a superior instrument for the imposition of spatial order in a whole municipality. Particularly worrying are the cases when decisions on building conditions or to create local spatial management plans are made in the context of planned wind power development projects, but the question of wind energy installations is completely neglected in the binding *Study on the Conditions...* (a situation demonstrated by the results of our survey).

The question discussed herein at the lowest level of the administrative division (a municipality) will cause problems felt on a macroscale, such as the whole region. Landscape-specific consequences of wrong location of wind farms and turbines will cross borders. For the successful landscape protection in the Great Masurian Lake District, all the municipalities involved must undertake consistent and coherent action. Least they can do is to establish an organisational framework and operational platform for such cooperation. The scale of the problem evidently surpasses the administrative borders of an individual municipality.

In view of the above, it is worth making a reference to the provisions of the Spatial Management Plan for the Province of Warmia and Masuria, which is higher in the hierarchy than documents regulating the spatial management policy of single municipalities. In the Plan drawn in 2002, the question of wind power is given marginal attention, for example chapter IV, which pertains to the policy of spatial management in the province, contains the following statement: 'localization of wind farms is acceptable in areas where they will not collide with landscape protection and nature protection' (*Plan*, 2002). Unfortunately, this statement is not developed any further in the document titled *The Problem Areas which Require Solutions and an Adequate Spatial Policy towards the Management of the Sailing Route of the Great Masurian Lakes*.

A framework algorithmic approach needs to be adopted to facilitate the anticipation of negative landscape-specific consequences evoked by the construction of wind farms and turbines in the province's areas endowed with priceless landscape resources. The first step ought to be the inclusion of the above issue in strategic documents, especially in the spatial management plan for the whole province. It is essential to indicate problem areas in the context of wind power development, also because of its predicted adverse impact on the landscape (*Ustawa*, 2004). The second step should be taken by individual municipalities, which need to update provisions of their *Studies on the Conditions...*, and find out how they correlate with the provincial plan as far as possible localisation of wind farms is concerned; this step does not exclude a possibility of indicating which sites are available for building wind farms. For particularly suitable sites, where negative landscape impact issues are few or absent, the municipalities could work out local spatial management plans including provisions designed to accommodate possible development projects. Having access to such plans would ensure that decisions about the number and height wind turbines as well as their exact siting are made on a sound foundation, respecting a broader landscape context of a given site (*Europejska Konwencja Krajobrazowa*, 2011). An offer thus prepared by a given municipality and addressed to developers, could be incorporated into the measures for the preservation of the municipality's sustainable development, in which the superior nature and landscape values are duly respected.

11. ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT AND EFFECTS ON LANDSCAPE ASSETS OF AREAS SET OUT FOR DEVELOPMENT OF WIND FARMS – GUIDELINES

An analysis of the impact and effects on landscape values of the areas planned to be developed under wind farms should be made as a supplement to the assessment on the environmental impact. When no such report is required, the mentioned analysis should be prepared as a separate document. The analysis should be made on each occasion, regardless of the land protection status of a given area. Below the mandatory scope of such an analysis is presented.

11.1. The Spatial and Temporal Scope

The space covered by the analysis should depend on such factors as land relief and cover, and needs to comprise an area over at least 10 km distant from planned turbines (at the height of a turbine equal 150 m). It is necessary to expand the analyzed area if, for example, the designed turbines are higher, there are historic buildings near the planned wind farm or there are long-distance viewing ranges. Ideally, the landscape analysis should be performed during the full vegetative growth of plants and when plants are leafless.

11.2. Characteristics of the Analyzed Area

The analysis must contain a section which shows the location of the analyzed area relative to the administrative division, physico-geographical division and existing forms of nature (landscape) protection. The presentation of the landscape's constituents and elements relies on the theory of landscape (urban) interior. The landscape macro-interiors distinguished within the analyzed area ought to be divided into the walls, floor, ceiling and free elements. Moreover, basic landscape components should be characterized such as land relief, vegetation cover and surface water bodies. Depending on the local conditions, the list might be lengthened. An adequately built, three-dimensional model is seen as an essential element of the said analysis. It can be created according to the existing NMT (figure 5). A 3-D model is extremely useful for illustrating viewing relations which occur within the analyzed area. The model should additionally include any viewing obstacles. Plant assemblages most often create such barriers, not just compact patches of woodland but also high crops (e.g. maize) on fields in the nearest vicinity of a viewing axis, or rudimentary vegetation growing along roads. The seasonal changeability of such plant systems is a significant question.

Another important component of the proposed analysis is the presentation of the current forms of nature (landscape) protection. The following need to be

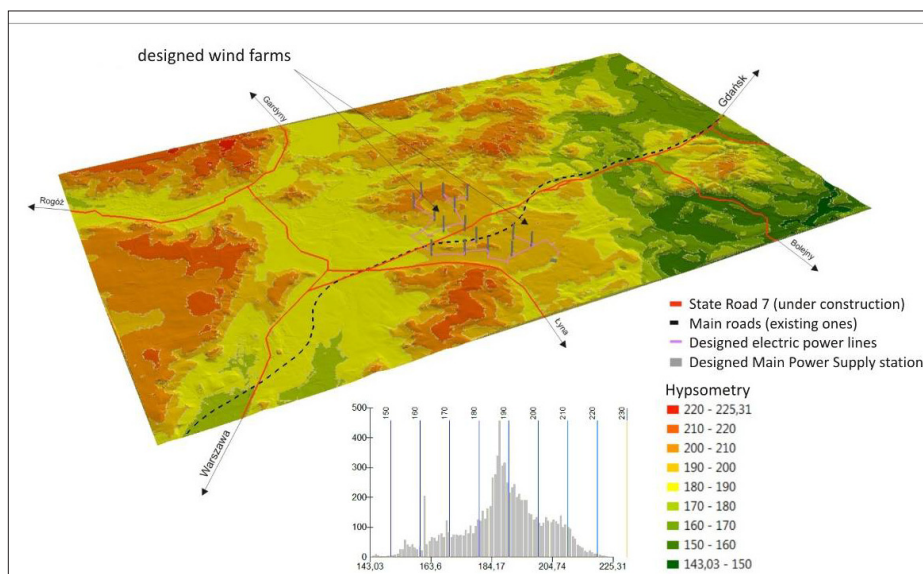


Fig. 5. An example – the siting of a planned complex of wind power turbines near the village of Frąkno against the land relief (NMT)

Source: the co-author: M. Antolak

marked and briefly described: national parks, nature reserves, landscape parks, protected landscape areas, the Natura 2000 sites, monuments of nature, nature documentation sites, ecological utility areas and assemblages of natural and landscape resources. It is not obligatory to list protected plant, animal and fungal species. However, a presentation of nature (landscape) protection forms planned to be imposed within the analyzed area is an essential component of the analysis.

11.3. Analytical Stage

The stage when analyzes are actually performed is the key component of the document and must consist of the following sections:

- analysis of the landscape in the examined area;
- exposure of planned wind farms and turbines in the landscape;
- impact on the landscape and its consequences.

An optional part of the report could include an analysis of possible social conflicts due to the planned development.

The landscape analysis of the examined area ought to be composed of 4 primary categories: composition links, landscape interiors, distinguishing elements and exposure. The analysis should refer to the current state. The compositional links

that need to be marked out are both compositional and functional systems (compositional axes) as well as hub points. When more complex systems need to be analyzed, they can be subdivided into categories, depending on the impact power. Besides, it is necessary to determine viewing apertures and closures at the ends of viewing axes. Main landscape interiors must be distinguished, divided into types and described with respect to their shape, extent of wall filling and readability depending on the number of free standing elements inside each interior (Bogdanowski *et al.*, 1981; Jerpåsen and Larsen, 2011). The distinguishing features should be identified as dominants, subdominants and cultural as well and natural highlights. Their influence on the landscape ought to be evaluated. Positive, negative and neutral objects must be identified. The final step would be to identify cases of active and passive exposure. Active exposure comprises such important elements as viewing series, apertures, axes and scenic viewpoints. Other essential elements which affect active exposure are lines directing the eyesight (but not playing the role of compositional axes). These are mainly rows of trees and shrubs growing between fields. They are a clear division between landscape interiors, which effectively attract the eyes of space users towards a specific direction. Elements of passive exposure marked out in the analyzed area should include all objects well seen from long distances. An additional component of this part of the report should consist of a division of the whole area into landscape units.

The exposure of planned wind farms in the landscape should be analyzed only in respect of sites with the highest scenery properties and the sites from which the landscape is most often observed. The analysis needs to include important routes, apertures, axes and scenic viewpoints, as well as point (surface) systems, such as rural and urban systems and traffic routes with the highest traffic flow. The analyzed systems must be divided into groups according to the predicted visibility of the planned wind farms. An important element associated with this type of analysis is detailed documentation of the landscape, including panoramic photographs and visualisations demonstrating planned changes to the scenery (Lothian, 2007; Horner *et al.*, 2005). It should be made absolutely clear whether the planned wind farms will be seen from areas covered by legal nature protection, and whether they will be responsible for a certain loss of the landscape's harmony.

The impact on the landscape and its consequences. This section of the report should describe direct, indirect, secondary, accumulated, short-, medium- and long-term as well as permanent effects and transient ones, which occur only during the construction works, exploitation and liquidation of planned wind farms. The consequences of the analyzed development project on the landscape must also be presented.

Another important part of the report contains solutions proposed in order to mitigate or prevent the negative influence on the landscape. The current state of research and knowledge on the influence of the wind power industry on the landscape is insufficient and evidently some questions are left unanswered. There are very few sug-

gestions how to minimize the adverse effect of wind farms on the landscape or mitigate the people's negative attitude to such constructions (NWCC, 2006). One of the suggested methods is to build wind turbines of the same size on a single wind farm or even on a few adjacent farms. Another solution is to use the colours of the sky (tints of grey and blue) when painting wind turbine towers and blades. The white colour is particularly well seen from long distances, especially against the backdrop of the dark sky. A lessened impact on the landscape will also be produced if a wind farm chosen to be constructed will contain fewer but more powerful turbines.

One of the most effective measures limiting the negative influence on the landscape is through the proper landscaping of roadsides. A good selection of plants and an adequate shape of road banks can successfully alleviate the negative impact and limit the visibility of wind turbines from a road. It is equally important to skilfully form rows of trees and shrubs on fields in such a way as to create lines and frames that will lead the eye towards what seems to be the most valuable element in a given environment. Whenever a need arises due to other legal regulations (e.g. noise), sound barrier walls can be built along sections of roads, and these will additionally obscure a view of wind turbines.

The European Wind Energy Association recommends the following measures to minimize the negative impact of wind farms on landscape assets:

- ensuring the visual unity of a wind farm,
- avoiding fences inside a farm,
- minimizing the number of service roads between wind farms,
- using underground electric cables,
- limiting the number of service buildings,
- avoiding construction of wind farms on steep slopes,
- regular cleaning and maintenance of wind turbine towers and other elements of a wind farm, including its environs.

The results of studies on the perception of landscapes and suggested recommendations pertaining to the design and siting of wind farms are highly divergent. Questions connected to the impact of wind farms on the landscape require urgent work and research, which will bring more detailed answers and expand our knowledge in this area.

12. CONCLUSIONS

One of the major problems caused by the siting of wind energy installations in Poland is the marginal importance given to the landscape assets while planning such constructions. The principal organ in each province in Poland which approves new sits for developing wind farms is the Regional Directorate of Environment Protec-

tion. The directorate, however, does not ensure any guidance for analyzing the impact of wind farms on the landscape, and any possible remarks concerning the siting of a wind power installation are practically limited to the protection of avifauna and chiropteroфаuna. The current law allows anyone to prepare the relevant documentation, even persons who lack appropriate professional education and experience.

Currently, most of the wind energy installations are situated in narrow gaps between legally protected habitats. However, the landscape impact of such facilities does not stop on the border of a protected environment. The question of the development of wind farms in Poland urgently needs perfected legal regulations and elaboration of appropriate design and siting methods. This is particularly important in regions with attractive landscapes. The Great Masurian Lake District has become a valuable trade mark in the last years and is visited by increasing numbers of tourists. The main reason is its unique landscape assets, which should not be depreciated.

The Great Masurian Lake District may be subjected to pressure on behalf of developers interested in constructing wind farms. The correlation of suitable natural and anthropogenic factors versus the insufficiently effective nature and landscape protection legal tools could threaten the region's landscape-specific values.

Successful protection of the landscape of the Great Masurian Lakes in the context of potential development of wind energy installations requires that all the municipalities which compose the region should adopt a common policy. The landscape impact of constructing wind turbines will be perceptible from a perspective far exceeding the administrative borders of individual municipalities.

Above all, any potential development of wind energy in a given region, analyzed also in the context of landscape impact, should be included in strategic documents prepared at the provincial level – it is absolutely necessary to indicate areas which deserve special protection and spheres where such development projects must be excluded in the Plan of Spatial Management of the Province.

Detailed conditions governing the siting of wind farms should originate from reports which analyze the impact and consequences for the landscape assets caused by designed wind installations, prepared individually for each of the development plans.

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EUROPEAN UNION'S COHESION POLICY – DIVERSITY OF THE MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE CONCEPT, THE CASE STUDY OF THREE EUROPEAN STATES

1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of MLG may be defined as a political process of determining the Community's goals and taking action to achieve them (Jachtenfuchs and Kohler-Koch, 2004). It is strongly tied with the process of European integration and the systems of controlling and managing the European Union policies. The ideas and principles of MLG have emerged in response to changes in political power structures in Western Europe when the countries decided to co-exist in a single alliance in order to maintain the vision of a uniform idea. For that reason a system needs to be established that will allow such an efficient control and coordination of member countries' activities that will lead to the joint objectives which have been set. The concept of MLG is particularly associated with the processes of regionalisation and the European integration, and the implementation of the EU's policies and its decision-making process. The European integration has resulted in extending and deepening the policies of the EU, with impacts on the autonomy and the authority of the member states. Prior to the establishment of the EU, each country administered itself centrally and with a full autonomy of its order, and its relations to other countries were regulated in international bilateral or multilateral agreements. The establishment of the EU, however, has formed another, international level of control, which has been significantly interacting with how each country is controlled, affecting each country's legal order and enforcing its methods of control. Consequently, there has been a shift from national control over national matters to making decisions within the EU (Rosamond, 2000). Puchala (1971) defined four basic arenas where political de-

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cisions take place, with these decisions then being implemented through the bureaucratic machinery. These arenas are: supranational, national, regional, and local. The national system only regards the local, regional and national arenas as the standard arenas whereas the process of the European integration has brought about a new level of administration, the supranational level. This supranational administration is executed through institutions applying multi-level governance. The decision-making role of these institutions is crucial and powers are distributed along the whole range of the political spectrum. As a result, the success of the European integration fully depends on how successful and capable administration will be in implementing political decisions. Hooghe and Marks (2001, pp. 69–77) claim that power delegated to a lower level and the European integration have resulted in a drop of the state level authority in Western Europe, followed by the formation of multi-level administration. From the theoretical point of view the European integration associated with neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism – movements which seek a shift of power from the state to institutions. According to George (2004, pp. 108–112), MLG covers all the most important elements of neofunctionalism except for the spill-over process.¹ Marks says, however, that these theories are unfit for analysing everyday processes.

2. MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE

The term was coined by Gary Marks, who worked on the EC structural policy reforms in 1988, which proposed doubling the contributions to the relatively poor European countries. These reforms followed upon the agreement adopted by member states in 1987 (the Single European Act). Marks (1993, p. 392) defined MLG as a

[...] system of permanent negotiations between governments at several levels – supranational, national, regional and local, and a result of a wide process of forming institutions and re-distributing the decision-making process, which has pulled some formerly centralised functions of the state up to the supranational level and pushed some other functions down to the regional or local level.

As early as his previous works Marks dealt with this topic (his structural policy work from 1992, for instance). The term itself, however, was not used until the publication from 1993. In this work Marks (1993) says that regional policy underwent many changes in the 1980s and the 1990s and regional policy is influenced by not only the governments of the member countries and regional governments but also supranational stakeholders (Marks, 1993, pp. 401–403).

¹ Spill-over effect – integration expands of its own accord; competence and sovereignty shift from the national to the supranational level: political spill-over (Moravcsik, 2005, p. 352).

Transnational stakeholders along with the Commission have formed a vertical line by circumventing member countries and challenging their traditional roles of the sole intermediary between the transnational and the supranational levels. Direct contacts between the Commission and the transnational government representatives are an everyday reality in both Brussels and regions (Marks, 1993, p. 402).

Figure 1 describes the situation of member countries acting as the intermediary between home stakeholders and supranational institutions whereas figure 2 describes a more complex, open and volatile situation of national governments collaborating with the European Commission and within the state. Figure 2 is misleading because it presupposes a homogeneous system of MLG across the EU. In fact, different member countries have different options (Marks, 1993, pp. 404–405).

Marks also dealt with MLG with Hooghe (Hooghe and Marks, 2003). Their MLG typology distinguishes two types of multi-level governance. Type I based on federalism and type II based on neoclassical political economy. According to Hooghe and Marks, type II is almost always set in the legal framework of type I.

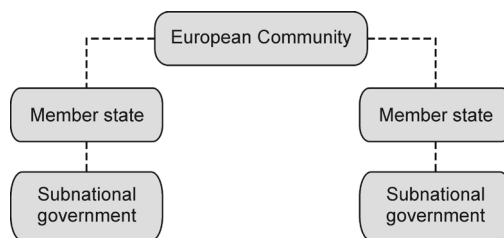


Fig. 1. Multi-level governance until 1992

Source: Marks (1993), p. 405

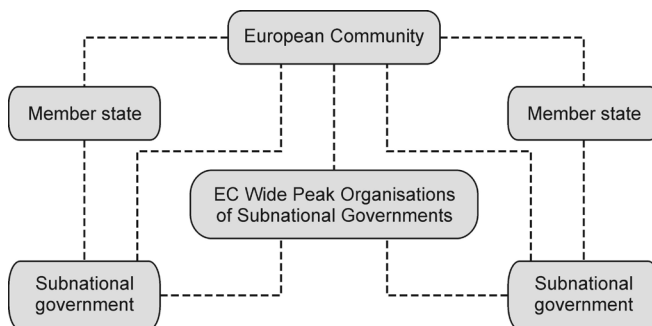


Fig. 2. Multi-level governance after 1992

Source: Marks (1993), p. 405

Type II cannot exist without type I but type I can exist without type II (Hooghe and Marks, 2003, p. 236). According to Bache (2005, p. 6), these two types of MLG do not exclude each other; on the contrary, they co-exist. The United Kingdom is an example.

Marks and Hooghe are not the only ones who have developed the idea of multi-level governance. Jachtenfuchs, for instance, (in Stein and Turkewitsch, 2008, p. 9) says that 'MLG includes relations of different public administration levels and the processes resulting from these relations'. Other authors put this definition in more specific terms and supply additional features:

Even though we tend to think that these levels are ordered in a hierarchy, negotiations may not necessarily be conducted by this hierarchy but may be conducted between the transnational and the regional levels, for instance, skipping the national level (Stein and Turkewitsch, 2008, p. 9).

Peters and Pierre (2001, p. 131) claim that 'the formation of MLG challenges our traditional understanding of how states work, what defines their powers, how democracy is structured and a responsible government established'. According to Peters and Pierre, the state has changed from 'the liberal-democratic type to a state characterised by various complex types of subordination to external entities and dependence on these entities'.

Bache and Flinders (in Stein and Turkewitsch, 2008, p. 10) admit that no single generally accepted definition of MLG has been adopted as yet. However, there are some identifiable common features (Bache and Flinders, 2004 in Stein and Turkewitsch, 2008, p. 10):

1. Tendency towards greater involvement of non-government organisations, such as non-profit organisations, in governmental functions;
2. Extension of overlapping decision-making networks involved in such functions;
3. Role of the state having changed from ruling and controlling to managing, coordinating and forming networks;
4. Defined responsibility for executing the managing function in multi-level governance.

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (2006, pp. 332–333) gives five features to define the system of MLG in the EU: multiple partakers, differentiation, technocracy, non-hierarchical process of decision-making, informal relations.

As any other concept, the concept of MLG has been critically examined. Andrew Jordan (2001) is one of the critical voices. According to Jordan (2001), MLG is just a mixture of existing theoretical claims and nothing new. In terms of partakers Jordan's criticism is based on that MLG assigns too an important role to national and supranational entities and overlooks the role of the state as the creator of policies. Also, MLG presupposes a passive shift of power from the EU or the

national levels whereas the bottom-up view should be preferred. Stein and Turkwitsch (2008, pp. 9–10) are additional critics, giving several reasons why the idea is subject to such criticism (excessive descriptiveness of the model, for instance). They maintain that the concept of MLG can be used to describe any complex and multilateral political process.

3. EUROPEAN UNION AND MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE

MLG is thus seen as the sharing of each partakers decision-making competencies at different levels of governance. The EU has entered the game and the boundaries between levels have become less distinct. The EU sets rules through the European Commission, makes decisions and, consequently, its acts influence the behaviour of member states as far as the local level.

As the integration process is continuous, different approaches to MLG have developed over time. The most in-depth are the approaches to MLG in implementing the cohesion policy, which is the second most important policy of the EU (after the agricultural policy). Cohesion policy's interventions have profound impacts on member states' decision-making processes at the national, regional and local levels. The basic multi-governance standards were set out as early as the Treaty on EU (92/C 191/01; the Maastricht Treaty), and not only in this area. The following passages of this paper will only deal with the cohesion policy in relation to its marked impacts on how regions work and develop.

Articles 174 to 178 of the Treaty on the EU lay down the basic principles of supporting and controlling the cohesion policy. Funds have been set up for these purposes that provide member states with the required finance for implementing interventions. Currently, the processes are further regulated in regulative acts, especially Council Regulation (EC) No. 1083/2006 laying down general provisions on the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund and the Cohesion Fund and repealing Regulation (EC) No. 1260/1999, and Commission Regulation (EC) No. 1828/2006 setting out the rules for the implementation of Council Regulation (EC) 1083/2006 laying down general provisions on the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund and the Cohesion Fund and of Regulation (EC) No. 1080/2006 of the European Parliament and the Council on the European Regional Development Fund, which set how national authorities are to act towards the EC and introduce programming and project management principles. Emphasis is put on the broadest possible involvement of partakers in the process of cohesion policy implementation at the local and the regional levels without affecting the responsibility and the powers of member states as a whole. The Committee of the Regions exists at the EU level, and its role is

to express the opinions of local and regional self-governing units about the EU's legal rules. To this end, the Committee submits reports (termed as 'opinions' in respect of Commission proposals (European Union, 2012). The Committee is an important political partakers providing the necessary feedback for the institutions which make decisions at the supranational level, that is the European Commission. The Committee of the Regions has published the White Paper on public affairs MLG (Committee of the Regions, 2009) in order to establish and codify the understanding and the meaning of public affairs MLG into a comprehensible text. It is a technical document, which regards MLG as partnership-based coordinated efforts of the Union, its member states, and local and regional authorities focusing on developing EU's policies and putting them into practice (Committee of the Regions, 80th Session).

The White Paper reads that in spite of the importance of MLG in relation to achieving the EU's objectives and interests, MLG fails to be applied in all policies; if it is applied in all policies, it is not applied symmetrically and homogeneously (Committee of the Regions, 2009, p. 4). As a result, the Committee formulated MLG recommendations on the basis of the valid agreements and in accordance with the Lisbon Treaty and incorporated the territorial aspect and territorial cohesion in the processes of European integration (Committee of the Regions, 2009, p. 4).

According to the Committee, partnership is the basic MLG principle, and the legitimacy, effectiveness and visibility of how the EU works can only be ensured by each partaker having their share in the decision-making process, even at the regional and local levels.

The European Commission defined five principles of public affairs governance as early as 2001 (EC White Paper, COM(2001) 428). Governance should be based on openness, involvement, responsibility, effectiveness, and cohesion. MLG follows upon these principles in that executing MLG consists in observing another important principle – the principle of subsidiarity. This principle and its observance ensure that decision-making does not concentrate at a single level of public authority execution and policies are formed and implemented at all material levels of administration. This principle has been described as critical to and inseparable from the overall system of MLG (Committee of the Regions, 2009, p. 7).

This also implies that the execution of MLG rests, to a considerable extent, with member states, which, however, have absorbed these principles to different degrees. There is a great difference between the 15 'original' member states and the 10 'new' member states, which accessed in 2004, and the two states which accessed in 2007. In fact, the process of implementing MLG actually did not start until the accession to the EU. Democracy in the original member states is much more developed and decision-making at local and regional levels is an everyday reality.

The basic tool for the execution of MLG are institutions and institutional representation of regional and local bodies. This had been first regulated in the Maastricht Treaty, which contained major reforms to the institutional system, and then detailed and confirmed in the Lisbon Treaty. Institutions are the basis for executing multi-level governance, which, along with its processes, will only be brought into existence by collaboration along the whole horizontal and vertical institutional system of all partners. This is an important phenomenon which collaboration must always rely on and which, although impossible to be constituted or enforced, is yet a precondition for due execution of governance. It is the trust among partners. Consequently, trust rather than confrontation of different political and democratic legitimacies is the fundamental feature of collaboration (Committee of the Regions, 2009, p. 11).

The Committee of the Regions, as an important institute, is in charge of regions and cities participating in the execution of governance and the adoption of political decisions at supranational level. The White Paper is an important element in clarifying what MLG is and by what principles and methods it is executed. As a result, the White Paper provides a bridge between MLG theories and the reality, which is not always fully taken account of at European institutions and national authorities.

The cohesion policy is a policy which fully demonstrates all the positive and negative consequences of multi-level governance. In the cohesion policy, the European Community's objectives are implemented through financial interventions. And it is financial interventions and the need to distribute, manage and control these interventions effectively that causes many complications at all levels of multi-level governance.

4. MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE ON THE EXAMPLE OF EU COUNTRIES – COMPARISON OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC, POLAND AND HUNGARY

MLG is not applied in all policies and states of the EU symmetrically and homogeneously. The Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary can illustrate this, as the countries of the Visegrad Group, which is now comprised of four countries. Before describing MLG and the cohesion policy in the said countries, the supranational level (the EU institutions) needs to be presented. At this level it is especially the European Parliament, the Council of the EU, the European Commission, the European Court of Auditors, and the European Anti-fraud Office. The European Parliament is the only body of the Community whose sessions are open to the public. Its decisions, positions and minutes from sessions are

published in the *Official Journal of the European Communities*. As all bodies of representatives the European Parliament has three basic powers: legislative, budgetary and controlling. Its political role in the EU has been increasing. The European Parliament plays the key role in appointing the Commission, and has the power to dismiss the Commission (for more information refer to the Maastricht Treaty, the Amsterdam Treaty, and the Nice Treaty). Along with the European Commission Council, the European Parliament adopts acts which have direct impact on people's lives and a large international impact. The Council and the European Parliament are the Union's law-makers. Usually, the Council may only create legislative acts on the basis of bills submitted by the European Commission. The main tasks of the Council include (Council of the European Union, 2012) adopting legislative acts (regulations, directives etc.), usually by 'joint decision-making' with the European Parliament, contributing to coordination of member states' policies, such as economic policies, creating common foreign and security policies according to the strategic directions defined by the European Council, entering into international agreements on behalf of the Union, and approving the Union's budget in conjunction with the European Parliament. Still another body is the European Commission, the EU's executive body representing the interests of the whole Union. The European Commission is to (European Union, 2012) define goals and priorities, propose legal rules to the European Parliament and the Council, control and enforce the EU's policies and comply with the EU's budget, enforce European law (in conjunction with the European Court of Justice), and represent the EU in external matters, such as in negotiating trade treaties between the EU and third countries. The entire system needs a controlling institution. It is primarily the European Court of Auditors and the European Anti-fraud Office (OLAF). The European Court of Auditors audits the EU's accounts. Its primary task is to enhance the standard of financial control in the EU and produce reports on how public money is spent. If a fraud or an irregularity is identified, the European Court of Auditors, however, has no power to take any legal action but communicates its findings to the European Anti-fraud Office (European Union, 2012). Although being part of the European Commission, the OLAF is independent in its investigations. The OLAF has a dedicated budget and enjoys autonomy in administrative matters. This Office's mission is three-fold (European Union, 2012): protect financial interests of the EU by fighting frauds, corruption and other illegal activities, and protect the reputation of the European bodies and institutions by investigating suspicion of serious misconduct by employees of the European bodies or institutions. Disciplinary or criminal proceedings may be instituted on the basis of such investigation. The third mission is to help the European Commission in preparing and implementing the policies focused on detecting and fighting frauds.

4.1. Czech Republic

Currently, there is no effective law in the Czech Republic that would complexly and comprehensively govern management of the structural funds and the respective legal regulation has been fractionalized. One of the most important laws related to the regional policy is Act No. 248/2000 Coll., on Support of Regional Development that establishes institutionalized conditions for implementation and coordination of the Economic and Social Cohesion Policy. The legal regulations of the Czech Republic further governs important areas, such as public procurement, financial control, archival science, accounting, regional development support, hereinafter Act No. 128/2000 Coll., on Municipalities, and Act No. 129/2000 Coll., on Regions etc. Individual functions in the implementation system, as they are stipulated in Council Regulation (EC) No. 1083/2006, are entrusted to respective state administration authorities or regional self-administration authorities by means of a government resolution. The Czech Republic selected the form of pre-funding from the state budget where all expense is first paid from the state budget and subsequently an EU share is refunded from the respective fund by means of so-called certification. This fact means that financial and administrative steps are controlled in accordance with effective rules for controlling the state budget. In practice, it means increased number of subjects that perform control and relatively high burden for administrative capacities to undergo such control.

From the institutional aspect, four institutions exist in this control and coordination area of the National Strategic Reference Framework² (NSRF), and they are: NSRF Monitoring Committee – Steering and Coordination Committee, National Coordination Authority, Payment Certification Authority – the National Fund, the Audit Authority – the Central Harmonization Unit for Financial Control. In order to strengthen coordination, four coordination committees were established based on four NSRF strategic goals. The National Coordination Authority is a coordination and methodology authority accountable for the NSRF implementation to the CR government. This authority has established a uniform framework of implementation environment for management, realisation, control, monitoring, and evaluation of operational programmes (the Ministry for Regional Development, 2012). By means of a government resolution, the function of the Payment and Certification Authority, as well as the Audit Authority, is entrusted to the Ministry of Finance of the Czech Republic, and the function of the National Coordination Authority to the Ministry for Regional Development. Operational programmes are managed either by central state administration authorities or so-called regional councils that are governed by Act No. 248/2000 Coll., on Support of regional de-

² The basic programming document of the Czech Republic for utilisation of the EU funds during 2007–2013 whose processing is derived from obligations of a member country defined in Council Regulation (EC) No. 1083/2006.

velopment. A lot of persons are involved in implementation of every operational programme, especially when performing the function of the managing authority, intermediate body, monitoring committee, payment and certification authority, and audit authority.³ The Czech Republic also has established the separate Office for the Protection of Competition that makes decisions regarding suspicions in the area of public procurement (see the Public Procurement Act). Its power and scope is defined by Act No. 273/1996 Coll., on scope of competence of the Office for the Protection of Competition. Other monitoring function, especially in regard of monitoring spending of funds from the state budget, is performed by financial authorities. Independent monitoring is provided by the Constitution via the Supreme Control Office.

As for the territorial self-governing structure, the Czech Republic consists of 14 regions that were established by Constitutional Act No. 347/1997 Coll., on establishment of higher territorial self-governing units. This act fulfilled Article 99 of the Constitution of the Czech Republic which stipulates that the Czech Republic 'is structured into municipalities, which form the basic self-governing units, and regions, which form higher territorial self-governing units'. Regions are accountable to NUTS III units. For the purpose of the regional policy of the EU and classification of regions under individual objectives, these regions were grouped into eight so-called cohesion regions that are accountable to the NUTS II units. These units associate either one or two, and in one case three, regions in one unit. The cohesion regions do not have legal subjectivity and the Offices of Regional Council whose apparatus administers and governs financial flows to the respective region were established for management of regional operational programmes. However, this solution proved to be not suitable in practice. The implementation system became more difficult as a result of different needs of regions associated in one unit in this way and responsibility of the respective office for damages caused by defective acts is disputable as well. Towns and municipalities are involved, just like other interested parties, in decision-making via monitoring committees where individual involved parties may enforce their respective interests.

The Czech Republic was allocated 26.7 billion EUR for the cohesion policy during the 2007–2013 programming period, which is almost three times as much as during the previous shortened programming period of 2004–2006. For this period, the Czech Republic has 26 operational programmes, of which 18 are actively controlled via Czech managing authorities. There are 7 regional operational programmes being realized in the Czech Republic, 2 operational programmes for Prague (OP Prague – Adaptability, OP Prague – Competitiveness), one cross-border cooperation operational programme (OP Cross-Border Cooperation CR – Poland), and the remainder falls on thematic operational programmes, and there are 8 of them.

³ Performance of individual functions is governed by Council Regulation (EC) No. 1083/2006.

Only during implementation the complications that resulted from this initial setup fully emerged. Large amount of operational programmes almost prevented monitoring and control of fulfilment of NSRF objectives, and it caused multiplication of administrative and other mistakes of individual offices, which became fully evident in 2012 by suspension of payments from the EU and the necessity to reset the implementation system. The control system is strongly decentralized and from the aspect of achieving the objectives specified on the national level, it is very difficult to control activities that lead to as effective valuation of funds as possible.

The initial idea about advantages of such decentralized system came to nought already during the first years of implementation. The system suffers from a lot of defects and externally appears as non-transparent and difficult to use. Trust in such system significantly decreased after series of corruption suspicions and investigations of bodies active in criminal proceedings. Generally, it is possible to state that operational programmes have fulfilled their objectives, but it is difficult to analyze if they contribute to national objectives. Complexity of the system turns a significant part of attention to its administration, and not enough of it is paid to real contributions and effects of individual interventions.

4.2. Hungary

Hungary joined the EU on May 1, 2004, the same as the Czech Republic and Poland.

Institutional frameworks as well as responsibilities of certain stakeholders are laid down by Government decree 255/2006 (XII 8) on the fundamental rules and institutions in charge of implementation of support from the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund and the Cohesion Fund in the 2007–2013 programming period. General procedures are regulated by MHPMO (Minister Heading the Prime Minister's Office) – MF (Minister of Finance) Joint Decree 16/2006 (XII 28) on general rules of implementation of support from the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund and the Cohesion Fund in the 2007–2013 programming period. Rules concerning financial management and control systems are set by Government Decree 281/2006 (XII 23) on rules concerning establishing systems of financial management and controls in relation to receiving support from the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund and the Cohesion Fund in the 2007–2013 programming period responsible for the implementation of the EAFRD and EFF (National Development Agency, 2007, p. 178).

The institutional system consists of institutions, such as the National Development Council, the Steering Committee for Development Policy, the National Development Agency etc. In the Hungarian system, the National Development Council is the advisory body of the government. In addition, the Steering Committee of Development Policy was established as a governmental body managed by the Prime Minister with participation of the Government Commissioner for the Development Policy. The National Development Agency (NRA) is another insti-

tution of the Hungarian implementation system. Based on the Hungarian model, the Agency performs very similar functions as the current National Coordination Authority; however, the significant difference lies in the fact that contrary to the Czech model, the Agency has managing authorities of operational programmes that ensure implementation directly under, as independent departments. The big advantage of such solution rests in very efficient provision of uniform methodology environment and monitoring system. Under the Hungarian model, the NRA operates in accordance with the legal regulations of Hungary. Managing authorities are conceived as NRA independent bodies. Independence rests especially in decision-making regarding provisions of grants and the overall management of operational programmes in accordance with the effective European legislation. These managing authorities use uniform methodological procedures and one monitoring system. Their activities are similar to the Czech managing authorities by supporting documents for their decisions are produced for them by the intermediate body. Managing authorities, in cooperation with ministries that are responsible for fulfilment of individual strategies and policies, then provide the partnership principle and the overall coordination of activities, which are then defined by so-called action plans, via committees for OP planning and implementation, sub-committees and monitoring committees, and other institutes. Intermediate bodies have been selected by the NRA based on preset criteria, and their responsibilities are anchored in the Hungarian legal regulations. Performance of their work then rests in the overall administrative provision of implementation (preparation of calls, selection of projects, monitoring, execution of the 1st level controls, reporting of differences). Relationships between the intermediate bodies and managing authorities are established similarly as in the Czech environment, by means of delegated acts. Ministries will be mentioned as the last. In this implementation model, they are excluded from the direct administration within the implementation system. Their role rests in participation in planning, production of the action plan, project selection committees, monitoring committees, and also the aforementioned advisory bodies. All the managing authorities are concentrated in one institution, which ensures uniform management, methodical procedures, and transfers of the best practice. At the same time, managing authorities are responsible especially for the strategic management of the programme, and intermediate subjects have higher competences, as well as responsibilities for administrative management. Decisions, such as on provision of a grant or approval of payment request, are left to the management authority, as well as decisions on preparation and realization of the action plan.

As for the territorial structure, Hungary is structured into 19 districts, and the Capital City of Budapest, which are NUTS III units (Megyék és a főváros). There are 7 NUTS II (Régiók) regions, NUTS I is formed by 3 parts of the state, so-called Országrészek (Eurostat, 2012). The municipal self-governments are now

independent of the central unit, and there is no hierarchy among them. Their rights and obligations are stipulated by the law – Self Government Act.

For the 2007–2013 programming period, there were 25.3 billion EUR allocated in Hungary, and these funds are divided among 21 operational programmes (8 nationwide OPs, 7 regional OPs, 6 OPs within the European Territorial Cooperation objective).

4.3. Republic of Poland

Multilevel administration is one of the principles of government that was incorporated into the regional policy reform in Poland, which is presented in the National Strategy of the Regional Development for 2010–2020. The important document regarding the area of the policy for the social, economic, and business cohesion in Poland is the act on principles of development policy of 2006 (*Ustawa*, 2006). Its objective rests in defining mechanisms for implementation and coordination of the structural policy, specifying rules for implementation of such policy, preparing documents for its implementation etc. (Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2008, p. 24). Among important legal regulations, there are also (Ferry, 2004, p. 11; MRR, 2008, p. 8): Act on the regional self-government of June 5, 1998, Act on income of territorial units of November 26, 1998, Act on principles of regional development support of May 12, 2000, Act on public finance of June 30, 2005, and Decree of the Ministry for Regional Development of September 7, 2007 on costs related to implementation of operational programmes.

Coordination related to implementation of Objectives 1 and 3 of the Cohesion Policy, NSRF, and implementation of all programmes realized in Poland and on its borders is under responsibility of the respective minister for regional development matters (the Minister for Regional Development). To ensure effective coordination of the NSRF implementation, the Prime Minister nominated a team lead by the respective minister for the regional development matters. As for the Coordination Committee (CC), its functions are as follows: horizontal coordination of policies, strategic monitoring, and evaluation of the NSRF implementation. The Committee is lead by the respective Minister for Regional Development. In addition, there are representatives of ministers involved in implementation of individual operational programmes and institutions that manage regional operational programmes, the respective minister for public finance, and a minister responsible for implementation of the joint agricultural policy and the joint fisheries policy. Representatives of Polish associations of territorial self-governing units and representatives of social and economic partners (organisations associated in the tripartite commission for social and economic matters, non-governmental organisations, and representatives of the academic and scientific sphere) also participate in CC activities. Representatives of the European Commission and representatives of the

European Investment Bank and the European Investment Fund may participate in CC meetings – with an advisory function. The Ministry for Regional Development (represented by the Minister for Regional Development) functions as the Managing Authority of Centrally Managed Programmes, whereas authorities of the respective voivodship are the Managing Authority of the regional operational programmes. The Managing Authority may delegate some of its competences to intermediate bodies; however, it is fully responsible for the programme implementation. Scope of responsibilities is defined by a contract or agreement. In addition to them, there are also intermediate bodies of the 2nd level – so-called second level intermediate bodies, to which an intermediate body may transfer a part of its responsibilities. Therefore, these are the institutions that are responsible for implementation of particular measures (operating groups) – e.g. for selection of projects (in accordance with selection criteria approved by the Monitoring Committee). They are often called implementing authorities). The institutional system also includes the certification authority, which is included in the organisation structure of the Ministry for Regional Development. As the last, we can mention the Audit Authority, which is included under the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Poland. The reform of the Polish regional policy related to the 2010–2020 period strengthens the multi-level administration process and, therefore, prevents the top-down government model (Hermann-Pawłowska, 2010).

The reform of 1990 led to development in the vertical structure and introduction of the lowest self-government level – gminas. The year 1999 brought establishment of 16 self-governing regions – poviatas. The legal foundation of the territorial self-government units is anchored in Articles 15 and 16 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of April 2, 1997 (*Konstytucja*, 1997). Matters of territorial units are further elaborated in Section VII – *Samorząd terytorialny*. The basic territorial self-governing units in Poland are gminas (municipalities). These units have all the self-government matters entrusted to them, unless they are entrusted to other units. There are also powiatas whose legal regulation was executed by Act on powiatas self-government of June 5, 1998 (*Ustawa*, 1998a) and voivodships that were established by Act on self-government of counties of June 5, 1998 (*Ustawa*, 1998b). The Constitution does not contain higher territorial self-government units.

The time-period before 1999 was characterized by strong centralisation and sectoral approach, while the time-period after 1999 is characterized by decentralisation of power in the regional development area. In the shortened 2004–2006 programming period, the role of regions in implementation of the structural funds was limited in comparison with the current 2007–2013 programming period. Responsibility rested especially with the central level, and there was Integrated Regional Development Programme available for all 16 regions. In the case of Poland, it is possible to see a dual system where regional, as well as governmental levels were included. The aforementioned system brought increased costs and

decreased effectiveness of the whole system. Decentralisation resulted in situation where in the current programming period, every region is a managing authority responsible for setting development priorities and preparation and implementation of the regional operational programme. Selection of projects, monitoring, control, and evaluation are under responsibility of the Office of the Marshal of the Voivodship. Regions as managing authorities may delegate some of its tasks to other entities. As for the voivodships, their tasks rest especially in certification of expenses on the respective territory (Hermann-Pawłowska, 2010).

During the 2007–2013 programming period, Poland was the biggest beneficiary from the EU structural funds when it receives an allocation of approximately 1/5 of the total amount of funds allocated for the Cohesion Policy. The following operational programmes have been implemented in Poland: Infrastructure and Environment Programme, Innovative Economy Programme, Human Capital Programme, 16 regional programmes, Development of Eastern Poland Programme, Technical Assistance Programme, and European Territorial Cooperation Programmes.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Description of the system and functioning of the multilevel administration in three sample countries confirms the premise stated in the opening of this text, as well as issues and aspect related to the White Book, i.e. that despite the importance and *de facto* necessity for the multilevel administration in relation to achieving objectives and interests of the EU, such administration is applied in all the policies neither consistently nor effectively, and if it is, then neither symmetrically, nor uniformly.

In Poland, we can observe the duplicity principle in the public administration. From our aspect, the Polish system is characterized by complexity and, to a great extent, fragmentation. On the other hand, the non-duplicity system, so-called joint model, is applied in the Czech Republic. In the Czech regulations, contrary to Polish regulations, a separate institution that would centralize important strategic and conceptual documents and subsequently comment on their fulfilment (institution of the Development Policy Managing Authority) is not established. Currently, it is not possible to reasonably expect that over brash establishment of such an authority in the Czech legal environment would have significantly helped to faster and more efficiently set up the implementation system.

Complexity of establishment of such authority in the Czech Republic can be also assumed from the aspect of thematically concentrated operational programmes when it is possible to assume that the system, in which the managing authority function would be executed by the state administration body (that, accord-

ing to the competence act, does not cover all areas in which it should intervene) would bring significant complications during its execution as for financial flows and intervention into competences of other resorts. From this aspect, establishment of an agency seems to be a more effective solution. Nevertheless, such agency does not have to be established by the law. The Constitution of the CR does not forbid to establish other administration bodies and assign them with competences if it is stipulated by law and such law was issued later than the Constitution itself. Of course, it would have to be ensured that newly defined competences would not overlap with competences defined in the Competence Act and other regulations that establish other bodies (e.g. state funds etc.). For such agency, a budget item would be established in the state budget, through which transfer of funds would be executed and expended in relation to the purpose for which this agency was established. From our viewpoint, the Polish system is characterized by complexity and, to a great extent, fragmentation.

The Hungarian model offers possible solution for realisation of thematically concentrated units and direct management, monitoring, and evaluation of interventions. At the same time, it does not necessarily mean that certain levels must be under the patronage of the Office of the Government because competences and legal regulations can be different in the Czech environment, which would not allow for complete takeover of this model. At the same time, it is clear that without efficient, uniform, and direct management of implementation, it is not possible to achieve efficient fulfilment of objectives delineated by the EU Treaty with sufficient synergic effect. At the same time, it is necessary to ensure individual methodological environment and adherence to it. This system offers certain alternatives.

If we are dealing with individual levels of management, then it is clear from the aspect of the multilevel administration that at the multinational level, uniform conditions are set via the European legislation and policies of the EU, which are further applied by European institutions against the member countries. Nevertheless, already at this level, it is possible to observe different approaches applied by the European institutions against individual member countries, as well as different approaches of various institutions when executing one policy. That means that nonuniformity during execution of the multinational administration level causes disharmony when executing administration at lower levels. At the national level, there are differences in implementation of the multinational regulation caused by different institutional systems and non-unified legal regulations. At the same time, territorial structures and different levels of autonomy of the self-governing units significantly complicate establishment of a single implementation system that would be similar in all member countries.

The aforementioned description shows apparent differences in approaches to management of the cohesion policy in the monitored member countries where

models with more or less strengthened central management factors are examined. At the regional level, especially regional self-governments are involved in definition of strategies, as well as in management of some operational programmes whose objective rests especially in development of the respective region. However, at this level, it is possible to see increased degree of corruption behaviour and low willingness to respect central authorities, which caused significant problems during implementation of, for example, the Czech model, and increased control activity at the multinational level. Czechia is trying to learn a lesson from this situation by establishment of centrally managed operational programme for the future period. However, these tendencies are not apparent in other monitored member countries where, to the contrary, necessity to maintain this regional level also for management of operational programmes is confirmed. Differences in the extent of independence and responsible behaviour of regional self-governments are then the cause of very different approaches of the member countries to implementation of this policy. At the local level, towns and municipalities are entering preparations of strategies via interested parties (e.g. Association of Towns and Municipalities and similar ones in other member countries), and they play the key role of project beneficiaries during the implementation itself. Therefore, their role is slightly different because these entities are the key to the successful policy implementation. In order to fulfil their roles, it is necessary to encourage their willingness to prepare strategies and achieve the maximum synergy effect of the partial projects by integrated approaches.

From the aspect of the researched phenomenon, i.e. multilevel administration, further progress and development of the European integration is, therefore, the key for high-quality implementation of policies defined on the multinational level. Since the national units are significantly different from the aspect of the inner structure, it is not possible to achieve a uniform implementation model. Provision of the operative management role during implementation by institutions established and managed by the EU up to the regional level could be considered. However, this idea seems to have a very low probability because it is not possible to assume that member countries would accept such intervention into their sovereignty and, therefore, in the light of the current integration trends, this solution is inconceivable. When considering the ideal implementation model, it is necessary to state that performance of functions defined by decrees would be rather entrusted to an entity out of the institutional system of a member country and, therefore, an agency that would be, in the ideal case, established by an independent legal act. Such agency would then manage individual operational programmes on the operative base. Interested parties from all the levels of the multilevel administration should participate in defining strategies and evaluation of their fulfilment, as well as in defining recommendations for further proceeding, and their recommendations should be binding for the operative management.

In conclusion, it is possible to state that the structure of the multilevel administration mostly depends on the legal regulations and order of the respective country. An act that would apply to the structural funds cannot cover all situations. In addition to legal regulations, dependence or independence of individual institutions also rests in the territorial administration and management. One of the solutions would be issuance of an act that would apply to all countries and would be binding for all of them; however, that does not have to be politically acceptable for all. Political changes are among the factors that affect the multilevel administration. Discordance of functional terms of governments in the individual countries and lengths of programming periods are problematic here. After elections into the national institutions, there is an effort to accept decisions and change existing arrangements; the opposite occurs before elections when governments accept bigger decisions only exceptionally.

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CITY BRANDING EVALUATION AND ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL CAPABILITIES OF ISFAHAN CITY

1. INTRODUCTION

Globalisation is increasing with shifting in resources, capital, and people around the world and intensification in competition among cities for investment, business, tourists, and different events is considerable (Zhang and Zhao, 2009, pp. 245, 252). Globalisation intends to help the developing cities to compete more easily with early established cities which are in a more stable situation (Pfefferkorn, 2005, p. 11). In such circumstances, city managers are looking for marketing for their cities to stay ahead in development path and also to promote the competitiveness level of the cities. The beginning of marketing for cities dates back to the 19th century. Marketing and expansion of the tourism services sector has intensified in cities, along with increasingly looking for marketing for their own locations. Today, due to the importance of the role of marketing in cities, conscious use of marketing methods by public organisations not only is known as a secondary tool in solving the planning problems, but also it is considered as a rule and principle in place management (Kavaratzis, 2004, p. 59).

To prove their individuality in achieving various economic, political, social or psychological purposes, cities have long sought to separate from each other (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005, p. 1). Along this historical route and increasing

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competitiveness of cities it is expected to see city branding role as action resulting from a consensus among the public and the officials about the identity of the city and also as a strategic instrument for spreading competitive advantages of cities used by many of them around the world to enhance competitiveness (Zhang and Zhao, 2009, pp. 245, 252), and also as a suitable tool for city marketing.

Generally speaking, to make a correct decision and to schedule correctly, city managers need a comprehensive knowledge to influence the city. To create healthy communities and understand the costs and benefits of different patterns of development, managers need to have sufficient knowledge, i.e. they have to know the current image of the city, then to design the image as they wish and to define actions for city improvement. Studying of image and identity of the city is a crucial part of recognition in the process of urban planning strategy (Gholipour *et al.*, 2010, p. 38).

In Iran, while some cities have a good image, some others have a negative or weak picture in the minds of people inside or outside the city (Gholipour *et al.*, 2010). Isfahan city, known as *half of the world* (Nesf-e Jahan) by tourists (Pope, 2007: 207), has a special position that makes authorities call it the capital of Islamic culture and civilization of Iran (Isfahan Governorate, 2009). Regarding this naming by city officials as the main objective of the present study, that is the analysis of cultural capabilities of Isfahan city as the symbols of Islamic-Iranian culture and civilisation in line with city branding, and also taking into account the fact that city branding is the result of consensus among the public and the officials, the study tries to answer four main proposed questions through bidirectional examination. On the one hand, the study focuses on a centralized top-down look from the transnational, national, regional, and local level and on the other hand it takes a bottom-up view from the people's perspective (foreigners, domestic visitors and residents). The questions are (1) to what extent transnational and national documents confirm the practical use of cultural identity in Iran, especially in Isfahan? (2) to what extent regional and local documents confirm the capability of cultural identity of Isfahan? (3) from the viewpoint of people (foreigners, domestic visitors and residents), to what extent cultural factors compared to other elements like policy and economy are the most important factors and to what degree people's subjective image is based on the cultural assets of the city? (4) from the people's point of view, which one of the cultural elements that make the identity of the city can be perceived better?

2. METHODOLOGY

The present study tries to use hierarchical documents along with bottom-up field research and with the use of questionnaires to analyze and examine the cultural capabilities of Isfahan city as a symbol of Iranian-Islamic culture and civilisation in order to brand the city. The successive steps of the analysis are set out below.

Step 1. Identifying city branding concept and recognizing aspects through which people understand the city in order to use them in the field research.

Step 2. Seeking the cultural components which make the identity of the city and evaluating them from the viewpoint of people (foreigners, domestic visitors and residents).

Step 3. Recognizing the importance and the privileged position of the culture of Isfahan city from the authorities' viewpoint. The framework for the recognition is based on a top-down and macro to micro process, on Transnational Documents, Perspective Document as the highest Planning Document of the Islamic Republic of Iran, at the regional level on National Development Document of the province, and locally on City Perspective Document.

Step 4. Examining to what extent the cultural factor compared to other factors like policy and economy, is the most prominent element in people's view and recognizing how people perceive and experience the cultural capabilities which make the identity of the city via bottom-up field research. To do this, questionnaires were distributed among visitors (domestic and foreign) and residents. The questionnaires were distributed to three top historical and cultural places that are privileged both inside and outside the borders and have been recorded by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). This includes modern entertainment places as well. The places are as follows: Imam Square (Naghsh-e-Jahan) recorded in 1979, with registration number 115 (UNESCO, 2013); Chelchelsotoon Garden of Persian gardens recorded in 2011, Reg 1327 (UNESCO, 2013), and Jame Mosque recorded in 2012, Reg 1379 (UNESCO, 2013). Questions were designed so that respondents had to rate them on an agreement scale, graded from 5 (the strongest agreement) to 1 (the strongest disagreement). There were also open-ended questions where respondents were able to make more comments and free suggestions. In total, 100 people participated in the surveys. Among them, 20% of respondents were Isfahan's residents, 40% were domestic visitors, and 40% were foreigners. Extracting and analyzing the data is the final step of the research.

3. REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

Various studies with different purposes have been done in connection with city branding around the world. In their essay 'City Branding and the Olympic Effect: A Case Study of Beijing', Li Zhang and Simon Xiaobin Zhao (2009) sought to examine the degree of matching between the identity and core values as determined by the city authorities and the realities as perceived by visitors and residents; also, they evaluated the Olympic effects as a great impact on Beijing branding process, and presented two major conclusions. The first one was that there was a mismatch

between the identity and core values as branded by the city authority and what was perceived and experienced by visitors and residents; and the second was that great events like Olympic Games, overall, have limited publicity effect and impact on the city branding process.

Manuel Di Carlo *et al.* (2009) discuss the results of designing a cultural brand for Milan city. The main conclusions are that each part of development and branding strategies should be innovative in enhancing the positive features and dealing with the negative ones, and one of the requisite conditions for the success of a brand is participation of a wide range of beneficiaries.

In their research, Larisa Dragula and Denisa Kuatralo (2012) have targeted a cultural element called National Museum of Unity in Romanian Alba Iulia city in the context of city branding. They identified positive and negative aspects as perceived by tourists and specified activities which must be done by the museum over the year compared to previous years in order to increase tourist flow. In 2005, with the use of contemporary developments in marketing theory and practice, Kavaratzis and Ashworth show that how it is possible to correlate product branding to city branding as a powerful depicting strategy to the current city. And they are also trying to define a framework for an effective strategy for city branding. Kavaratzis and Ashworth have also found that if they want to extend the products branding theories, it is necessary to take city branding into account as well, for city is a product which remains. It includes distinctive features like spatial scale, spatial hierarchy, inherent multiplicity etc. that differentiate city branding from product branding. They believe that if these distinctive features are recognized, it is possible to include product branding in this process and achieve a valid and effective form for place management; otherwise, it is considered an irrelevant deviation.

In a modelling study, Gholipur *et al.* (2010) evaluated the key factors effective in shaping city image towards effective city branding among Tehran citizens. The study proved that the priorities of 'Tehran Inner Image Shaping' model are: economy, trade, scope of services, the city's international status, transportation and communication infrastructure, traffic, social issues, heritage constructions preservation, the environment, architecture and city attraction, citizen self-awareness, culture, education and university. They have also offered suggestions for improving various aspects of city; for example, in the cultural field, they have suggested increasing the diversity and plurality of events, boosting cultural festivals in Tehran and providing better access to culture and cultural products for citizens.

To summarize the recent research in the field of branding, it can be concluded that for transferring the fundamental branding concepts from commercial products to city area, distinctive features of commercial products and of city should be taken into consideration.

4. CITY BRANDING AND EVALUATION VARIABLES

City branding by putting pressure on cities lacking brand increases their speed in development path (Stigel and Frimann, 2006, p. 247). Product branding and marketing are sources of inspiration for designing city branding. Branding a product is representative of a range of physical, social, psychological attributes and beliefs that are associated with that product. Branding is a conscious strategy to select some attributes of a product. It is considered as core values of a product in order to facilitate the process by which consumers confidently can recognize them. Those core values form the product's identity. Although some, like Peterson (1981), object that cities are not like products that are involved in direct transactions of markets, proponents argue that the concept of product branding can include city branding as well. One of the crucial strategies in city branding is the creation of city's identity which employs a wide range of history, demography, economy and policy (Zhang and Zhao, 2009, p. 246). City identity is not an easy but difficult comprehensible concept. At the first step, everyone thinks that they can understand and identify both identity concept and city term, whereas in a professional sense, understandings of the two are very difficult (Behzad-far, 2007, p. 38). Holloway and Hubbard assert that interaction with 'place' may take place 'through direct experience with the environment or indirectly through media representations'. However, what is important is how the information is processed and through subjective process leads to perceptions of stable images of place which are a basis for their daily interaction with their environment. Such subjective plans allow people to navigate through complex realities, for 'our surrounding is usually more complicated than our feeling about it'. In fact, branding is engaged with those mental images. 'Place brand management' is an attempt to influence and improve the mental plan that is considered as an optimal path for the current needs and future demands of a place (Kavaratzis, 2008, p. 10).

In general, place identity is affected by physical functions and by experienced emotional aspects of the environment. Place dependency is associated with a strong understanding of the relationship between individual and specific location. This relates to the quality of current location and quality of other alternative places that is comparable with the current place (Ujang, 2012, p. 158). Branding process helps a city to define its identity in order to draw attention and to be distinct from other cities and helps the city to promote and publicize itself better (Dragolea and Cotîrlea, 2012, p. 681).

People often focus on issues like climate, environment, transportation and traffic, living standards and costs, sports and leisure facilities, social order and cultural life of the city to view and think about city in practical terms. Anholt (2007) comes up with six analytically distinct aspects through which a city is understood and the brand of city can be evaluated. These aspects as the city brand-

ing hexagonal indexes include Presence (familiarity and contribution to global culture), place (physical aspects), potential (economy and educational opportunities), Pulse, community and people (cultural alignment) and Prerequisite (living standards and infrastructure) which cover both tangible and intangible dimensions of economic and social developments (Anholt, 2007, p. 59). Table 1 has given the branding indexes of city in summary.

Table 1. The aspects of people’s perception of the city

Aspect	Meaning
Presence	The city’s international status and standing; the city’s global contribution
place	The city’s appearance and physical attributes, such as cleanliness of environment
potential	The city’s opportunities for future development
Pulse	The city’s vibrancy and exciting ways of life with lots of interesting activities for residents and visitors
people	The city’s friendliness, openness, cultural diversification and safety
Prerequisite	The city’s basic infrastructure and public amenities

Source: Anholt (2007), pp. 59, 60.

Identity and traditional values of a city cannot be ignored like a neutral statement, but as a claim, they should be evaluated with different benefits to be cleared that they are justifiable or not. Creation of identity for a city is a crucial part in branding discussion (Zhang and Zhao, 2009, p. 246). Hence, in regard to the research orientation that is analysis and examining of capabilities of Isfahan cultural identity, cultural identity and its other components will be evaluated.

5. CULTURAL IDENTITY AND ITS COMPONENTS

Undoubtedly, culture is the most important and richest source of identity. Individuals and groups always adopt an identity with recourse to cultural components and elements. Because these components and elements have a remarkable ability to meet people’s need as they want to be distinct from or integrate into mass of people. In other words, culture creates either differences or integration. When we talk about culture we are referring to the ways in which humans, individually or collectively, in relationship with others make their life meaningful. In traditional societies, power and high performance of boundaries create an exclusive space for specific cultures. Such cultures could therefore benefit from immunity based on the use of such proprietary to find an absolute position. Since there was no culture competitor and cultural alterations were very few, humans’ need for absolute and stable resources was met appropriately. But globalisation process not

only destroyed exclusive position and immunity of cultures, but also reduced their ability for drawing traditional identity. In a world without borders, various cultural components and elements inevitably clash with each other so they get together (Behzadfar, 2007, pp. 32, 33). Maintaining meaning and identity of city elements is very important, because it reinforces identity, community feelings, and sense of place (Ujang, 2012, p. 157).

Recognizing the identity of a city should be based on constitutive components of the character of that place. The constitutive components of the character of a city are; natural, artifact and human components, of which each has its own attributes and variables. Some variables are as follows (Behzad-far, 2007, pp. 54–56):

- natural components: mountains, rivers, material, hills, plains etc.;
- artifact components: individual buildings, roads, neighbourhoods, squares, curbs etc.;
- human components: culture, language, religion, customs, education etc.

Combination of the mentioned components forms cultural characteristics (cultural identity) of a city. Given that the variety of cultural components is immense to be used in evaluating a city, it is better to view them in macro-scale (Zhang and Zhao, 2009, p. 250).

1. Indigenous liberal arts and crafts.
2. Heritage constructions.
3. Lifestyle, customs and traditions.

6. INTRODUCING ISFAHAN CITY

Socio-political developments which gradually took place after the Mongol invasion in Iran caused continuous transformations in architecture and urbanism of Iran. During this period, actions that began in the time of Shah Tahmasb and culminated in the time of Shah Abbas should be considered as a turning point (Forotan, 2009, p. 95). These developments led to the creation of buildings and lasting premises in the town which have remained in minds since a long time ago and encompass an important part of the cultural heritage of the town. This is the reason why travellers know the town as ‘half of the world’ (Pope, 2007, p. 207). Isfahan city has a pleasant weather, prominent areas like Naghsh-e-Jahan square, memorable monuments like Ali-Ghapoo and Menar-Jonban, and unique and unbeatable mosques like Sheykh-Lotfollah and Shah-Abbas Mosque. There you can see appropriate links between nature and architecture such as Khajoo and See-o-Se Pol (thirty three) bridges. And natural river of Zayand-e-rud completes all of these features (Heidarzadeh and Saeedi, 2011, p. 12).

Having three places recorded by UNESCO, Isfahan has a unique position among historic cities in Iran and around the world. The places are: Imam Square (Naghsh-e-Jahan) recorded in 1979, with registration number 115 (UNESCO, 2013), Chehelsotoon, Garden of Persian gardens, recorded in 2011, REG 1327 (UNESCO, 2013), and Jame Mosque recorded in 2012, REG 1379 (UNESCO, 2013). Some of the outstanding places of historic, cultural and tourism interest of Isfahan city are listed in table 2.

Table 2. Some of the heritage constructions and tourist places of Isfahan city

Hotels	Commercial centres	Recreation	Historic sites and museums
Abbasi Hotel boasts a combination of modern architecture and architecture of Abbasid period Kowsar Hotel Hotel Julfa	City Centre Shops and complexes around Chahar bagh (four gardens)	Zayandeh river coastal parks Birds Garden Flowers Garden Amusement Park Falls Beach Park of Nazhvan	Imam square Collec-tion Jame mosque Chehelsotoon garden Hasht behesht garden Chahar bagh axis Monarjonban Bridges Julfa neighborhood churches

Source: Honarfar (1997).



Fig. 1. Imam square Collection Fig. 2. Jame mosque Fig. 3. Chehelsotoon garden

Source: authors

7. UNDERSTANDING THE IMPORTANCE OF CULTURAL ASSETS OF ISFAHAN CITY AND PROVINCE ON THE BASIS OF HIERARCHICAL TRANSNATIONAL, REGIONAL AND LOCAL DOCUMENTS

Transnational level: Today, cities are tied to their specific titles. For example, at the international level, St. Petersburg city, the cultural capital of Russia (Sexton and Events Team, 2011), has been chosen by the EU as the cultural capital of Europe; this common title was also granted to the cities of Marseille and Košice in Slovakia in 2013 (Palmer *et al.*, 2011). Isfahan as a popular city in the cultural arena has an active presence in Iran and the world as well. In 2006 it was chosen by Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (ISESCO) as the capital of the Islamic World – a title that is annually granted to a city in Islamic countries (Altwaajiri, 2006).

National level: In the twenty-year development strategy – a document which is considered a long-term plan of the Islamic regime – particular attention has been given to cultural heritage and tourism. On the basis of Paragraph 1 of this document, country development should be in line with cultural, geographical, and historical requirements. Dominant spirit of the objectives of the twenty-year strategic development plan of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based on culture and its identity components; in the first of the eight paragraphs of this document, emphasis is on culture and its components, particularly the popular culture of the society. Among the cultural and historical concepts of this country, cultural heritage is given priority. Therefore, without preservation, restoration, and maintaining of the cultural heritage, tourism development is impossible. Paragraph 6 of the twenty-year development plan considers another ideal aim that is achieving the first place in the economy in Southwest Asia. This will not be achieved without an emphasis on rapid and continuous growth of the economy, relative increase of *per capita* income, and increase in employment and participation rate. In this regard, one cannot ignore the role of tourism industry development that has a high potential in creating rapid economic growth and causes further participation through constructive and effective interaction with the world (Paragraph 8 of the document) (Zali, 2009, pp. 120, 121). Isfahan Province due to its specific historical, geographical, cultural, artistic, and religious position has provided various contexts for development and establishment of the Islamic-Iranian culture.

Regional level: In various parts and multiple sections of the National Development Document of Isfahan Province as a regional document, there is an emphasis on the necessity of using capabilities and capacities of Isfahan city. The following are some of the most important items of the document that point to the topic of culture and tourism (Isfahan Government, 2011).

In the section on Development Capabilities of the province, which is the most important section, city culture refers to:

Paragraph 5: having different historical, natural, and man-made tourism attractions with national and international value as a tourism hub in the region.

Paragraph 6: having cultural value of historical written heritage, valuable works of art, architecture and urbanism, artists and cultural thinkers affecting the interactions at the country and the world level and unique status of Isfahan city in art and cultural interactions of the world.

Paragraph 8: having social components accelerating economic relations and social relations (lasting religious background, strong informal financial systems, professional ethic, and corporations with rich experience, informal self-law-abiding social institutions, scientific and technical capacities).

Paragraph 17: having strong potential in handicraft.

In long-term goals of the province development, as can be seen below, tourism industry promotion is directly targeted as the main goal of development.

Paragraph 6: promoting cultural, scientific, and artistic functions of the province in international interactions.

Paragraph 8: enhancing and equipping tourism industry at the level of international standards and making the province a tourism hub of the country.

Paragraph 18: promoting and preserving cultural values and identity features and ensuring suitable forms of spending leisure time for different groups of society.

Local level: Since the strategic development plan is a source and a reference for all plans, the relevant local level document for Isfahan depicts, as shown below, the status of this city in 1404 (Isfahan Municipality, 2010, p. 68).

8. ISFAHAN STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1404)

8.1. Isfahan, Capital of Culture and Civilization of Islamic Iran

An Islamic city, pure, mosque-centred, the cradle of elites and scientists, inspiring, and symbol of Islamic modern civilization.

People-centred city with a single management, based on knowledge and wisdom, value-oriented and with the approach of social justice.

An innovative city with people who are faithful, joyful, and responsible and are treated as an example in citizenship culture.

A beautiful, thriving, green, safe, healthy, and smart city.

An advanced city with Islamic-Iran architecture, balanced, and compatible with cultural and historical identity.

An advanced city with a dynamic economy and productive livelihood, based on production of knowledge, technology, and tourism along with comfort;

A perfect city with a superior position in the world because of its culture, art, and tourism and the best city to live in Iran.

This document begins with the title of 'Isfahan, Capital of Culture and Civilisation of Islamic Iran'. It indicates that the officials assigned to Isfahan a high position in the cultural dimension. In fact, the officials in their plans are looking for the architecture of Isfahan to get the city to its peak (the capital of culture and civilisation of Islamic Iran).

The noteworthy point that the document referred to is that Isfahan has potential to reach to the top of the world's culture, art and tourism. Since city branding is a strategic instrument for dissemination of cities' competitive advantages (Zhang and Zhao, 2009, p. 245), thus in case of an agreement between the officials and the public on imagined picture (the capital of culture and civilisation of Islamic Iran) for Isfahan city, city branding can be an appropriate strategy in achieving this great aim. Analysis of hierarchical documents, in which Isfahan city is named as the cultural capital of the Islamic World by ISESCO, an international organisation, and the capital of culture and civilisation of Islamic Iran, shows that there is special effort to take advantage of cultural capabilities of the country, particularly of Isfahan city because of its rich cultural heritage, from transnational to local level (figure 4).

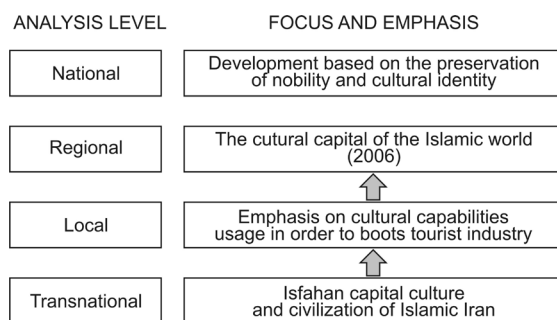


Fig. 4. The results of upstream plans and documents analysis

Source: authors' elaboration

By changing the direction of analyzes from down to up, the study plans to evaluate the matching degree of respondents' mental picture of Isfahan city with what the authorities and international institutions stated in high-level documents, and to analyze cultural capabilities of Isfahan from the viewpoint of respondents in the context of city branding and other related issues.

9. BASIC RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The results of the questionnaire survey primarily reveal the perceived high cultural status of Isfahan city compared to the other factors such as politics and economy, and allow identification of cultural elements which make the identity of the Isfahan city from the respondents' view (foreigners, domestic visitors and residents) via indexes (presence, place, potential, pulse, people and prerequisite) by which a city can be perceived when it is going to be branded. Those elements include handicrafts and indigenous liberal arts, heritage constructions, lifestyle, customs and traditions.

Questions were designed in such a way that respondents had to rate them through an agreement scale, graded from 5 (the strongest agreement) to 1 (the strongest disagreement). There were also open-ended questions where respondents were able to make more comments and free suggestions. In total, 100 people participated in the surveys. Among them, 20% were Isfahan's residents, 40% were domestic visitors, and 40% were foreigners.

Since in every planning the first step is recognizing of the environment and society of the target, the present study has pointed to the environment in the chapter titled 'Introducing Isfahan City'. Therefore, in the first step of the field research the researcher attempted to recognize and identify the target society (foreign visitors, domestic visitors and residents), thus the mean age was studied primarily. Overall, the average age of the target group was 37/5 with a standard deviation (SD) 13/5, i.e. 70% of the group were in 24–51 age range; in other words, as regards age groups, there are mainly young and middle-aged people. More than 50% of the respondents, 80% of foreigners and 70% of domestic visitors, as separately shown in figure 5, have university education (bachelor degree or higher degree). According to figure 6, most of the respondents are employees or those who have public occupations. Figure 7 shows that more than 60% of foreign visitors have high or very high income. On the whole, over 80% of all respondents have medium to high income.

The survey mentioned above reveals the characteristics of the respondents, especially foreign and domestic visitors. What is found is that the majority of visitors are young and middle-aged people with medium to high income and jobs that have regular holidays or free jobs.

Figures 8 and 9 show that nearly 80% of Iranian visitors travelled to Isfahan with their family. This more or less indicates that tourism capabilities of Isfahan can meet the needs of visitors who travel to the city with their family. According to figure 9, about 65% of foreign visitors have travelled to the city with friends. A noteworthy point is that the role of tours faded into significance when compared with those family travels, because only 14% of visitors have travelled by tours. Generally, it can be said that tourism capabilities of Isfahan that are marketable for foreign customers are more suitable for those who travel in groups and are educated.

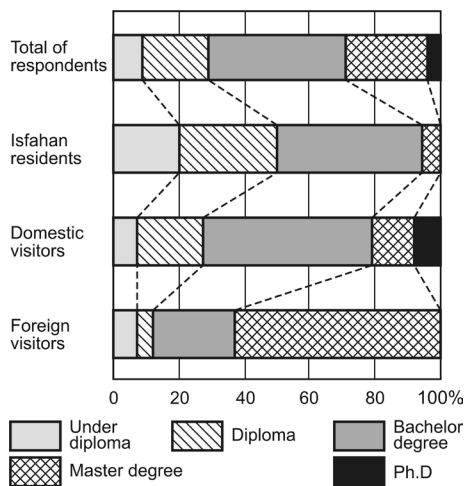


Fig. 5. Education level of respondents

Source: authors' elaboration

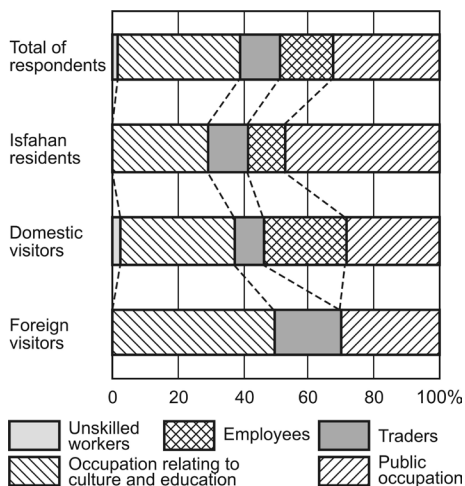


Fig. 6. Type of respondents' occupation

Source: authors' elaboration

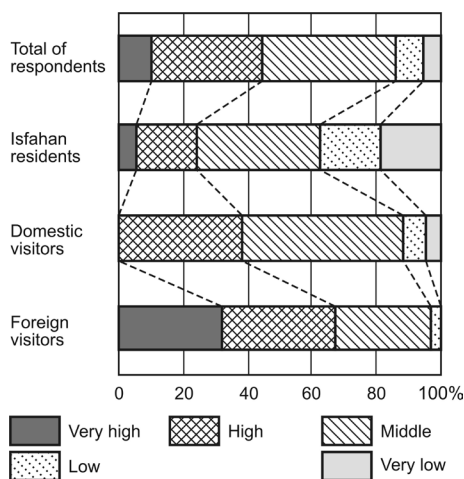


Fig. 7. Respondents' income levels

Source: authors' elaboration

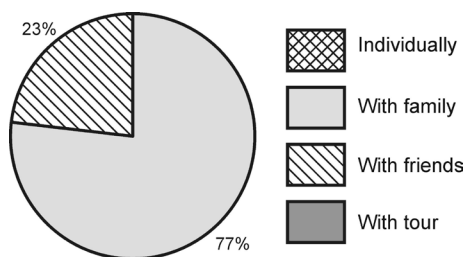


Fig. 8. Type of foreign visitors' travels

Source: authors' elaboration

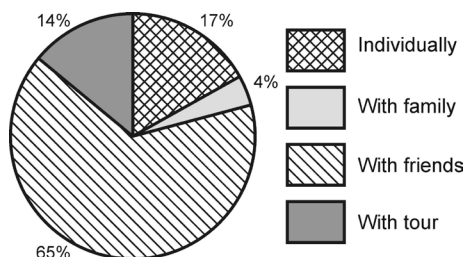


Fig. 9. Type of domestic visitors' travels

Source: authors' elaboration

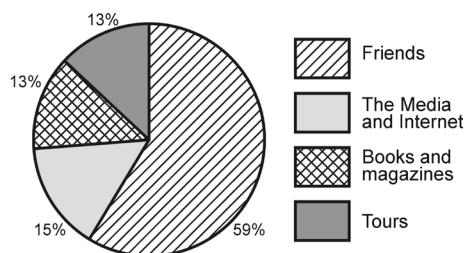


Fig. 10. Ways of collecting information about Isfahan city by domestic visitors

Source: authors' elaboration

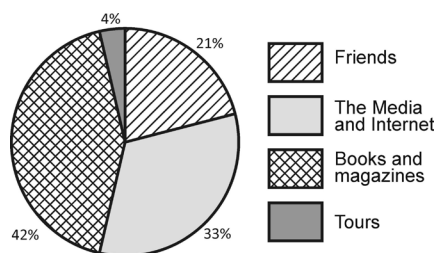


Fig. 11. Ways of collecting information about Isfahan city by foreign visitors

Source: authors' elaboration

With regard to ways of receiving information by foreigners or domestic visitors, the results show that nearly 60% of domestic visitors received information from their friends or relatives (figure 10). This shows the level of public awareness of Iranian society about the city's marketable capabilities and high level of satisfaction of domestic visitors who travelled to Isfahan before. The study also showed that 70% of foreign visitors have received their information about Isfahan city from mass media, Internet, books, and international magazines (figure 11).

This proves the importance of the international status of Isfahan, which is reflected in different foreign media, international books and magazines. It motivates foreign travellers to visit Isfahan. Another interesting point indicated in figure 11 is that tours have the least role in this area.

As shown in figure 12, more than 90% of domestic and foreign visitors announced that the reason for their presence in Isfahan is tourism. This proves the high capacity of the city. Figure 13 highlights the degree of visitors' willingness to visit the city again. This shows that Isfahan was able to meet the requirements in terms of cultural and tourism capabilities – it was successful in facing up to the brand claimed by the authorities.

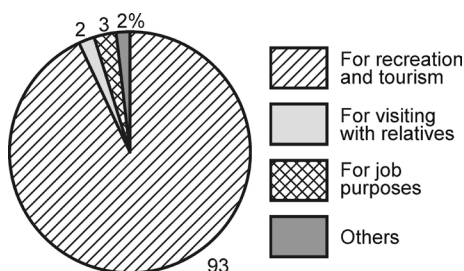


Fig. 12. Reason for the presence of foreign and domestic visitors

Source: authors' elaboration

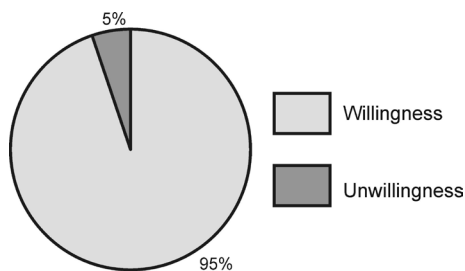


Fig. 13. Degree of visitors' willingness to visit Isfahan again

Source: authors' elaboration

The cultural status of Isfahan will be analyzed from the respondents' view in the remaining part of this study. Table 3 confirms a high and prominent position, in respondents' opinion, of the cultural status of Isfahan city compared with two other dimensions, i.e. policy and economy, at the national or transnational level.

Table 3. Cultural status of Isfahan in regard to respondents' mental image

Isfahan position and status from the viewpoint of respondents	Cultural	Economic	Political	Dimensions
	4.2	3.9	3.8	average

Source: authors' elaboration.

The next step in the analysis is evaluation of the components which make the identity of the city in order to find out how each of the components was perceived. The employed indexes, as mentioned in theoretical principles, include presence, place, potential, pulse, people, and prerequisite (Anholt, 2007, pp. 59, 60). As table 4 shows, the components of the city's buildings and monuments with 3/8 of average has a better position than the other two dimensions, handicrafts and indigenous liberal arts and lifestyle, in presence component. These two components imply international status and position of the city. This proves that people and visitors have better perceptions of heritage constructions in comparison with handicraft art and lifestyle.

The results related to the 'place index' show that handicrafts, local arts, historical buildings and monument components from the viewpoint of respondents have been rated at almost the same level (4 and up), while lifestyle, customs and traditions in this index received poorer ratings. It can be concluded that physical characteristics of this index are weaker in comparison with handicraft, arts and historical buildings. Evaluation of components through 'potential index' showed that components of historical monuments received higher score than two other components. In other words, based on people's view, these components have

Table 4. Evaluation of cultural components of Isfahan in line with city branding

Suitable dimension for branding Isfahan city	Cultural aspects of Isfahan suitable for branding	Evaluation measures						
		presence	place	potential	vibrancy (pulse)	people	prere-quisite	average
Culture	Indigenous liberal arts and handi-crafts	3.1	4	3.4	3.3	3.3	3.8	3.5
	Heritage construc-tions	3.8	4.2	3.8	3.9	3.6	3.8	3.8
	Lifestyle and cu-stoms and traditions	2.9	3.2	3.5	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3
	Average	3.6	3.8	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.6	3.5

Source: authors’ elaboration.

a much better chance of developing than other cultural components that create identity. This feature of historical buildings and monument components is also true in the case of two other indexes – vibrancy and socialisation. It indicates that this component is more exciting, more interesting and more varied for people, and has higher transparency as well.

Evaluation of infrastructures is another noteworthy point that these three cultural identity components reveal. According to the people of Isfahan city, infra-structures of handicraft arts and historical works are at the same level. On all evaluations and assessments, however, historical buildings and monuments have gained the highest average through five other indexes. This means that although there are almost equally suitable infrastructures for handicraft arts and for historical monuments, historical works were perceived better by audiences (foreign visi-tors, domestic visitors and residents). In other words, the most manifest cultural and identity element of the city are buildings and historical monuments.

The survey indicated that three cultural and identity components of Isfahan were perceived by audiences with an acceptable score of 3 and up. But it is im-portant to note that in each stage of the branding strategy, enhancing the strengths and addressing weaknesses in order to achieve success seems essential (De Carlo *et al.*, 2009, p. 20). Improving socialisation level and enhancing the international status and position of the city (visualisation) can accelerate the movement of Is-

fahan on the course of changing to an international-cultural-tourism city because of its rich cultural potential.

Considering that great international events can provide a good chance of promoting and advertising a city's features (Zhang and Zhao, 2009, p. 253), some parts of the field research referred to the international events. For example, the study posed a question about international Film Festival for Children and Adolescents, which is held annually in the city. To what extent audiences are familiar with it and thus became familiar with the city? It was found that despite the fact that more than half of the audiences considered Isfahan as a suitable host for international events, a large proportion of them did not have any information on this subject. Interestingly, what became clear from this review is that Isfahan has lost a good chance for promoting and advertising its tourism capabilities because of inappropriate informing. It seems that by removing barriers, Isfahan can increase its speed on the course of taking advantage of its tourism capabilities based on cultural elements and hope to change into a brand based on cultural tourism.

Given that the focus of the research was aimed at analysis and evaluation of cultural capabilities of Isfahan city in line with city branding, the findings which are based on analysis of the degree of correlation between indexes for each of the cultural components (handicrafts and local arts, buildings and historical monuments, lifestyle and traditions and customs) will be evaluated and analyzed in a comparative study. The discussed data are based on tables 5, 6, 7.

In analyzing the correlation between 'visualisation index' and 'place index' it was evident that this correlation in each of three components is direct and meaningful. But, the correlation for components of handicrafts, buildings and historical works is weak while the correlation for lifestyle component is strong. In other words, improvement in physical features of cultural products and centres and exhibitions focused on lifestyle, customs and traditions of Isfahan leads to improvement in the mental picture of this specific component at national and international level.

What is derived from the correlation between two variables of 'visualisation' and 'potential' is that the correlation in each of the three components is relatively weak, direct and meaningful. Overall, it can be concluded that with increasing the use of hidden opportunities of the city in connection with cultural elements and components, we are able to improve the international image of Isfahan city.

Comparative analysis of degree of correlation between two variables of 'potential' and 'place' reveals that in all the components there is a positive and meaningful correlation between these two variables. It is particularly strong in buildings and historical works components. That is to say, improvement in physical quality of cultural components, particularly the buildings and historical works, leads to enhancement of cultural advantages of Isfahan city in line with city branding.

Table 5. Matrix of correlation degree between indexes of people's perception of the city in evaluating 'handicrafts and indigenous liberal arts' component

Variables	Presence	place	potential	Pulse	people	Prerequisite
Presence	1					
place	.271*	1				
potential	.311**	.224*	1			
Pulse	.301*	.239*	.626**	1		
people	.245*	.200	.362**	.404**	1	
Prerequisite	.142	.287**	.075	.136	.381**	1

Source: authors' elaboration.

Table 6. Matrix of correlation degree between indexes of people's perception of the city in evaluating 'heritage constructions' component

Variables	Presence	place	potential	Pulse	people	Prerequisite
Presence	1					
place	.230*	1				
potential	.255*	.360**	1			
Pulse	.133	.166	.514	1		
people	.098	.254*	.428**	.358**	1	
Prerequisite	.230*	.324**	.342**	.271*	.588**	1

Source: authors' elaboration.

Table 7. Matrix of correlation degree between indexes of people's perception of the city in evaluating 'lifestyle and customs and traditions' component

Variables	Presence	place	potential	Pulse	people	Prerequisite
Presence	1					
place	.637**	1				
potential	.213*	.231*	1			
Pulse	.290**	.394**	.718**	1		
people	.198	.299**	.315**	.386**	1	
Prerequisite	.277*	.377**	.350**	.310**	.631**	1

Source: authors' elaboration.

Analysis of intensity of correlation between indexes of dynamism (pulse) and presence, dynamism and place, and dynamism and potential makes it clear that there is a direct and meaningful correlation in each of the three variables of handicrafts component whereas in components of buildings and historical works there is no meaningful correlation between dynamism and presence, and dynamism and physical variables. And in relation to components of lifestyle, customs and traditions there is a direct and meaningful correlation among the mentioned indexes. A more detailed examination of the intensity of correlation among the above mentioned indexes shows that there is a strong and direct correlation between dynamism and potential indexes. The fact is that the more diversity and attractiveness

in cultural components (handicrafts and indigenous liberal arts, heritage constructions, lifestyle and customs and traditions) suitable with the target's taste (foreigners, domestic visitors and Isfahan citizens), the better the prospects for using the cultural assets of the city in order to brand it. This leads to attracting investment and generating income which is the result of any sort of branding.

Direction of the relation of the society variable with variables of presence, place, potential and dynamism is direct in each of the three analyzed cultural components. Except for buildings and historical works, lifestyle, customs and traditions there is a meaningless connection between variables of 'people' and 'visualisation'. In other words, if correlation, transparency and cultural diversity increase in three areas, i.e. handicrafts and indigenous liberal arts, buildings and historical works, lifestyle and customs and traditions, it can be expected, firstly, that Isfahan will be able to promote its national and international status and make its cultural capabilities play a prominent role in handicrafts and indigenous liberal arts at global level, and secondly, it will be possible to improve the physical quality and use of cultural advantages and to enhance the attractiveness of each of the three analyzed cultural components.

The direction of the relation of the prerequisite variable with variables of presence, place, potential, and dynamism and people is direct in each of the three analyzed cultural components. Except that in handicrafts and local art components there is a meaningless correlation between infrastructure variable with visualization, potential and dynamism variables. Comparison of the above correlation among each of the three components indicates that there is a fairly strong correlation between two indexes of 'infrastructure' and 'people' within components of buildings and historical works, and lifestyle, customs, and traditions. With increasing the level of basic infrastructure and public services, particularly in the contexts of heritage constructions, and lifestyle, customs and traditions, city correlation, transparency, and safety will be greatly increased as well.

10. CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the study was analysis and evaluation of cultural capabilities of Isfahan city as a symbol of Iranian-Islamic culture and civilisation in order to brand the city. Taking into account the fact that city branding is the result of consensus among the public and the officials, the study attempted to fulfil three aims through bidirectional examination. From one direction, the study focused on a centralized top-down look from the transnational, national, regional, and local level while the other direction was a bottom-up look from the people's view (foreigners, domestic visitors and residents). To achieve these aims, the study first sought to find

out, by reviewing documents, the identity as envisaged by the authorities, and the identity as perceived by the public through Anholt's criteria (2007), which are related to aspects through which a city is perceived (visualisation, place, potential, dynamism, people, and infrastructure), and also to evaluate the matching degree of the two approaches compared to each other. Second, it sought to identify the most prominent feature of Isfahan's cultural identity as the most important competitive advantage of the city in order to brand the city. Third, within cultural components (handicraft and local arts, buildings and historical monuments, lifestyle and customs and traditions), it sought to examine and evaluate the correlation among indexes (visualisation, place, potential, dynamism, people and infrastructure) through which people understand a city.

In general, the naming of Isfahan as the cultural capital of the Islamic World by ISESCO, the focus of Iran Perspective Document on development based on Iranian-Islamic culture and identity, and the basing of development strategy on employing cultural and tourism capabilities of the province and city of Isfahan, which is mentioned in National Development Document of the province, indicates that Isfahan has a top global position in art, culture and tourism, and it is expected that Isfahan will become the capital of Islamic culture and civilisation of Iran. With this title it will be the sole contender among Iranian cities. And based on the above mentioned reasons, it is concluded that there is special effort to take advantage of cultural capabilities of the country, particularly of Isfahan city because of its rich cultural heritage, from transnational level to local level. Another conclusion that can be reached by reviewing documents is that the competitive identity envisaged by the authorities for Isfahan city is an identity based on Iranian-Islamic culture and civilisation. Field research also has revealed various facts and interesting lessons. One lesson is that the people in Isfahan (foreigners, domestic visitors and residents) mostly are young or middle-aged, educated, with medium to high income. Therefore, the authorities have to take into account the preferences of the people when they supply the cultural capabilities of Isfahan to their customers (foreign visitors and domestic ones), to ensure continuing and increasing inflow of tourists.

Since city branding is a public action and is the result of a consensus among the officials and the public about city's identity, the study revealed that there is an agreement between the authorities and the public of Isfahan (foreigners, domestic visitors, and residents) on the city's main and competitive identity. Both the authorities and the audiences have emphasized the role of cultural identity of Isfahan based on Islamic historical works and civilisation from the past. Thus, it seems that Isfahan has taken a major step on the branding path towards becoming a symbol of Iranian-Islamic culture and civilisation.

Another important result is that among three major cultural components (handicraft and indigenous liberal arts, heritage constructions, lifestyle and customs and

traditions) that are affected by physical functions and intrinsic aspects of culture, buildings and historical works were perceived best by the respondents, in other words the most prominent feature of cultural identity of Isfahan are its heritage constructions. This shows that the greatest advantage of Isfahan to be used in competition with other cities in Iran and around the world is its heritage constructions. Meanwhile city branding can be treated as a useful tool for promoting this significant advantage.

A final conclusion is that in most cases of evaluation, respondents paid more attention to physical characteristics than to intrinsic and inward characteristics. The same was found by Zhang and Zhao's (2009) research which they conducted in Beijing city.

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