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ARTICLES

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TERRITORIAL COHESION IN THE CONTEXT OF INTERREGIONAL AND TRANSNATIONAL COOPERATION

Abstract: Territorial cohesion can be traced back to the making of the European Spatial Development Perspective. Therefore, the experience gained with the application of this 'mother document' (Faludi in Krupa *et al*., 2008, p. 14) of integrative planning in Europe can contribute to the specification of territorial cohesion.

This paper draws on experience from the Interreg IIIC project ProgreSDEC, covering local and regional authorities from Greece, Italy, and Spain cooperating with each other in interregional and transnational projects. It looks both at the vertical and horizontal dimensions of European integration and explains three aspects of territorial cohesion. Talking about growing awareness, it should be differentiated between awareness relating to European issues – such as the European territorial and institutional environment – to the quality of planning, and to the endogenous 'territorial capital'. Key terms of European integrative planning are interpreted differently. The paper discusses the reading of 'polycentricity', 'landscape', and 'governance', in particular. Territorial governance can be looked at as an institutional approach to develop integrative planning in the context of territorial cohesion. This notably turns the attention to regions as the focus of integration, in terms of balancing sectoral approaches, bundling spacious networks, and handling the demands from different levels.
Key words: EU, territorial cohesion, integrative planning.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the European context, territorial cohesion can be considered as the leitmotif of spatial planning. It has been on the agenda over the past decades, i.e. long before the European Council adopted the Lisbon treaty (in December 2007) and

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recognised it officially as an objective as important as social and economic cohesion.[1] Through this, 'the territorial dimension of European policies was emphasized. Since then, the time is ripe for opening intergovernmental discussion on a possible definition of the shared principles of EU territorial governance, capable of linking the Community cohesion strategy with the functioning of national planning systems' (Janin Rivolin, 2005, p. 26).

Having this in mind, the clarification of the term 'territorial cohesion' affords the occupation with the term 'territorial governance', which is increasingly used in the European context but still suffers from little specification. As the 'policy process in the EU is more and more organised around communication' (Kohler-Koch, 2002, p. 4), the matter of governance is more than the transmission of concepts in a hierarchy, as the usual term of multi-level governance suggests. Territorial cohesion involves both a vertical and a horizontal dimension, giving a wider perception of 'shared principles'. These often are associated with the term of 'Europeanisation', which 'follows soft and alternative paths of socialization and learning' (Giannakourou, 2005, p. 329). Europeanisation, therefore, is inevitably linked to EU territorial governance.

This paper takes over at this stage and looks at these issues under the particular context conditions found in three Mediterranean states and under the sectoral focus on spatial planning. In section 2 a short reference is made to the key terms of this paper, mentioning in particular the two core documents of European spatial planning, the *European Spatial Development Perspective* (ESDP; CEC, 1999) and its successor, the *Territorial Agenda* (TAEU; EU Ministers for Spatial Planning and Development, 2007). Empirical evidence here stems from the Interreg IIIC project ProgreSDEC, conducted in the years 2005–2008. For a better understanding, in section 3 some basic information on the project background is given, before in section 4 the results are explained. Section 5 concludes.

2. THE ISSUE OF TERRITORIAL COHESION IN THE ESDP

It is not only the Lisbon treaty, but also the TAEU, which takes reference to 'territorial cohesion'. It aims to 'secure better living conditions and quality of life with equal opportunities, oriented towards regional and local potentials, irrespective of where people live' (EU Ministers for Spatial Planning and Development, 2007, § 3). Although the term territorial cohesion is not ques-

[1] It must be admitted that the term 'territorial cohesion' itself came up after the adoption of the ESDP. Nevertheless, 'there is not that much difference between the substance of territorial cohesion and spatial development policy', as followed in the ESDP (Faludi, 2009, p. 17).

tioned and implicitly can even be traced back to the ESDP, a specification of such a universal definition still is missing. Hence, in the *Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion* many questions are raised (CEC, 2008, p. 13), among them those concerning the most appropriate definition and the most appropriate geographical scale. Furthermore, it is stated that territorial cohesion addresses the urgent need for an integrated approach to spatial problems.

These questions sound familiar to those who followed the making of the ESDP and its application. This phase of spatial planning in Europe, roughly covering a decade starting in the mid-1990s, was stamped by the rivalry between the Commission on the one side and the member states on the other about the degree to which the EU can influence spatial planning. As the formal competence in the field of spatial planning is with the member states, the ESDP is a legally non-binding document. Hence, it provides 'a policy framework for better cooperation between Community sectoral policies with significant spatial impacts and between Member States, their regions and cities' (CEC, 1999, § 22). The ESDP introduces 'territory' as a 'new dimension of European policy' but at the same instant states that 'spatial development policies […] must not standardize local and regional identities in the EU, which help enrich the quality of life of its citizens' (CEC, 1999, § 1). In the core section of the ESDP several policy aims are developed which should serve as guidelines for balanced spatial development throughout the EU. Beside these precise spatial development objectives, the ESDP promotes in general an attitude of strengthened consideration of the European dimension in spatial development policies also at national and regional level. Furthermore, it intends to strengthen new forms of governance by emphasising the importance of cooperation between various actors, different governmental and administrative levels.

Different from the case of territorial cohesion, experience made with the making and application of the ESDP is in hand. Basically, three aspects are relevant here.

Firstly, the making of the ESDP was fuelled by the 'usual suspects' (Faludi and Waterhout, 2002), and so did the *Territorial Agenda* (TAEU), its successor, receive different support from the member states (Faludi, 2009). In particular the ESDP is renowned for reflecting a 'northwestern perspective' on spatial planning, because it can be traced back to the French strategic planning approach and the German comprehensive integrated planning approach. Influence of the UK can be noticed from the outline of a distinct multi-level-governance system, and its discursive nature is the north European share of the ESDP (Janin Rivolin and Faludi, 2005, p. 211). What is missing, is the perspective of the south European states, in particular Greece, Italy, and Spain.

According to the national involvement in the ESDP process, its impact on member states' spatial planning and policy varies. In those countries, which have strongly influenced the ESDP process, the need to change planning practices is

felt less urgently. In the remaining countries as well as in the new member states, the ESDP undoubtedly influenced the development of new planning approaches and institutions (ESPON 2.3.1, 2007, p. 154). Because of the fear of loosing the share of structural funds and because of the general reluctance against a predominantly non-southern European strategy, most of the southern member states adopted a rather sceptic and defensive approach towards the ESDP, including its application.

Secondly, with the making of the ESDP the term 'multi-level governance' has become popular for describing and explaining the institutional set-up for governing in the European Union. The term emerged from discussions on European integration theories which were dominated by two perspectives. On the one side, the intergovernmental perspective conceptualised the process of European integration as controlled by the state governments. On the other side, the supranational perspective emphasised the self-enforcing mechanisms of supranational institutions and integration processes. With increasing integration in selected sectors and increasing competences of supranational institutions, the integration process eludes increasingly the control of state governments (cf. George, 2005, p. 112).

Due to the non-binding character of the ESDP, its influence differs at the different levels of spatial policy. Generally speaking, the extent to which it is taken into account varies according to the (national) administrative and policy-making systems. Moreover, it is very much dependent on the political support and on the relevance of its arguments and policy options (cf. Williams, 2000, p. 363). Having noticed this, it becomes increasingly important that the perception gains ground that documents such as the ESDP and the TAEU and concepts such as territorial cohesion deliver a European perspective on spatial development – and that they open new worlds, which the European and national bodies need to learn to understand and handle (cf. Böhme and Schön, 2006, p. 68).

From this point of view it is a striking experience that 'the planning systems in the countries are not static, but borrow and mix elements from the other styles of spatial planning and thus are dynamic' (ESPON 2.3.2, 2007, p. F-92) and – to conclude – return different national and regional perspectives to the European level of spatial planning.

Thirdly, this leads to the question, whether the Mediterranean states of Greece, Italy, and Spain can contribute considerable experience to the evaluation of ESDP application. Janin Rivolin and Faludi (2005b, p. 210) say yes, quoting Jaques Delors, who emphasised as early as 1989 that 'local knowledge and the forces of auto-development' are 'as important as investments'. Indeed, this sort of contribution can be delivered by the member states in discussion, as it is their image that there is an 'important gap between established plans and reality' (Giannakourou, 2005, p. 320), namely spontaneous urban sprawl and unlawful

building as well as informal planning practices despite all the rules. In these countries, there is a 'greater tradition of alternative informal mechanisms and greater flexibility in conforming to the law', as Newman and Thornley (1996, p. 39) have put it. This is a result of the fact that the rigid planning systems are not so well established and that they have neither strong public support nor great political priority, a circumstance which makes them less effective.

As the above review shows, the application of the ESDP is a complex process which takes place within a multi-level system of spatial development policies and within the context of other interlinked European policies. Also, the ESDP has to be seen as part of an ongoing process of shaping European spatial policy which reached a next step with the adoption of the TAEU. However, this does not mean that the ESDP is becoming obsolete, but rather that it needs to be analysed which of the strategies and ideas reflected and promoted by the ESDP prevail, which change, and how this happens.

In order to evaluate the application of this strategic planning document, it is therefore necessary to identify its addressees and to assess 'how their decisions relate to the plan and its messages' (cf. Sykes, 2008, p. 550) – and how the ESDP 'wording' is interpreted. This is done in this paper.

3. THE CASE OF INTERREGIONAL COOPERATION IN GREECE, ITALY, AND SPAIN

The empirical base of this paper is delivered by the Interreg IIIC project ProgreSDEC, the title being the contraction of 'progress' and 'SDEC', which is the French acronym of the ESDP. The project fostered interregional cooperation with a view to building relationships and to promoting exchange of experiences and good practices in the field of territorial cohesion, spatial planning, and economic development. The background of the project was laid by a rather vertically oriented research starting from the review of the ESDP process on the European level. In addition several steps of analysis have been carried out looking at the relevant national and regional planning systems and selected regional planning tools.

ProgreSDEC has been organised as a Regional Framework Operation (RFO). The RFO worked on two levels, one being regional, the other one local. The task of the regions concerned the initiation of exchange and cooperation between local authorities – and the reflection of this process with the RFO partners. The local authorities gained access to the Interreg funds and conducted so called 'sub-projects' in cooperation with partners from other regions. It was compulsory that at least one of them came from another member state. In such a complicated project activity the support of the regions to the local authorities

has been crucial (professional involvement, project design support, technical assistance) to ensure their participation.

The sub-projects can be regarded as case studies dealing with the interregional and transnational cooperation between actors on the same level. Hereby, the project ProgreSDEC did not only aim at deepening insights on European spatial policies by carrying out research and analyses, but it aimed at making an active contribution to the application of the ESDP at the regional and local level. For this purpose an exchange of experiences and joint experimentations of methods and procedures for territorial management has been initiated in the participating regions. The selection, promotion, and implementation of these sub-projects has been the heart of the project. The local experiences made here are used as valuable knowledge basis not only for the reflection of the ESDP, but also for the identification of general governance trends and changing planning attitudes on local and regional level.

Seven of the project partners were hosts to sub-projects: the Italian regions of Latium (lead partner of the project), Piedmont, and Sicily; the Greek regions of Western and Central Macedonia; the Spanish regions of Navarra and Madrid. These regions have been assisted in project outline and evaluation by the Leibniz Institute for Regional Development and Structural Planning from Germany.

All in all, there have been 14 sub-projects with a total of 47 different sub-project partners. 27 of them are municipalities or groups of them, 10 provinces (for Italian regions) or prefectural authorities (in the case of Central Macedonia), 3 parks, and 7 other (from development agencies to public service consortia). The projects dealt with either management of the landscape system and sustainable development, polycentrism, urban renewal, or urban-rural relations. Goals which have been widely achieved concerned the compilation of tools (e.g. for the SEA = Strategic Environmental Assessment), awareness rising (e.g. concerning civil protection and alternative tourism), development and application of common methodologies (e.g. in respect of cultural landscape management), development of benchmarks (e.g. for cultural tourism or territorial observatories), and procedures of participation (such as virtual labs and cooperation between public and private actors) (cf. ProgreSDEC, 2008, p. 128).

The evaluation of the sub-projects made in the following section basically traces back to the analysis of two mostly quantitative questionnaires, which were distributed among the sub-project partners at the start and the finish of their projects. As three of the partners were involved in several projects, the number of questionnaires distributed amounted to a total of 52. The questionnaires were especially developed for the purpose of ProgreSDEC and covered the reflection of the project participation, concerning motivation, expected outcome, organisation, experience gained, and relevance of European policies. The evaluation results were communicated and discussed with the project partners to ensure

reliability. The evaluation of the sub-projects is framed by an evaluation of the respective national and regional planning systems as well as selected regional planning tools.

4. THE FINDINGS ON TERRITORIAL COHESION

In this paper the findings on territorial cohesion will be structured along the following issues: Europeanisation and awareness (context), relevance of European policies (contents), and territorial governance (process).

4.1. Europeanisation and Awareness

The ESDP – and the TAEU – do not only promote certain spatial development objectives, but they likewise aim at widening the perception of national, regional, and local actors towards the European territory. They help the various actors to position their territory in the European context. In this sense, both documents can be described as instruments for Europeanisation, such as, of course, the more sectoral directives and policies of the EU. Against this background, in this chapter the focus is on the effects of interregional and transnational cooperation on planning, as it can be derived from the experience gained in the ProgreSDEC sub-projects.

When the sub-projects started, 72% of all sub-project partners attempted to reflect on the current practices through comparison with experience from other European regions and to evaluate the planning practices (cf. figure 1). This matches the bottom-up perspective, which is followed in many theoretical considerations on European multi-level governance. The application of European directives and policies as an equivalent to the top-down perspective, on the other hand, seemed to be less important (45%), even more so the promotion of own best practices in a wider (interregional and transnational) territorial scale (34%).

With the experience of ProgreSDEC this has changed considerably, as the achievement of reflection and application issues turned out to be of similar relevance (61 and 59%, while promotion of best practices ended up third again with 39%). It seems that sub-project partners became aware that the application of top-down measures is just as important as horizontal cooperation and exchange – this being a first hint what ‘Europeanisation’ can be perceived as.

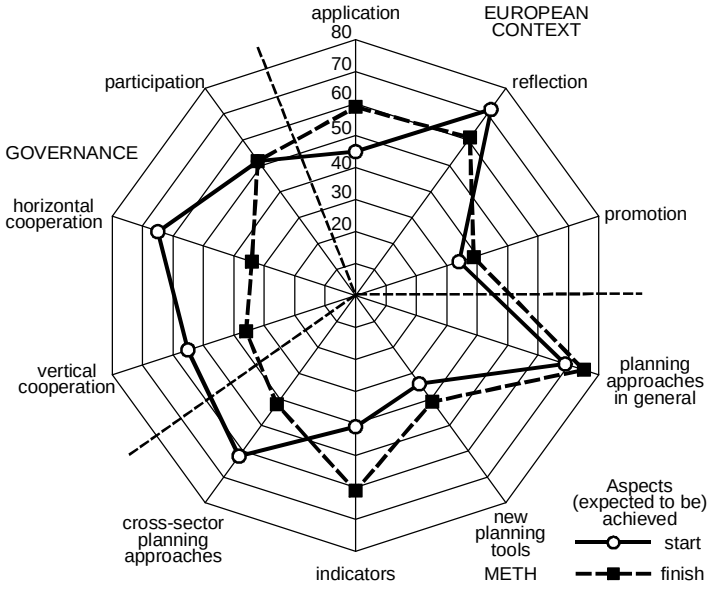

Fig. 1. (Expected) effects of ProgreSDEC sub-projects on planning

Source: survey conducted by Piedmont Region and Leibniz Institute for Regional Development and Structural Planning (IRS), own compilation (Given are the percentages of those sub-project partners who regarded it *ex ante* 'very important' that the sub-project will deliver results in the respective issue (start) and who regarded the project *ex post* in the respective issue as 'successful' – finish), n = 37 (start) resp. 45 (finish)

Looking at the methods, sub-project partners focused on the general improvement of planning approaches at the end of the project even slightly more (75%) than at the beginning (69%). In comparison to other effects examined, this one turned out to be the most important one. Taking into account that two-thirds of respondents stated that the outputs matched or even exceeded their expectations, the experience of interregional and transnational cooperation in ProgreSDEC must have left its mark. The percentages of the other effects covered by the questionnaires give an impression, what can be perceived as 'improved planning approaches', i.e. application and reflection in a wider European context, participation as an element of governance, and indicators as a methodological approach to improve planning practices.

Indeed, the definition of indicators turned out to be of particular importance to the sub-project partners (61% compared to 41% at the beginning). The relevance of indicators outscored both of the other two methodological answer options. From the experience gained in the sub-projects, it can be shown that time was to short not only to develop new tools (34% to 41%), but also to develop cross-sector planning approaches – the latter in contrast to the expectations (from 62% down to 42%).

Cross-sector planning approaches can be regarded as the methodological counterpart of procedural approaches to integration. And here the achievements finally turned out to be lower than expected, too. This in particular holds for horizontal cooperation, which fell from 65% to 34%. In a similar way the achievements in respect of vertical cooperation (36% compared to 55% at the beginning) were disillusioning. In both cases it can be shown that governance on the one hand is an attractive aspect of planning, but on the other hand difficult to 'implement'. In other words, there seem to be considerable limitations to an implementation of integrated policies on the local scale which most of the sub-project partners belong to. The institutionalisation of integration has not gone far enough to become stronger than sectoral approaches.

Finally, most sub-project partners have been successful in increasing awareness of and participation in planning processes by third actors or the public (52% in both questionnaires). The reason for this might be that participation is a local issue, which is easier to achieve in a short-term project than horizontal or vertical cooperation, and that participation is the *conditio sine qua non* for all attempts to develop or strengthen governance networks – more formalised co-operation structure might follow soon.

Concluding, the major issue of the sub-projects is awareness in different aspects:

– reflection: current practices in a European context (awareness of the European territorial and institutional environment),

– indicators: measurement of objectives and their respective performance (awareness of the quality of planning),

– participation: communication to or with third actors respectively the public (awareness of the regional or local 'roots').

4.2. Perception of ESDP Objectives

As far as the contents of planning are concerned, the analyses and work of ProgreSDEC show various ways how the ESDP objectives are used in local and regional planning and how the responsible actors directly or indirectly deal with these objectives. For instance, the analysis of regional planning systems and selected planning tools confirms a wide application of ESDP objectives. In some cases a direct and explicit application can be observed. Although in many further cases the ESDP is not explicitly mentioned, a considerable coherence with ESDP objectives can be noticed. In particular, in the regions of Navarra and Central Macedonia the ESDP explicitly guides the regional strategies and through this all subordinated planning tools. A coherence to ESDP objectives is given in strategic plans as well as in sector plans. It is in the nature of strategic

plans that they aim at broader objectives like balanced and sustainable development and promote an integrated and intersectoral approach. Therefore, a close relation to the ESDP objectives often is inherent and easily to achieve.

Strategic planning and integrated objectives as promoted by the ESDP in many regions gain in importance due to increasing tensions between centre and periphery respectively urban and rural areas. Therefore, it is often the regional level which promotes strategic plans. The subordinate municipal planning is meant to apply to the strategic direction and to realise the broad, integrated objectives with concrete implementation steps. Two difficulties result from this. Firstly, the application and implementation of 'soft' tools like strategic plans and integrated planning approaches depends on the cooperation of the authorities from all spatial levels and bears the risk of conflicts over competencies. Secondly, the perception of the meaning of objectives and the adaptation to specific local situations might vary and raise the need for clarification and intensive discussion amongst the relevant actors.

The need to discuss key terms and concepts of spatial planning was also strongly evident in the sub-projects. What sub-project partners were looking for was most of all a possibility of enlarging their knowledge on planning approaches and instruments rather than building formal institutional networks. However, in the course of the sub-projects it often proved to be difficult to achieve a common understanding of concepts and objectives. A basic obstacle was linked to communication in a strict sense, i.e. the fact that the whole operation had English as official language, which many local planners do not speak and understand fluently. But also in a broader sense communicating the meaning of key terms turned out to be difficult due to the different administrative contexts, different approaches to planning issues, different policy tools and, thus, different 'institutional languages'. In the end, the broad objectives drawn from the ESDP were often not applied as guiding framework for joined discussion and joined local planning activities in the sub-projects but rather as an umbrella for separated activities and diverging ideas on these objectives. Nevertheless, in the few cases where the sub-project partners worked on a common definition of key words and concepts, this proved to be fruitful.

Two out of the three ESDP-guidelines – 'polycentric spatial development and a new urban-rural relationship' and 'wise management of the natural and cultural heritage', unlike 'parity of access to infrastructure and knowledge ' – received high attention in ProgreSDEC. In the sub-projects they were subject of intensive debates and in the regional planning tools selected for a detailed analysis they played prominent roles as topics. A further, third issue which turned out to be important for the whole operation of ProgreSDEC is the one of 'governance'. The reflection on governance and the ESDP-guidelines can be summarised as follows:

1. Polycentricity is widely applied but with different meaning at different levels. As long as the regional level was looked at, polycentricity turned out to be a matter of regions. Therefore, in many regional plans the outstanding role of cities and metropolitan regions as motors of spatial development is highlighted and many objectives focus on the relatively abstract relationship between cities and their hinterland. On the other hand, polycentricity understood locally corresponds to urban-rural relationship in terms of the built environment. Hence, local rather than regional authorities concentrate on the relationship of small cities and their immediate surrounding landscape. They touch issues like the support of good accessibility and a balance between green areas and built areas within conurbations.

2. Access to infrastructure and knowledge has been tangent only marginally to the interests of the sub-project partners, which mostly are working on the local level of planning. This matches results from other research on the peculiarity of (southern) EU member states (cf. ESPON 2.3.1, 2007, p. 135) and, apart from that, basically seems to be a topic relevant on a regional or even national rather than a local scale. In those cases, where this objective has been addressed in sub-projects, 'access' is not understood in a comprehensive way as it is promoted by the ESDP, but rather in a mere technical, infrastructure related way, i.e. concerning infrastructure investments and national and international transport networks.

3. Natural and cultural heritage have been of major importance to most of the sub-project partners and the regional project partners, which again is a peculiarity of the member states involved in this study (cf. ESPON 2.3.1, 2007, p. 135). Integration has gone further than the combination of natural and cultural issues – it even involved development and, therefore, contributes to a new conceptualisation of landscape and its natural, cultural, and economic assets. But, narrowing down this wider context to the concept of landscape, it turns out that concrete policy tools vary a lot from member state to member state and from region to region. The adaption of the concept ranges from a more holistic approach (landscape as the place where interactions between human activities and natural processes take place or cultural, economical and ecological values are confronting each other) to a stricter one (the portion of land which stays outside urban and urban-like areas). For the work in sub-projects even the reference to supposedly shared documents like the European Convention on Landscape did not completely provide a common ground because in most cases this agreement has not been transferred into actual planning tools yet.

4. The issue of governance for most of the sub-project partners was inherent to their work since their projects aimed at developing or strengthening institutional structures, networks or participation. It became also apparent from the analysis of regional planning tools that institutional aspects are widely acknowledged as being important for spatial planning and development. However, when

it comes to the definition of what governance or even territorial governance means, no general answer can be given. Some of the sub-project partners faced this problem and developed a joined understanding of the term governance, some did not.

Concluding, planning as promoted by the ESDP does no longer set strict regulations but defines framework conditions for action which allow for the flexible implementation of planning objectives. This, however, requires an intensive discussion of objectives and concepts and their adaption to the local context. This apparently includes common understanding and the agreement on key terms. In the end, these findings can help to promote 'action spaces that, on the one hand, are the expression of endogenous and self-determining regional forces and initiatives and that, on the other hand, are responsive to overarching EU goals and objectives' (Gualini, 2008, p. 17). Therefore, new institutional arrangements are required in order to give weight to the 'soft' territorially different approaches.

4.3. Territorial Governance

With the increasing use of the adjective 'territorial' in the debate on European policies the focus on governance changed. Hence, among planners the debate on governance nowadays rather stresses its territoriality than its multi-level character. As a result, territorial governance is defined 'as a process of the organization and co-ordination of actors to develop territorial capital in a non-destructive way in order to improve territorial cohesion at different levels' (ESPON 2.3.2, 2007, p. 13) or meant to 'create opportunities for innovative economic potential for development, building upon experiences of successful partnership and political cooperation in a functional regional context' (EU Ministers for Spatial Planning and Development, 2007, § 17).

Thus, governance is not seen as a policy but rather a process with the distinct objective to pursue territorial cohesion. Furthermore, it is related to the potential of a territory, i.e. 'territorial capital' as the ESPON researchers have put it. Governance deals with the representation of interests by different actors and, therefore, with space in a dynamic context.

To secure the link between governance and its topics in the course of ProgreSDEC, each of the sub-projects has been defined according to a specific objective which it aims to reach. What is of interest here are the processes of integration and transformation that need to take place in order to reach these objectives. Against this background, it is striking that the discussion on objectives and concepts in the sub-projects turned out to require a considerable amount of time – more than expected. It can be concluded that within the context

of these projects institutional arrangements had to be found. Due to the concentration on the application of methods and tools, which the sub-project partners intended, this happened mostly in a horizontal dimension – both interregionally, as long as cooperation within the sub-project as a whole is concerned, and innerregionally, as regards the process in the sub-project partner's region itself.

But the vertical dimension of planning, basically still dominant in European governance processes, remained influential in the background. It turned out in the course of the sub-projects that the coordination of distinct sectoral policies involved the consideration of top-down approaches, which in sectoral disciplines still prevail. So, governance both in its vertical and horizontal dimension has become one of the key issues in ProgreSDEC and its sub-projects.

Apart from that, cooperation within the ProgreSDEC partnership and the sub-projects made aware that there is a considerable interrelationship between spatial planning in general and socio-economic development. Discovering and shaping the links between both disciplines and their respective approaches to solve spatial problems is of prime importance for the – European, national, regional, and local – issue of sustainability. ProgreSDEC with its interregional and transnational approach provided local authorities with the opportunity to exchange knowledge and experiences with partners from other regions in the field of spatial development, its policies and tools. In the same instance it advanced approaches to integrate spatial planning and economic programming, as to the goals set in the EU guidelines (ESDP and TAEU).

It can be shown that integration as it is understood here, i.e. regarding content in the first place, consequently is followed by the attempt to support it through institutional integration of actors on different levels of administration and political power and of different disciplines and sectors – which is a matter of governance, as mentioned before. The complexity of spatial issues and the necessity for integration of both contents and institutions not surprisingly turned out to be the highest in metropolitan areas:[2] In these places development pressure is relatively high and the necessity to preserve the demands of comparatively 'weak' actors and issues (such as landscape compared to the built environment) is more obvious than elsewhere. For this reason – and probably because of the national relevance of these regions – metropolitan regions turned out to have more regional regulations and administrative power than other regional bodies.

It can be added that in rural regions and the countryside a necessity of two-fold integration exists, too, and that the sub-project partners attempted several approaches to tackle this. The majority of sub-projects were concerned with the future of landscape and rural areas in the face of development necessities and development pressure. Among others, tourism was discovered as an integrative

[2] In ProgreSDEC these have been Madrid, Rome and Thessaloniki.

rather than a sectoral issue, as it affords to define the territorial capital of the regions and to manage both the requirements to boost tourism based development and to preserve the local resources.

Based on the experience made in the sub-projects, it can be shown that on the local level two – interlinked – institutional approaches have been pursued. Firstly, due to the rather practical purpose of the sub-projects, local authorities looked for tools and methods which can make it easier to define quality in planning when facing a complex structure of demands and conflicts of land use. This explains the high relevance assigned to the development of indicators (cf. figure 1). Therefore, sub-project partners had to leave traditional government procedures aside and extend the range of institutional arrangements they are familiar with to governance models, which increase the variety of institutional frameworks at hand. As a consequence, municipalities developed an influence beyond the limits which otherwise restrain them as territorially bound entities.

Secondly, local authorities uttered a considerable demand for external expertise and scientific support for the development of planning tools, as the capacity to support integrated socio-economic development – or 'balanced spatial development' as many sub-project partners put it – with such a high pretension is limited. In the vertical direction, the dominance of EU-structured sectoral policies is strong and prevents the shaping of the horizontal dimension. Even in those cases, where horizontal relations within one region have developed, it proved to be difficult to transfer the experiences between actors with different professional or organisational background. To manage cooperation between tourism, environment, development, planning, transport, etc. external expertise seems to be essential.

It remains to be seen in further research activities who finally gains the experience and expertise and who guarantees its distribution among local authorities and other actors. As far as ProgreSDEC is concerned, it have been the regional RFO partners who developed accompaniment activities for the local sub-project partners. So, here it has been the project architecture which demonstrated that on the regional level support and guidance for local activities can be provided. Hence, it is no surprise that, as a conclusion from ProgreSDEC, some RFO partners intend to develop a strategic coordination of local activities on the regional level. As some of the analysed examples show, integrated and cooperative planning approaches require strong commitment and willingness to share competencies of all involved actors. A lack of willingness and capability for cooperation might otherwise lead to fragmented planning results.

ProgreSDEC has been an attempt to integrate a traditional top-down approach, where the higher level public authority defines the framework and the rules for interaction, with a bottom-up one, where local actors are called upon to give substance to this interaction. But the more policy processes become complex, stratified, and dense, the less local authorities (especially the smaller

ones) have the instruments, the knowledge, and the competences to deal with them. In a time characterised by the scarcity and fragmentation of resources, the need for an actor which is both independent from the single stakeholders and capable of coordinating the different interests, is obvious. The experience gained shows that regions can serve as activators of such policy processes at the local (and regional) scale. Therefore regions seem to deliver an appropriate scale to territorial governance.

However, the range of institutional arrangements found to manage these regional policy processes is wide, due to the differing legal frameworks constituting regional authorities. In some cases the development of strategic planning tools, the provision of a set of guidelines, and the establishment of new bodies to manage the implementation of such regional policies can be observed. New approaches of this sort require an institutional change and often additional expenditure on the part of the regional level.

Therefore, in a regional context regions as new spatial focus have gained in significance for political and planning tasks (cf. Priemus and Zonneveld, 2004, p. 293). Otherwise, in a European context regions still have to fulfil top-down rules with only minor possibilities to influence the European policies within a bottom-up process. To sum up, European approaches take and give decision making power at the same time.

In other words, regional planning systems have a common problem with their 'sandwich' position between European planning and policy on the one hand and the municipalities and their competencies, e.g. in urban planning, on the other hand. A similar situation arises in the relationship to sectoral policies, where the horizontal coordination task is hampered by low competencies and political support, which still is a general problem, as a recent study confirms (ESPON 2.3.2, 2007, p. 15).

5. CONCLUSION

Territorial cohesion has two dimensions. The first one reflects the relationship of different levels in planning (European, national, regional, local), i.e. multi-level governance, the second one reflects integration of different sectoral approaches and/or actors on the same level. Whereas the first dimension has a vertical direction, the second dimension has a horizontal direction. This paper looks at both dimensions and explains three aspects of territorial cohesion:

1. 'Awareness' is a key factor of territorial cohesion for three reasons. Firstly, local or regional authorities become aware of their particularity in a European respect when reflecting current planning practices in transnational projects

('awareness of the European territorial and institutional environment'). Another, second type of awareness can be observed, when planners become acquainted with indicators of planning quality, i.e. measurements of objectives and their respective performance ('awareness of the quality of planning'). Thirdly, the term 'awareness' relates to participation issues and, therefore, endogenous potential ('awareness of the regional or local roots').

2. European terms of integrative planning are defined differently depending on the local and regional background. This applies in particular to 'polycentricity', 'landscape', 'access to infrastructure and knowledge', 'governance', and 'integration'. The interpretations found in sub-projects reveal a certain integrative understanding (a sort of 'quality of planning'), but it can be shown as well that – when it comes to implementation – sectoral approaches seem to prevail because of their institutional strength.

3. The issues of both 'awareness' and 'quality' can explain why local and regional planners leave traditional government procedures aside and extend the range of institutional arrangements they are familiar with to governance models, which increase the variety of institutional frameworks at hand. This 'territorial governance' takes account of the fact that European politics give and take influence to the regions. Therefore it is taking place in regions rather than single municipalities.

Concluding, territorial governance can be looked at as an institutional approach to develop integrative planning and development on a regional level in the context of territorial cohesion. This results in a process of cooperation, which requires the involvement of 'all stakeholders of territorial development', as it is stated in the TAEU (EU Ministers for Spatial Planning and Development, 2007, § 5). If decision making turns out to be managed this way, the question arises how the relation between new fashioned governance and old fashioned government develops. This, in particular, accounts for cases, where the introduction of new approaches goes along with the change of planning levels (from local to regional).

Territorial cohesion and – along with it – territorial governance do not necessarily need to be a matter of European scale. But they should. The basic reason for this is delivered by the ongoing virtualisation of communication and transport and the development of the network society. Both processes contribute to the diminishing importance of physical distance, as the actors' networks usually do not stick to the territory marked by administrative or political responsibilities. The concern of integrated planning, therefore, increasingly is questioned in a spatial structure with blurry boundaries and replaced by selected coalitions of opportunity. The experience from the Mediterranean states shows that even in case of week planning tradition or institutional fragmentation, as it can be found here, European policies can contribute to a perspective for terms such as 'territory' or 'territorial cohesion'. The value of this experience goes beyond

these states, as recent research on the knowledge society shows that in a time where spatial boundaries loose their barrier effect, regions become important as a place where the different spacious networks of the actors are bundled (cf. Kujath and Stein, 2009). Territorial capital is a territorial resource, which remains.

Transferring this into the issue of spatial planning in the European context, Europeanisation can mean the development of a European identity and its integration into national, regional, and local identities, be it through the application of European directives, the reflexion of policies against a European background, or the promotion of experiences. It has to be made sure that the process respects the endogenous character of territorial capital.

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REGIONAL CONCENTRATION AND SPECIALISATION IN AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN EU-9 REGIONS (1950–2000)

Abstract: Both traditional (von Thünen) and modern (Hayami & Ruttan, Krugman) theories on land use suggest that productions with a high value added per unit of land tend to be located near urban centres. In this article it is tested to what extent these theoretical findings are confirmed by empirical data on agricultural land use and production for the EU-9. The focus is not only on the degree of concentration and specialisation, but also on their development over time. Growth and decline of agricultural productions are here related to the degree of rurality. It is found that high value productions indeed tend to be located in urban regions. It is also found that most specialisation patterns that already existed in 1950 are even stronger in 2000.
Key words: regions, agriculture, economic development, European Union, concentration, specialisation.

1. INTRODUCTION

Agricultural activities are not evenly spread over the surface of the European Union. This is due to a large number of reasons. For example, land has varying degrees of suitability for agricultural activities as a consequence of physical constraints like mountains, water and salinity. Other parts are in use for non-agricultural purposes such as infrastructure, urban development, recreation and nature reserves. The nearness of markets and the density of population plays a significant role as well. On average, in the EU-15 about 52% of the total area

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is used as agricultural area, but with significant differences among member states, varying from 7% in Finland to 79% in Denmark (EC, 2004).

In addition, there are important regional differences in the mix of agricultural activities and in the intensity of land use. There are a number of studies on regional concentration and specialisation of agriculture, both for the EU as a whole (e.g. van Hecke, 1983) and for individual member states (e.g. Mora and San Juan, 2004). Usually, these studies focus on short time periods. In this article, we aim to analyse regional concentration and specialisation in agricultural activities at the long term: 1950–2000. Our analysis is based on a dataset describing 79 regions, covering the former EU-9, i.e. Belgium, Denmark, France, Western Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the UK. The regional composition of the dataset originates from a research project of Groningen University (the Netherlands) for Eurostat. The combination of the regional data of that project with more recent data gathered by Eurostat allows for this long-term analysis.[1]

In this article we relate the level of regional concentration and specialisation in agricultural activities, and the changes over time, to the level of rurality of the regions. Using a rural typology of regions, we try to explore the hypothesis that high yielding productions tend to be situated in urban regions.

The plan of this article is as follows. In section 2, we present some basic ideas and theories about the location of agricultural activities with different levels of intensity. In section 3, we describe a typology of regions according to their rurality. Next, the regional concentration and the regional specialisation is analysed (sections 4 and 5), while in section 6 the relation between the two is explored. In the final section concluding remarks are made.

2. THE LOCATION OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES: EXISTING THEORIES

Traditionally, agronomists have stressed the importance of physical production qualities of land for the type of agricultural activity and intensity of its use: see e.g. Broekhuizen (1969) for an overview of the suitability of the soil for cereal growing in Europe. The contributions of the ‘production ecological school’ are more recent. According to this school, soil suitability, fertility and availability of water are seen as key factors behind land use, and hence behind the distribution of agricultural production (Bouman *et al.*, 1996; Rabbinge and van Latesteijn, 1992; WRR, 1992, where again an overview of the suitability of the soil for specific agricultural crops is given).

[1] For details about the data see Strijker, 2008.

Although physical factors play an important role, other factors may also affect the type of land use. This has been put forward by several economic and geographical concepts on the type and intensity of land use. The von Thünen model is the most traditional theoretical concept that is used to analyse the type of land use. In this model, land use is related to the costs of transportation of different agricultural products from the place of production to the market (often an urban centre). By using bid rent curves, this model assumes a spatial pattern of agricultural production, in which perishable products, other products that face high costs of transportation, and productions with a high monetary yield per unit of land, are produced close to the urban centre. Spatial differences in the quality of land, the availability of water, and irregularities in the infrastructure are not taken into account in this model, but could eventually be integrated (as shown by Lösch, 1954). The notions of the 'new economic geography' (Krugman, 1991) can be considered as the modern version of the von Thünen model, but now including advantages of scale. Irregularities in for instance infrastructure or the shape of a region can also be included in the Krugman model (Stelder, 2005). By doing so, again it might be expected that perishable and high yielding agricultural products are produced closer to the market and closer to the main infrastructural networks.

A completely different concept on land use is the induced development theory (Hayami and Ruttan, 1985). In this theory, the relative price of the different factor inputs determines the intensity of land use, or – to be more precise – the direction of development. Hayami and Ruttan have shown that the price of land relative to labour determines the way of production (the labour intensity, and hence the yield per hectare). Although there has been criticism on the micro-economic foundation of the theory (Schuh, 1973), the empirical findings are generally accepted. The concept does not lead directly to a spatial pattern of agricultural production, at least not at the level of individual crops (wheat, potatoes etc.). However, since some agricultural products are more labour intensive than others, and since labour intensive products tend to be produced where land is relatively scarce, one can expect labour intensive productions close to urban areas. So, both concepts could roughly lead to the same conclusion: high yielding productions are likely to be found in urban regions. In the rest of this article, in which we analyse the concentration and specialisation levels of regions related to their rurality, we will search for empirical confirmation.

3. TYPOLOGY OF REGIONS ACCORDING TO THEIR RURALITY

In order to explore whether rurality affects the specialisation pattern of crops and animals, we divided our set of 79 regions into urban regions, intermediate regions and rural regions. As yardstick for rurality we used the share of the

region's population living in rural communities, i.e. communities with less than 150 inh/km^2 (OECD, 1996; Terluin, 2001). In this article, urban regions have less than 15% of their population living in rural communities, intermediate regions have 15–50% of their population living in rural communities and rural regions have more than 50% of their population living in rural communities (figure 1). Due to large differences in the size of our regions, this classification shows a tendency that larger regions with one or more bigger cities and very thinly populated rural areas are put in the group of intermediate regions while they are expected to be classified as rural (such as Scotland) or as urban (city states Bremen and Berlin). This should be taken into account in the interpretation of the results. Due to lack of data at regional level, we use the national level for Denmark, Ireland and Luxembourg.

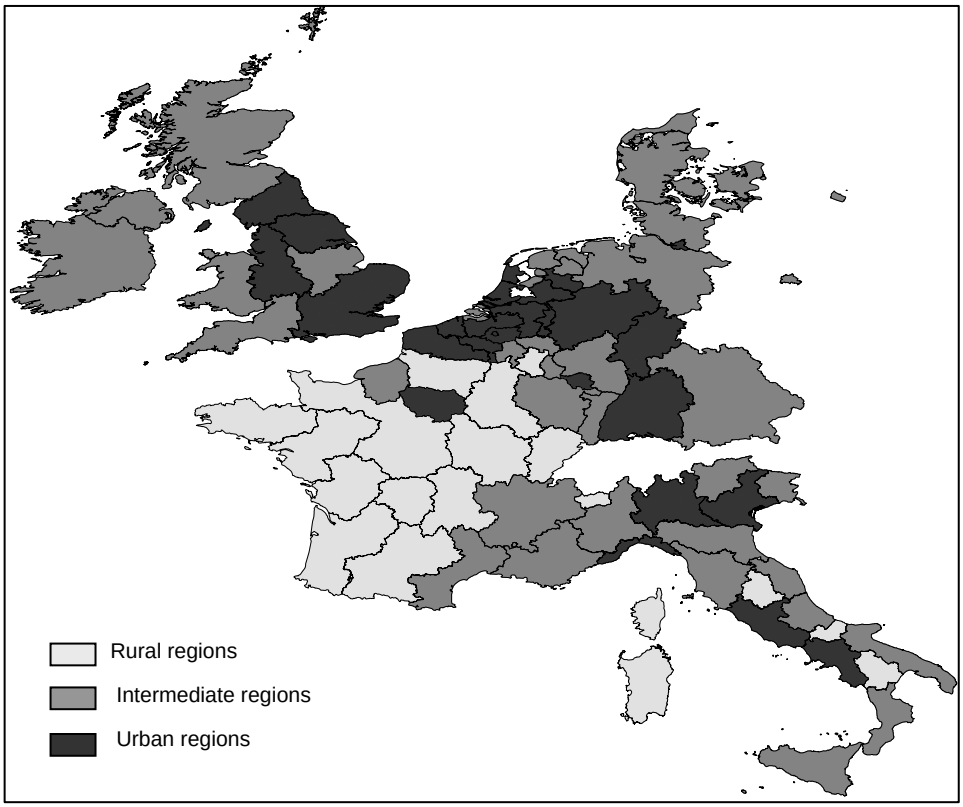

Fig. 1. Classification of regions in the EU-9 according to the level of rurality

4. CONCENTRATION OF AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES

In this section we analyse the level and change of regional concentration over time in the three types of regions: rural, intermediate and urban. Concentration arises when the production of product *p* in region *A* is larger than could be expected according to the size of region *A* (Strijker, 1999). The concentration coefficient (*C.C.*) for region *A* is derived as follows:

$$C.C. = \frac{Q_{p,A} / S_A}{Q_{p,\text{EU-9}} / S_{\text{EU-9}}} . \qquad (1)$$

In this equation, *Q* determines the level of production (in kg) or the number of animals and *S* the surface of land in agricultural use. When the level of concentration in the region is the same as the average EU-9 level, the *C.C.* is 1. When the concentration level in region *A* is higher, the *C.C.* will be more than 1. Our analysis includes four types of animals (pigs, cattle, dairy cattle (as a sub-group of cattle) and sheep) and five types of crops (wheat, barley, corn, potatoes and sugar).

4.1. Concentration of Animals

From the four types of animals that are included in our analysis, pigs can be seen as the most intensive production in terms of value per unit of agricultural land, and sheep as the most extensive one.[2] Table 1 shows the average concentration

[2] The intensity of agricultural production can be approached by so-called Standard Gross Margins (SGM). (Commission Decision 85/377/EEC). In the EU, SGMs are defined at regional level for each crop per ha and for animal production per livestock place, and are periodically updated. For example, SGMs in the Netherlands in 1990 were as follows: 920 ECU for a ha of barley, 1110 ECU for a ha of wheat, 2,400 ECU for a ha of sugar beet, 2,780 ECU for a ha of potatoes, 60 ECU for a sheep, 275 ECU for a breeding sow over 50 kg, 505 ECU for a male bovine 2 years and older, and 1,630 ECU for a dairy cow (LEI, Metabase). In order to compare SGM among animals, we can express the SGM per animal in livestock units (LU). For this conversion, we used the following keys from the EU Farm Structure Survey: a sheep = 0.1 LU; a breeding sow over 50 kg = 0.5 LU; a female bovine under 2 years = 1 LU; a dairy cow = 1 LU. Then the SGM for 1 LU of sheep amounts to 600 ECU, for 1 LU of breeding sow over 50 kg to 550 ECU, for 1 LU of male bovine to 505 ECU and for 1 LU of dairy cow to 1630 ECU. When we take into account that the animal density of pigs per ha is much higher than the animal density of sheep and cattle per ha, and that the lifecycle of pigs is much shorter than that of sheep and cattle, it may be clear that pig production per ha is higher yielding than cattle and sheep production per ha, although this is not directly reflected by using the SGM.

values per animal according to the rurality level of the regions, as well as the number of regions with a relatively high concentration level: at least twice a high as the EU-9 average.

The average concentration coefficients[3] show that already in 1960 the high yielding categories of pigs, cattle and dairy cattle were concentrated in the urban regions of the EU-9. This pattern strengthened over the years. The concentration coefficient for sheep reveals an opposite pattern: the concentration of sheep is higher in rural regions than in urban regions and tend to increase in rural regions in the course of the years. These findings reflect indeed the position of the sheep sector as being low yielding and land extensive.

Table 1. Average concentration coefficients (*C.C.*) for animals in rural, intermediate and urban regions in the EU-9, and the share of regions with a *C.C.* over 2, for 1960–2000

Rurality	Year	Pigs	% *C.C.* >2	Cattle	% *C.C.* >2	Dairy cattle	% *C.C.* >2	Sheep	% *C.C.* >2
Rural regions (20 regions)	1960	0.5	0	0.9	5	1.0	5	0.7	5
	1980	0.4	5	0.9	5	0.8	5	0.8	5
	2000	0.4	5	1.1	15	1.0	5	1.8	5
Intermediate regions (37 regions)	1960	1.1	16	1.4	19	1.5	19	1.2	11
	1980	1.0	11	1.2	14	1.5	24	0.8	11
	2000	0.8	8	1.3	22	1.6	30	0.6	5
Urban regions (22 regions)	1960	2.3	55	1.5	14	1.6	23	0.5	9
	1980	3.9	41	1.8	41	2.0	55	0.5	5
	2000	4.7	45	2.3	41	2.6	59	0.5	0

In order to explore whether the pattern of the average concentration coefficients for the EU regions also occurs in the individual countries or that the average is biased due to summing up regions with highly varying levels of concentration, concentration coefficients are presented for the rural, intermediate and urban regions in the individual EU-9 countries in annex 1. It appears that concentration coefficients for pigs, cattle and dairy cattle in urban regions tend to exceed those in rural regions in all individual EU-9 countries, except for France. In this country, concentration coefficients are highest in rural regions, whereas the concentration coefficients in intermediate and urban regions are more or less at the same level. Concentration coefficients for sheep production

[3] In this analysis the average *C.C.* of all regions are not equal to 1 because not all regions are of the same size.

are low and hardly differ among the various types of regions, except for Italy and the UK. In Italy, concentration coefficients are highest in rural regions (5.8), whereas in the UK concentration coefficients are highest in urban regions (1.5). From this, it could be concluded that the concentration of sheep in rural regions at EU-9 level is mainly due to the high concentration of sheep in rural regions in Italy.

4.2. Concentration of Crops

For the analysis of the concentration of crops, we focus on wheat, barley, corn, potatoes and sugar beets. In general, cereals (wheat, barley and corn) can be seen as relatively low yielding crops, while potatoes and sugar beet show higher values per hectare. The concentration coefficients for crops in rural, intermediate and urban regions in the EU-9 are more homogenous (table 2) than those for animals. The average values are not very high and the share of regions with a concentration coefficient above 2 is relatively small. On the whole, cereals are not strongly regionally concentrated, and the level of concentration does not differ much between the classes of rurality. As stated before, from an economic point of view, these types of crops are not very high yielding. It should be noted that for land based crops a change in the degree of concentration can be caused either by a change in land use or by a change in yield. It appears that the concentration coefficients in a few regions in the EU-9 deviate from the general trend of a low concentration of cereals. We found relatively high concentration coefficients for wheat in urban regions in France (3) in 2000, for barley in intermediate regions in Denmark (3.3) and for corn in urban regions in Italy (3.2) (annex 1). Compared to cereals, potatoes and sugar beets are higher yielding crops. Concentration coefficients for potatoes are moderate and these coefficients in rural regions are usually below those in intermediate and urban regions in the EU-9. Potato production seems to be concentrated in urban regions in Belgium (5.6) and in intermediate and urban regions in the Netherlands (14.3 and 6.2 respectively). Finally, concentration of sugar beets is also low in most regions, apart from intermediate and urban regions in Belgium (4.1), urban regions in France (5) and intermediate and urban regions in the Netherlands (4.5 and 2.6 respectively). As in the case of high yielding animal production, we can also perceive a tendency that higher yielding crops tend to be concentrated in urban regions. In addition, the differences in concentration are increasing, in the sense that the concentration of high yielding productions in urban regions tends to rise.

Table 2. Average concentration coefficients (C.C.) for crops in rural, intermediate and urban regions in the EU-9, and the share of regions with a C.C. over 2, for 1950–2000

Rurality	Year	Wheat	% *C.C.* >2	Barley	% *C.C.* >2	Corn	% *C.C.* >2	Potatoes	% *C.C.* >2	Sugar	% *C.C.* >2
Rural regions	1950	0.9	5	0.7	0	0.7	10	0.4	0	0.6	5
	1980	0.9	15	0.5	0	1.2	15	0.4	10	0.8	10
	2000	0.8	10	0.5	5	0.9	10	0.3	5	0.7	10
Intermediate regions	1950	1.0	8	0.8	5	1.4	19	1.5	27	1.5	22
	1980	0.8	8	0.7	3	1.1	11	2.7	22	1.7	22
	2000	0.6	3	0.7	3	1.0	11	2.7	19	1.5	27
Urban regions	1950	1.1	18	0.8	5	1.3	14	2.0	46	2.3	46
	1980	1.0	9	0.8	5	0.7	9	2.6	41	2.5	50
	2000	0.8	9	0.6	0	0.9	5	3.3	50	2.2	50

From the data of the individual regions, it appears that a high concentration coefficient for one crop does not imply that the concentration coefficients for all other crops in that region will be high too. This is quite different from the situation for the types of animals. The Alsace region, for example, has low concentration and growth values for the production of barley and potatoes but high values for the production of corn. This could be explained by the fact that the different crops compete with each other for land, whereas animals are less land based.

5. SPECIALISATION OF REGIONS IN DIFFERENT KINDS OF AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES

When in a region high concentration coefficients are found, this does not necessarily mean that the region is also specialised in that product. Regions can be characterised as more or less narrowly specialised in a limited range of activities, or as being more diversified. Here we use a ‘coefficient of specialisation’ as described by Hoover and Giarratani (1984). The coefficient shows the degree to which the mix of a region’s economy differs from a standard, in this case the EU-9. We compare the mix of agricultural activities in crop and animal production. A first step in the calculation is to derive the specialisation coefficient by subtracting the share of the production (Q) of a good (p) in the total production of the standard area (EU-9) from the share of the production of a good in the total production of a single region (A) (equation 2).

$$P.C. = \frac{Q_{p,A}}{Q_{\text{total},A}} - \frac{Q_{p,\text{EU-9}}}{Q_{\text{total,EU-9}}} * 100 \quad (2)$$

When the share of, for example, potatoes in a certain region is higher than the average share in the EU-9, the partial specialisation coefficient (*P.C.*) will be positive and the region is more specialised in potatoes than the EU-9. On the other hand, when the share of a crop in total production in a region is below the share of that crop in total EU-9 production, the partial specialisation coefficient will be negative and the region can be said to be less specialised in that crop than the EU-9. The sum of all partial specialisation coefficients (per crop) of all regions will be (by definition) zero. The overall specialisation coefficient (*S.C.*) of a region is determined as the sum of all positive (or negative) partial coefficients. An overall specialisation coefficient of zero indicates no specialisation at all; the region's mix of activities is the same as the EU-9 mix. A specialisation coefficient close to 100 would indicate that only one activity takes place in that region, not present in any other region.

The difference between the concentration coefficient and the specialisation coefficient is that the concentration coefficient deals with the production of a product related to the production of that product in the agricultural production of the EU-9, whereas the specialisation coefficient deals with production of a product related to the total production in a region.

5.1. Specialisation in Animals

The level of specialisation in animal production of the regions under research fluctuates between 6 and 70. High values are found in regions in the UK and in Italy, such as Wales and Sardinia where many sheep are kept. Since 1960, also regions in the Netherlands, Belgium and the northern part of France are getting more specialised, mainly due to the keeping of pigs or cattle.

In order to relate the specialisation to the degree of rurality, in table 3 the overall specialisation coefficient is presented for the three groups of regions. In general, a tendency towards more specialisation can be perceived in both rural, intermediate and urban regions in the EU-9. The average specialisation coefficient in all EU-9 regions increased from 26 in 1960 to 30 in 2000. In 1960, the highest average specialisation coefficients were found in the intermediate regions, whereas in 2000 rural regions showed the highest specialisation coefficients. The rate of increase in specialisation differs somewhat between the

regions: the level of specialisation in rural and intermediate regions especially increased in the period 1960–1980, whereas urban regions showed an increase in specialisation in the years 1980–2000.

Table 3. Average specialisation coefficients (*S.C.*) in animal production in rural, intermediate and urban regions in the EU-9, 1960–2000

Rurality	Average specialisation			Share of regions with *S.C.* >26 (%)		
Year	1960	1980	2000	1960	1980	2000
All regions (79)	26	26	30	42	58	68
Rural regions (20)	25	33	35	45	75	75
Intermediate regions (37)	28	32	32	49	57	59
Urban regions (22)	24	25	29	27	45	55

In the right half of table 3, the share of regions with an overall specialisation coefficient >26–26 being the average specialisation coefficient in 1960 and 1980 – is presented. The share of regions in the EU-9 with high values for the specialisation coefficient increased from 42% in 1960 to 68% in 2000. It appears that during the period 1960–2000, the group of urban regions shows the smallest share of highly specialised regions. Nevertheless, this share doubled between 1960 and 2000, mainly due to pig breeding. The largest share of specialised regions is located in rural regions. These regions were especially getting more specialised in cattle and sheep between 1960 and 1980, as were the intermediate regions.

Table 4. Partial specialisation coefficients for animal production in rural, intermediate and urban regions in the EU-9, 1960–2000

Rurality	Year	Pigs	Cattle	Dairy cattle	Sheep
Rural regions	1960	–8.5	4.9	4.3	–0.7
	1980	–18.3	10.4	–0.4	8.3
	2000	–19.6	13.9	1.1	4.6
Intermediate regions	1960	–3.7	5.5	3.1	–4.9
	1980	–7.6	4.9	2.2	2.1
	2000	–12.5	7.7	3.3	1.5
Urban regions	1960	7.5	4.5	4.0	–16.0
	1980	8.4	1.7	0.7	–10.8
	2000	6.1	1.5	1.5	–9.1

Taking a closer look at the partial specialisation coefficients for each kind of animal, a specialisation in pig production in urban regions in the EU-9 can be perceived, whereas rural regions tend to be specialised in cattle and sheep production (table 4). This is not surprising, since cattle and sheep production are rather land extensive activities whereas pig production is a high yielding type of production. However, urban regions in France and Italy have higher degrees of specialisation in cattle production than the rural regions (annex 2). Specialisation in dairy cattle hardly differs among urban, intermediate and rural regions in most EU-9 member states, apart from Belgium and the Netherlands. In these two countries, specialisation in dairy cattle in intermediate regions is considerably higher than in urban regions.

5.2. Specialisation in the Production of Crops

Concerning the production of crops (wheat, barley, corn, potatoes and sugar), the overall specialisation coefficient of the EU-9 regions fluctuates between 8 and 85. On the whole, the overall specialisation coefficient in the EU-9 regions slightly increased from 36 in 1950 to 38 in 1980 and remained stable afterwards (table 5). This pattern can also be perceived in rural, intermediate and urban regions. Average specialisation coefficients in urban regions are slightly below those in intermediate and rural regions.

Table 5. Average specialisation coefficients (*S.C.*) in crop production in rural, intermediate and urban regions in the EU-9, 1950–2000

Rurality	Average specialisation			Share of regions with *S.C.* >38 (%)		
Year	1950	1980	2000	1950	1980	2000
All regions (79)	36	38	38	37	47	47
Rural regions (20)	36	39	38	35	40	40
Intermediate regions (37)	38	40	39	43	49	59
Urban regions (22)	31	35	36	27	50	55

In the right half of table 5, the share of regions with a specialisation coefficient >38–38 being the average specialisation coefficient in 1980 and 2000 for crops – is presented. The share of regions in the EU-9 with high values for the specialisation coefficient increased from 37% in 1950 to 47% in 2000. This share increased most in the urban regions: it doubled between 1950 and 2000. Although the level of specialisation in urban and rural regions is not very

different, the mix of activities in the production of crops differs considerably (table 6). In crop production, rural regions tend to show a higher specialisation in wheat and corn in most EU-9 countries relative to urban regions. However, the UK deviates from this tendency in wheat production and Italy in corn production (annex 2). On the whole, rural regions in the EU-9 seem also to be more specialised in barley production than urban regions, although this is not reflected in the EU-9 averages. This is due to the inclusion of Denmark, Ireland and Luxembourg, countries consisting of only one intermediate region with a relatively high specialisation in barley production. For potato and sugar production no common trend in specialisation in rural and urban regions in the EU-9 can be perceived. In Belgium and Italy, urban regions tend to have the highest degree in potato specialisation, whereas urban regions in France and the Netherlands show the highest specialisation in sugar beet production.

Table 6. Partial specialisation coefficients for crop production in rural, intermediate and urban regions in the EU-9, 1950–2000

Rurality	Year	Wheat	Barley	Corn	Potatoes	Sugar
Rural regions	1950	15.2	–0.6	2.6	–1.2	–16.3
	1980	10.7	–2.2	9.1	1.7	–19.4
	2000	7.9	–0.9	10.5	–2.3	–15.3
Intermediate regions	1950	4.2	–2.0	2.0	4.1	–8.4
	1980	–2.6	–0.6	1.2	10.3	–8.4
	2000	–3.8	0.5	–0.7	10.2	–6.1
Urban regions	1950	–4.8	–3.7	1.0	7.4	0.1
	1980	–7.3	–6.9	–2.3	11.0	5.3
	2000	–12.0	–4.5	–1.7	14.9	3.4

6. SPECIALISATION AND CONCENTRATION RELATED TO THE LEVEL OF RURALITY

Table 7 shows the Pearson correlation between the degree of rurality and the levels of specialisation and concentration of crops and animals in EU-9 regions. We focus here on the years 1960, 1980 and 2000 (1950 is left out because of too many missing data).

When we first look at the correlation between rurality and specialisation, it appears that the crops wheat, barley and corn are positively correlated with the level of rurality: the more rural the region, the stronger the specialisation. However, only for wheat the correlation is statistically significant for all three

years. In addition, also for extensive animal breeding such as sheep and cattle, production is positively related to the level of rurality. The specialisation in sugar and pigs is negatively correlated with the level of rurality, indicating that a stronger specialisation in these sectors often occurs in urban regions. In particular for wheat, sugar, pigs and cattle, there seems to exists a clear relationship between the level of specialisation and rurality.

Table 7. Correlations between the level of rurality and the partial specialisation coefficients and concentration coefficients for crop and animal products in the EU-9 regions, 1960–2000

Correlations		Specialisation			Concentration		
		1960	1980	2000	1960	1980	2000
Wheat	Pearson Cor.	0.34	0.41	0.37	–0.15	–0.08	–0.02
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.44	0.83
	N	86	86	76	86	86	83
Barley	Pearson Cor.	0.13	0.12	0.20	–0.17	–0.19	–0.03
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.24	0.29	0.09	0.13	0.08	0.77
	N	86	86	76	86	86	83
Corn	Pearson Cor.	0.07	0.22	0.13	–0.02	–0.01	–0.07
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.53	0.04	0.26	0.86	0.96	0.56
	N	86	86	74	86	86	81
Potatoes	Pearson Cor.	–0.03	–0.13	–0.21	–0.27	–0.15	–0.20
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.78	0.23	0.07	0.01	0.16	0.07
	N	86	86	76	86	86	86
Sugar	Pearson Cor.	–0.35	–0.32	–0.39	–0.25	–0.25	–0.26
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.02
	N	86	86	75	86	86	82
Pigs	Pearson Cor.	–0.28	–0.52	–0.40	–0.44	–0.49	–0.39
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	N	86	84	86	86	77	86
Cattle	Pearson Cor.	0.09	0.31	0.36	–0.31	–0.25	–0.26
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.43	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.01
	N	85	84	86	85	86	86
Dairy cattle	Pearson Cor.	0.10	–0.01	0.07	–0.29	–0.41	–0.31
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.37	0.91	0.55	0.01	0.00	0.00
	N	85	84	86	85	77	86
Sheep	Pearson Cor.	0.13	0.10	0.11	–0.07	0.00	0.10
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.22	0.38	0.33	0.54	0.97	0.36
	N	85	84	86	85	85	86

The correlation between the degree of rurality and the level of concentration (in the right half of table 7) shows a slightly different picture. Now we find negative signs for all products, except for sheep. Cattle, with relatively high positive correlation values for the level of specialisation, shows negative values for the correlation between rurality and concentration. This indicates that higher levels of concentration are more often found in urban regions. This holds in particular for potatoes, sugar beet, pigs, cattle and dairy cattle.

So, on the one hand it seems that higher levels of concentration are usually found in urban regions, except for sheep. On the other hand, specialisation is more common in rural regions as far as low yielding productions (wheat, barley, corn, cattle and sheep) are concerned, and in urban regions for more intensive productions (potatoes, sugar beet and pigs).

7. CONCLUSIONS

In this article, we analysed the relation of the level of concentration and specialisation in agricultural production to the degree of rurality in EU-9 regions in the period 1950–2000. Our analysis seems to support theories which assume that land intensive, high yielding products tend to be produced in urban regions.

We found that the concentration of the high yielding production of pigs, dairy cattle, sugar beet and potatoes was highest in urban regions of the EU-9, whereas the concentration of the extensive production of sheep was highest in rural regions. Moreover, concentration seems to have increased in the period 1950–2000. It appeared that the concentration of the relatively low yielding production of cereals (wheat, barley and corn) does not differ strongly between urban and rural regions of the EU-9. With regard to specialisation of agricultural production, a tendency towards specialisation in pig production in urban regions and a tendency towards specialisation in the more land extensive production of cattle, sheep, wheat, barley and corn in rural regions in the EU-9 can be perceived. On the other hand, specialisation in dairy cattle hardly differs among rural, intermediate and urban regions in the EU-9. This could be due to the fact that dairy production is both relatively land and labour intensive, whereas the other studied products are either more labour intensive or more land intensive. The tendency towards specialisation in pig production in urban regions in this period is also enhanced by the common agricultural policy of the EU, which favoured pig production in regions with good accessibility for feed components from overseas (Blom, 1992). As a result, pig production moved to regions with nearby harbours and a good hinterland infrastructure, primarily urban regions.

Annex 1. Concentration coefficients for animal and crop products in the regions of the EU-9 countries, 2000

Concentration		Animals				Crops				
		pigs	cattle	dairy cattle	sheep	wheat	barley	corn	potatoes	sugar
Belgium	Rural	0.1	2.2	0.8	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.1
	Intermediate	0.4	2.0	1.7	0.1	1.3	1.1	0.0	1.1	4.1
	Urban	7.2	4.2	3.9	0.2	0.9	0.5	1.3	5.6	4.1
Denmark	Intermediate	4.8	5.3	7.2	0.3	1.7	3.3	0.0	1.4	1.1
Germany	Rural	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Intermediate	1.0	1.2	1.4	0.2	0.9	1.3	0.3	1.0	0.9
	Urban	2.2	1.4	1.4	0.2	1.0	1.6	0.7	1.2	1.3
France	Rural	0.5	1.4	1.2	0.5	1.0	0.7	1.2	0.4	1.0
	Intermediate	0.2	0.9	1.0	0.3	1.0	0.7	1.7	1.1	1.2
	Urban	0.0	1.0	0.9	0.4	3.0	1.7	1.8	0.6	5.0
Ireland	Intermediate	0.4	1.1	0.8	0.7	0.2	0.6	0.0	0.3	0.3
Italy	Rural	0.2	0.7	0.5	5.8	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.2
	Intermediate	0.4	1.0	1.2	0.7	0.4	0.2	1.8	0.4	0.7
	Urban	1.6	1.9	2.5	0.2	0.1	0.1	3.2	0.3	0.4
Luxembourg	Intermediate	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.9	0.1	0.4	0.0
Netherlands	Rural	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Intermediate	2.0	2.4	4.3	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.1	14.3	4.5
	Urban	8.7	2.7	4.0	0.8	0.4	0.2	0.5	6.2	2.6
United Kingdom	Rural	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Intermediate	0.2	0.7	0.6	1.3	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Urban	0.6	0.7	0.7	1.5	1.3	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
EU-9	Rural	0.4	1.1	1.0	1.8	0.8	0.5	0.9	0.3	0.7
	Intermediate	0.8	1.3	1.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	1.0	2.7	1.5
	Urban	4.7	2.3	2.6	0.5	0.8	0.6	0.9	3.3	2.2

Annex 2. Specialisation coefficients for animal and crop products in the regions of the EU-9 countries, 2000

Specialisation		Animals				Crops				
		pigs	cattle	dairy cattle	sheep	wheat	barley	corn	potatoes	sugar
Belgium	Rural	–35	55	0	–20	9	8	–11	10	–15
	Intermediate	–24	38	7	–21	–10	–6	–12	–5	33
	Urban	22	0	–1	–22	–22	–11	–3	19	16
Denmark	Intermediate	44	–18	–3	–23	4	16	–11	–1	–7
Germany	Rural	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Intermediate	–5	13	4	–12	7	8	–9	3	–9
	Urban	7	6	2	–15	5	14	–7	–2	–10
France	Rural	–18	18	1	0	9	–1	17	–8	–17
	Intermediate	–23	13	3	6	12	–2	9	–4	–15
	Urban	–22	21	4	–3	0	–6	–5	–10	20
Ireland	Intermediate	–27	15	1	11	–10	16	–12	1	6
Italy	Rural	–20	–5	2	24	6	–4	–5	11	–9
	Intermediate	–12	0	2	10	–3	–9	10	7	–6
	Urban	–8	6	2	0	–23	–11	30	24	–20
Luxembourg	Intermediate	–16	31	6	–21	8	26	–9	5	–30
Netherlands	Rural	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Intermediate	–1	4	8	–10	–26	–10	–12	40	8
	Urban	14	–7	2	–9	–23	–11	–9	29	15
United Kingdom	Rural	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Intermediate	–29	–2	–2	32	10	22	–11	–2	7
	Urban	–15	–9	–2	26	38	17	–12	–12	–31
EU-9	Rural	–20	14	1.1	4.6	7.9	–0.9	10.5	–2.3	–15.3
	Intermediate	–13	8	3.3	1.5	–3.8	0.5	–0.7	10.2	–6.1
	Urban	6	1.5	1.5	–9.1	–12	–4.5	–1.7	14.9	3.4

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THE OLD AND THE STUBBORN? FIRM CHARACTERISTICS AND RELOCATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

Abstract: This study gives some insight into the relationships between the spatial environment, firm characteristics and long term existence of firms in the Netherlands. A logit model is employed to investigate the locational difference of firms, considering firm characteristics such as age, size, region and network. The main findings are that (long-term) continuation of the location and firm size are positively associated with long-term existence of firms.
Key words: the Netherlands, firm location.

1. INTRODUCTION

Not much is known in the literature about the spatial dynamics of firms over longer time periods. When studied, mostly the viewpoint of growth of the firm in size, or product in output is taken (Audretch *et al.*, 1998; Agarwal, 1997). This paper takes a spatial perspective on firms' long-term existence. Does location play a role for long-term continuation of firms? Research indicates that location influences the overall probability of survival. Researching location behaviour of very old firms can provide more insight into the role of spatial dynamics in long-term existence of firms, even though studied in combination with factors such as size and ownership. The research into the spatial context of older firms can give a better perception of the importance of embeddedness for firm performance. Embeddedness of firms seems to indicate that social relationships restrict behav-

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iour and institutions and in this way embed the behaviour of economic actors. Economic action is determined by the local network of relations (Granovetter, 1993). None of the existing theories expands upon the fact that very old firms (age in years) outlast the effective industrial period of the (successful) entrepreneur considerably. With this, the characteristics of the firm itself and the characteristics of the firm's environment become of greater relevance.

This study focuses on the location of firms of all ages, with special attention to old firms (founded before 1851 and still existing today). The main research question is whether location behaviour of firms is different when firms get older. In this way, the paper investigates the relationship between spatially inert behaviour (less relocation tendencies) and the age of firms. A telephone survey among the population of old Dutch firms and a written survey among old and younger firms in 2003 provide evidence.

The next section gives explanation of the relevance of this study, followed by a section on the theoretical background of the current investigation which ends with some hypotheses. Section 4 will discuss the research sample and the population of old firms in the Netherlands. The analysis is presented in section 5 and the final section gives conclusions.

2. RELEVANCE

In the view of Vaessen (1993) the success of individual firms is a function of both the way they behave and the economic environment in which they exist. Thus, e.g. a firm might choose a location more or less by chance but economic conditions could favour it and the environment would adopt the firm. This would improve the firm's chances of survival in a path dependent mechanism. Firms benefit from localised ties with buyers and suppliers (Oerlemans *et. al*., 2001; Agrawal *et.al.,* 2006). In this view, the interaction between the firm and its local environment is a determinant of firm behaviour. Explanations of these phenomena have focused on the concepts of history dependence, chance and learning region (van Wissen, 2002). The events firms live through and the actions firms take in reaction to these events will influence the firms' survival chances. The perspective of spatial history can indicate the different changes per firm, such as relocations, and advocate their importance (van Geenhuizen, 1993). Thus far, studies concerning spatial aspects of the older part of the firm population as a whole are very rare, due to data shortage.

Older firms are argued to be much more attached to their location (Brouwer *et al.,* 2004). This attachement or embeddedness creates specific implications for migration activities and locational preferences of firms. Older firms in the Netherlands are relatively often located on isolated spots, instead of on collective firm

sites (Pellenbarg and van Steen, 2003). These spots are frequently in or on the edge of the inner city, which currently causes planning problems. 'Land for economic activities has always been at the sidelines in planning debates' (Louw and Bontekoe, 2007, p. 121). Relocation of these firms is at the moment a policy debate in the Netherlands, as for example in the 'spatial bill' (VROM, 2004). The current Dutch policy does not offer them any options close to their present location (mostly inner cities and residential areas) and offers them location space on special firm sites outside of the town or city. However, embedded (older) firms consider relocation to be synonymous to discontinuity and social disruption. In forced relocation these firms face the risk of loosing their strength by disrupting their connectivity with their local surroundings (Bellandi, 2001). Since the Second World War, the Dutch government created new firm-sites to meet the growing demand for new and suitable firm locations, in order to minimise the negative consequences (such as noise pollution) of firms for other spatial uses (such as residential areas) (VROM, 2004; EZ, 2004). Older firms are more likely to be located in residential neighbourhoods or the city centre due to historical reasons. Currently, these locations are under pressure, there is a tension between on the one side the spatial needs of firms on their present locations and the supply of locations that the government offers for business purposes (Gijzen and Brouwer, 2006). When discussing this, one should consider the possibility of towns growing around firms as was seen in the mid-nineteenth century with textile firms in the United Kingdom and France. Those firms were the engine behind processes of urbanisation (Moch and Tilly, 1985). However, with the exception of a few textile firms in Enschede and Tilburg in the Netherlands, such processes were not that apparent in the Netherlands (Kooij, 1988) and only a few old firms that might have caused similar processes were detected in the database used in this research. The majority of old firms that still exist today never had such large groups of employees and spillover effects that could start urbanisation processes, as will be further elaborated below.

3. LOCATIONAL INERTIA AND HYPOTHESES

The study of firm location aims to contribute to regional science. This paper focuses on traditional location factors but adds a focus on other factors as well, such as spatial inertia and adaptation. In the literature the main three factors influencing firm migration are: internal factors (e.g., size); external factors (e.g., market relationships) and location factors (e.g., region) (Brouwer *et al.,* 2004). The major forces driving firm relocation are expansion and the need for more suitable premises (Pellenbarg *et al.,* 2002). The NEAA (2007) finds that 75% of

all Dutch firm relocations take place within the municipality. There is no reason to assume the numbers were smaller in the past, rather the contrary.

The behaviourist approach tries to understand actual behaviour of entrepreneurs and focuses on the decisions leading to relocation and acknowledges path-dependency and relocation costs. Relocation costs, together with bounded rationality, decrease the relocation probability. When they have to move, mostly they will choose nearer places because they are more familiar (Meester and Pellenbarg, 2006). This also connects strongly with views from locality studies, where it is underlined that the particularity of places creates specific relationships and establishes long-term causalities at that particular place which are hard to reproduce elsewhere (Cox and Mair, 1989). These forces of locational inertia are strengthened by sunk costs as argued by Rosenbaum and Lamort (1992) and Kessides (1990). The institutionalist approach assumes that economic activity is socially and institutionally situated and therefore shaped by the cultural institutions of society (Thrift and Olds, 1996). Here, the firm's investment strategy determines location behaviour. Both, 'external' or 'institutional' factors (e.g., spatial adjustments such as expansion, merger, acquisition and take-over, but also trust, reciprocity, cooperation and convention) are key players from the structure and functions of the firm, through the operation of markets, to the form of state intervention (see among others, Hayter, 1997; Oerlemans *et al.,* 2001).

An additional framework for this investigation comes from the 'demography of firms' and 'organisational ecology' approaches. According to theory, firms need to be reliable and deliver reproducible goods in order to survive. This reliability and irreproachability can only remain constant at high levels when a firm has fixed routines, which come forward from inert behaviour. Inertia is, next to being a condition, also a consequence of the selection process. Firms need inertia to bind its suppliers, capital suppliers and customers to them (embed themselves), to create the necessary legitimation and trust. This does not mean that successful firms never change. Firms need to be able to change to adapt to the new demands of time, but need a certain amount of inertia in order to keep running; it is a fragile balance and large numbers of firm exits indicate that the balance often fails (van Witteloostuijn, 1998; Carroll *et al.,* 2001). Sunk costs, locality, spatial fix of workers and pathdependent mechanisms strengthen a lock-in of firms in specific places (Cox and Mair, 1989). The longer the firm has been in this particular place, the harder it is to relocate out of this place without experiencing negative effects (e.g. Kessides, 1990; Cox and Mair, 1989; Herod, 1997). This 'spatial fix' strengthens forces of inertia.

The chance of firm dissolution is connected to characteristics of the firms, such as sector, size, and age: the 'liability of age and size' (Strotmann, 2007; Schutjens and Wever, 2000). Younger firms have a higher chance for dissolution in their respect (Hannan *et al.,* 1998; Carroll and Hannan, 2000). Older firms had, in comparison with younger firms, more time to create adequate routines

and did survive earlier selection mechanisms (Boschma and Frenken, 2006). New firms still need to build these company routines and have to develop specific skills, knowledge and experience. Therefore, the chance of dissolution decreases when firms are active on the market for a longer time, and locked-in in that particular region because of particular events characterising the area (Cressy, 2006; Hannan and Freeman, 1984; Liebowitz and Margolis, 1990). Most resources tend to concentrate geographically as well, creating strong ties at the local level, due to arm-length market relationships (Easterly and Levine, 2002; Porter, 1996). It can be argued that older firms have reached this old age because of adequate routines, which are hard to change when they have been successful for a long time. This in itself generates inert behaviour (Hannan and Freeman, 1984). Older firms often have a more secure market position due to their increased capacities. The inertia of firms is also generated by sunk costs, existing networks and investments in location and durable goods (Ranger-Moore, 1997; Rosenbaum and Lamort, 1992). Furthermore, firms invested over time in visual reliability, such as location and premises: changes in these can undermine the legitimation of a firm (Delacroix and Swaminathan, 1991). Therefore, it is expected that the spatial environment (or surroundings) of the firm partly determines the survival (getting older) of firms. As firms are located on the same spot longer, they create close ties with local suppliers, capital suppliers and customers (Hoogstra and van Dijk, 2004), also seen as spatial fix (Herod, 1997) and lock-in effects (Gulati *et al.*, 2000). Creating these ties takes time and to break down these ties can be disastrous for the effectiveness of firms (Brouwer, 2005). Therefore it can be argued that survival in the long-run has greater chances when the firm 'sticks' to one well-known and familiar location. Therefore, the first hypothesis can be formulated:

H1: Firms that did not relocate have a higher probability of being older.

Legitimation can be argued to explain the increasing embeddedness of firms in a specific location in the long term (Stam, 2005). The more relations a firm has with suppliers, customers and other institutions in their local environment, the more natural it is that that is exactly where the firm is supposed to be. Gulati *et al*. (2000, p. 211) identify this process as 'lock-in' specific areas. The 'lock-in […] results from networks evolving over time' and can have significant effects on the profits of specific firms. When this 'lock-in' or 'embeddedness' increases, with and because of legitimation at a specific location, it creates inert behaviour of the firm at the location, which could be at the local scale, but even at specific sites (Vaessen, 1993). Easterley and Levine (2002) argue that the competitive core of firms lies in the local, network due to the proximity of resources. Porter (1996) claims the same as a basis for (inter)national competitiveness. When local networks have a chance to establish trust and routines over time, they get locked-in and can be very successful (Gulati *et al.*, 2000). Peneder (2001) argues that irreversible choices from the past explain the differences in spatial variabil-

ity of firms (path dependency). A choice once made and approved becomes a routine (Boschma and Frenken, 2006). In spatial terms, a once chosen location is not easily left, a tendency that gets stronger as a firm gets older and is at the same location for a longer period. Therefore it can be assumed that older firms are more secured in their locations by formalised relationships and are therefore less inclined to change these. Due to their old age, these firms established their networks long ago and it can be argued that these are mostly local networks, due to higher costs of communication over long distance and less means of transportation and mobility in the early nineteenth century (Pellenbarg and van Steen, 2003). A relocation decision is costly, the possible loss of capital, fixed in location – factory, machinery, personnel, and network relationships – play a role as well (Romo and Schwartz, 1995; Meijboom and Voordijk, 2003). If the location does not fulfil the needs of the firm any longer, firms will prefer spatial adaptation of the site to relocation (Vaessen, 1993). Therefore the following hypotheses are proposed:

H2: Firms that did not relocate have a higher probability of more locally situated networks.

H3: Firms that did not relocate have a higher probability of adaptations on site.

When firms get older, they often also get a bit larger. The common reasoning is that smaller firms have a larger probability of failure in comparison with their larger opponents, since they have less 'fat to survive the winter' (van Wissen, 2002). To summarise, the chance for dissolution for firms is the largest when they are young and/or small. This seems to suggest that age is the explaining variable for firms' survival; however that is not the case as such. Age is related to both the capacities of the firm and to the way the firm handles its assets. These capacities change with the increase of firms' age and are the underlying explanations for long term survival. Consequently, the first hypothesis can be formulated as follows:

H4: Firms that did not relocate have a higher probability of being larger.

4. RESEARCH SAMPLE

In this study there is a focus on firm age measured in years since founding. To define firms just by age in years can be arguable because then little attention is given to the stage of development of a firm (Littunen *et al.*, 1998). The development of the firm can also be determined by looking at the 'age' of a firm according to the product life-cycle, where it is not mature until it reaches the fourth stage of this cycle. This view is less useful for the current investigation, since practice shows that some firms are in different stages of the product life-cycle at the same time, some

firms stay at the same phase constantly or some firms start their cycle in a different phase than the first (van Geenhuizen, 1993), while we specifically want to investigate the age-effect. Furthermore, Audretch and Feldman (1996) argue that some firms get locked-in into a 'routinised technology regime', especially firms more mature industries. Once firms are in this stage, it is very common they stay in this particular regime for long periods. Research shows that once firms have reached the mature stage of a stabilised industry and have 'decided on firm leadership', not much will change in population dynamics. For old firms in the Netherlands, these arguments are often true. But the core of the argument in this paper is on 'long-term' continuity, in which age measured in years – and hence ageing is much more appropriate as a measure than stage of development. In this paper, firm age is a measure of the progression time between two existential events; birth and death, age and ageing are therefore important. Studies in firm demography focus on the effects of ageing on firm performance. Firms learn from their behaviour over time. More mature and older firms are therefore better equipped than young firms, who still have to learn how to behave in the market (van Wissen, 2002; Strotmann, 2007). 'Old' firms are in this investigation defined as those firms that were founded before 1851 and still exist today. A firm continues to be the same firm when the name has not been altered since founding and that the basic product or activity has remained the same. The age of the firm is measured as the number of years since founding. The legal status, location, size (in number of employees) may have changed. Also alterations in management, corporate governance and/or ownership are not taken into this definition. The course of the investigated time frame is so long that changes of these natures are unavoidable and will not affect the firm as such. Very much the same is valid for changes in planning policies, national as well as international. Since all firms are located in one small country we put aside possible effects on location that might have come forward from policies in the past. Since all subjects have been subjugated to the same historical events, we consider this to be even among all cases (cf. de Geus, 1997; van Geenhuizen, 1993; Enriques and Volpin, 2007).

The data used in this analysis are the results of a telephone survey and a written survey. The telephone survey targeted the population of old firms in the Netherlands. The contacted firms were founded before 1851 and still exist today operating under the same name and within the same sub-sector since founding (February–April 2003). The year 1851 was chosen because it effectively separates a distinct group of very old firms from a larger group of surviving old firms that were established in the period of industrial revolution in the Netherlands. Agricultural firms, hotel and catering, and retail firms were omitted from the original data source (the REACH database) because their founding dates proved to be less reliable. In retail and the hotel and catering business very often firms were registered as founded in 1001, when checking this was proven never true and the true founding date was 2001, most probably caused by data-entry mistakes. Furthermore, very often firms

in these sectors that were indeed founded before 1851 were taken over by larger chains and therefore did not fit our definition. Agricultural firms have a very static nature if it comes to firm location and have very low mobility propensities. In the Netherlands it occasionally happened that an agricultural firm relocated to new captured land from the sea – however, this is not the kind of locational dynamics this paper searches for. After screening the data, 362 old firms remain. Due to less than perfect registration before 1900 it is impossible to use a cohort approach to study these firms. Since only data is available for firms that are present nowadays, only retrospective research is allowed.

In the telephone survey questions were asked concerning the year of founding, legal status, present location, past (re)location activities, family involvement and product / activity (see table 1 for the main results).

Table 1. Summarised results from the telephone survey, characteristics of old firms

Number of full time employees	% old firms	% all firms*
1 to 9	45.9	91.2
10 to 99	43.6	8.2
100 or more	10.5	0.6
Firm relocation	% old firms	
Unknown	1.9	
Never relocated	52.9	
Relocated at least once	45.2	
Sectoral division	% old firms	% old firms**
Manufacturing	40.1	9.7
Onstruction	29.2	11.9
Wholesale	17.9	20.6
Financial services	4.7	32.4
Transportation	3.9	10.9
Other services	3.5	14.4
Business services	0.8	0.1
Adaptation current location	% old firms	
Yes	56.4	
No	43.7	

* The percentages for the total firm population in the Netherlands are based on all Dutch firms with up to 250 employees. Firms with more than 250 employees were not taken into consideration.

** Percentages of firms in likewise sectors where the primary sector, retail and hotel & catering business were not taken into consideration. The sectors in this table count as 100%.

Source: Chambers of Commerce (2004).

Table 2. Summarised results of the written survey

Contentment location (mark 1 to 10)	All respondents	Old firms	Younger firms
Location	7.7	7.4	7.8
Type of location			
Inner city	11.2%	16.7%	4.2%
Edge inner city	17.9%	41.7%	11.9%
Residential	7.8%	8.3%	7.7%
Office park	3.9%	2.8%	4.2%
Transportation hub	6.7%	2.8%	7.7%
Heavy industry site	6.7%	2.8%	7.7%
Manufacturing site	40.2%	25.0%	44.1%
Rural area	5.6%	0.0%	7.0%
Proprietorship			
Owner	50.8%	72.2%	45.5%
Rent	45.3%	25.0%	1.4%
Lease	1.1%	2.8%	50.3%
Spatial adaptation			
Yes	55.3%	69.4%	48.3%
No	44.7%	30.6%	51.7%
Network of relationships			
Local	6.1%	8.3%	5.6%
Regional	34.1%	25.0%	36.6%
National	26.8%	25.0%	27.5%
International	32.4%	41.7%	30.3%
Size			
2–9 employees	15.6%	33.3%	11.2%
10–25 employees	44.7%	25.0%	49.7%
26–50 employees	18.4%	8.3%	21.0%
51–100 employees	9.5%	11.1%	9.1%
101 + employees	11.7%	22.2%	9.1%
Relocation			
Relocated at least once	69.3%	61.1%	71.3%
Still at initial location	30.7%	38.9%	28.7%

The response rate of the telephone survey is 71%; 257 cases. These respondents were also contacted for a written survey to investigate certain characteristics more in depth; unfortunately – even after contacting the firms several

times – only 37 written surveys were returned by the old firms. An investigation of old firms can only be of use when of course also younger firms are incorporated into the investigation in order to provide comparative data material. Therefore, the written survey was also directed to younger firms (founded after 1850) and 144 younger firms filled out the questionnaire. The written survey was directed to younger firms, with a selection made on sector, to match the division of firms over particular sectors matching the sample of old firms. In table 2 the results of the written survey can be found. The most interesting results from the written survey are that younger firms had more relocation activities than older firms, 71.3% versus 61.1%. Old firms are larger than younger firms (in terms of employees), old firms did have more spatial adaptations to their current site than younger firms and old firms more often have ownership of their site than younger firms. These first descriptive results seem to confirm our expectations.

The number of old firms in total in the Netherlands is not very impressive: with 0.1% of the number of all Dutch establishments they are just a very small part of the total firm populations, however, they generate over 4% of the Dutch national employment which makes them an economically relevant group. The old firms are mainly active in the manufacturing, construction and wholesale sectors. Partly, old firms are active in the now more traditional activities, such as the production of sweets, beer or spirits, bookbinding, import of colonial goods, mills and smithies. However, some of the old firms operating in activities such as construction, real estate, metalwork, printing and financial services. A classical problem in studies on the survival rate is the so-called survivor problem (Santerelli and Vivarelli, 2007). Information about survivors in specific sectors gets more value when the number of firms created in different time periods and the number remaining as part of the sample is known. Unfortunately, such entry and exit rates per sector are not available over the period under study in this paper. Some information about firm distribution per sector could be retrieved from several historical archives as can be seen in tables 3 and 4. In table 3, one can see that manufacturing was a major part – around 30% – of Dutch commercial life in the entire period. That many old firms survived in this sector is therefore not unexpected. In the same period, the part of firms engaged in trade & transport increased over 200%, which could explain the relatively low number of old firm survivors with these activities, while they are overrepresented in the total firm distribution (see table 2). In table 4, more detailed information about the firm distribution within manufacturing over time is given. In table 4, one can see that in the ‘founding period’ of the old firms, those groups that were large in that period have relatively many survivors (such as foodstuffs and beverages) and those groups that gained tremendously in importance over the period (such as construction and book printing) are represented in the group of old survivors.

Table 3. Percentage of firms in four sectors from 1899 to 2001 in the Netherlands

Sector	Percentage of firms in four sectors						
	1899	1909	1920	1930	1950	1978	2001
Agriculture	29.6	27.3	22.9	20.1	11.4	1.2	0.7
Manufacturing	33.8	35.2	37.8	38.8	24.9	20.3	27.5
Trade & transport	16.8	18.4	19.6	21.8	51.2	47.8	44.1
Other	19.8	19.1	19.8	19.3	11.9	26.3	27.7

Source: Brouwer (2005).

Because the old firms exist longer than several generations of entrepreneurs it is important for the firm's persistence that the take-over is secured and therefore more than 90% of the firms are family owned. A strive for profit maximisation in family firms is subordinate to the economic and social consequences of the family involved. More important are matters of succession and getting involved in the stock market for the continuation of the firm (Santarelli and Lotti, 2005). As for the size-distribution of the old firms, measured in number of full time employees, most of the old firms are in the larger categories, 10–99 and 100 or more employees. When compared with the size distribution for the total firm population it is clear that the category of one employee is considerably smaller for old firms than for the total firm population. Furthermore, the larger categories are for the old firms considerably larger than for the entire firm population. On average older firms are larger.

Table 4. Percentage of firms per manufacturing sub-sector in the period 1820–2001

Sub-Sector	Percentage of firms in manufacturing groups							
	1820	1858	1890	1930	1950	1963	1978	2001
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Ceramics, glass, lime and stone	1.3	1.8	11.6	1.4	1.5	1.8	2.6	1.7
Diamond and other gemstones	0.03	4.7	–	0.01	0.6	–	–	–
Book printing, lithography and photography	0.8	1.3	7.3	1.9	2.1	2.5	7.0	7.4
Construction	6.5	0.7	2.0	18.5	31.9	33.9	41.6	54.4
Quarrying	–	3.4	–	0.3	0.2	–	0.2	–
Chemical industry	4.7	5.6	2.0	1.1	0.8	0.9	1.4	1.3
Wood, straw works and cork	14.2	9.6	10.0	7.9	1.9	5.3	3.3	1.8

Table 4 (cont.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Clothing and (dry) cleaners	8.6	7.9	7.0	9.7	17.9	11.1	2.8	1.6
Crafts	–	–	0.3	0.3	–	0.2	–	–
Leather, oilcloth and caoutchouc (rubber)	11.7	5.3	1.2	5.7	1.1	0.8	2.2	1.6
Bog ore, coals and peat extraction (mining)	4.5	–	1.0	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.5
Metal construc-tion	10.0	7.7	6.0	7.1	6.2	7.1	9.1	6.5
Paper	0.6	1.4	2.1	0.9	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.5
Shipbuilding and vehicles	1.0	8.3	2.5	2.1	9.8	11.4	2.8	2.6
Steam – and other engines	–	0.1	4.1	7.9	1.5	2.1	4.0	4.2
Manufacture of textile	10.4	8.4	12.7	2.1	1.4	1.0	1.8	1.2
Lighting, oil, varnish and fat	–	4.3	4.4	–	–	–	–	–
Gas, electricity and water	2.8	1.1	–	0.4	0.8	1.9	0.5	0.5
Foodstuffs and beverages	22.8	25.9	25.8	30.1	15.4	12.3	12.4	4.2
(Electric) machinery and apparatus	–	0.6	–	–	0.4	1.6	1.6	1.7
Clocks and instruments	–	0.8	–	–	3.0	0.2	1.2	2.0
Furniture	–	0.9	–	–	2.7	1.7	3.3	6.4
Other	0.3	0.1	–	1.6	0.2	3.6	0.5	–
Totals	N= 50,925	N= 11,566	N= 3,339	N= 130,207	N= 150,756	N= 127,967	N= 68,837	N= 199,838

Source: Brouwer (2005).

A bit over half of the old firms did expansion on the current site. From the question on relocation, the following resulted: 1.9% of the old firms did not know (memory gap), 52.9% never relocated, 45,2% relocated at least once (see also table 1). When the answer to the relocation question was positive, the succeeding question was whether these relocations did occur within the same region (the Dutch 'gemeente' – municipality) or over longer distances. Of the relocated old firms, 60% moved within their region of original location. In the population of old firms 44.9% relocated at least once. When compared to the relocation numbers of all firms in the Netherlands, where 60–65 % of firms aged 25 years or older (including the oldest age groups from 70 to 100 years) have relocated (Pellenbarg and van Steen, 2003), this is substantially less. Considering the high number of short distance relocations, it can be argued that old firms display a high attachment to their home region. The reason for low mobility of older firms can be size-related. According to the Chambers of Commerce (2004) relocation in the home region is more usual among older firms since a movement over a shorter distance has less influence on the current employees, who will not have to be replaced (Hoogstra and van Dijk, 2004; NEAA, 2007). Since older firms tend to have more employees and more specifically trained employees they tend to stay in the home region. This would mean that larger 'older' firms would have moved relatively less; the results from the survey, however, give a somewhat different picture. The percentages of relocation exceed the percentage of no-relocation after the number of 10 employees. This might be caused by the fact that the relocation might have taken place in the early years of the existence of the firms when the firms could have been much smaller in terms of the number of employees. Or that past relocations did encourage the firms to grow following the relocation (Brouwer *et al.*, 2004).

5. LOGIT ANALYSIS

A possible explanation for spatially inert behaviour can be found in firm characteristics. The spatial inertia of firms is tested here with a logit model. In the model the relocation history (relocated at least once) is the explanatory variable. This is defined by the probability to relocate by a set of dependent variables. The probability to relocate is $F(x_i, \beta)$ were $F(.) = \exp(.) / [1+\exp(.)]$, and β is the vector of the coefficients (Greene, 2003). The dependent variables[1] all have been regrouped into ordinal variables; *age* in years since founding; *size*

[1] Most variables have only a few missing observations. The missing values are modelled in the reference groups. In earlier versions of the model the missing values were explicitly taken into account, but the results are almost identical.

in numbers of employees; *network* of relationships; *innovation;* the *region* of residence; *property* (rent, lease or ownership); and *adaptation* of premises or grounds.

Table 5. Results of logit-analysis

All observations	*B*	*t*-value
Constant	2.564	
Size (in numbers of fulltime employees)		
1–5		
6–9	1.709	2.71***
10–25	1.000	1.39*
26–50	–0.015	0.02
51 or more	0.934	1.20
Age (in years since founding)		
6–10		
0–5	–2.847	2.70***
11–25	–1.426	1.47*
26–50	–0.909	0.93
51–100	–0.942	0.93
101–200	–1.436	1.99*
201 or older	0.310	0.26
Network (of market relationships)		
International		
National	0.452	0.89
Regional	0.916	1.74*
Local	–1.333	1.49*
Spatial adaptations		
No		
Yes	–0.449	0.97
Region		
West Netherlands		
South Netherlands	–0.407	0.73
East Netherlands	–0.877	1.63*
North Netherlands	–0.846	1.19
Proprietorship		
Rent / lease		
Ownership	–1.558	3.43***

Explanation: * = significant at the 10% level, ** = significant at the 5% level, *** = significant at the 1% level. N : 179. Overall percentage: 74.7%.

In table 5 every first mentioned group within the variables is the reference group, which is the group expected to have most relocations. The reference groups are chosen based on the results of cross tabulations on the data and supplemented with literature. The *B*-value represents the probability that the tested group behaves in the same way as the reference group – high probability of relocation. Therefore, the reference groups have no value.

One would expect the model to also run *sector* as a control variable – considering the specific sector distribution of old firms which was kept in the written survey to younger firms. In earlier versions of the model *sector* was specifically taken into account, however – unexpectedly did not have any significant influence and was omitted from the final version. The same is valid for the variable *legal structure*; also this variable did not have any effects and therefore is not incorporated in the final version. Omitting the variables without significant effects did improve the internal fit of the model.

Table 5 gives the results of the analysis.

Theory suggests that spatial inertia increases when age increases. The probability of relocation shall therefore be smaller when the firm is older, considering that here past relocation behaviour is tested. The first five years of firm existence are called the incubator period, in which firms mostly focus on initial survival and therefore are not likely to move (Stam, 2005). The results for the parameter *age* show that older firms and the youngest firms are least mobile. The latter group even has a significantly lower mobility. The oldest age group had on average more movements in the past, which is contradictory to the expectations, even though the result is not significant. Considering the relatively lower response in this oldest age group in the written survey, this group might not be representative for this category. The evidence, however modest, is mostly corresponding to the expectations; thus far, the relation is not linear, but shows that older firms had less relocation behaviour in the past. Also the higher percentage of old firms that relocated over the short distance as found in the telephone survey underlines an increased attachment of old firms with their location. We tend to accept the first hypothesis.

It was expected was that firms with a larger (international) *network* of market relationships had a lower chance of relocating, since they are not tied to one region due to suppliers and customers. The survey results, however give a dual picture. It is clear that firms that participate in a local network relocated significantly less that those firms that participate in an international network. Nevertheless, firms that participate in a regional network have a higher probability of relocation than firms that participate in a international network. Agrawal *et. al*. (2006) claim that social (trust) relationships are highly past-dependent – even if the market relationships are extensive and even cross-border. De Bruijn (2004) argues along the same lines. International relation-

ships do not hold back an embeddedness within a specific region. However, within specific regions firms can move short distance (Stam, 2005, p. 123): 'young firms in general hardly move out of their region of origin'. Old firms (see table 2) participate much more in larger networks and relocate less, corresponding with theory. Based on these results the tendency exists to partly accept the second hypothesis.

The variable *adaptation*, such as expansion of the premises and grounds, does not provide convincing evidence (see also section 2). Firms that did adapt their current location seem to have less relocation behaviour than firms that did not adapt their current location. It can be expected that firms that spent money on adapting their current location would be less inclined to move. Firms that have more attachment to their location might be inclined to spend more money on the current site to enable them to stay there instead of searching for another, maybe cheaper, location. The results are not significant and therefore the third hypothesis cannot be accepted.

Discussing the relationship between firm *size* and relocation, the literature suggests that smaller firms have higher probabilities of relocations (among others Pellenbarg and van Steen, 2003). However, the obtained results show the opposite. The categories with 6–10 and 11–25 employees have a higher probability of relocating. Larger firms have a significantly higher probability of having moved in the past. This means that spatial inertia does not directly increase with the size of the firm. Nevertheless, it can be argued that because the need for space is an important initiator for movement (Hoogstra and van Dijk, 2004), growing firms could have moved in the past to create this space. This could explain the higher mobility in the past of the currently lager firms; table 2 displays that especially the need for more space is the main reason for firm relocation. Concerning embeddedness and size Oerleman *et al*. (2001, p. 72) find that 'regional economic embeddedness seems to be a strong driver for localised ties, but these are generally not effected by size'. These results lead to partly accepting the last hypothesis.

Let us continue with the control variables. The variable *region* shows that movement is highest in the region of the West of the Netherlands. So, firms that are now located in the West of the Netherlands, have relocated more in the past. Since this is the region that holds the four largest urban areas of the Netherlands and has a very dynamic economy, the high probability of relocation in this region is not unexpected. The results obtained for the variable *property* correspond to the expectations. Firms that rent or lease premises or grounds have significantly more relocations than firms that have ownership of their premises. The premises and ground can be seen as an investment and therefore an explanation of spatial inertia.

6. CONCLUSION

The current paper investigated the interaction between the age of firms and their environment. It aimed at investigating whether embeddedness is positively associated with long-term existence. The results indicate that in general older firms relocate less than younger firms and that spatial inertia increases when firms get older. The age dependent spatial inertia relationship – however modest – is proven for the different firm characteristics. The results indicate an indirect relationship between age and the different characteristics and spatial inertia, mostly caused by 'rent displacement'. Older firms want to remain on their current location to avoid loss of income. The higher investments in location, premises and personnel and long term network relations confirm the attachment to the location. Summarising, old firms are for the larger part firms that have been on the same location for many decades. Hence, they created very stable supply and consumer relationships, which root these old firms securely into the local and regional economy. The older the firm gets, the more 'stubborn' it gets about leaving their location.

The current Dutch spatial planning policy aims to concentrate activities in specific designated areas (firm sites). This investigation, however, indicates that relocation of firms cannot always guarantee positive performance results for the involved firms – especially if these firms have been in the same location for a longer period. Therefore, it is of utmost importance to incorporate this possible impact when making such policies.

Of course the study is far from perfect. First of all it takes the retrospective approach – due to data availability it can only consider whether a firm relocated in the past or not, but passes by on all sorts of aspects considering the reason or the direction of the relocation. Second, some of the choices could have arguably been different, for example the founding year of old firms, however, since firms of all ages are considered in the logit, the age-bias effect might not be so dramatic. Considering all its flaws, the study nevertheless gives some insights in a field of study which has been little explored so far.

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REVIEW ARTICLES AND REPORTS

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ANALYSING LOCAL EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN GREECE UNDER CONVENTIONAL ZONING REGIMES AND PARTITIONS EXTRACTED FROM THE DATA

1. INTRODUCTION

The paper sets out to empirically analyse local employment, unemployment and non-participation in Greece under three zoning regimes using municipal-level data from the 2001 Census. More specifically, it considers the functional linkages among the country's municipalities as well as spatial patterns extracted from the data, and comes up with a territorial partition that diverges from the (two) conventional regional and subregional partitions typically used in studies regarding Greece. Furthermore, it compares the recovered spatial and non-spatial coefficients obtained under the three spatial specifications, and the econometric fits associated with them. It goes without saying that the selection of one specification over another may have important implications for policy formulation even if the underlying economic theory and the data considered are the same.

In labour economic literature, people's participation in the work-force, employment or unemployment are empirically explained in terms of demographic, educational and household composition factors (e.g., Pencavel, 1986; von Merz, 1990; Kahn and Lang 1991; Chiuri, 2000; Andrén, 2003; Vermeulen, 2006; Little, 2007). If the all-important factor of wage is not available, the impact of its sectoral and occupational determinants (e.g., Simpson, 1986; Kahn and Lang,

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1991; Oaxaca and Ransom, 1994; McCall, 1998; Christofides and Pashardes, 2000) may be taken into account, instead (e.g., Hotchkiss, 1991; Brown and Sessions, 1997); and when spatial arguments are considered, these take the form of categorical (dummy) variables pertaining to (i) conventional territorial partitions such as counties, administrative districts, provinces, regions etc., and/or (ii) large and small towns (e.g., all authors listed above).

As the choice of regressors affects the quality of estimated coefficients and, hence, the direction and magnitude of territorial development, social cohesion or other economic policy interventions, we question analysts' reliance on conventional territorial partitions. More often than not, the boundaries of these partitions are drawn on the basis of a variety (even a mixture) of criteria (e.g., geographical factors, historical memories, relics of commercial life, administrative contingencies, electoral considerations, geometry, chance). As a result, the spatial units considered may be internally heterogeneous. It follows that if the demographic, economic and social phenomena are not neatly aligned with the borders, then the incorporation in a regression of spatial controls standing for such units, may bring in some degree of misspecification. For instance, if these units are fashioned after ancient or medieval demarcations (as is often the case in Europe), they may constitute poor proxies for contemporary economic areas. Metaphorically speaking, their use in a regression may resemble the attempt to fit a body into an inherited suit (or describe and examine the said body in terms of the particular suit). Nevertheless, for some reason, more sophisticated treatments of space have received little interest in labour economic literature. These include attempts to deal with the consequence of:

– unsuitable zoning by grouping together localities in accordance with their economic interactions: specifically, by delineating labour market areas (travel-to-work areas) on the basis of their commuting flows. This is usually achieved via an iterative process (algorithm) that takes into account residence- and work-place-based self-containment criteria (e.g., Coombes *et al.*, 1986; Casado-Díaz, 2000; van der Laan and Schalke, 2001; Poper, 2005);

– spatial dependence by incorporating in the regression measures of spatial contiguity or proximity in order to estimate non-spatial parameters that are corrected for spatial-autocorrelation. This is usually achieved with the use of a weight matrix the elements of which capture contiguity, straight-line distances or travel times among the population centres of the localities involved (e.g., Molho, 1995; Badinger and Url, 2002; Elhortst and Zeilstra, 2005; Pattacchini and Zenou, 2007).[1]

[1] In theory, the approach may be enriched to include the impact of explanatory variables from neighbouring localities or to produce spatially-varying coefficients (i.e., locally different estimates of the parameters pertaining to education, wage, and the other non-spatial explanatory variables.)

Hence, it would seem that the discovery of some sort of middle ground, which combines (i) the extraction of spatial associations (whether seen as nuances or useful patterns) from the data with (ii) the insertion in the regression of relevant economic interaction information, and (iii) the use of spatial dummies that might turn out to be more suitable compared to conventional territorial dummies, may enhance our analytical approach. For instance, with regard to (a), the obvious next step would be to regress employment, unemployment or workforce participation data collected at fairly disaggregated levels using functional spatial regressors. With regard to (b), the path may have already been laid out by Badinger and Url's (2002) discovery of spatial patterns in the residuals of a specification lacking spatial regressors,[2] and the suggestion of constructing spatial regressors fashioned after these patterns (preferably orthogonal towards other regressors) and introducing them into the expression. The coefficients associated with them are obviously interpreted in the same manner as those corresponding to conventional territorial regressors in typical econometric analyses, i.e., as estimates of the level of dissimilarity of the areas in question from the intercept.

At the same time, the employment of dummies that capture or model spatial information in the manner proposed above may be very useful in cases the construction of a weight matrix is problematic. For instance, in Greece (figure 1) the contiguity matrix cannot handle the country's many islands; and the distance matrix does not fare much better by mixing land with sea distances or assuming neatly decaying features for the reason that some islands are linked by ferries to some (but not all) neighbouring islands or other islands and continental ports several times a day; other islands are linked to other islands or continental ports once or twice a week (weather permitting); and so on. Likewise, a good number of inaccurate spatial associations/connections may arise in cases of (a) somewhat

[2] The presence of such patterns may very well be attributed to the omission from the regression of required explanatory variables (whether spatial or other). Indeed, their omission implies that they will be incorporated in the error term and treated as part of it. Consequently, the following problems are created: (i) The estimated intercept will be a biased and inconsistent estimator of the true intercept. (ii) If the omitted variables are correlated with other explanatory variables entering the model, then the respective estimated coefficients will be biased and inconsistent estimators of the true parameters as well. (iii) As the disturbance variable will be incorrectly estimated, the conventionally measured variance of the estimated coefficients will be overestimated (which is further aggravated in the case of correlation between the omitted and included variables), thus yielding lower *t*-statistics even in the cases of unbiased estimators. As a result, the hypothesis testing procedure is likely to give misleading conclusions about the statistical significance of the estimated parameters. It follows that the introduction in the regression of good proxies of (a) the spatial variables or (b) the spatial dimension of other omitted variables is bound to improve the quality of the econometric results. If only a similar approach could be carried out along other dimensions of the omitted variables.

distant continental localities that are well linked through the road-and-rail network (and may, indeed, form travel-to-work areas), and (b) contiguous continental localities that are not well linked (as their borders are drawn along mountain-crests they appear contiguous but their population centres are cut off from each other).[3] In view of the above, it is perhaps better if the issue of spatial association were treated without assumptions regarding the manner in which it develops, but rather as a *black box*, the features of which might be discovered with the help of algorithms and econometrics.

Fig. 1. The geography and administrative organisation of Greece

[3] The alternative travel-time matrix may be less susceptible to such glitches. However, it is harder to collect reliable measures in all cases compared to collecting Eucledian distances.

In putting these pieces together, we will attempt to carry out the study of employment, unemployment and non-participation, and advance our understanding of how localities may be grouped together across space on the basis of their economic characteristics, by engaging in empirical analyses using municipal data under three spatial regimes: one after the country's conventional regional divisions, another after its conventional sub-regional divisions, and a third one on the basis of functional linkages and other patterns extracted from the residuals. Indeed, the disaggregated nature of the dataset permits the juxtaposition of alternative spatial models, and the estimation of a good number of spatial and non-spatial effects on the male and female employment, unemployment and non-participation equations. Overall, by treating the economy as a collection of communities and clusters of communities, and by departing from the conventional manner of grouping them together according to the inherited territorial framework, the paper offers a paradigm of how disaggregated data may be employed, how algorithmic and econometric tools may be used and zones of distressed areas identified. As one might expect, the findings entail important policy implications for regional development and resource allocation.

The rest of the paper is organised as follows: sections 2 describes the methodology and compares the three versions on the basis of their fitness. Sections 3 and 4 discuss the spatial and non-spatial results, respectively, and make policy proposals. Section 5 concludes.

2. EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS UNDER ALTERNATIVE TERRITORIAL SPECIFICATIONS

We proceed to analyse the six equations regarding the male and female employment, unemployment and non-participation population shares recorded in the 2001 Census across Greece's 1,034 municipalities, and estimate the impact of spatial and non-spatial factors within a seemingly unrelated regressions (SUR) framework.[4] As a result, one equation (in this case, male non-participation) is recovered from the other five as their complement. As already mentioned, in order to gain insights in the modelling of spatial information and use of spatial dummies, we engage in the econometric analysis under three spatial versions:

– Version I is based on the established regional organisation of the country, so observations are grouped by administrative region. The specification

[4] The SUR procedure allows for a supplementary treatment of complications associated with the (patterns embedded in the) error terms. As the dependent variables add up to one, it would seem that the equations are not unrelated. In fact, their disturbances (both spatial and other) are probably correlated. By treating them jointly within the SUR framework, efficiency is improved.

involves 12 spatial dummy variables, with the municipalities situated in Attiki serving as the reference area. An additional dummy is employed in order to allow differentiation between small municipalities (inhabited by 150 people or less) and the rest.

– Version II is based on the established prefectorial organisation of the country, so observations are grouped by prefecture. The specification involves 53 spatial dummy variables, with the municipalities of the Athens prefecture (one of Attiki's four prefectures) serving as the reference area.[5]

– Version III is based on micro-regional and distinct community characteristics. The spatial dummies are constructed according to (i) the economic interactions (functional linkages) observed among localities, and (ii) the spatial patterns evidenced in the residuals, in the following steps:

1. Localities are grouped together (i.e., they are assigned the same dummy) after the travel-to-work groupings provided by Prodromidis (2008) on the basis of the commuting flows reported in the very same dataset. As a result, the five regressands may be explained in terms of these spatial groupings and the other regressors employed in the literature.

2. The latter regressors are made orthogonal towards the spatial regressors and to each other so as to avoid correlations among the independent variables.[6] Following this, the five regressands are explained in terms of the spatial and other (transformed) regressors within a SUR framework.

3. The spatial dummies associated with negative employment coefficients and/or positive unemployment or non-participation coefficients that are statisti-

[5] The dummy variable regarding small municipalities (used in Version I) is dropped as it exhibits considerable correlation with the new vector of spatial dummies. For instance, in the case of the Grevena prefecture, $r = 38.4\%$.

[6] More specifically, in the context of a function $Y = b_0 + b_1D + b_2\Delta + b_3X + b_4Z$, where D stands for a spatial dummy, Δ for another kind of dummy (in this case: sectoral-and-occupational concentration), and X, Z for other regressors in fraction form (in the case: population density, demographic and qualification population shares), we (a) weed-out the Δ dummies that are highly or modestly correlated with D (see footnote 9), and then (b) remove from X the linear effects of D and Δ so that they do not account for them even partially, and remove the effects of D, Δ, X on Z. Briefly put, instead of regressing Y on D, X, Z, we regress X on D, predict x and estimate $\chi = X - x$; then regress Z on D and χ, predict z and estimate $\zeta = Z - z$; and end up explaining Y in terms of D, χ and ζ. Ultimately, the explanatory variables are reshaped into components both lacking spatial dependence with D and immunised from possible collinearities. It follows that when we take into consideration alternative spatial formations, i.e., different measures of D (regional, prefectorial, or other), the procedure is performed afresh, and we obtain different measures of Δ, χ and ζ, and – by extension – different estimated coefficients. Under the circumstances, in the present paper our remarks and final conclusions concentrate only on the proxies of χ and ζ that exhibit a very low probability of error (less than 1%) under all spatial regimes: regional, prefectorial or other. Obviously, if the emphasis were placed on the analysis of a particular specification, then a more thorough discussion regarding other coefficients as well (not only those that are significant in all specifications) would be in order.

cally different from zero at the 1% level are retained. Neighboring travel-to-work areas are banded together (i.e., they are assigned the same dummy instead of the initial ones) if their spatial coefficients carry the same signs across all regressions. (For instance, the dummies that stand for the Kozani and Ptolemais travel-to-work areas are replaced by a single one.) Naturally, the degrees of freedom increase. The system is re-estimated with the new dummies.

4. The six vectors of residuals (one per equation) are estimated. Hence, each observation may be characterised (even differentiated from other observations) by the values and combination of values of its six residuals.[7] These residuals are projected on the layout of a map, colored by range and combination, so that potential spatial patterns may reveal themselves easily.

5. Neighboring travel-to-work areas and self-contained municipalities as well as travel-to-work areas and self-contained municipalities situated on opposite coasts (separated/connected by water) are experimentally banded together (i.e., are assigned a common dummy) if (a) all six of their residuals are similar;[8] and (b) the coefficient associated with the new dummy is statistically significant in at least one of the seemingly unrelated functions. Thus, micro-regions with similar distressing features that cannot be explained by the available factors are identified on the basis of the magnitude and combination of the residuals. Steps 2–3 are repeated slightly modified. The dependent variables are regressed on the new edition of spatial dummies and the other (transformed) variables. The spatial dummies associated with statistically significant effects at the 1% level in one or more SUR functions are retained. As some are banded together, steps 4 and 5 are repeated so that the re-zoning of localities (in practice: of nearby localities) on the basis of the residuals may be considered.

In the end, the iterative process yields 40 spatial formations corresponding to clusters of contiguous municipalities (or strings of municipalities which are in proximity) and isolated outliers with high unemployment and/or low employment and/or non-participation features (which policy-makers often find distressing) that are not attributed to the non-spatial factors entering the regression. The rest of the country serves as the reference area.

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[7] For instance, one locality may exhibit (be associated with) a large negative residual value in the male employment equation, another locality may exhibit large negative residuals values in both the male and female employment equations, a third locality may exhibit a large negative residual value in the male employment equation and a large positive residual value in the male unemployment equation, and so on.

[8] The presence of spatial concentrations of municipalities exhibiting similar residual values and combinations of values of the type mentioned in footnote 7, suggests that the building blocks (i.e., the municipalities), whether forming a well-defined labour market or not, may share similarities on account of a distinctive terrain or climate or remoteness, culture or other unobserved local characteristics associated with the omitted factors.

The spatial factors are complemented by:

i) dummy variables capturing the impact of sectoral-and-occupational concentrations (three types in the case of the Version I, four types in the case of the Version III);[9]

ii) population density and its square (with the latter capturing the rate of change),

iii) six explanatory variables regarding demographic composition (namely, the population shares of children aged 0–4, children aged 5–9, children aged 10–19, men aged 20–64, women aged 20–64, senior citizens aged 65–79, senior citizens aged 80 or more), and

iv) six explanatory variables regarding the qualification characteristics of the local populations (namely, the population shares of women with primary school or lesser qualifications, secondary school qualifications, post-secondary school or bachelor qualifications, men with primary school or lesser qualifications, secondary school qualifications, post-secondary school or bachelor qualifications, and men and women holding postgraduate degrees), in line with the divisions available in the dataset, net of the previously-mentioned factors.

As a result, the vectors regarding variables (ii)–(iv) are rendered orthogonal to the spatial arguments and to each other in order to avoid collinearities that inflate the variances of the estimators (see footnote 6) and also because, in principle, we want to isolate the spatial effects from the other effects in order to obtain a better picture of their separate influences on the dependent variables.

[9] In Version I, these pertain to municipalities exhibiting a location quotient of (i) science and art professionals employed in the trade and repairs industry and/or (ii) extra-territorial bodies and organisations, as well as (iii) plant/machine operators and assemblers employed in manufacturing, equal to or greater than '3'. (The threshold is chosen after some preliminary experimentation among many quotients on the basis of their performance and rather low level of correlation *vis-à-vis* the regional dummies.) The highest association (r = 12.6%) is observed between the localities of Central Macedonia and the localities exhibiting inordinately high concentrations of plant/machine operators and assemblers employed in manufacturing. In Version III, they pertain to municipalities exhibiting a location quotient equal to or greater than '3' in the three combinations mentioned in Version I, as well as skilled primary-sector workers employed in agriculture and related activities. The highest association (r = –8.9%) is observed between the localities of the Hios travel-to-work area and a string of communities along the south and central part of the eastern Aegean basin (on one hand) and the localities exhibiting inordinately high concentrations of skilled primary-sector workers employed in agriculture and related activities (on the other). In Version II, the sector-and-skill concentrations dummy variables are dropped as they exhibit high or modest levels of correlation with the spatial dummy variables. The dummy variable capturing the concentration of science and art professionals employed in extra-territorial bodies and organisations exhibits an r = 41.2% in connection with the Athens prefecture, the one capturing the concentration of plant/machine operators and assemblers employed in manufacturing exhibits an r = 23.1% in connection with the Thessaloniki prefecture, and the one capturing the concentration of science and art professionals employed in the trade and repairs industry an r = 14.2% in connection with the East Attica prefecture.

The results are provided in annex 1–3. Men aged 20–64 with minimal and primary school qualifications serve as the reference population. We note that Version I captures a modest part of the variation of the economically active population across Greece. Indeed, apart from the female unemployment function that exhibits a high level of statistical fitness (R^2 = 82.9%), the male and female employment functions, along with the female non-participation function, exhibit modest levels of fitness (with R^2 values of 68.7%, 59%, and 56.3%, respectively),[10] while the male unemployment function is associated with a lower level of fitness (R^2 = 30.3%). In Version II, the female unemployment and male employment functions exhibit high levels of statistical fitness (with R^2 values of 81.9% and 70.3%, respectively), the female employment and non-participation functions exhibit modest levels of fitness (with R^2 values of 63% and 58.8%, respectively), while the male unemployment function displays a lower level of fitness (R^2 = 42%).[11] As Version II employs twice as many explanatory variables as Version I and one of its recovered R^2 measures is lower than its regional counterpart, it is unclear whether the prefectorial specification is superior to the regional specification in terms of explaining the variation of the economically active population across Greece. Version III captures a considerable portion of the variation observed in the economically active population across Greece. Indeed, of the five equations, the female unemployment and male employment functions exhibit high levels of statistical fitness (with R^2 values of 85.6% and 80.1%, respectively), the female employment and non-participation functions exhibit modest levels of fitness (with R^2 values of 69.4% and 67.3%, respectively), while the male unemployment function displays a lower level of fitness (R^2 = 49.4%).[12] As Version III employs fewer explanatory variables than Version II, and all R^2 statistics indicate higher levels of statistical fitness than those obtained in Version II, it appears that, on statistical grounds, Version III is

[10] In contrast, the R^2 values associated with the simultaneously estimated regressions of female and male employment, female and male unemployment, and female non-participation on the twelve regional dummies and the small-municipality dummy are 21.1%, 12.6%, 9.7%, 12.9%, and 14% respectively. It follows that the differences in the levels of fitness of the two sets provide measures of the collective significance of population density and the other non-spatial factors.

[11] The R^2 values associated with the simultaneously estimated regressions of female and male employment, female and male unemployment, and female non-participation on the 53 prefectorial dummies are 38.2%, 29.1%, 11.8%, 27.6%, and 23.6% respectively. Consequently, much like in footnote 10, the differences in the levels of fitness supply measures of the collective significance of population density and the other non-spatial factors.

[12] The R^2 values associated with the simultaneous estimation of the female and male employment, female and male unemployment, and female non-participation regressions on the 40 spatial dummies are 25.8%, 25.7%, 17.6%, 37.8%, and 32.6%, respectively. Consequently, as in the previous versions (see footnotes 10 and 11), the differences in the levels of fitness provide measures of the collective significance of population density and the other non-spatial factors.

probably superior. It also supplies a better fit compared to the other two versions in terms of adjusted R^2s when equations are estimated separately, outside the SUR framework.

3. THE SPATIAL EFFECTS

We turn to the statistically significant spatial effects of each version. These are also displayed in figures 2–4, in order to visually aid the reader. With note that the pictures vary considerably. With due apology for the manner colors and patterns are expressed into dry, tedious sentences, we discuss the results.

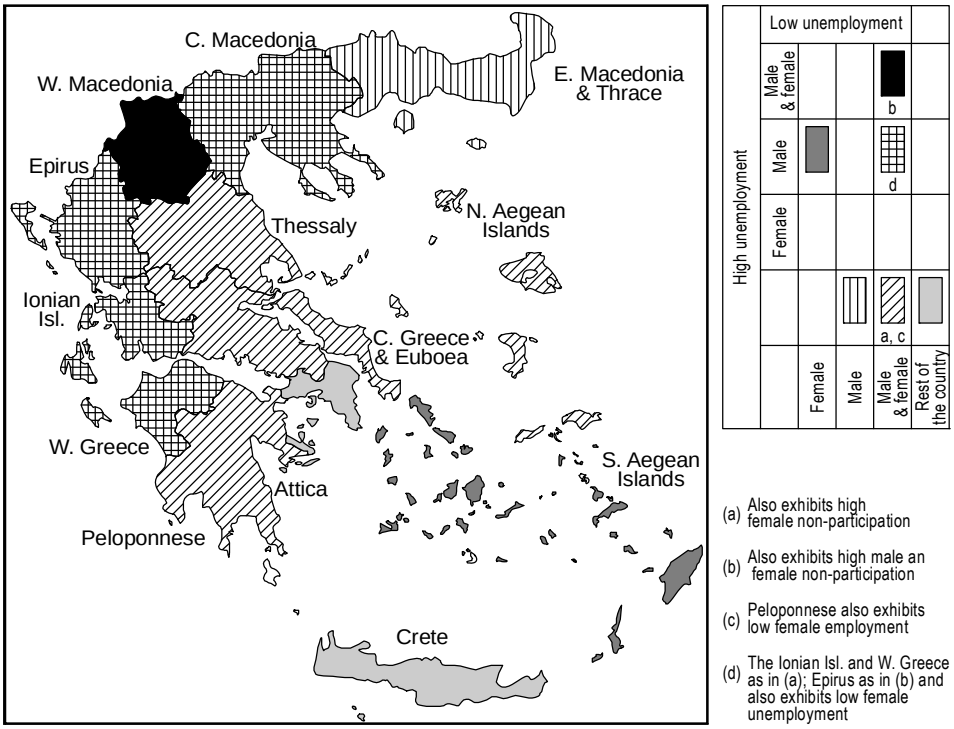

Fig. 2. Portrayal of the statistically significant regional coefficients recovered from a seemingly unrelated regression of the disaggregated male

According to Version I (annex 1), the municipalities located: (i) in East Macedonia and Thrace appear to rely on small population shares of employed men; (ii) in Thessaly, Central Greece and Euboea, North Aegean on small population

shares of employed men and women and large population shares of abstaining women; (iii) in Peloponnese on populations with similar features and small population shares of unemployed women; (iv) in the South Aegean on small population shares of employed women and large population shares of unemployed men; (v) in Central Macedonia on small population shares of employed men and women and large population shares of unemployed men; (vi) in the Ionian Islands and Western Greece on populations with similar features and large population shares of abstaining women; (vii) in Epirus on small population shares of employed men and women and large population shares of unemployed men and abstaining men and women; (viii) in West Macedonia on small population shares of employed men and women and large population shares of unemployed and abstaining men and women, compared to the municipalities located in Attica and Crete.

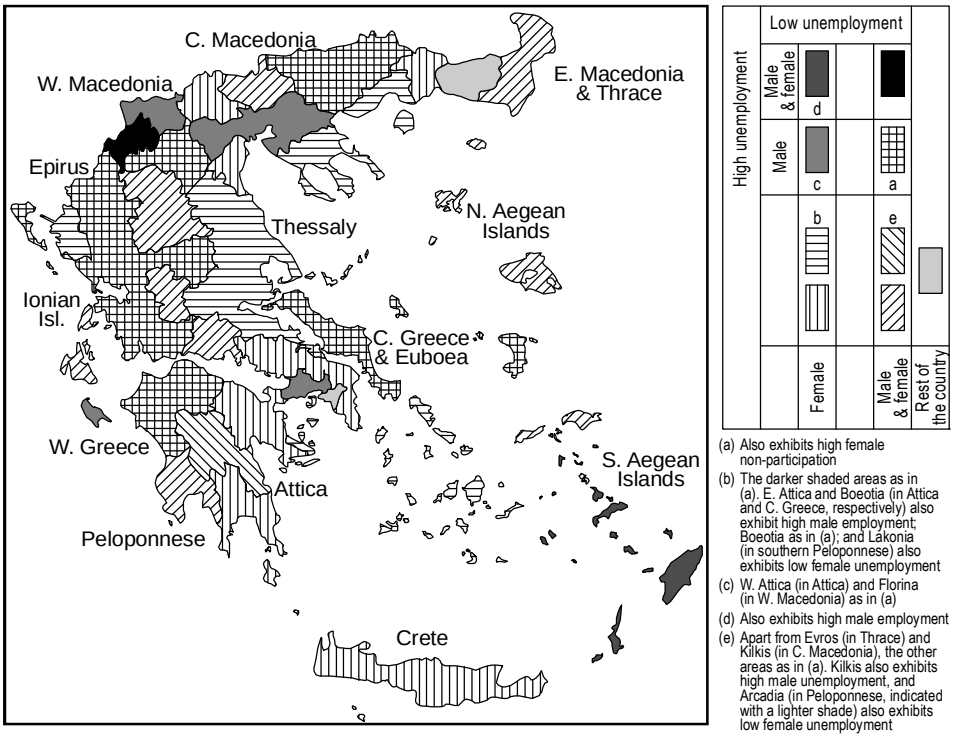

Fig. 3. Portrayal of the statistically significant prefectorial coefficients recovered from a seemingly unrelated regression of the disaggregated male

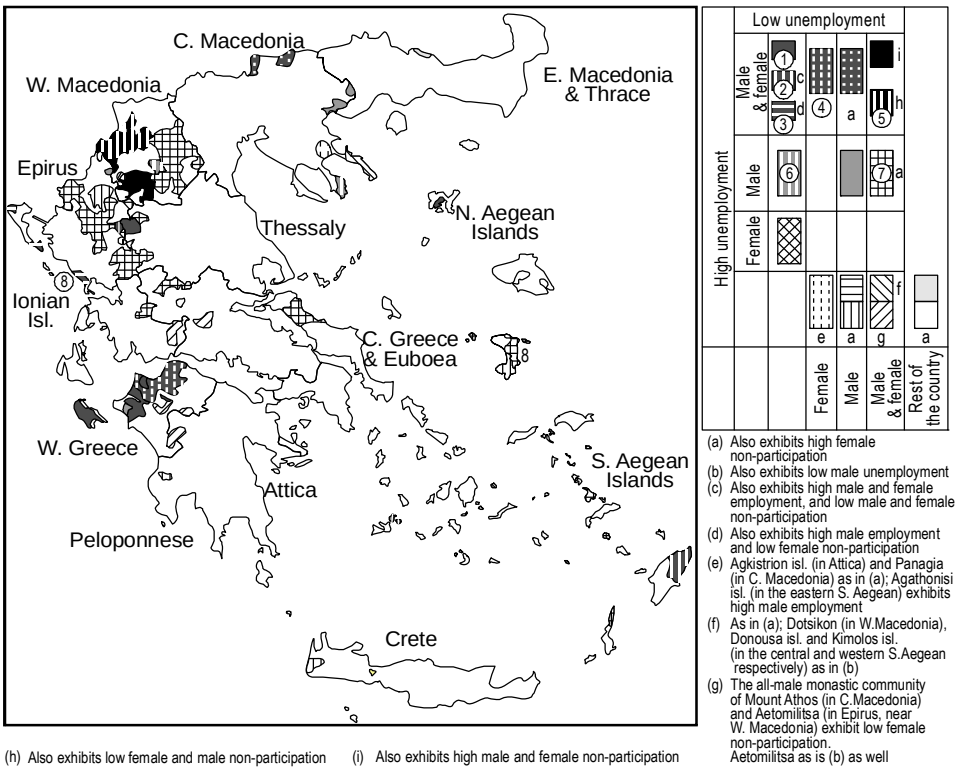

Fig. 4. Portrayal of the statistically significant municipal and micro-regional coefficients recovered from a seemingly unrelated regression of the disaggregated male

According to Version II (annex 2), the municipalities located: (i) in East Attica appear to rely on large population shares of employed men and small population shares of employed women; (ii) in Boeotia on populations with similar features and large population shares of unemployed man and abstaining women; (iii) in the prefectures of Xanthi, Pella, Pieria, Corinth, Argolis and in Crete on small population shares of employed women; (iv) in Evros on small population shares of employed men and women; (v) in the prefectures of Thessaloniki, Imathia and Zakynthos on small population shares of employed women and large population shares of unemployed men; (vi) in Kilkis prefecture on small population shares of employed men and women and large population shares of unemployed men; (vii) in Kastoria prefecture on small population shares of employed and large population shares of unemployed men and women; (viii) in the prefectures of Thesprotia, Cyclades, Piraeus and a belt comprising of the Kavala, Khalkidiki, Larisa, Magnesia, Fthiotis prefectures on small population shares of employed and large population shares of abstaining women; (ix) in the prefectures of Messinia,

Kefallinia, Levkas, Evritania, Fokis, Trikala, Lesvos, Samos on small population shares of employed men and women and large population shares of abstaining women; (x) in the prefectures of West Attica and Florina on small population shares of employed women and large population shares of unemployed men and abstaining women; (xi) in the prefectures of Drama, Serrai, Khios, Euboea and a belt comprising of the prefectures of Corfu, Ioannina, Kozani, Karditsa, Arta, Preveza, and the whole of Western Greece on small population shares of employed men and women and large population shares of unemployed men and abstaining women; (xii) in Laconia on small population share of employed and unemployed women; (xiii) in Arcadia and the Dodecanese on populations with similar features and small population shares of employed men (as well as a large population share of abstaining women in the former, and a large population share of unemployed men in the latter), *vis-à-vis* the municipalities located in prefectures of Athens and Rodopi.

According to Version III (annex 3), the municipalities: (a) in the travel-to-work area of Patras[13] rely on large population shares of unemployed men and women, and a small population share of employed women; (b) on the plateau of Ioannina and a string of municipalities running along the Pindos mountain-range,[14] (c) on the plateaus of Kozani and Ptolemais,[15] as well as (d) in the travel-to-work area of Khios and a string of island communities along the eastern Aegean[16] on small population shares of employed men and women, and large population shares of unemployed and abstaining men and women; (e) in the travel-to-work area of Rhodes[17] on large population shares of both employed and unemployed men and women, and small population shares of abstaining men and women; (f) in the micro-region of Zakynthos island and the Peloponnesian Pinios valley[18] on large population shares of employed men and unemployed men and women, and a small

[13] It is situated in Western Greece, spans 1,261 km^2, hosts 245 thousand people (i.e., 77% of the Ahaia prefecture resident population), and is indicated in figure 4 by patern 4.

[14] It involves parts of Epirus and Thessaly, spans 3,205 km^2, hosts 147 thousand people (i.e., 82%, 16%, 2% and 1% of the Ioannina, Arta, Trikala and Karditsa prefecture residents, respectively), and is illustrated in figure 4 in the form of two closely clusters (patern 7).

[15] The energy-center of Greece, situated in West Macedonia. It spans an area of 2,509 km^2, hosts 128 thousand people (i.e., 81%, 7% and 2% of the Kozani, Grevena and Florina prefecture residents, respectively), and is indicated in figure 4 by patern 7.

[16] They occupy an area of 887 km^2, host 68 thousand people (i.e., 89%, 3% and 2% of the Khios, Dodecanese and Samos prefecture populations, respectively) and are indicated in figure 4 by patern 7.

[17] A renowned tourist destination in the South Aegean. It spans a surface of 794 km^2, hosts 109 thousand people (i.e., 58% of the Dodecanese prefecture residents), and is indicated in figure 4 by patern 2.

[18] Situated in the Ionian and Western Greece regional administrations, occupies an area of 1,007 km^2, hosts 93 thousand people (i.e., 100%, 27% and 1% of the Zakynthos, Ilis and Achaea prefecture residents, respectively), and is indicated in figure 4 by patern 1.

population share of abstaining women; (g) on the plateau of Kastoria[19] on large population shares of unemployed men and women, and small population shares of employed and abstaining men and women; (h) in parts of Corfu island and the south-western coast of Epirus[20] on large population shares of unemployed men and women; (i) on the plateau of Grevena[21] on rather large population shares of unemployed and abstaining men and women, and small population shares of employed men and women, *vis-à-vis* the rest of Greece (with the exception of a small number of less populated places listed in table 3 and indicated in figure 4, which we skip in the interest of brevity).

Overall, the spatial effects born by the three versions (regional, prefectorial, micro-regional and distinct community) corroborate the concerns raised at the outset of the paper. For instance, in relation to the findings of Version I, West Macedonia[22] appears to be the obvious candidate for economic development intervention considering that the area's communities seem to be inhabited by populations with smaller shares of employed men and women, and larger shares of unemployed and non-participating men and women than the rest of the country. Yet, according to Version II, only one of the West Macedonian prefectures, that of Kastoria,[23] appears to exhibit low population shares of employed men and women, and high population shares of unemployed men and women (while the levels of non-participation do not seem to vary significantly) compared to the rest of the country. The other West Macedonian prefectures exhibit different combinations of male unemployment, male or female employment and female non-participation. The results of Version III reveal that the combination of low male and female employment and high male and female unemployment is encountered not only on the plateau of Kastoria (see footnote 19) but also on the plateau of Grevena (see footnote 21) and is associated with high male and low female non-participation in the case of the former, and high male and female non-participation in the case of the latter. The plateaus of Kozani and Ptolemais (see footnote 15) are quite homogeneous in terms of their employment, unemployment, and non-participation distributions, and exhibit a profile of low male and female employment, high male unemployment and female non-participation that recall the features of the Kozani prefecture in Version II. At the same time,

[19] A renowned fur-center in West Macedonia. It spans an area of 1,357 km^2, hosts 51 thousand people (i.e., 97% of Kastoria prefecture residents), and is indicated in figure 4 by patern 5.

[20] A popular tourist destination situated in the Ionian and Epirus regional administrations, with an area of 270 km^2. It hosts 24 thousand people (i.e., 17% and 8% of the Corfu and Preveza prefecture residents, respectively), and is indicated in figure 4 by patern 3.

[21] Situated in West Macedonia, it spans an area of 1,023 km^2, hosts 20 thousand people (i.e., 60% of the Grevena prefecture residents), and is indicated in figure 4 with black.

[22] It has an area of 9,530 km^2, a population of 295 thousand, and is indicated in figure 2 with black.

[23] It has an area of 1,705 km^2, a population of 54 thousand, and is indicated in figure 3 with black.

the neighbouring municipality of Siatista[24] possesses a high population share of unemployed men, while the other parts of West Macedonia exhibit different combinations of economic participation. In fact, many of them do not exhibit distressing features (i.e., low employment and/or high unemployment) at all.

To sum up, it seems that while Version I singles out West Macedonia as the area that exhibits both low male and female employment, as well as high male and female unemployment, and non-participation, the other two versions suggest that the region in question is not homogeneous. Consequently, a region-wide economic development intervention that aimed at the reduction of unemployment on the basis of conventional regional divisions would, in all likelihood, result in the direction of funds and efforts to areas that were not in dire need of them and to areas that needed a differentiated policy mix. By contrast, a similar intervention based on the findings of Version III would not only be able to identify sub-regions with different features, but also anticipate a larger-than-average response (or entry into the workforce) of non-participating residents in areas under cases (b)–(d) and (i), smaller such responses in areas under cases (a) and (g), and so on. This may be critical in assessing proposals aiming to reduce unemployment around the country.

Indeed, compared to Versions I and II which group municipalities into regional or prefectorial formations, Version III provides a more detailed picture which may be utilised for better focused, place-specific, territorial development and social cohesion policy interventions. Additionally, it does not impose a spatial structure which may affect the explanatory capacity of the other regressors. Indeed, it constructs the spatial dummies after the residuals (i.e., the part that is not explained by the other regressors) without presuming a spatial structure. Lastly, it is preferable on statistical grounds (especially when compared to Version II) as it explains a larger portion of the total variation observed in the dependent variables.

4. THE OTHER EFFECTS

Another lesson that emerges from the analysis concerns the impact of the non-spatial factors. Indeed, it appears that a great deal of the explained variation of the economically active male and female population is accounted not from the spatial (regional, prefectorial, or micro-regional and distinct municipality) dummies, but from population density, gender and age composition, educational

[24] It has an area of 159 km^2, hosts 7 thousand people (4% of Kozani prefecture residents), and is indicated in figure 4 by patern 6.

structure, and the combinations of industrial-and-professional concentrations.[25] In particular:

a) according to the estimated coefficients that are statistically significant in Version I and Version III, it appears that the spreading out of science and art professionals employed in the wholesale/retail trade and repairs industry and in extra-territorial bodies and organisations, as well as skilled workers (plant/machine operators and assemblers) employed in manufacturing, may bring about, *ceteris paribus*, a rise in participation and a reduction in unemployment and abstention.

b) according to the estimated coefficients that are statistically significant in all three versions, it appears that urban areas provide women with increased employment opportunities. Consequently, even a modest urbanisation of rural areas is likely to bring about a growth in local employment and, conceivably, a reduction in abstention, in such areas.

Additionally, an incremental expansion of the male population aged 20–64 (who comprise the majority of employed men, and constitute the reference population) appears to stimulate male employment *vis-à-vis* all other demographic groups over the age of five;[26] and a similar expansion in terms of same-aged women appears to swell all three functions for females (i.e., female employment, unemployment and abstention). The latter suggests that while many women get jobs, a good number of them do not make good job-matches in the workplace, and many are attached to homemaking roles. A marginal increment in the population share of children aged 0–4 appears to incite female employment (presumably to boost family income) and abstention (presumably to care for the children) while dampening female unemployment. An equivalent increment of children aged 5–9 appears to dampen down female employment (presumably on account of the time-use adjustments made by mothers and other adult female relatives minding the children aged 5–9 as their extracurricular and social life expands). A similar increment of children aged 10–19 appears to reduce female unemployment and incite female abstention (as the presence of these children seems to stimulate female involvement in homemaking choirs). At the same time, a rise in the presence of senior citizens aged 65–79 years exerts a negative effect on male and female employment, and a positive on female abstention from the workforce (as a fair number of working men and nearly all working women retire); while a similar rise in the presence of senior citizens over the age of 80 years has a negative impact on male employment (as men who delay their retirement eventually retire or pass away), and a positive one on female employment (as a number of women enter the workforce to nurse/care for the ailing elderly).

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[25] A comparison between the R^2s provided in tables 1–3 and footnotes 10–12 will suffice.

[26] Alternatively, the marginal increments in the population shares of the various age-and-gender groups (apart from preschoolers) *vis-à-vis* the reference population yield negative effects in the male employment function.

Overall, demographic composition, though not easy to manipulate in the short and medium term, affects the employment/unemployment/non-participation distribution of residents and, thus, ought to be taken into account by policy-makers. To the extent the latter aim to boost employment and reduce unemployment and non-participation, women may have to be persuaded of (if not enticed to) the benefits of participation. To reduce the likelihood of setting off a situation whereby one segment of the population drives another to unemployment, the supply of jobs ought to increase, and in the medium- and long-run this can be achieved through economic growth. At the same time, in order to weaken the negative effect of children aged 5–9 on female employment, the expansion of day-care facilities might be a solution. Similarly, in order to weaken the negative effect of senior citizens aged 65–79 on the employment of their family members, and the positive effect on female (and possibly male) abstention, more senior-citizen facilities might be established. Additionally, the normal retirement age could be extended. All in all, the expansion of facilities for children and senior citizens is bound to bring about more jobs to those staffing these facilities. Coupled with the relaxation of the compulsory retirement-age, this may bring about a growth in GDP, if not in individual and household welfare.

Compared to the presence of men with negligible or elementary schooling, a marginal increment in the population share of men with secondary school, post-secondary, and bachelor-level qualifications appears to be associated with time-allocations that yield lower male employment, presumably due to a lower drive towards work; while a similar increment in the population-share of men with secondary school qualifications seems to stimulate lower female employment and unemployment and higher female abstention. The latter suggests that the presence of such men does not merely crowd out women from employment but may discourage their participation (or encourage abstention). At the same time, a similar increment in the population share of women (of any of the above-mentioned qualifications) is associated with increased female abstention, probably reflecting female attachment to domestic activities; while a marginal increment in the population share of women possessing secondary school qualifications is associated with higher shares of female and male unemployment. This indicates that despite their involvement in the job-market, many women do not match well with jobs, and the rest may drive a fair number of men to unemployment. Additionally, a rise in the population share of women holding post-secondary school and bachelor degrees is associated with higher shares of female employment. This indicates that such women are both well motivated and considered well-suited for the needs of their local job-market. Lastly, a marginal increment of male and female postgraduate degrees holders is associated with increased male unemployment. This suggests that they drive less qualified men to unemployment and/or that the men with the highest qualifications are not well matched with jobs and/or are ill-suited to start their own businesses or somehow are hindered in selling their expertise.

To the extent policy-makers desire to boost employment and reduce unemployment and non-participation, men with secondary school, post-secondary school, and bachelor qualifications, as well as women of all educational backgrounds, will have to be persuaded of (if not enticed to) the benefits of participation. Additionally, women with secondary school qualification, and possibly women with lesser qualifications, will have to become more competitive (i.e., supply better matches) in the market-place. Unless they self-select, this could be achieved through continuous education and skill-upgrading processes. Furthermore, to reduce male and female unemployment, measures may have to be taken towards creating a culture and a suitable environment supporting the formation of businesses, including own businesses, which absorb people. To the extent that a marginal increment in the numbers of men with postgraduate qualifications is associated with increased unemployment among those with such qualifications, it would seem that the orientation procedure by which young males select their postgraduate subjects could improve, and steps could be taken to set up conditions for a culture and an environment favoring the formation of businesses capable to absorb such highly skilled persons in specialized activities.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The paper takes a fresh look at the economy as it truly is, i.e., a collection of clusters and communities, without preconceptions that the country's economic spaces match the inherited administrative territorial framework. To further our understanding, it econometrically isolates the effects of the spatial factors from the effects of the non-spatial factors on male and female employment, unemployment, and non-participation in the labor force, within a SUR context. Additionally, in order to improve the quality of the estimated coefficients, it supplements the explanatory capacity of the available/known independent variables (namely, population density, gender and age composition, educational make-up, concentrations of industrial-and-professional combinations, inclusion in broader travel-to-work areas), with information extracted from the spatial patterns produced by the omitted (unknown) variables incorporated in the residuals. Thus, it identifies micro-regions and distinct municipalities that are inhabited by populations possessing smaller-than-average shares of employed men or women or both, and/or larger-than-average shares of unemployed or non-participating persons of either gender. Such conditions hinder prosperity, as well as the attractiveness of living in large travel-to-work areas and pose serious threats to the continuation of smaller communities.

Obviously, depending on the zoning method used results vary; and if the findings vary so do the prescriptions proposed by the national and EU economic

development agencies. In particular, if the analysis is based on estimates and averages drawn at higher levels of territorial aggregation, such as regions and prefectures, then it is very likely that the 'micro-reality' is blurred, especially in very heterogeneous regions. And if the picture is distorted, then the quality of the conclusions based on the particular snap-shot is bound to be affected. Consequently, the policy proposals may be misguided to some extent, resulting in interventions directed to places that do not need intervention or need a different kind of a policy-mix. We take the view that as in Medicine, the expert doctors who do not wish to play with people's lives and stamina, do all the tests and minute scans in order to identify the area where the anomaly is observed or the pain is acute in order to understand the causes before performing surgery, so in regional development policy the experts should not play with people's lives and stamina. And if the intent is to raise employment and/or reduce unemployment in communities facing such difficulties, then the interventions ought to be tailored to local idiosyncrasies. Overall, employment and unemployment are phenomena, the spatial determinants of which turn out to be associated with significant parameters. However, they do not manifest themselves in the same intensity and manner in all parts of a region or its constituent subregions (prefectures, counties and the like). Consequently, the implementation of a singular solution beyond the locality or cluster of localities that ought to be targeted may constitute a waste of resources. Additionally, solutions may be similar (a) within belts consisting of contiguous or neighbouring townships that belong to different administrative regions and prefectures, and/or (b) across clusters of localities that may be far apart from each other and yet share similar characteristics. These may be complemented by nation-wide policies that are particular to the demographic, educational or other characteristics of the population.

Annex 1. The seemingly unrelated system of male and female employment, unemployment, non-participation regressions of all persons aged 10 years and older at the regional level, across Greece's 1,034 municipalities (2001 Census)

Dependent variables:	Share of employed		Share of unemployed		Share of others	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Explanatory variables (of which #2–19 are dummies)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	*Residual of functions (1)–(5)*[*]
1 Constant (reference population)	**0.16**	**0.29**	**0.02**	**0.03**	**0.32**	**0.18**
Spatial factors						
2 Attica (reference)						
3 Central Greece & Euboea	**–0.04**	**–0.02**	–0.00	0.00	**0.03**	0.04
4 Central Macedonia	**–0.01**	**–0.02**	0.00	**0.00**	0.01	0.02

Annex 1 (cont.)

Dependent variables:	Share of employed		Share of unemployed		Share of others	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Explanatory variables (of which #2–19 are dummies)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	*Residual*
5 Crete	–0.01	–0.00	–0.00	0.00	–0.01	0.02
6 East Macedonia-Thrace	–0.01	**–0.02**	–0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02
7 Epirus	**–0.05**	**–0.05**	**–0.01**	**0.01**	**0.04**	**0.05**
8 Ionian Islands	**–0.04**	**–0.04**	0.00	**0.01**	**0.03**	0.04
9 North Aegean Islands	**–0.05**	**–0.05**	–0.01	0.00	**0.03**	0.07
10 Peloponnese	**–0.02**	**–0.02**	**–0.01**	–0.00	**0.01**	0.04
11 South Aegean Islands	**–0.04**	–0.00	0.00	**0.01**	0.01	0.02
12 Thessaly	**–0.03**	**–0.02**	–0.00	0.00	**0.03**	0.03
13 Western Greece	**–0.05**	**–0.03**	0.00	**0.01**	**0.03**	0.03
14 West Macedonia	**–0.05**	**–0.04**	**0.02**	**0.01**	**0.03**	**0.03**
15 Small municipalities (≤ 150 inhabitants)	–0.01	–0.01	**0.06**	0.00	**–0.06**	0.02
Municipalities characterised by a high concentration of						
16 Science & art professionals employed in wholesale/retail trade and repairs*	**0.05**	**0.05**	**–0.01**	**–0.01**	**–0.04**	**–0.04**
17 Science & art professionals employed in extra-territorial organisations*	**0.03**	–0.01	0.00	–0.00	**–0.02**	–0.01
18 Plant/machine operators & assemblers employed in the manufacture industry*	–0.00	**0.03**	0.00	0.00	–0.01	–0.02
19 Other combinations of skills & industries (reference)						
Population density (net of effects 2–19)						
20 People per km^2	**0.00**	–0.00	0.00	0.00	**–0.00**	–0.00
21 People per km^2 – square (capturing the rate of change)	**–0.00**	0.00	–0.00	0.00	0.00	–0.00
Population composition (net of effects 2–21)						
22 % aged 0–4 years	**0.41**	**0.68**	**–0.88**	0.01	**0.93**	–1.14
23 % aged 5–9 years	**–0.45**	**–0.66**	**1.49**	**–0.10**	–0.09	–0.18

Annex 1 (cont.)

Dependent variables:	Share of employed		Share of unemployed		Share of others	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Explanatory variables (of which #2–19 are dummies)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	*Residual*
24 % aged 10–19 years	0.10	**–0.49**	**–0.17**	**0.10**	**0.51**	–0.05
25 % women aged 20–64 years	**0.48**	**–0.41**	**0.21**	**0.07**	**0.62**	**–0.97**
26 % men aged 20–64 years (reference)						
27 % women & men aged 65–79 years	**–0.21**	**–0.64**	**–0.05**	**–0.04**	**0.88**	**0.06**
28 % women & men aged 80+ years	**0.30**	**–0.46**	**0.18**	**0.11**	0.19	–0.32
Formal qualifications (net of effects 2–28)						
29 % women with primary level or lower schooling	0.22	–0.07	**0.24**	**0.14**	**0.51**	–1.05
30 % women with secondary school diploma, i.e., *k*–9 and *k*–12	0.04	–0.09	**0.58**	**0.28**	**0.37**	–1.18
31 % women with post-secondary diploma or bachelor degree	**0.82**	**0.60**	**–0.33**	–0.12	**0.54**	–1.51
32 % men with primary or lower schooling (reference)						
33 % men with secondary school diploma, i.e., *k*–9 and *k*–12	**–0.24**	**–0.20**	**–0.07**	–0.00	**0.29**	0.22
34 % men with post-secondary diploma or bachelor degree	**–0.24**	**–0.83**	**0.27**	–0.00	–0.06	0.87
35 % women and men with post-graduate degree	–0.06	0.04	**0.38**	**0.32**	–0.04	–0.65
Statistics: X^2	1,443	2,270	5,033	0,450	1,327	
R^2	0.5903	0.6876	0.8296	0.3036	0.5633	

[*] The location quotient pertaining to the skill-industry combination is equal to or exceeds the value of '3'.

Explanation: bold fonts denote rejection of the hypothesis of equality to zero at the 1% margin of error. The probability figures are provided below. In the last column bold fonts indicate confidence for the signs of the residual function's coefficients on account of the high *z*-stats obtained *in all* previous regressions.

Annex 2. The seemingly unrelated system of male and female employment, unemployment, non-participation regressions of all persons aged 10 years and older at the prefectorial level, across Greece's 1034 municipalities (2001 Census)

Dependent variables:	Share of employed		Share of unemployed		Share of others	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Explanatory variables (of which #2–55 are dummies)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	*Residual of functions (1)–(5)*
1 Constant (reference population)	**0.20**	**0.28**	**0.02**	**0.02**	**0.30**	**0.17**
Spatial factors						
2 Attica: Athens prefecture (reference)						
3 E. Attica prefecture	**–0.04**	**0.02**	–0.00	0.00	0.01	0.02
4 Pireaus, Troezina and their environs, Saronic islands, Idra, Spetses, Kithira, Antikithira pref.	**–0.08**	–0.00	–0.00	0.01	**0.05**	0.03
5 W. Attica prefecture	**–0.07**	0.01	–0.00	**0.01**	**0.04**	0.01
6 Central Greece & Euboea: Boeotia prefecture	**–0.07**	**0.02**	–0.00	0.01	**0.02**	0.02
7 Euboea & Skyros prefecture	**–0.08**	**–0.02**	–0.00	**0.01**	**0.05**	0.05
8 Evritania prefecture	**–0.10**	**–0.05**	–0.01	0.01	**0.07**	0.08
9 Fokis prefecture	**–0.10**	**–0.05**	–0.00	0.01	**0.06**	0.09
10 Fthiotis prefecture	**–0.07**	–0.01	–0.01	0.00	**0.04**	0.05
11 Central Macedonia: Khalkidiki prefecture	**–0.08**	–0.00	–0.00	0.00	**0.02**	0.06
12 Imathia prefecture	**–0.05**	–0.01	0.00	**0.01**	0.02	0.02
13 Kilkis prefecture	**–0.07**	**–0.04**	0.01	**0.01**	0.02	0.06
14 Pella prefecture	**–0.04**	0.00	–0.00	0.01	0.02	0.02
15 Pieria prefecture	**–0.05**	–0.01	–0.00	0.00	0.02	0.04
16 Serrai prefecture	**–0.06**	**–0.04**	–0.00	**0.01**	**0.04**	0.05
17 Thessaloniki prefecture	**–0.04**	0.01	0.00	**0.01**	0.01	0.01
18 Crete: Khania prefecture	**–0.06**	0.00	–0.00	0.00	0.01	0.04
19 Heraklion prefecture	**–0.03**	0.01	–0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02
20 Lasithion prefecture	**–0.03**	–0.01	–0.00	0.00	–0.00	0.04
21 Rethymnon prefecture	**–0.05**	0.00	–0.00	0.00	0.01	0.03
22 East Macedonia & Thrace: Drama prefecture	**–0.08**	**–0.04**	0.01	**0.02**	**0.05**	0.05

Annex 2 (cont.)

Dependent variables:	Share of employed		Share of unemployed		Share of others	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Explanatory variables (of which #2–55 are dummies)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	*Residual*
23 Evros & Samothrace prefecture	**–0.06**	**–0.04**	–0.01	–0.00	0.02	0.09
24 Kavala & Thasos prefecture	**–0.06**	–0.02	–0.00	0.00	**0.04**	0.04
25 Rodopi prefecture	0.01	0.02	–0.01	0.00	–0.02	–0.00
26 Xanthi prefecture	**–0.04**	0.01	–0.00	0.01	0.02	0.01
27 Epirus: Arta prefecture	**–0.09**	**–0.04**	–0.01	**0.01**	**0.07**	0.06
28 Ioannina prefecture	**–0.09**	**–0.06**	0.00	**0.01**	**0.05**	0.08
29 Preveza prefecture	**–0.07**	**–0.02**	0.00	**0.01**	**0.04**	0.04
30 Thesprotia prefecture	**–0.06**	–0.01	–0.00	0.00	**0.04**	0.03
31 Ionian Isl.: Kefalonia & Ithaka prefecture	**–0.08**	**–0.03**	0.00	0.01	**0.04**	0.06
32 Corfu & Paxi prefecture	**–0.06**	**–0.03**	0.01	**0.02**	**0.03**	0.04
33 Levkas & Meganision, Kalamos, Kastos prefecture	**–0.11**	**–0.07**	–0.01	–0.00	**0.09**	0.11
34 Zakinthos prefecture	**–0.05**	0.02	0.01	**0.02**	0.00	0.00
35 North Aegean Isl.: Khios & Psara, Inousses prefecture	**–0.11**	**–0.07**	–0.01	**0.01**	**0.07**	0.11
36 Lesvos & Limnos, Ag. Efstratios prefecture	**–0.09**	**–0.04**	–0.01	0.01	**0.05**	0.08
37 Samos & Ikaria, Fourni Korseon prefecture	**–0.09**	**–0.02**	–0.01	0.00	**0.04**	0.08
38 Peloponnesos: Argolis prefecture	**–0.04**	0.00	–0.00	0.01	0.00	0.03
39 Arcadia prefecture	**–0.10**	**0.05**	**–0.01**	–0.00	**0.06**	0.10
40 Corinth prefecture	**–0.04**	0.01	–0.01	–0.00	0.01	0.02
41 Laconia prefecture	**–0.05**	–0.01	**–0.01**	–0.00	0.02	0.06
42 Messinia prefecture	**–0.07**	**–0.02**	–0.01	0.00	**0.03**	0.06
43 South Aegean Isl.: The Cyclades	**–0.08**	–0.01	–0.01	–0.00	**0.04**	0.05
44 The Dodecanese	**–0.07**	**0.02**	**0.01**	**0.02**	–0.00	0.02
45 Thessaly: Karditsa prefecture	**–0.08**	**–0.05**	–0.00	**0.01**	**0.06**	0.06
46 Larisa prefecture	**–0.06**	–0.00	–0.01	–0.00	**0.04**	0.03
47 Magnesia & Sporades prefecture	**–0.07**	–0.01	–0.00	0.00	**0.04**	0.04

Annex 2 (cont.)

Dependent variables:	Share of employed		Share of unemployed		Share of others	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Explanatory variables (of which #2–55 are dummies)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	*Residual*
48 Trikala prefecture	**–0.08**	**–0.02**	–0.01	0.01	**0.05**	0.04
49 Western Greece: Achaea prefecture	**–0.08**	**–0.03**	0.01	**0.02**	**0.03**	0.05
50 Aetolia & Acarnania prefecture	**–0.08**	**–0.03**	–0.00	**0.01**	**0.05**	0.05
51 Ilis prefecture	**–0.09**	**–0.03**	0.00	**0.02**	**0.05**	0.05
52 West Macedonia: Florina prefecture	**–0.08**	–0.01	–0.00	**0.01**	**0.04**	0.05
53 Grevena prefecture	**–0.10**	**–0.05**	0.01	0.01	**0.05**	0.08
54 Kastoria prefecture	**–0.08**	**–0.03**	**0.08**	**0.03**	–0.02	0.02
55 Kozani prefecture	**–0.10**	**–0.04**	0.00	**0.02**	**0.07**	0.04
Population density (net of effects 2–19)						
56 People per km^2	**0.00**	–0.00	0.00	0.00	–0.00	–0.00
57 People per km^2 – square (capturing the rate of change)	–0.00	–0.00	–0.00	–0.00	0.00	0.00
Population composition (net of effects 2–57)						
58 % aged 0–4 years	**0.51**	**0.63**	**–0.84**	0.06	**0.78**	–1.15
59 % aged 5–9 years	**–0.44**	**–0.66**	**1.43**	**–0.15**	–0.04	–0.14
60 % aged 10–19 years	0.07	**–0.46**	**–0.37**	0.03	**0.77**	–0.05
61 % women aged 20–64 years	**0.43**	**–0.42**	**0.21**	**0.08**	**0.69**	**–0.99**
62 % men aged 20–64 years (reference)						
63 % women & men aged 65–79 years	**–0.25**	**–0.62**	**–0.10**	**–0.05**	**0.97**	**0.06**
64 % women & men aged 80+ years	**0.40**	**–0.42**	**0.15**	0.09	0.18	–0.39
Formal qualifications (net of effects 2–64)						
65 % women with primary level or lower schooling	0.19	–0.03	0.12	0.09	**0.67**	–1.04
66 % women with secondary school diploma, i.e., *k*–9 and *k*–12	0.06	–0.01	**0.57**	**0.25**	**0.36**	–1.22

Annex 2 (cont.)

Dependent variables:	Share of employed		Share of unemployed		Share of others	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Explanatory variables (of which #2–55 are dummies)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	*Residual*
67 % women with post–secondary diploma or bachelor degree	**0.74**	**0.54**	**–0.54**	–0.13	**0.87**	–1.48
68 % men with primary or lower schooling (reference)						
69 % men with secondary school diploma, i.e., *k*–9 and *k*–12	**–0.24**	**–0.25**	**–0.14**	–0.02	**0.37**	0.28
70 % men with post-secondary diploma or bachelor degree	–0.18	**–0.71**	**0.34**	–0.03	–0.21	0.78
71 % women and men with postgraduate degree	–0.15	–0.01	0.14	**0.22**	0.31	–0.50
Statistics: X^2	1,729	2,454	4,678	0,750	1,476	
R^2	0.6309	0.7039	0.819	0.4206	0.5889	

Explanation: as in annex 1.

Annex 3. The seemingly unrelated system of male and female employment, unemployment, non-participation regressions of all persons aged 10 years and older at the micro-regional level, across Greece's 1034 municipalities (2001 Census)

Dependent variables:	Share of employed		Share of unemployed		Share of others	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Explanatory variables (of which #2–44 are dummies)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	*Residual of functions (1)–(5)**
1 Constant (reference population)	**0.14**	**0.27**	**0.02**	**0.03**	**0.33**	**0.20**
Spatial factors						
Localities in the north-eastern part of the country:						
2 Municipality of Therme on Mt. Rodopi	–0.01	–0.00	–0.01	–0.00	**0.07**	–0.04
3 String of municipalities in the south Strimon valley	–0.03	**–0.04**	0.01	**0.02**	0.03	0.01
4 String of municipalities about Mt. Kerkini	–0.03	**–0.07**	**0.02**	**0.02**	0.01	0.04

Annex 3 (cont.)

Dependent variables:	Share of employed		Share of unemployed		Share of others	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Explanatory variables (of which #2–44 are dummies)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	*Residual*
5 Municipality of Panagia in the Khalkidiki peninsula	**–0.06**	–0.03	–0.01	–0.00	**0.07**	0.03
6 Monastic community of Mt Athos in the Khalkidiki peninsula	**–0.14**	**–0.08**	–0.02	–0.02	**–0.33**	0.60
7 Municipality of Toroni in the Khalkidiki peninsula	–0.04	0.02	–0.00	**0.03**	0.03	–0.05
8 Municipality of N. Koutali on Limnos isl. (in the N. Aegean)	**–0.07**	**–0.05**	–0.01	0.00	–0.03	0.16
Localities in the western part of the country:						
9 Sub-region of W. Macedonia west of Mt. Vernon, incl. the travel-to-work area of Kastoria	**–0.02**	**–0.03**	**0.11**	**0.02**	**–0.06**	**–0.03**
10 Sub-region of W. Macedonia west of Mt. Vourinos, incl. the Grevena travel-to-work area	**–0.07**	**–0.11**	**0.05**	**0.03**	**0.06**	**0.05**
11 Sub-region of W. Macedonia east of Mt. Askion, incl. the Kozani and Ptolemais travel-to-work areas	**–0.05**	**–0.03**	–0.00	**0.01**	**0.05**	0.01
12 Municipality of Siatista in W. Macedonia	–0.01	0.03	0.03	**0.08**	–0.01	–0.12
13 Municipality of Mesolourion in W. Macedonia	–0.04	**–0.13**	–0.01	–0.00	**0.08**	0.11
14 Municipality of Dotsikon in W. Macedonia	**–0.14**	**–0.07**	–0.01	**–0.03**	**0.07**	0.18
15 Municipality of Aetomilitsa on the Epirusian side of the northern Pindos mountain-range	**–0.09**	**–0.10**	0.01	**–0.03**	**–0.19**	0.38
16 Municipality of Fourka on the Epirusian side of the northern Pindos mountain-range	0.03	**–0.07**	0.00	0.03	0.02	–0.00

Annex 3 (cont.)

Dependent variables:	Share of employed		Share of unemployed		Share of others	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Explanatory variables (of which #2–44 are dummies)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	*Residual*
17 Municipality of Timfi on the Epirusian side of the northern Pindos mountain-range	–0.05	**–0.07**	0.02	0.01	–0.02	0.11
18 String of Epirusian municipalities west of the northern Pindos mountains (incl. the Ioannina travel-to-work-area), and Epirusian and Thessalian municipalities along the southern Pindos and Athemanian mountains	**–0.05**	**–0.05**	–0.00	**0.01**	**0.05**	0.04
19 Cluster of Kalarites and Sirakon on the Epirusian side of Mt. Lakmos	**0.17**	**0.04**	**0.12**	**0.08**	**–0.23**	**–0.18**
20 Municipality of Aspropotamos on the Thessalian side of the Lakmos and Athemanian Mts.	–0.01	**0.08**	**0.04**	**0.04**	**–0.10**	–0.05
21 Municipality of Melissourgi on the Epirusian side of the Athamanian mountains	**–0.08**	0.01	–0.01	0.01	0.01	0.05
22 String of municipalities between the Pindos, Panetolian and Timfristos mountains, spanning Thessaly, Central and Western Greece	**–0.06**	**–0.08**	0.00	**0.02**	**0.05**	0.07
23 String of municipalities along the Timfristos, Oxia, Oeti, Gkiona and Nafpaktian mountains, in Central and Western Greece	**–0.08**	**–0.09**	–0.01	–0.00	**0.07**	0.11
24 Erikoussa and Othoni islands, northwest of Corfu isl.	**–0.07**	**–0.10**	–0.01	0.02	**0.08**	0.08
25 String of localities along the southern Epirusian coast and parts of Corfu isl. (Ionian Isl.)	0.01	–0.01	**0.02**	**0.03**	–0.03	–0.03

Annex 3 (cont.)

Dependent variables:	Share of employed		Share of unemployed		Share of others	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Explanatory variables (of which #2–44 are dummies)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	*Residual*
26 Small island-cluster situated between the Akarnanian coast and Levkas isl. (Ionian Isl.)	**–0.10**	**–0.12**	–0.01	–0.00	**0.10**	0.13
27 Micro-region comprising of Zakynthos isl. (Ionian Isl.) and a part of W. Greece across the water	0.00	**0.03**	**0.01**	**0.02**	**–0.03**	–0.04
28 Municipality of Gastouni in W. Greece	–0.05	**–0.05**	0.01	**0.04**	0.03	0.02
29 Patras travel-to-work area in W. Greece	**–0.02**	–0.01	**0.01**	**0.02**	–0.01	–0.00
30 String of municipalities along the west Peloponnesian highlands (W. Greece & Peloponnese)	**–0.08**	**–0.10**	–0.00	0.00	**0.08**	0.10
31 Municipality of Tripila in southwestern Peloponnese	–0.06	**–0.07**	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.08
Localities in the central part of the country:						
32 Agkistrion isl. in Attica	**–0.08**	–0.02	–0.01	0.00	**0.08**	0.02
33 Cluster of Elimnii, Kirefs, Nilefs in northern Euboea isl.	**–0.05**	**–0.06**	0.00	**0.03**	**0.05**	0.03
34 Municipality of Trikerion in Thessaly	**–0.07**	**–0.07**	–0.01	–0.01	**0.11**	0.04
Localities in and around the archipelago:						
35 Hios travel-to-work area, the islands of Inouse, Psara, Fourni Korseon (N. Aegean Isl.), Lipsi, Kalimnos, Nisiros, and the northern part of Karpathos isl (S. Aegean Isl.)	**–0.05**	**–0.04**	–0.01	**0.01**	**0.06**	0.03
36 Municipality of Mastihohoria in the N. Aegean	–0.04	**–0.10**	–0.00	–0.01	–0.01	0.16
37 Island of Agathonisi in the S. Aegean	**–0.07**	**0.06**	–0.01	0.02	–0.04	0.03

Annex 3 (cont.)

Dependent variables:	Share of employed		Share of unemployed		Share of others	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Explanatory variables (of which #2–44 are dummies)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	*Residual*
38 Rodos travel-to-work area in the S. Aegean	**0.02**	**0.03**	**0.04**	**0.04**	**–0.08**	**–0.04**
39 Kimolos and Donousa islands in the S. Aegean	**–0.08**	**–0.15**	–0.02	**–0.02**	**0.09**	0.17
40 Municipality of Innahorion in western Crete	–0.03	**–0.05**	–0.01	–0.01	0.03	0.06
41 Municipality of Asi Gonia in western Crete	–0.02	0.04	**0.05**	–0.01	–0.07	0.01
42 Rest of Greece (reference)						
Municipalities exhibiting a high concentration of						
43 Science & art professionals employed in wholesale/retail trade and repairs*	**0.06**	**0.05**	–0.00	**–0.01**	**–0.05**	–0.04
44 Science & art professionals employed in extra-territorial organisations*	**0.05**	0.01	–0.00	–0.00	**–0.03**	–0.03
45 Plant/machine operators & assemblers employed in the manufacture industry*	–0.00	**0.03**	–0.00	0.00	–0.01	–0.02
46 Skilled primary-sector workers employed in agriculture, husbandry, hunting, and forestry*	0.00	**–0.00**	**–0.01**	**–0.00**	–0.00	0.01
47 Other combinations of skills & industries (reference)						
Population density (net of effects 2–46)						
48 People per km^2	**0.00**	**0.00**	0.00	–0.00	**–0.00**	–0.00
49 People per km^2 – square (capturing the rate of change)	**–0.00**	–0.00	–0.00	0.00	**0.00**	0.00
Population composition (net of effects 2–49)						
50 % aged 0–4 years	**0.56**	0.16	**–0.77**	0.03	**0.70**	–0.67
51 % aged 5–9 years	**–0.46**	**–0.81**	**1.55**	**–0.07**	–0.12	–0.09
52 % aged 10–19 years	**0.22**	**–0.93**	**–0.23**	**0.08**	**0.58**	**0.30**
53 % women aged 20–64 years	**0.58**	**–0.82**	**0.19**	–0.02	**0.55**	–0.47
54 % men aged 20–64 years (reference)						

Annex 3 (cont.)

Dependent variables:	Share of employed		Share of unemployed		Share of others	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Explanatory variables (of which #2–44 are dummies)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	*Residual*
55 % women & men aged 65–79 years	**–0.16**	**–0.98**	0.04	–0.02	**0.79**	0.34
56 % women & men aged 80+ years	**0.31**	**–0.62**	0.02	–0.04	**0.37**	–0.03
Formal qualifications (net of effects 2–56)						
57 % women with primary level or lower schooling	–0.05	**–0.33**	**0.38**	**0.16**	**0.64**	–0.80
58 % women with secondary school diploma, i.e., *k*–9 and *k*–12	–0.16	**–0.30**	**0.67**	**0.25**	**0.47**	–0.92
59 % women with post-secondary diploma or bachelor degree	**0.57**	–0.01	–0.12	0.09	**0.60**	–1.13
60 % men with primary or lower schooling (reference)						
61 % men with secondary school diploma, i.e., *k*–9 and *k*–12	**–0.15**	**–0.17**	**–0.09**	–0.00	**0.23**	0.19
62 % men with post-secondary diploma or bachelor degree	–0.10	**–0.35**	**0.27**	**–0.11**	–0.23	0.52
63 % women and men with postgraduate degree	**–0.46**	–0.21	0.12	**0.22**	**0.62**	–0.30
Statistics: X^2	2,263	4,152	6,143	1,008	2,113	
R^2	0.6942	0.8009	0.8560	0.4939	0.6725	

[*] The location quotient pertaining to the skill-industry combination is equal to or exceeds the value of '3'.

Explanation: as in annex 1.

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THE DYNAMICS OF REGIONAL LABOUR MARKETS AND TRAINING PROGRAMMES: GREEK EVIDENCE

1. INTRODUCTION

The importance of vocational training in the EU has grown in the last two decades in terms of both funds allocated and the number of participants in the training programmes. This is the situation, although there are doubts concerning its impact on the labour market prospects of those participating in the training courses.

In the case of Greece the role of the EU was catalytic in changing the whole area of training in the country. This is evident from the amounts spent on training activities from the end of the 1980s up to now, the numerous training agencies which have been established in order to be involved in the training process and the increasing numbers of trainees on the various training courses. However, as we shall see, this training 'revolution' in the Greek case was not accompanied by a real improvement in matching supply with demand or increasing people's chances of finding a job.

The aim of the paper is to study the impact that education and training programmes (apprenticeship, intra-firm training, continuing vocational training-CVT, popular training) had on the labour market in the Greek Region of Attica, during the implementation of the CSF-1 (1989–1993). Namely, we try to see whether the educational level itself and participation in training programmes increased the chances of finding a job. The vocational training programmes of the CSF-1 in the region under examination started in March 1990 and ended in

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March 1995. All training actions in Greece are co-financed by the EU funds, whereas during the examined time period Attica belonged to the Objective 1 of the EU Structural Funds.

The Region of Attica is the largest in Greece in terms of population and the biggest urban centre in the country, Athens, is situated in this region. We work first at regional level, second at the level of Athens Area, and third at the rest of urban, semi-urban and rural level.

The main questions to be answered are:

1. What are the social and demographic characteristics that increase the chances of someone in the examined population finding a job?

2. How does the participation in training courses affect the chances of finding employment?

3. Whether University graduates, in contrast to most of the rest of the EU member states, face greater difficulties in finding a job than the non-University graduates, as a series of studies (see Meghir *et al.,* 1989; OECD, 1990; Iliades, 1995; IN.E./GSEE-ADEDY, 1999; Katsikas, 2005) or statistics (Eurostat, 1995) for Greece conclude.

We test the human capital theory, which underpins many of the important developments in modern economics and provides one of the main explanations for wage and salary differentials by age and occupation, and the uneven incidence of unemployment by skill (education and training). We try to research whether the more educated and the more trained a person is, the higher the probability of him finding a job.

The importance of this research lies in the fact that, to the author's knowledge, it is the first time that the analysis of investigating the impact of training on the labour market of Attica is based on the micro-data of the Greek LFS. This is because access to the individual anonymised records of the Greek LFS was not allowed to researchers until the summer of 2005, due to the Data Protection Act.

The article starts with the issue of over-education and why it is important to this research. Then, we examine the impact of training programmes on the employment prospects of individuals in the EU and the rest of the OECD according to a series of studies; the results are based on both cross-sectional and longitudinal data. We discuss the vocational training policies for the unemployed in Greece. Finally, we refer to the socio-economic characteristics of the examined region and follow a logistic regression for the years 1988 and 1992 – based on micro-data of the Greek LFS – for the region under study. The article concludes with the impact of training on employment probability in Europe and the examined area, and ends with some general comments on the merit and value of this study.

2. WHY IS OVER-EDUCATION IMPORTANT TO THIS RESEARCH?

According to the OECD (1990, p. 67, table 2.3), in Greece – contrary to what happens in many other European countries – the unemployment rate of university graduates was higher than that of the less educated, whilst, mainly since the late 1980s, a lot of graduates of tertiary education, especially of certain old traditional specialisations, faced problems of absorption into the labour market (Iliades, 1995). Also, according to Katsikas (2005) the University graduates in Greece face greater difficulties finding a job in comparison to the less educated. Meghir *et al*. (1989) analysed the main determinants of female participation in the labour force and male unemployment duration in Greece using data from the 1981 Greek LFS. An interesting finding is that male unemployment duration increased with education. Also, according to the study of IN.E./GSEE-ADEDY (1999), based on the processing of ESYE (National Statistical Service of Greece) aggregated data, the probability of an unemployed person becoming long-term unemployed depends on his/her age, gender and family status. Contrary to the common perception, this probability did not depend on the educational level.

Greek farming and especially Greek industry mainly consisted small businesses of traditional activities, which did not require administrative and technical staff with higher education and specialisation (Kanellopoulos, 1984). Besides, the family character of many Greek businesses made their owners avoid hiring staff (including those with high qualifications) or implementing innovative ideas of high skilled people, with the result that industry was unable to create enough new positions for people with relatively high specialization and to be unable to absorb the increased number of graduates (Kanellopoulos, 1984). Exactly the opposite happened in the public sector, where many new positions were created to absorb unemployed graduates. Although this waiting (queuing for a public sector job) raised the apparent unemployment of graduates (see, e.g. Krueger and Summers, 1987, p. 44), some of them held temporary jobs, often in the concealed economy (Glytsos, 1990). Moreover, the public sector limits its action to essentially bureaucratic competence and activities or to the provision of non-exchangeable services internationally. Greece seems to manifest over-education by any of the criteria mentioned above. The relative remuneration of university graduates was decreasing through time, mainly because of their over-supply (Glytsos, 1990). (For the causes of graduate unemployment see Johnes *et al.*, 1987; Sanyal, 1987; Dolton and Vignoles, 2000).

3. THE HUMAN CAPITAL APPROACH AND THE HUMAN CAPITAL THEORY

During the late 1950s and early 1960s the current neoclassical theory of the labour market emerged with the development of the human capital theory. Gary Becker (1964, 1975) published a book entitled 'Human Capital' which developed a theory of human capital formation and analysed the rate of return on investment in education and training. However, investment in human capital remains a controversial issue (Woodhall, 1987).

Whilst the human capital literature has highlighted a number of productivity-related characteristics, human capital theorists give most emphasis to the importance of education and training as the main component of productivity (Blaug, 1975). Education, it is suggested, provides the basic skills of reading and writing, cognitive skills, and the 'ability to learn' which will increase an individual's productivity in all jobs (general human capital), whilst vocational education, on the other hand, will increase an individual's productivity in a narrower range of jobs by providing more specific skills (specific human capital).

Becker (1962) distinguishes general from specific human capital of workers, and within specific human capital between employer- and employee-financed on-the-job training. Most broadly the theory of specific human capital predicts that where the fixed costs of employment, due to on-the-job training, are greatest, unemployment is lowest (Rees, 1973, pp.118–120).

Following Becker's (1964) analysis on the economic role of human capital, particularly education, there is now a considerable amount of empirical research on the closely related topics of education and skills (see Prais, 1995; Murray and Steedman, 1998) and, more specifically, the increasing role of skilled labour in the economy (Berman *et al.*, 1994; Machin, 1996; Green *et al.*, 1998; Machin and van Reenen, 1998).

4. UNEMPLOYMENT AND SKILLS IN GREECE AND THE REST OF THE EU

It has been found in almost all EU and other countries that there is an inverse relationship between the level of education and training on the one hand and unemployment rates on the other. The reasons are the processes of screening and credentialism, but also the assumed higher productivity of better qualified people. Apparently employers not only associate higher skills with specific performance capabilities, but also with the social and flexible competences increasingly required in the course of technical progress (CEDEFOP, 1998).

Data on unemployment and qualifications showed deviations with regard to different countries and national data sources, which cannot be presented here in detail. A comparison of statistics from different sources should be done very carefully. Thus, for example, Eurostat relates unemployment rates to the 25–59 years old, and OECD to people between 25 and 64 years of age.[1]

Table 1 gives unemployment rates by qualification in different EU countries according to Eurostat data. The differences were enormous. There are only a few countries where this inverse relation between unemployment and qualification did not exist: in Greece and Portugal unemployment among people on ISCED (International Standard Classification of Education) 3 level (Lyceum) was higher than among the less qualified, but not among the University graduates (ISCED 5–7); in Italy and Luxembourg, unemployment rates among the highly qualified (ISCED 5–7, University) exceeded those of people with intermediate qualifications.

Table 1. Unemployment rates by level of educational attainment (25–59 years old); EU 1994

Country	ISCED 0–2*	ISCED 3**	ISCED 5–7***
BEL	12.5	7.5	3.7
DEN	12.6	8.3	4.6
GER	14.8	8.9	5.3
GRE	6.2	8.3	5.3
ESP	22.4	20.0	15.1
FRA	14.8	9.7	6.6
IRL	21.0	9.1	5.3
ITA	9.3	7.4	8.1
LUX	3.7	1.9	2.4
NL	12.6	7.7	5.5
POR	6.1	6.4	2.4
UK	11.2	7.9	4.1
EU-12	13.2	8.8	6.1

* ISCED 0–1: no qualifications. ISCED 2: 1 or more O-level/ GCSE passes, 1 or more CSE passes. All other qualifications.

** 1 or more A-level passes, GNVQ 3 and equivalent, NVQ 3 and equivalent. Trade apprenticeship. GNVQ 2 or equivalent, NVQ2 or equivalent.

*** All first and higher degrees. All teaching, nursing qualifications. HNC/HND.

Source: Eurostat (1995).

[1] In addition there are different definitions of educational attainment. Eurostat (in: Education across the EU, 1996) has defined a combined variable 'education and training level achieved' based on two questions in the LFS (question for attained general level of education, and for attainment of vocational or university training), whereas OECD refers to the conventional ISCED nomenclature.

Looking at the long-term unemployment (LTU) of different skill levels, we again find that intermediate and higher educated people were less affected. This is true for the whole Union except Spain and Greece, where LTU was higher on ISCED levels 3 and 5–7 compared to levels 0–2, for Italy where LTU was the highest on ISCED 3 level, and for Luxembourg and Portugal where the ratios of ISCED levels 0–2 and 3 were equal (Eurostat, 1995).

5. IMPACT OF TRAINING AT MICRO-ECONOMIC LEVEL

The early European evaluation studies are mostly characterised by the fact that research was not based on longitudinal and non-experimental data, as is the norm in the second generation studies (see section 5.2), but on cross-sectional and (quasi) experimental data. Experimental evaluations are common in the US but scarce in Europe (Bjorklund and Regner, 1996). The micro-economic studies on active labour market policies (ALMPs) were effectively summed up in OECD (1993a) and Fay (1996). Regarding training the basic conclusion was a frequently weak return to the training of the unemployed. In the majority of cases the most significant force decreasing the return was deadweight (i.e. a trained job-hunter is taken on but would have been employed in any case without training) – (Jackman *et al*., 1996). Heckman *et al*. (1999) and Stanley *et al.* (1999) concluded that if there were any positive treatment effects, concerning ALMP effectiveness in the US, then they would be negligible.

5.1. The Findings from European Training and ALMP Evaluations (First Generation Studies)

Among the ALMPs the greatest advance has been in the evaluation of training programmes, whilst the majority of training studies focused on the impact of training on future remuneration or on the likelihood of re-employment. The impact on the duration of the following employment period, too, has just been examined in studies done lately (e.g. Kaitz, 1979; Ridder, 1986; Card and Sullivan, 1988; Ham and Lalonde, 1991; Gritz, 1993; Bonnal *et al*., 1994; Torp, 1994; Zweimuller and Winter-Ebmer, 1996) – it is important to separate the length of employment from the duration of job tenure (Cockx *et al*., 1998).

In view of the growing differences in remuneration and employment possibilities between workers with skills and those without, it could be supposed that

training schemes would give a high return to those involved in them. Hardly any support for this opinion is to be found in the micro-economic evidence on usual training programmes for unemployed adults, however unexpected this uniform result might be. Examination of accessible micro studies forces us to realize that it has been remarkably difficult to be clear about the foreseeable positive impact on those taking part (Jackman, 1995). It could be thought more extraordinary, according to Calmfors and Skedinger (1995), in view of the powerful theoretical points suggesting a positive impact when programmes were concentrated on a set of outsiders like these, that there is no more definite evidence on the impacts of centreing on the young.

A large number of different sorts of training programmes and their impacts were studied by OECD (1993a). In general it was found that programmes aimed at a few people only whose requirements are easily recognisable and at quite a high cost per person, frequently seemed to succeed relatively well in improving the remuneration and job possibilities of a number of the participants (this might account for the fact that training programmes in Norway, which were not that large, seemed to have succeeded much more effectively than in Sweden – Calmfors, 1995). In contrast, wider programmes involving more participants at quite a low cost per person normally appeared to make almost no difference (if any) to the prospects of those involved (Jackman, 1995). According to Rosholm and Skipper (2003) training raises the unemployment rate of participants but this effect disappears over time and this would indicate a locking-in effect.

These findings can be explained in different ways. One is that the characteristics of the unemployed differ to a great extent and taking into account their age, education and occupational backgrounds, just a few were able to gain from more training. Therefore, the only training programmes that had economic returns were those aimed at particular groups. Another explanation is that due to greater returns to training, only programmes with large inputs, i.e. targeted programmes, succeed. For instance, this could apply where the trainees are not used to the kind of skills they are learning, or for those not used to gaining skills by formal means (Jackman, 1995).

A number of evaluations have involved employer surveys or other means aimed at revealing how far job-hunters will be touched by replacement. There is, though, not much evidence to hand concerning particular extra side-effects like production moving to other businesses or earnings changes. Information on replacement and movement effects on production concerning those people not taking part is minimal (OECD, 1993a).

It follows that a labour market policy desirous of putting all unemployed people on a programme or giving them temporary work, cannot be largely made up of effective training programmes (OECD, 1993b; Calmfors, 1994).

5.2. Findings from Recent European Programme Evaluation on Training and ALMPs (Second Generation Studies)

To judge the impact of programmes, the majority of the ALMP studies examine treatment impacts on either employment (unemployment) figures or length of employment (unemployment) or risks. A few studies (Bell *et al*., 1999; Larsson, 2000; Lechner, 2000; Raaum and Torp, 2002; Regner, 2002) also view earnings as outcome variables worthy of attention. Regarding evaluation techniques, the majority of studies use matching estimators. These try to copy a randomized experiment ex post because of a plethora of non-experimental data.

In contrast to the early European evaluation studies – cited in section 5.1 – cross-sectional data is hardly to be found and training research in Europe has replaced it with the more useful longitudinal data, allowing for the possibility that impact assessments will be more robust (Kluve and Schmidt, 2002). Namely, the studies of section 5.2 examined the same population groups over time, apart from those of Winter-Ebmer (2006) and Cueto and Mato (2009) which used only one reference year in their research; also, only one study (that of Malmberg-Heimonen and Vuori, 2005) used experimental data.

These results show that the more expensive programmes having a significant amount of training appear to be most effective at increasing employment prospects (see Kluve *et al*., 1999; Brodaty *et al*., 2001; van Ours, 2001; Kluve and Schmidt, 2002; Raaum and Torp, 2002). Lately, national studies do not all find positive impacts (Gerfin and Lechner, 2000; Regner, 2002); but bearing in mind that job creation and subsidies for employment in the public sector usually do not succeed (Kluve *et al*., 1999; Brodaty *et al*., 2001), especially if their one aim is to remove unemployed people from the register (Lechner, 2000), training seems to have a significant impact.

Concerning the most recent research (Weber and Hofer, 2003; Centeno *et al*., 2004 – on earnings as well; Graversen, 2004; Graversen and Jensen, 2004; Hujer *et al*., 2004; Rosholm and Svarer, 2004; Hogelund and Holm, 2005; Aakvik and Dahl, 2006), there is no impact of training on employment probability in the European labour markets. Also, according to a series of studies (Lechner *et al*., 2005 – on earnings as well; Malmberg-Heimonen and Vuori, 2005; Steiger, 2005; Lechner *et al*., 2007 – on earnings as well; Cueto and Mato, 2009 – a locking-in effect of trainees is shown that it may be decreasing labour mobility) the employment effects of training are mixed, namely there are positive and negative results. Furthermore, recent research on Europe has also found that training has positive effects on employment probability, although in some cases more for specific age groups or areas (Cockx, 2003; Hamalainen and Ollikainen, 2004; Leetmaa and Vork, 2004; Albrecht *et al*., 2005 – for young men on employment effects; research on earnings as well, but no impact on income effects; Arellano, 2005 – higher positive effects for women than for men;

Cavaco *et al*., 2005; Fitzenberger and Speckesser, 2005 – more in West Germany than in East Germany; Kluve *et al*., 2005; Lorentzen and Dahl, 2005 – but modest effects and only on earnings; Stenberg, 2005; Winter-Ebmer, 2006 – for men and on earnings as well; Mato and Cueto, 2008 – but no effects on earnings).

Kluve and Schmidt (2002) assert that in view of the fact that Heckman *et al*. (1999) did not discover a reliable pattern arising from the first generation of European studies, the provisional results – that employment subsidies are less effective than training and that public sector programmes are not as good as private sector ones – help to explain ALMP impacts in Europe. The above authors stress that the findings of their basic quantitative perquisition should be viewed tentatively, they successfully link earlier results on European evaluation research to more up-to-date findings and provide a new explanation for ALMPs' impact in Europe. If nothing else, their analysis shows that (1) training and help with job-hunting are capable of being worthwhile, (2) it is not easy to help the youth and (3) previous evaluation findings were too hopeful. Also, according to them, in spite of the fact that a number of the specific evaluation characteristics – the stress on youth schemes, or the concentration on employment as opposed to remuneration – are discernably European in nature, European programmes are relatively diverse.

In conclusion, up-to-date evaluation studies point to minor impacts of European training policies and they are most likely less significant and not always as positive as those responsible for designing them had wished. Although the cross-national figures show a few positive results from programmes, it is impossible to disregard the more negative results. The findings allow us to conclude that training programmes seem to have some positive effects on employment and no effects on earnings. Moreover, effects diminish over time. The negative effects reported by several evaluations can be explained, on the one hand by a locking-in effect, and on the other by the fact that some participants seem to enrol in training merely in order to collect unemployment insurance benefits (Cueto and Mato, 2009). The conclusions based on the recent studies are somewhat similar to those of Heckman *et al*. (1999) and Stanley *et al*. (1999) for the US.

The point here is not to give the impression that the one correct supplier of evidence concerning micro-economic impacts are quantitative impact evaluations. It must be noted that the effect of active policies might be incorrectly presented by micro-economic evaluations, because, due to unnoticed diversity, the real impact of a programme on those taking part might not be counted. Different types of information may have their uses, such as official policy studies, research in various professional fields, and different kinds of administrative monitoring data. Figures revealing the percentages of previous scheme participants who found employment after finishing the programmes are frequently published by governments. However, on the whole, this is not enough to estimate effects (OECD, 1993a).

6. VOCATIONAL TRAINING POLICIES FOR THE UNEMPLOYED IN GREECE

The structure of expenditures for 'active' interventions in 1997 shows that the level of expenditures in Greece (0.35%), as a percentage of the GDP, is behind that of the EU-15 average (1.13%) concerning all specific interventions, with the exception of 'measures for the young' (youth vocational education and training etc. – 0.10%) which are comparable to the European average (0.13%). Furthermore, there is an extremely low level of expenditures on the training of adults (0.06% for Greece in comparison to 0.29% for the EU-15) – (OECD, 1999).

The system of CVT in Greece was developed mainly due to its incorporation in Community funding programmes (Iliades, 1995; Chletsos, 1998; Papakonstantinou, 1998). Policies concerned with training and retraining for the unemployed have been confined to continuing training programmes. Vocational training programmes for the unemployed were wholly unconnected with employment policies, and were thus wasteful of training resources (Gravaris, 1991, p. 37; Christodoulakis and Kalyvitis, 1995; Balourdos and Chryssakis, 1998). This is reflected in the fact that the unemployment rate for those (20–29 years old) with complementary vocational training in Greece was 20%, compared to 14% for those with only compulsory schooling; the corresponding figures for the EU were 11.5% and 23.5% (Economic and Social Committee of Greece, 1998, p. 31).

Particularly with regard to training programmes for the unemployed in Greece, the method of identifying skills requirements, on the basis of which the programmes were offered, was wholly inadequate. It was based on changes in labour force categories derived from the LFS, on estimates of the impact of investment programmes on employment (where these existed or where such estimates were possible) and on Job Market Surveys. These last record shortages of skills on the basis of company estimates of their own shortages, which were often inaccurate or did not correspond to the capacity of the firms to utilise the skills demanded (Linardos-Rylmon, 1998).

7. THE REGION OF ATTICA

The Region of Attica (NUTS-2 and Objective 1 status during the CSF-1) – which is geographically situated in Central Greece – is the county of Attica and consists of four prefectures (Attica or Athens, Eastern Attica, Western Attica and Piraeus). The above region is the one and only region-county in Greece, since according to 1991 census its population size was about 3.5 million inhabitants; namely, 3 out of 10 Greeks lived in Attica. The capital of the region is the city of

Athens, which is by far the most important Greek city in economic, administrative and political terms.

In 1988, Attica's GDP was equal to 61% of the EU-12 average (58% for Greece as a whole), whereas in 1996 the region improved its position since its GDP was 77% of the EU-15 mean (68% for the country as a whole) and 86% of the EU-25 mean in 2003 (80.9% for Greece as a whole). In 2003, Attica was ranked third among the 13 Greek regions, based on that criterion (GDP per capita), after Central Greece and the Southern Aegean. The Region of Attica produces 37.4% of the country's GDP – 2.7% of the country's agricultural produce, 35.5% of the manufacturing and 42% of services (2001) – (sources: www.ypes.gr/attiki and www.economics.gr).

There was an increase in the percentage of unemployed from 10% in 1988 to 11.7% of the workforce in 1995.[2] The male unemployment rate was 6.47% in 1988 and 8.4% in 1995, whereas the corresponding female percentages were 16.32% and 16.86%. LTU – as percentage of total unemployment – amounted to 45.4% in 1988 and 50.9% in 1995 (LFS).

8. NUMBERS OF RECORDS IN THE LFS SAMPLES

The questionnaire of the European (and Greek) LFS was greatly modified in 1992 (Felstead *et al.*, 1998). The originality of this research is that we use individual anonymised records (micro-data) of the LFS for both employed and unemployed (about 53,000 records per year for Attica, namely 1.5% of the total population of the region).

Table 2 shows the numbers of employed, unemployed and non-active in the LFS samples (in the spring, namely from the 14th to 26th week of the year) of the region under examination in 1988 and 1992.

Table 2. Labour force and non-active population in Attica (LFS samples)

Year	Employed	Unemployed	Non-active	System missing	Total
1988	18,166	2,023	23,580	9,886	53,655
1992	18,465	2,158	24,338	8,265	53,226

Apart from the system missing records, following the limitation of age (15–64 years old) and removing the non-active population, we ended with the following numbers of records eligible for analysis (table 3).

[2] The percentage of unemployment is characterised by an augmentative tendency with the exception of the two year period 1989–1990, during which it shows a temporary decrease.

Table 3. Numbers of records eligible for analysis

Year	Region	No. of records
1988	Attica	19,922
1992	Attica	20,301

9. THE LOGISTIC REGRESSION BASED ON THE MICRO-DATA OF THE GREEK LFS

The basic aim of the econometric analysis is to test the impact that training programmes (apprenticeship, intra-firm training, CVT, popular training) and educational level had on people's job prospects in the Region of Attica, during the implementation of the CSF-1 (1989–1993), accounting for demographic characteristics such as age, gender, marital status and area of residence. We try to see whether participation in training programmes and educational level increased the chances of finding a job. In the paper, we use a logistic regression model for studying differences between those that did participate in training programmes and those that did not. Regression models allow for group comparisons adjusting for demographic and socio-economic variables. It should be noted that regression-adjusted comparisons may still provide misleading results when other important variables that might have an effect are omitted.

The dependent variable takes two possible values (employed versus unemployed). The explanatory variables (six for 1992 and five for 1988) are the participation in training courses (only available in 1992 with five categories including the four types of training completed, as mentioned above, and non-participation in training courses as the reference category), six levels of education, gender, age level (four categories), marital status and residence location (Athens Area, the rest of urban areas, semi-urban areas and rural areas).

The effect of demographic variables such as age, gender, marital status, residence location, as well as educational level and participation in training programmes on the employment status, is investigated with a logistic regression model due to the categorical nature of the dependent variable. The logistic regression model is written as:

$$\text{logit } P\,(y=1\,|\,x_1,....,x_k)=\log\left[\frac{P(y=1\,|x_1,...,,x_k)}{1-P(y=1\,|x_1,...,x_k)}\right]=\beta_0+\sum_{k=1}^{K}\beta_k x_k,$$

where $P(y=1|x_1,...,x_k)$ and $1-P(y=1|x_1,...,x_k)$ denote the conditional probability a randomly selected individual to be 'unemployed' and 'employed' respectively. The coefficient β_k denotes the effect that a unit increase in the explanatory variable x_k has on the log odds of being 'unemployed' than 'employed' controlling for all other variables in the model and β_0 is the intercept of the model and the value of the logit when all the explanatory variables take the value zero. More specifically, a unit increase in the explanatory variable x_k multiplies the odds by e^{β_k} controlling for all other variables in the model.

Solving the above formula with respect to the conditional probability we have:

$$P(y=1|x_1,...,x_k)=\frac{e^{\beta_0+\sum_{k=1}^{K}\beta_k x_k}}{1+e^{\beta_0+\sum_{k=1}^{K}\beta_k x_k}}.$$

Due to data limitations, we cannot explore the impact that the duration of courses, thematic fields, number of participants, duration of unemployment period of the trainees have on unemployment. Another limitation of the research is that the data available are cross-sectional rather than longitudinal and therefore we cannot study any population changes across time. The Greek LFS data are non-experimental.

9.1. Description of the Variables

We define now the complete list of variables together with their coding values that we use in the model.

Dependent variable. Employment Status (STA1) (Unemployed = 1, Employed = 0).

Explanatory variables. The reference category of each variable is underlined.

1) Gender (STA 2) (Female = 1, Male = 0)
2) Marital status (STA 3) (Married, divorced or widows = 1, Non-married = 0)
3) Level of education (STA8A-STA8D)
STA 8A = University graduates
STA 8A1 = MSc or PhD holders
STA 8B = Polytechnic (TEI) graduates
STA 8C = Lyceum graduates (12 years of schooling) or not finished University
STA 8C1 = High-school graduates (9 years-compulsory education)

STA 8D = Primary school graduates or not finished primary school or never in school

4) Urbanisation level of settlement system (STA9A-STA9E)

STA 9A = Athens Area

STA 9C = Rest of urban areas

STA 9D = Semi-urban areas

STA 9E = Rural areas

5) Participation in the past in training course(s) (STA26A-STA26E)

STA 26A = apprenticeship

STA 26B = intra-firm training

STA 26C = continuing vocational training (CVT)

STA 26D = popular training

STA 26E = Non-participation in the past in training course(s)

6) Age groups (STA40A-STA40E)

STA 40A = 15–24 years old

STA 40D = 25–34 years old

STA 40E = 35–44 years old

STA 40C = 45–64 years old

The base (or reference) categories are those that appear in the table 3 with empty cells and with which the rest of the corresponding variables are compared. The reference categories are chosen so as to match the needs of the research.

We have excluded the 14 and 65 year olds in order to avoid including in our analysis those who are younger than 14 and older than 65 years old.

The variable 'participation in the past in training course(s)' first appeared in the 1992 questionnaire; it means that the interviewee had completed one or more training courses. This is also an indication of the attitude towards training in Greece at the end of the 1980s. The duration of apprenticeship and intra-firm training had to be at least one year according to the questionnaire of the Greek LFS. The term 'popular training' (laiki epimorphosi in Greek) means training courses intended mainly for elderly people independently of their educational level, where the curriculum includes largely courses of general knowledge.

9.2. Results for Attica

Table 3 gives the results of logistic regression in Attica. For 1988 and 1992, women, non-married individuals, and young people (15–24 years old) were more likely to be unemployed than men, married individuals and people in older age groups. The gender differences could be attributed to the fact that women often join the labour market earlier. Compulsory military service and further

education (not a likely explanation anymore) were the major reasons for men's delay in entering the labour market. Extended family protection, with a view to preparation for entry into the labour market, applies to both sexes, of course.

Table 3. Results for Attica, 1988 and 1992 (parameter estimates b_k, standard errors (s.e.), p-value, exponent of b_k)

Variables	1988				1992			
	b_k	s.e.	p-value	Exp (b_k)	b_k	s.e.	p-value	Exp (b_k)
Gender	0.81	0.05	0.000	2.24	0.92	0.05	0.000	2.50
Marital status	–0.68	0.06	0.000	0.51	–0.55	0.06	0.000	0.58
Aged 15–24	-----	-----	------	-------	-----	-----	------	-------
Aged 25–34	–0.93	0.07	0.000	0.40	–0.90	0.07	0.000	0.41
Aged 35–44	–1.40	0.09	0.000	0.25	–1.37	0.09	0.000	0.25
Aged 45–64	–1.62	0.10	0.000	0.20	–1.48	0.09	0.000	0.23
University graduates	-----	-----	------	-------	-----	-----	------	-------
MSc or PhD holders	–0.42	0.30	0.154	0.66	0.54	0.31	0.081	1.71
TEI graduates	–0.10	0.09	0.279	0.91	0.15	0.11	0.162	1.17
12 years of schooling	0.02	0.07	0.813	1.02	0.32	0.08	0.000	1.38
9 years-compulsory education	0.02	0.09	0.801	1.02	0.41	0.10	0.000	1.51
Primary school graduates and below	0.05	0.08	0.496	1.06	0.67	0.08	0.000	1.95
Athens Area	0.89	0.31	0.004	2.42	0.18	0.24	0.445	1.20
Rest of urban areas	0.82	0.33	0.013	2.26	0.39	0.26	0.133	1.47
Semi-urban areas	0.29	0.35	0.414	1.33	0.23	0.26	0.380	1.26
Rural areas	-----	-----	------	------	-----	-----	------	------
Apprenticeship	NA	NA	NA	NA	–0.23	0.37	0.543	0.80
Intra-firm training	NA	NA	NA	NA	–18.7	***	0.999	0.00
CVT	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.47	0.46	0.310	1.60
Popular training	NA	NA	NA	NA	–18.2	***	0.999	0.00
Non-participation in the past in training course(s)	NA	NA	NA	NA	-----	-----	------	------
Constant	–2.03	0.31	0.000	0.13	–1.85	0.25	0.000	0.16

*** standard errors are large and not reported.

In 1988, education was not found to be statistically significant. On the contrary, for 1992 university graduates were more likely to be employed compared to Lyceum, high school and primary school graduates. Those results are in

contrast to some studies which assert the opposite (see section 1). Also in the Region of Attica, all training variables were found to be statistically non-significant; this means that the results of training variables are not compatible with the human capital theory, so the more trained a person did not affect his chances of finding a job, in Attica, during the time period of the CSF-1. The same results on training were found for other Greek regions as well (see Rodokanakis and Tryfonidis, 2008; Rodokanakis, 2009; Rodokanakis and Tryfonidis, 2009). Also, the results of the logistic regression confirm the conclusions of the various studies for the limited impact of vocational training in Greece (see section 6).

In 1988, people who lived in the Athens Area or in the rest of urban areas were more likely to be unemployed than people in rural areas. One reason may be the fact that in the Greek agrarian sector unemployment was not properly counted. Living in semi-urban areas was not found statistically significant. In 1992, all categories of the urbanisation variables were found non-significant. This seems reasonable for Attica, since – as we have already mentioned – Attica is the only county-region in Greece, so, in Attica, the meaning of semi-urban and rural areas is very relevant.

9.3. Quantifying the Effect of Explanatory Variables

From table 3, it is clear that the estimated odds of being unemployed show greater differences at the levels of the variables 'gender' and 'urbanisation' rather than the rest of the demographic variables with the exception of the variable urbanisation in the Region of Attica in 1992. For example, in 1988 and 1992 in Attica, the estimated odds that a woman is unemployed are 2.24 and 2.50 times respectively the estimated odds for a man at any given level of marital status, educational and urbanisation level, age group and type of training completed.

In Attica in 1988, the estimated odds show a 142% increase in the estimated odds in Athens and 126% increase in the rest of urban areas than in rural areas. No significance differences were found in 1992 in Attica.

In Attica in 1992, the estimated odds for Lyceum graduates, high-school and primary school graduates are 1.38, 1.51 and 1.95 times the estimated odds for university graduates indicating a 38%, 51% and 95% respectively increase in the estimated odds for unemployed.

Finally, in Attica both in 1988 and in 1992, the estimated odds of people in the three age groups 25–34, 35–44 and 45–64 imply a decrease in the estimated odds compared to the 15–24 years old group.

9.4. Interaction Effect among Variables

Only for the 1992 sample did we fit the interaction effects between training and urbanisation level, and between training and level of education. Interactions terms were not found to be statistically significant in Attica. Therefore, the variable 'training' does not alter the relationship between unemployment and education, as well as unemployment and urbanisation level. In other words, the chances of finding a job do not change when we count training as an additional qualification in relation to residence location and level of education.

10. CONCLUSIONS

A significant number of researchers making use of accessible data and studies to examine the potential impacts of training on employment have been referred to. In spite of being restricted to only a small number of nations, micro-economic studies of effect evaluations indicate that some programmes have managed to noticeably better employment prospects for those taking part. On the other hand, the findings include a number of programmes which appear to have had almost no effect.

Programmes with fairly specific targeting have brought positive results and this may be due to the fact that these programmes usually take account of individual requirements. However, a number of programmes that were most widely targeted have had little impact. Lastly, to establish the ways in which programmes can be made better more research is necessary.

According to the findings of our logistic regression, the results for gender, marital status and age groups are the same for 1988 and 1992. Namely, women were more likely to be unemployed than men, the married were less likely to be unemployed than the non-married, whereas people in the age group 15–24 years old were found in a worse situation in the labour market in relation to the remaining age categories.

The level of education is statistically non-significant for 1988. This result is probably related to the fact that the 1988 LFS questionnaire is less detailed concerning questions on education than the corresponding one in 1992. In 1992, the University graduates in Attica were in a better position in the labour market than the primary school, high-school or lyceum graduates. Also, in both years, whether or not someone had a degree from TEI (Polytechnic) or had a Master or PhD is statistically non-significant.

All training variables are statistically non-significant for 1992 (as already mentioned in section 9, we cannot explore training in 1988 due to the limitations

of data); so, the results of the logistic regression confirm the conclusions of the various studies for the limited or non impact of vocational training in Greece (see section 6). Given the population size of the examined region, we could conclude the same for the entire country. The results of the interaction effect analysis show again that training is statistically non-significant in relation to both urbanisation level and educational level.

Finally, regarding the urbanisation level of the settlement system, although in 1992 the residence location was not important (statistically non-significant) in Attica, in 1988 this was true only for semi-urban areas; in the other two cases (Athens Area and the rest of urban areas) people who lived there were in a worse situation as regards finding a job in comparison to those living in rural areas. Concerning the residence location in the case of Attica in 1988 there were some reservations which may be related to the fact that the 1992 LFS data are better than those of 1988, as the most recent data are better than those of 1992. Consequently the investigation of the subsequent years is needed in order to have a clearer picture of the 1990s given the fact that, as mentioned in the introduction, the Greek LFS micro-data are now available to researchers.

The research would merit attention of a wider international readership, since the paper does offer results that are useful for comparative research among European capital regions and European regions in general. Also, the study will be valuable to those who are interested in designing and implementing training programmes for structural change investigating the deficiencies and inefficiencies which have occurred in the Greek case.

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TEN COUNTRIES – TWENTY YEARS ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS IN TEN NEW EU-MEMBERS TWO DECADES AFTER REVOLUTION

1. INTRODUCTION

In May, 2004, ten republics entered the European Union; eight of them being located in East-Central Europe: the three Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Slovenia. In January, 2007, two Southeast European countries joined, too: Romania and Bulgaria. All these countries faced for a couple of decades a centrally-planned economy based on socialist principles, with a single-party political system and a strong control of this party over public administration at all levels, also in connection to economic and development policy. As this is different from the situation in Malta and Cyprus, and these two countries are small states without extensive subdivisions, they are left out in this discussion.

In the year 2009 it is exactly two decades since the Revolution started in most of these countries, ending finally the socialist era in all of them. An interesting moment to see what has changed in public administration and to what extent these countries can be compared. Since all of them are now members of the EU, it is also a good opportunity to take a look at the institutional design in relation to regional development policy; especially the influence on this institutional design and public administration of the European Union, as well as the Council of Europe. Both organisations set up documents – such as the Charters on Local and Regional Self-Governance (Council of Europe) – and programmes – such as

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Phare (EU) – for reform, offering assistance and also financial support for changing the structures in the new candidate countries of the Union.

So far, for older members of the EU extensive studies and descriptions are available on the administrative divisions. For the new member states, these descriptions are in most cases very short, or already (partially) outdated,[1] since a lot has changed during the last decade. A discussion of this issue by the author of this paper, especially in connection to statistics (Kemkers, 2005b), is not up to date anymore, either. Therefore, this article tries to provide an overview of the developments, including the most up to date information available on the number of local, district, provincial and regional sub-national institutions. Since for the EU regional development policy the regional level becomes more and more important, special attention is paid to the division according to the NUTS-structure.[2] Most data show the situation in early or mid-2009; where not available, the state and figures for 2008 are presented.

Let us take a short look at the ten countries under study to see the changes that were made in their administrative systems during the years prior to their entry into the EU. The aim is not to offer a very detailed overview, but just to focus on the most striking adjustments, especially at the local and regional levels. By means of these descriptions (1–2 pages per country), they can be more easily compared when a short introduction or overview of a certain state is required, for example for other research. For a quick comparison, table 1 provides, in table form, the most important data relating to the statistical divisions.

Before the political and economic revolutions in the late 1980s and early 1990s in these countries, all of them faced a rather strong centralisation of policy and a strong integration and hierarchy of institutions at the different administrative levels. During the years of re-orientation, the countries achieved different outcomes. Almost all of them started with the restructuring of local self-government systems. In some countries, such as Slovakia and the Czech Republic, the outcome was that almost all settlements received the status of municipality. Of course, this outcome was also connected to the structure in the previous period, but not always. Other countries, such as Poland, Bulgaria, Slovenia and Romania, grouped villages together to form a commune or larger municipality, with self-government seated in a central settlement. In some cases, there exist local boards with some authority in each settlement, which can also advise the council of the municipality. In general, municipalities in such countries with a more 'integrated', 'structured' or 'small-regional structure' have more authority and local power than in countries where the system is more 'fragmented', but this is not always the case (Kemkers, 2005a).

[1] See e.g. the interesting works of Kandeva (2001) and Horváth (2000).

[2] The statistical division of all regions in the EU: *Nomenclature des Unités Territoriales Statistiques*; for more information and a comparison between the divisions in the member states of the EU, see Kemkers (2005b).

After dealing with the local level, there were discussionsins in most countries concerning the proposed reform of the higher sub-national levels, especially the 'regional' one, the highest level below the central administration. It is not surprising that this discussion started to play a role during the accession negotiations, as the European integration opened a window of opportunity for regionalisation or at least a greater degree of decentralisation. The creation of the NUTS-structure also played a role and finally all new member states, together with the candidate countries, implemented a new division for statistical purposes.

The outcome differs between the states, as we will see. Not all modifications are directly or exclusively linked to the preparation for entering the Union, but in all cases this did play a (minor or major) role. In many countries, different government levels and institutions are responsible for different tasks, and there is also a strong difference between regional or local deconcentrated state organs and directly elected regional or local bodies. Bíró and Kovács (2001) refer to this as a difference between *fused systems* – such as in most West-European countries, in which all institutions and their employees work together to manage problems and to elaborate joint policy – and *dual systems* – such as in the UK and Ireland and most new member states, in which there is a rather strict division of tasks and responsibilities, especially between the deconcentrated state organs and the regional or local self-governments. It is explained as a reaction to the high level of integration of institutions in the previous regime, just as the high level of centralisation during the socialist era resulted in a strong wish for independence and fragmentation of local – and county – self-governments in countries such as Hungary and Czechoslovakia, in the years following the Revolution of 1989.

First of all, the modifications made in the last two decades in administration – especially at the regional level – in the ten member states are discussed by providing a description and outlining the most important data and divisions. Afterwards, some general regularities will be discussed in order to see if external influences, especially by the EU and the Council of Europe, can be detected in the member states.

2. TEN COUNTRIES, TEN ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

2.1. Estonia

Estonia is a relatively small republic, the smallest of the three Baltic States. With a territory of approximately 45,100 km^2, it is a relatively small country, and its population of nearly 1.31 million makes it one of the most sparsely populated countries in Europe, with a very low population density.

Before the gaining of independence in 1991, its system of public administration resembled that of most other federal parts of the Soviet Union. In 1989, a new Act on Local Self-Government was adopted, which was in force until 1992. It shaped two levels of decentralised government: counties and municipalities. However, soon it was considered that for a relatively small country such as Estonia, this was probably too much. A new Constitution was passed on June 28th, 1992 and a new Act on Local Governments followed on June 2nd, 1993 (EU Commission 2000), introducing a new structure.

The new structure, still in use until present, comprises one level of self-government with a wide range of responsibilities: the local self-government. At present, there are 227 so-called communities (*omavalitsus*), consisting of 194 rural municipalities (*vald*) and 33 towns (*linn*). In practise, almost all villages form a separate municipality, although they can comprise some hamlets and neighbourhoods; larger towns and cities can be divided into districts. Around 85% of the municipalities have populations below 5,000, the average being around 5,700; but when the capital city of Tallinn (around 400,000 inhabitants) is left out, the average is just slightly above 4,000 (Mäeltsemees, 2000). This situation resembles the structure in other countries having a fragmented local government structure, with almost each village and town forming a local self-government unit, though the total number of municipalities in the country is considerably lower, which is due to the very low population density and limited number of settlements, especially villages, in the country.

Before 1993, there existed a county level, too, sometimes also referred to as 'region': *maakond*. Its name resembles the Finnish *maakunnat*, which represents the NUTS level 3; however, the Estonian equivalent at present is considered to be a Local Administrative Unit (LAU 1) within the NUTS structure. The *maakond* still exists, though their borders were changed. It could be described as a district, without directly elected self-governmental bodies; it is the representation of the central government at a lower level, headed by a governor, thus a kind of deconcentration. There are 15 of them in Estonia. Since their population would be too small for the NUTS criteria, only for statistical purposes they are grouped into five NUTS 3 regions.

For most of the regional development policy and programmes by the EU, Estonia is considered to be one country, without a further sub-division; in some cases, the five groups of *maakonds* are used. Due to their small size – the smallest community has a population around just 60 (Mäeltsemees, 2000) – municipalities, especially the *vald,* play only a small role in development policy, most of it being centralized or sometimes deconcentrated. They can decide to cooperate for the provision of services.

Apart from the statistical grouping of the 'counties/districts', there have not been made other modifications due to EU policy or discussions. Until present, the structure as designed soon after gaining independence has been continued, so there has been no strong pressure for change from the Union.

2.2. Latvia

Latvia, located between Estonia and Lithuania, forms the middle of the three Baltic States. This republic has an area of around 64,600 km^2. With a population of around only 2.26 million, it also is a small nation and the country's population is relatively not much greater than in Estonia, which accounts for its being sparsely populated, too.

Just as in Estonia, before the gaining of independence, Latvia's administrative structure resembled that of most other Soviet federal republics. Since 1991, new acts on (local) government have been created and amended (EU Commission 2000). At present, the Act on Local Governments of May 19th, 1994 is still in use.

It partially resembles the Estonian model, with one local level of full self-government and a second tier without a directly elected body, and mainly administrative tasks. The lowest level is formed by the municipalities. In 1999, there were 563 of them, which until recently did not change much. Out of these, there were 491 rural communities (*pagasts*), over the years around 60–70 towns and 7 so-called independent towns or 'republican cities' (*pilsetas*); these were the largest municipalities in the country, which are not form part of a district, but formed a district by themselves (Vanags and Vilka, 2000); they could be compared with for example the Hungarian 'towns of county rank' (*megyei jogú város*), or the German *kreisfreie Stadt*. Unlike in Estonia, not all settlements formed a municipality; however, Latvian communities were still very small and only the smallest villages and hamlets were joined with a larger neighbour, thus creating some kind of structure, but still the outcome was rather fragmented: on average, they had a population of around 4,400; for the rural *pagasts*, it was only 1,700 (Vanags and Vilka, 2000). In July 1st, 2009, a new division was set up, creating larger municipalities by merging villages and towns. The new division shows 9 republican cities (*pilsetas*) and 109 *novads*, amalgamations of villages and sometimes also a town. The new division is therefore more structured, though with an average population of around 20,000 Latvian municipalities are larger than in most other EU countries.

The second level, comparable with the *maakond* in Estonia, is the Latvian *rajon*, comparable with 'district' in most EU countries; in the NUTS system, they form the LAU 1 level and they are mainly for administrative purposes and part of the central government, thus representing a kind of deconcentration. At present, there are 26 such *rajons,* plus the 9 *pilsetas* (Vanags and Vilka, 2000).

To meet the NUTS criteria, a new level was set up – the *region*. These are just statistical and planning regions. At present, there are six of them, which represent the NUTS level 3; this is one level lower than statistical and planning

regions in most other countries, such as Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria, which is due to the small population sizes. For the NUTS level 2, Latvia, with its small population, is considered to be one region by itself. The panning regions are used for development policy, both at the national level and for the programmes co-financed by the EU. They do not have other tasks so far.

Just as in Estonia, most reforms in public administration were made far before negotiations with the EU about accession were started and they were a reaction to the gaining of independence and the wish to 'break with the past'. On the local level, there has not been much influence from the EU; however, the creation of a new planning region – despite the fact that something like this also existed under the previous system – seems to have been at least partially influenced and inspired by the entry into the EU and the need to have at least a statistical unit at this level.

2.3. Lithuania

Lithuania is the most southern of the three Baltic States and has the largest population: around 3.35 million, almost as much as Estonia and Latvia together, though its territory measures around 65,300 km^2, roughly the same as Latvia.

Already on February 12th, 1990, when still being part of the Soviet Union, a new system of public administration was set up by the Law on the Foundation of Local Self-Government. It replaced the Soviet structure, but its division into two tiers – regions and local government units – largely followed the previous system. Due to dissatisfaction with the system, already on December 20th, 1993 a new reform was adopted, coming into force from 1995 (Beksta and Petkevicius, 2000).

This new division is different from that in Estonia and Latvia. In principle, it is still a two tier system, with 10 counties at the highest sub-national level – so-called *apskritys*. Below, at the local level, there are the local governments, the *savivaldybės*. They comprise rural local governments and towns. During their creation, there were 44 rural and 12 urban local governments. There have been proposals for reform, to increase this number to a total of around 93 (Beksta and Petkevicius, 2000), since there was dissatisfaction with the small number of local governments and their huge sizes and therefore long physical and psychological distances to the citizens. However, the new division introduced in 2000 only slightly increased the number of municipalities (up to 60), of which 8 were towns. The sizes of Lithuanian local government units are very big, among the biggest in the EU and the biggest in the new member states. Almost all rural

local governments have an area over 1,000 km^2, the largest – 2,412. The average population size is now over 56,000, ranging from 2,600 to nearly 550,000. After further reform in the future the average size will be decreased. In the European perspective, such a division of local government is highly structured and well comparable with those in the United Kingdom and Ireland. As well as on the British Isles, also in Lithuania, most municipalities are further divided – on a voluntary basis – into *seniūnijos*, 'elderates', comparable with 'wards' or 'neighbourhoods'. At present there are over 500 of them throughout the country. In most cases, these are the former municipalities or local governments. They can have some local tasks and advice the council of the municipality, but they are no full self-governmental institutions. Summarised, it can be stated that the local governments have replaced the former 'district level'. Due to their large size, they have more responsibilities than their counterparts in the other Baltic States, but still less than the large Northwest European municipalities; in general, the system can still be described as pretty centralised.

In contrast to Estonia and Latvia, there also is self-government at the county level. These *apskritys* are at the NUTS level 3 and have tasks not just in development policy, but also in other areas. At the same time, there also exist several deconcentrated administrative units at this level, which form a part of the central government, comparable with the situation in most centralised systems, especially in the other new member states. As we can see, the Lithuanian counties are at the same NUTS level as their counterparts in most other East-Central European countries and lower than the provinces or counties in the Northwest European member states. This is due to their small population sizes – ranging between 130,000 to around 900,000, with an average of 370,000 (Beksta and Petkevicius, 2000) – and as we can see, they encompass only a limited number of local governments. There are no other regional divisions; the country is considered to be too small for that and at the NUTS levels 1 and 2 (the latter being the most important for the division of the EU Structural Funds) Lithuania is considered to be one single unit.

Just as in the two other Baltic States, most reforms relating to public administration and especially to the administrative division were made in the years following the independence of Lithuania. Several regulations were modified due to the EU accession, but the administrative structure was continued, as it had already been reformed when the country started serious negotiations with the EU and it was considered to be satisfactory. Of course, in all discussions in connection to the reform the hope to enter the EU was present and this might have indirectly influenced the proposals, but no direct external influence to change the administrative division has been detected in this member state.

2.4. Poland

With a size of 312,685 km^2 Poland is by far the largest of the new member states; considering its population – officially around 38.1 million, though this number is probably less due to the fact that it is estimated that over 1 million Poles temporarily stay in West European countries for work – it has more inhabitants than all the other new member states in 2004.

Before 1990, the administrative division of Poland consisted of two sub-national levels: 49 so-called voivod(e)ships (*województwa,* s.g.: -*o*) and the municipalities (*gminy*). The voivodships were created in 1975, replacing the existing two tiers of larger voivodships and the districts. In March, 1990 a new Act on Local Self-Government abolished this system. The municipalities did not change, but received more authority and additionally, so-called *rejons* were created, a kind of district-level units with purely administrative and executive tasks. In the following years, long discussions started on a further reform, especially in connection to the voivodships. The contemporary division was considered not to be democratic, as the distance between the municipalities and the voivodships was said to be too big (Kowalczyk, 2000). Therefore, it was proposed to reduce the number of voivodships and to re-introduce an intermediate tier at the district level. In general, this can be considered to be a return to the pre-1975 situation. However, due to differing interests, there was strong opposition from several voivodships and municipalities (foreseeing a decrease of their newly achieved powers with the introduction of an additional governmental level) as well as lack of agreement between changing governmental coalitions, and it took over half a decade before a final structure was introduced in 1998, becoming effective from January, 1999. The outcome was partially a compromise in order to get enough support and therefore the final number of voivodships and lower levels of government was larger than in original plans.

In this new structure, there were, apart from the municipalities, 16 new-style voivodships and 373 *powiaty (*singular: *powiat*) (Kowalczyk, 2000), which could be translated as 'counties', but are more comparable probably with 'districts'; they are at the LAU level 1 in the NUTS system and thus considered to be local governmental units. During the following years, some reforms were made, increasing the number of counties to 379 by 2009.[3] 65 of them are so-called urban districts (*powiat grodzki*), being town/city and district at the same time. The counties replaced the former 268 *rejons* and, in contrast, these *powiats* are directly elected and have a full range of tasks. Their number and borders coincide with the division before 1975, although larger counties were split, especially around larger towns and cities.

[3] http://www.gugik.gov.pl/komisja/pliki/podzial_administracyjny_polski_2008.pdf

At the local level, the situation did not change. In Poland, municipalities in most cases consist of several settlements. There are over 42,000 settlements – including hamlets and neighbourhoods, over 90% with a population below 1,000 – and just 2,478 *gminy* (singular: *gmina*) in Poland (2009). None of them have less than 1,000 inhabitants, and there are hardly municipalities with a population below 2,000. Actually, most of them have at least 5,000 people (Kowalczyk, 2000). With an average population of around 15,500 per municipality this division can be considered to be rather 'structured'. The municipalities comprise 1,586 *gmina wiejska* (rural), 306 *gmina miejska* (urban, also referred to as towns: *miasta*) and 586 *gmina miejsko-wiejska*, consisting of a town and surrounding villages.[4]

As mentioned before, most discussions concerned the highest sub-national level of the 16 voivodships. Apart from their borders, sometimes it could not be decided on their capitals, finally leading to the situation that in some of them there are two capital seats: one for the representative of the elected voivodship government, the marshal (*marszałek*), and one for the representative of the central government, the voivod(e) (*wojewoda*), responsible for the implementation at this level of deconcentrated national policy. As had been predicted (see e.g. Kieres, 1997), this lead to conflicts, especially during the first years, between both representatives, each having their own administration. After a decade, things are more clear, but still there is the duality in the government structure. Other objections to the new system include the complaint that the delegation of many responsibilities and new policy has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in the resources or shifts from the central to the regional level (Emilewicz and Wolek, 2002).

The voivodships are at the NUTS level 2. Since there are 16 of them, they have recently been grouped, for purely statistical purposes, into 6 larger regions for the NUTS 1 structure by EUROSTAT. However, this level does not have other significance than just statistical; perhaps in future it will also play a role in development policy.

This new system did not include regulations on regional policy and planning (Kowalczyk, 2000) and was a purely administrative reform. Only in the years prior to the entry into the EU, regional programmes and regulations in this field were set up, as a reaction to the requirements for participating in the regional development programmes. This did not lead to new administrative divisions. Therefore it can be concluded that the administrative reform in Poland was mainly inspired and initiated by national concerns and problem solving, and only much later, after 2000, regional policy was adapted to and influenced by EU regulations, but this did not lead to a new structure of public administration, only to some additional statistical divisions.

[4] Ibid.

2.5. Czech Republic

The Czech Republic, or Czechia, covers 78,866 km^2 – around 60% of the former Czechoslovakia – and its population of 10.3 million constitutes around 2/3 of the former Czech-Slovak federation.

Just as in most of the neighbouring socialist countries, before 1990 the party councils ruled territorial administration, at three levels within the Czech-Moravian part of the federal Czechoslovakian Republic: regional, district and local.

This system was abolished by the Municipalities Act of September 4th, 1990. Local governments received autonomy without a hierarchic structure. As in the previous system, almost all settlements form a single municipality, leading to the fact that currently there are no less than 6,249 municipalities in the Czech Republic, an increase of around 50% since 1989 (Gerritse, 2007). Most of them (5,733) are villages (*obce*), but there also are over 500 towns (*města*). Due to their sizes and for historic reasons, around 20 so-called statutory towns[5] received some additional rights. Since some of the communities have a population below 50 and 80% have a population below 1,000 – actually, 27% below 200 – they can join tasks with neighbouring municipalities and set up a joint notary office (Lacina and Vajdova, 2000), comparable with the system in other countries, such as Hungary, for example. Due to the relatively dense settlement network in the Czech Republic, the high number of municipalities makes the structure highly fragmented. The autonomy of Slovakia in 1993 did not change the system within the Czech-Moravian part.

Just as in the past, also today there are districts (*okresy*) in the Czech Republic; at present there are 77 of them – a number that has slightly increased since 1990. There are no elected bodies, but territorial-administrative institutions; in statutory towns, the towns and cities take over the tasks of the district. In 2003, most of their tasks were abolished, as were the districts themselves, but there is an extensive deconcentrated structure of several governmental institutions at the district level, using its division, but also at the local and regional tiers. The division differs between ministries and sectors, just as in Hungary, for example. There are no counties in the Czech Republic.

Most discussions in the field of public administration involved the regional level. It took over a decade of political debates, planning and proposals, until finally a new system was set up, becoming effective from January 1st, 2000 (Lacina and Vajdova, 2000). Before, political parties could simply not agree and there was much criticism concerning the proposed divisions, which were said to

[5] Somehow comparable with the system of 'towns of county rank' in Hungary, the *pilsetas* in Latvia or perhaps even better: the *kreisfreie Städte* in Germany.

neglect historical, cultural and ethnical concerns (Pálné Kovács, 2005). Even after the divisions were finally established, discussions and disagreement continued (Halász, 2000) with proposals for new boundaries (Blázek, 2001); however, the division was not changed. 13 regions (*kraje*) were set up plus one special region, the capital district of Prague. They were all given the same historic name 'kraje' ('province' or 'region') as in the past, but the particular regions did not get historical names, but were named after their capitals. They are, unlike in some other neighbouring states with newly created regions, self-government units with tasks in several fields, such as administration, education, health care, culture and environmental protection. The reform was directly inspired by the entry into the EU, as it offered a chance for more decentralisation and regional interests (*Die Regionen der Tschechischen*…, 2001). Nevertheless, the EU considered these 14 regions to be too small, since they did not meet the criteria for NUTS 2 regions, as their population sizes were too small. Therefore, for regional development policy and statistical purposes, the regions were grouped into eight 'groups of kraje' at the NUTS level 2, having partially geographic, partially historic names, such as 'South-East' and 'Moravia and Silesia'. This introduced discrepancy and also uncertainty and confusion between the newly set up Czech regions and the 'European regions', without a separate administration, based on cooperation between the regions. It took time and practise to understand this arrangement, but slowly everyone is getting used to it and the EU does not require a special administrative division for economic and planning regions in connection to its development policy. It should be noted that for the NUTS 1 level, the EU does not divide the Czech Republic in additional regions; it considers the country as a whole.

In conclusion, we can see that the first reforms of the local level followed the Revolution of 1989 and the split of the country in 1993 did not change this. However, the discussions concerning the setting up of the regional level were definitely influenced by the EU membership, despite the fact that the final outcome did not meet the criteria of the EU and therefore required the introduction of another higher level of statistical-planning regions in connection to development policy.

2.6. Slovakia

Slovakia, or the Slovak Republic, borders on the Czech Republic, Austria, Poland, Ukraine, and Hungary – the country of which it was a part for about a millennium, until 1920, when it joined together with Moravia and Bohemia ('Čechy') to form Czechoslovakia. In the 1960s, a federal structure was set up giving Slovakia some autonomy and a federal parliament. After the Revolution

of 1989, strong independence tendencies in Slovakia led to a demand for full autonomy, finally leading to a 'friendly' split in 1993 and fully independent, for the first time in history, Slovak Republic, covering about 40% of the area of the former Czechoslovakia and around 30% of its population. Its area is 49,034 km^2 and its population around 5.38 million, including the Hungarian minority (over 10%) living mainly in the south, near the Hungarian border.

The administrative development of the country until 1993 was the same as described before, for the Czech Republic. Actually, after gaining independence, the structure at the local and district level did not change, although a larger number of districts were set up in the following years. At present there are 2,891 municipalities (*obec*), around 68% with a population below 1,000 and just two with over 100,000, making it a strongly fragmented system, comparable with some of its neighbours, Austria, the Czech Republic and Hungary. The smallest municipality has less than 10 people (Nemec *et al*., 2000). The municipalities include 138 towns. Additionally, there are at present 79 *okrešy,* districts comparable with their Czech counterparts, though smaller in size and population.

Just as in the Czech Republic, the highest level of sub-national government is made up by the *kraje*; in 1996, eight of them were set up, named after their capitals. Originally, they were not self-government units but territorial-administrative divisions. In 2002, they received some autonomy and have a self-governmental body. A reform to transform them into elected bodies with full autonomy has for many years been hindered by political disagreement and ethnic conflicts (Pálné Kovács, 2005), mainly with the Hungarian minority, despite the fact that recent Slovak governments supported decentralisation (Mezei and Hardi, 2003), probably also partially under some pressure from the EU and the Council of Europe. In future, *kraje* might be transformed into self-governments with more powers.

Just as in the Czech Republic, the new Slovakian *kraje* did not meet the standards of the NUTS 2 structure, and therefore they are at the NUTS level 3; for development policy and statistical purposes, they are grouped into four 'economic regions'; at the NUTS level 1, Slovakia is considered as a whole.

Concluding, we can see many parallels with the Czech neighbour. The reform of local governments and districts does not seem to have been directly influenced by the EU. The setting up of regions was not much influenced by 'Europe', either, as it happened just after the independence of the country and before the Czech reforms, at a time (1996) when the government of Slovakia was not really 'heading to Europe'. The setting up of economic regions as a grouping of the smaller regions has been a direct result of entry to the EU, just as the setting up and regionalising of the development policy.

2.7. Hungary

Hungary is a republic, situated in the centre of Europe, bordering on no less than seven other countries: Austria, Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia. It covers 93,030 km^2, which makes it a mid-sized country for European conditions. Its population is just around 10 million, though it is decreasing and in the nearby future is expected to drop below this symbolic figure. 98.5% of the population is of Hungarian ethnicity, making the country a rather monolingual homogenous state, whereas on the other hand many ethnic Hungarians life outside the country; around 3 million in the neighbouring states, most notably in Romanian Transylvania, South Slovakia, Serbian Vojvodina and the most western part of Ukraine, in the Trans-Carpathians.

The present administrative division of this country is based on the Act on Local Governments of 1990. It abolished the previous system, in use during the socialist era, with party councils at the local, district and county levels. As there was a strong lobby for creating self-government at the lowest levels, a new division was established in which almost all settlements received self-government, forming a municipality. The settlements which were merged in the previous decades could now obtain independence, and during the following years, many applied for it and were granted it. New municipalities are created all the time, increasing the number slowly – a situation that is contrary to most other (West-)European countries, where scales are increasing, with larger municipalities (Kemkers, 2005b). However, we can see this also in countries such as Slovakia and Slovenia, for example. At the same time, the districts were abolished as administrative bodies, while the counties remained, but lost a lot of their power and tasks. A new Act on Regional Development and Spatial Planning, of March 19th, 1996, which was modified a few times ever since, created the possibility of setting up administrative institutions at the regional level.

Just as in countries such as the Czech and Slovak Republics, virtually all settlements in Hungary are local self-government units. With the exception of the 23 districts of Budapest – functioning as semi-autonomous municipalities – there are no further divisions of local governments in Hungary, though they are free to set up joint administrative offices, so-called notaries. In 2001, there were 580 such shared offices, in which 1,554 municipalities were participating, slightly less than 50% of the total number. In most cases, the notary manages 2–4 settlements, the highest number is 12 (Szigeti, 2002). At present, there are 3,152 municipalities in Hungary (*helyi önkormányzatok*), of which there are 2,846 villages – 2,706 'normal villages' (*községek*) and 140 so-called 'large villages' (*nagyközségek*), in size and importance between a village and a town. The total number of towns is 330, which includes one capital, 23 'towns of

county rank' (*megyei jogú városok*)[6] and 306 other towns (*városok*). At present, a settlement can only apply for the town status if it meets certain requirements concerning its infrastructure and services. It should perform some regional functions and it is also required to have reached the status of a *nagyközség* before. In order to become a large village, a population of 5,000 is a minimum. However, many settlements received the status of large village or town before, without a minimum population and therefore we can find quite a lot of 'decorative towns', sometimes as small as just 1,200 inhabitants. All settlements with populations of at least 50,000 can apply for the county status; county capitals receive it automatically, regardless of their size. Apart from these special towns, there generally is not much difference between towns and villages as regards their tasks and powers. The sizes of Hungarian municipalities differ considerably: from Budapest, with a population over 1.7 million and around 2.5 million in its agglomeration, to the smallest villages with hardly over a dozen of people. There are in total 9 towns with populations over 100,000, but around 55% of all municipalities has less than 1,000 inhabitants, one-third less than 500 and around 10% do not even reach 200 residents (Szigeti, 2002). The average population size of Hungarian municipalities is still 3,170, which places them among the smallest and most fragmented divisions in Europe. However, the average is larger than in some other countries with such a division, which is caused by the fact that there are quite a lot of large villages, especially in the eastern Great Plain area. The strong feeling of pride from gaining autonomy makes that this division not likely to change in the near future. The result is that municipalities have relatively little power and their financial resources are small.

There are no administrative bodies at the district level anymore, but 174 so-called *kistérségek*: micro-regions created originally for statistical purposes. They were introduced in 1994 and their number has been increased since that time by splitting such micro-regions. More recently, they received tasks in the field of development policy. They are obligatory and are formed by meetings of local governments; they do not have an elected self-government and can not be compared to the counterparts in the neighbouring countries, where they perform tasks set by the central government. In Hungary, that is partially done by means of deconcentration at all levels, as well as by the *megyék*: 'comitates', or 'counties', although due to their size 'province' would be a better denomination. There are 19 of them in Hungary, plus the capital city of Budapest, having the same status. Despite the fact the boundaries have changed, they can be seen as continuation of the millennium-old Hungarian comitates, which makes them belong to the oldest divisions in Europe. They are elected self-governments, not carrying out administrative tasks on behalf of the central government, but only

[6] Not part of a province/county, comparable with e.g. the *kreisfreie Städte* in Germany, the 'statutory towns' in the Czech Republic or the *pilsetas* in Latvia.

dealing with their own tasks. What is characteristic is that there does not exist a hierarchy between the levels of government in Hungary, they are just responsible for different tasks. The reform of 1990, giving more power to local self-governments, has diminished the powers and tasks of the comitates and in an international perspective, they are relatively weak considering their size; they form the NUTS level 3 in the EU.

At the NUTS level 2, there are seven regions in Hungary: *tervezési-statisztikai régiók.* They were introduced in 1996 for statistical purposes, while at the same time the *megyék* could form, on a voluntary basis, planning regions for regional development policy. Later amendments to the Act on Regional Development and Spatial Planning made these regions obligatory and their boundaries should coincide with those of the statistical divisions, based on the NUTS criteria. There have been long debates, for one and a half decade now, to make these regions also administrative bodies, but so far it has not been carried out and at present these regions only perform tasks in development policy and planning. Recent years have seen a further deconcentration of the central government intoto several state bodies, using the same division as the planning regions, but many divisions show other structures, too. At the NUTS level 1, Hungary was recently divided into three larger regions (*statisztikai nagy régiók*) by combining seven smaller units, but these three regions (Transdanubia, Central-Hungary, Great Plain and North) are purely statistical divisions.

Summarising, we can state that the present division in Hungary is mainly a continuation of the situation that existed before 1990, although the local self-governments increased in power and the counties or provinces decreased. After all, there is more centralisation and little decentralisation, which is partially compensated by means of deconcentration. The influence of the EU can be seen in the setting up of a regional subdivision, creating statistical planning regions according to the NUTS criteria, which might be changed into governmental bodies. Regional development policy is aimed at following this structure, but after joining the EU most development policy was centralised, again, leaving little tasks for the new regions.

2.8. Slovenia

Slovenia was in 2004 the first of the former Yugoslavian federal states to enter the EU. It is the most northwest part of this former Republic and at the same time the most developed part. Its size is 20,256 km^2 and with a population of 2.05 million it is one of the smallest members of the EU. After declaring independence, Slovenia made many efforts to brake with its past history; enjoying independence for the third time in history, in total not even for one

century, it looked for a new direction and soon the decision was made to prepare for joining the EU as soon as possible. A new constitution was drawn up and a new Law on Local Self-Government was enacted in 1993, to be revised many times since then, e.g. after the European Charter on Local Self-Government was enacted in 1997 (Setnikar-Cankar *et al*., 2000).

Due to its small size and population, the Slovenian constitution only provides for two levels of self-government: the municipal and the regional. So far, only the first, lowest level is fully operative – at present there are 210 municipalities (*obcinah*). This relatively small number is due to the fact that Slovenian municipalities normally consist of several settlements, especially in the case of the 11 urban municipalities, consisting of a central town and surrounding villages. Their average population therefore is higher than in the countryside, and with an average population size of over 10,000, the division can be considered to be relatively integrated, especially considering the fact that the mountainous country lacks large cities and the number of towns is also limited. There are only few municipalities with populations below 1,000, and around 50% of the communities has a population over 5,000 (Setnikar-Cankar *et al*., 2000). The tasks and policy areas of municipalities are defined and their scope is relatively large, although not all tasks can be performed by smaller municipalities.

Therefore, the Law on Regions provides possibilities for municipalities to form so-called regions in which they cooperate and perform tasks jointly. Originally, this form of cooperation was voluntary and was carried out by means of alliances, but later it became obligatory. In this way municipalities can retain their independence, but the performing of tasks is guaranteed at a higher level, especially in the fields of economic, cultural and social development (Setnikar-Cankar *et al*., 2000). These 'regions' – due to their size they should rather be viewed as micro-regions or perhaps districts – are therefore multipurpose institutions of self-government.

Additionally, there are 58 deconcentrated administrative units (*upravne enote,* LAU level 1 for NUTS) in Slovenia, with their own fields of operation, competencies, functions and authority, having jurisdiction over one or several municipalities with regard to tasks delegated by the state (Setnikar-Cankar *et al*., 2000). They can be considered to be a kind of district, but not really, as their tasks and competencies differ from sector policies. As there is no further administrative division of the country and there are no additional sub-national governments at this moment, they are the connection between the central and the local level. This results in a structure that is rather centralised in its system and division of resources, also for development policy (Tüske, 2003).

For statistical purposes, at the NUTS level 3, a purely statistical division is created by 12 *statisticne regije*. They are partially made up of historical cultural divisions, but there have been many disputes about their boundaries. Steps have

been made to change these statistical regions into self-governmental bodies in the future, or at least they should form a basis for a final division into 10–14 such regions. This might be effected from 2010. At the NUTS level 2, Slovenia is divided into two parts (West and East), again solely for statistical and planning reasons; due to its small population the country is considered as one region at the highest NUTS level.

Concluding, it can be stated that large reforms of public administration were made after gaining independence and revisions were subsequently made to create more decentralisation and deconcentration, which was partially influenced by the European Charter of Local Self-Government by the Council of Europe. For statistical reasons, a statistical division was set up before and also after entering the EU, but additional regions at intermediate levels were not created. Thus, the EU did not really influence the administrative division.

2.9. Romania

Romania has been a member of the EU since January 1st, 2007. With an area of 238,391 km^2, it is after Poland the largest of the new member states. The same goes for its population, which is just slightly over 21.5 million. Around 1.6 million are ethnic Hungarians, mainly living in Transylvania.

After the Revolution in 1989, new administrative structures were created, based on the Law on Local Public Administration. It was subsequently amended, partially due to adoption of the European Charter of Local Self-Government by the Council of Europe, and also in connection with the Phare programme of the EU.

In principle, there are two sub-national institutional levels in Romania. The lowest of them is the municipality. Around 13,000 settlements – including hamlets and some neighbourhoods – are grouped into 2,685 communities: over 2,400 *comune* (rural municipalities) and around 263 towns and cities; these can be divided into normal towns (*oraşe*) and 82 *municipii*; the latter being larger towns and cities with a regional function, which can be divided into sub-districts with a small council. Most municipalities therefore consist of several settlements and only few of them have less than 1,000 inhabitants (Coman *et al*., 2001). The structure can be considered to be integrated, although there are still many small municipalities, especially in the countryside,which is mainly due to the small size of the settlements, despite the fact that under the communist regime of Ceauşescu, the policy was to slowly let those settlements disappear.

Apart from having some districts for central government sector policies, the only other intermediate level of self-government is made up by 42 provinces

(*județe*), including the capital district of Bucharest. This division did not change from the one before 1989. They have a council functioning as a self-government, and also they perform the representation of the national government at the lower level (the prefect), which is partially comparable with the system of the Polish voivodships; the competences and also budgets of the prefect are in general much greater, which in practice makes the structure still highly centralised (Horváth and Veress, 2003). In the NUTS structure, they are the NUTS level 3.

At the NUTS level 2, there are eight planning or regional development regions. They were set up in 1998, in connection with the aid of the Phare programme – leading to the *Green Paper for Regional Policy* in Romania, and showing the influence of the EU. However, their division mainly follows the economic division in existence for a couple of decades, but without administrative meaning. At present, they only play a role in regional development policy and do not perform other functions in public administration, apart from the fact that the division is sometimes also used for deconcentration of other sector policies. There are national and regional development agencies and councils (Coman *et al*., 2001). They were set up for the purpose of dealing efficiently with and benefit from EU support. It is interesting to note that despite the fact that from the beginning it was clear that Romania would not be among the first group of countries to join the EU, it was among the first to carry out the regional division, based on regional development policy and meeting the criteria of the EU, including the NUTS structure. This might have been helped by the fact that from the beginning it was clear that they would not be administrative bodies with self-government, but would only serve economic and statistical purposes, as the provinces continued to exist and also other levels of government were not changed.

There are discussions whether to retain the provinces only for the *prefect's* administration and to merge the provincial self-governments at the level of the present eight regions. Nothing is concrete yet, and a lot of resistance is to be expected.

Recently, four macro-regions were introduced at the NUTS level 1, only for statistical purposes.

Concluding, we can state that as regards the purely administrative division, the influence by the EU and the Council of Europe was not significant, as until in practise the system is still highly centralised. But as regards regional development policy and the related division, the programmes by both European institutions did play an important role, helping to develop it and setting up new institutions, totally different from those in the past. Of course, it will not be surprising that although they have been functioning for about a decade now at the regional level, due to the fact that Romania entered the EU quite recently, it still takes time to see how everything is functioning now that Romania has

became a full member, leading to much higher money transfers. Just as in Bulgaria, the fighting of corruption – at all levels – is still one of the most important issues for the EU.

2.10. Bulgaria

Just like Romania, Bulgaria joined the EU in 2007. This country on the south-eastern part of the Balkan peninsula extends over 110,912 km^2. With a decreasing population of only about 7.6 million, it is relatively sparsely populated, especially in the mountainous countryside. Turks make up 10% of the population.

Before the Revolution of 1989, a two-tier system of sub-national government existed in Bulgaria: municipalities and counties, as districts were abandoned already some decades before. In September, 1991, a new Local Self-Government and Local Administration Act was adopted, setting up municipalities as replacements for the former local councils and nine regions at a higher level. For many reasons there was dissatisfaction with this system and in 1998 an amendment to the act changed the division, partially returning to the previous division (Drumeva, 2001).

At the local level, there are just 264 municipalities (*obshtini*), making the system strongly integrated or structured; with an average population size of over 30,000, Bulgarian municipalities are among the largest in the EU and after Lithuania the largest of the new member states in terms of population. These municipalities make up the LAU level 1in the NUTS structure and just as in other countries such as the United Kingdom for example, they can be divided into neighbourhoods and town districts or 'parishes'. This is not obligatory for all municipalities, only in larger towns and cities. In smaller municipalities, such a lower division can be set up, administered by a kind of mayor, who is responsible for administering this settlement or group of settlements, the budget, some services, ensuring public order, and organising public works (Drumeva, 2001). There are around 1,600 such units comprised of a total of 5,338 settlements, which form the LAU level 2.

The highest level of sub-national government is formed by 28 provinces or counties (*oblasti*); they replaced in 1998 the former larger regions, and their boundaries largely coincide to the division before 1991 (Drumeva, 2001). Thus, opposite to most other countries, this shows rather disintegration and a decrease in scale. They are the result of long political debates and much disagreement between political parties. More changes have been made within a short period, indicating a lack of a consistent regional conception (Pálné Kovács, 2005). These *oblasti* are governed by a governor, who mainly serves the interests of the national government, comparable with the *prefect* in other countries, such as Romania and France and the *wojewoda* in Poland.

With the introduction of a new Regional Development Act, also in 1998, regional policy was modernised. Although the entry to the EU was still not very close, the reform was inspired by it – as it was also partially financed by the Phare programme – while the new administrative division was influenced by the European Charter of Local Self-Government of the Council of Europe (Kandeva 2001), introducing some more decentralisation. The EU divided Bulgaria into two groups of regions at the NUTS level 1; at the second level there are six *rajon za planirane* (planning regions), which play a role in regional development policy and are statistical and economic regions, but lacking the institutional self-governmental body; 28 *oblasti* form the third NUTS level. Thus external influence is visible, not only by the EU, but also by the Council of Europe. Time will show if the structure will lead to real deconcentration and decentralisation, as despite having large municipalities, everything is still rather centralised.

3. SOME PARALLELS AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TEN COUNTRIES

When comparing the developments in connection to administrative division over the last two decades in the new member states of the EU in East-Central and South-West Europe, we can see some differences, but also a lot of parallels. All states show a considerable degree of centralism in the structure of administration and division of money for regional development. Some countries, such as Bulgaria and Poland, made some changes in favour of decentralisation, but in most cases reforms have led to more deconcentration; in Poland and Romania the role of representatives of the national administration seems to be stronger than their directly elected counterparts at the same sub-national level. Despite the influence of the EU and the Council of Europe, and programmes of reform set up to modify the structure, apart from introducing several councils and agencies – such as e.g. in Hungary, Slovakia and Romania – in practise the result is not much different from that before 1990. As a matter of fact, in the past few years after the entry to the EU the allocation of development funds in most of the countries is quite a centralist affair.

The division of administration differs in the different countries. There are states with a highly fragmented structure, where almost all settlements form an independent local self-government, a municipality. This can be found in Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia and also in Estonia, where some hamlets and neighbourhoods are joined to villages. In countries such as Romania, Slovenia and Poland, municipalities normally consist of a town or central village and some surrounding smaller settlements, though there are still many rather small municipalities. The most structured or regionalised division of local

government can be found in Bulgaria, Lithuania and recently also in Latvia. In two countries with larger local government units, Bulgaria and Lithuania, there exists or may exist a sub-division of 'wards' or 'neighbourhoods' with some authority in local matters.

Apart from the size of the municipalities, also the number of levels differs. The larger countries, most notably Poland, also have districts. In the Czech Republic and Slovakia they are not fully self-governmental entities, but in Poland they are. Nevertheless, despite the differences in the size of municipality and number of intermediate levels, there is not much difference between the countries in respect of decentralisation. In comparison to most (North-)West European countries, administration is quite centralistic in all new member states. It could be expected that countries with larger local governments would delegate more tasks to them and also grant larger budgets, but, at least in relation to development policy, this is not really the case.

But what about the higher sub-national levels, especially the 'regional' ones? This would be expected to be the level at which the EU interferes, whereas local administration is seen as a national affair, in which the member states are totally free to decide, as long as the division meets basic requirements, especially those laid down in the Charter of Local Self-Government by the Council of Europe.

Most of the member states modified their administrative structure after gaining independence in the early 1990s; in most cases this meant a new experience, as they belonged for a long period of time to a larger federation. This is the case with Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia and Slovenia. The newly achieved independence provided an occasion for changing the structure, to break with the past. Nonetheless, not everything was changed and especially in Slovenia and Slovakia, the previous structure of municipalities and districts was at least partially continued, or modified; the new structure was not created as a *tabula rasa*. As this meant a new comprehensive system, these countries did not change their structure again after entering the EU, although sometimes some minor modifications were made; larger reforms were mainly implemented at local government level and do not seem to be inspired by entering the EU. Another interesting feature is that the new structure differs between these member states, even in cases of countries which shared a common past, such as the three Baltic States. In Lithuania there is an additional intermediate level, unlike in Estonia and Latvia, whereas the size of the municipalities also differs significantly between the three of them. We can see parallels between Slovakia and the Czech Republic, especially since the new Slovakian structure was based on the previous common design, but there are some differences, as in Slovakia no new administrative regions were created, such as in the Czech Republic some years later.

Some countries did change their intermediate level of administration – examples include Poland and Bulgaria. Poland is a relatively large country, which makes the regional level more necessary. However, just as in Bulgaria, the discussions on creating a new structure started already before there were

serious discussions with the EU about entering the Union and what would be the requirements for administrative design in connection to regional development. The outcome in Poland is a step back to the situation before 1975, while in Bulgaria the new division of 1998 abolished the new structure of 1991 and also meant a return to the division as made under socialist rule. To many people this division was familiar and therefore more readily accepted, something people could identify with. Nevertheless, in Poland this resulted in a division of larger 'regions' (*voivodships*), while in Bulgaria the result was a decrease of the size and increase in the number of *oblasti;* this example seems to be quite rare, as most reforms led to an increase of the size of divisions, no matter at what level.

A real, direct influence of the EU on the administrative division has been identified in those countries which created a new 'regional' structure, mainly for statistical and planning purposes. The cases of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Romania and Bulgaria all show the setting up of special planning regions. To this, the NUTS level 3 in Estonia can also be added, although in the Soviet Union such planning 'rayons' did exist, too. Only in the Czech Republic, new regions were set up to fulfil more tasks than just being there for statistical reasons. The original idea was to give them more powers, forming a new intermediate tier between the national level and the local government, while reducing the tasks of the districts/counties (*okrešy*). This should also lead to more European integration. The same can be seen in Slovakia, but there, the roles and powers of the *kraje* are less far-reaching. However, the final outcome in Czechia resulted in regions being too small for the NUTS level 2, the most important for European regional development policy. Therefore, an additional division of eight 'groups of kraje' was introduced, which was a purely statistical and planning division, causing misunderstanding and uncertainty, especially at the beginning. The creation of such a division purely for the NUTS structure can be considered to be fully influenced by the entry to the EU. The same is true in cases of Slovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria: planning regions in accordance with the 'European model', meeting the requirements of the NUTS thresholds, were introduced. As most of them are at the NUTS level 2, they form the basis for regional operational plans, as well as statistical calculations concerning the development of the regions. Because of the connection to EU policy, in most countries regional development agencies and/or councils were also set up, to match the funds becoming available with people to advise or make decisions. In some cases, regional divisions from previous periods in connection to economic or other development and planning policies were used or just slightly changed. In other cases a totally new division was devised. In Slovenia, a new regional statistical division – probably even at two levels – will be set up, partially to benefit as much as possible from the funds becoming available.

Table 1. The NUTS division of 10 East-Central European members of the EU

NUTS 0	NUTS 1		NUTS 2		NUTS 3		LAU 1		LAU 2	
Bulgaria	Groups of regions	2	Rajon za planirane	6	Oblasti	28	Obshtini	264	Naseleni mesta	5 338
Czech Republic	– (Česká Republika)	1	Groups of Kraje	8	Kraje	14	Okrešy	77	Obce	6 249
Estonia	– (Eesti)	1	– (Eesti)	1	Groups of Maakond	5	Maakond	15	Vald + Linn	227
Hungary	Statisztikai nagy régiók	3	Tervezési-statisztikai régiók	7	Megye + Főváros	20	Statisztikai kistérség	174	Település	3 152
Latvia	– (Latvija)	1	– (Latvija)	1	Regions	6	Rajoni + Pilsetas	35	Novad + Pilsetas	118
Lithuania	– (Lietūva)	1	– (Lietūva)	1	Apskritys	10	Savivaldybės	60	Seniūnijos	546
Poland	Regiony	6	Województwa	16	Podregiony	45	Powiaty	379	Gminy + Miasta	2 478
Romania	Macroregiunea	4	Regions	8	Judeţe + Bucureşti	42	–		Comune + Oraşe + Municipii	2 685
Slovakia	– (Slovenska Republika)	1	Zoskupenia krajov	4	Kraje	8	Okrešy	79	Obce + Mesta	2 891
Slovenia	– (Slovenija)	1	Makroregije	2	Statisticne regije	12	Upravne enote	58	Obcinah	210

Source: based on data from EUROSTAT and the respective national statistical offices; statistical data of January 1st, 2009.

At the NUTS level 1, less important for the EU, Poland was followed by other larger countries – Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania – which were recently divided into two, three or four large or macro-regions; in all cases these are purely statistical divisions, without additional meaning or administrative purposes. They may play a role in future regional development policy, in the area of planning.

As not much is known about the negotiations prior to accession, as discussions were not public, it is not sure to what extent the administrative designs and institutions were recommended by 'Brussels', but it is no coincidence that those countries, which did not have a regional structure so far and which are not very small, created a new division meeting the NUTS requirements. Support from Phare and other programmes by the EU and the Council of Europe also stimulated this solution.

At the same time, this comparison shows that some countries, such as the Czech Republic and Poland, shifted more tasks to the newly created regions. The discussion on the 'regional question' is not at all typical of certain nations, but nevertheless it is taking place in most of these countries. They might learn from the experiences of other new member states, although this overview also reveals huge differences in tradition and present arrangements existing between the nations.

The different outcomes, once again, underline the right of the EU member states to autonomy in decisions on their administrative division and public administration.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Alessandro AURIGI and Fiorella DE CINDIO (eds), *Augmented Urban Spaces*, Ashgate, Aldershot 2008, 367 pp.

The city, augmented. That is what technology results in when directed toward the urban topography. Bladerunner-style screens are now commonplace throughout the cities arterial routes; subway platforms, escalators, building lobbies and foyers are all places were adverts and messages spill off the walls and into our consciousness. Our increasingly crowded cities are ever more saturated by technological advancements, from the micro to the meta, all of which has a profound effect on our daily lives and our interaction with the urban topography.

The continuing veracity of the two processes (increased urbanisation and expanding technological capacity) creates a tumultuousness which demands understanding, and hence this edited collection is a timely intervention to the field of urban studies. The book itself comprises an eclectic mix of authors, architects, artists and academics, all of which adds to the explorative nature of this burgeoning academic field. The editors have organised the chapters into three broad parts, *Augmented Spaces*, *Augmented Communities* and *Planning Challenges in the Augmented City*, which are by themselves self-explanatory. The predominant overture of the chapters is empirical, which means that theoretical engagement is more often than not an after-thought in most chapters, particularly those penned by practitioners. This reliance on empirics to the discussion is no doubt a reflection on the literal infancy of the topic and is hence entirely justified, however, it leads to a wonderment in the reader as to how the valuable empirics and data being unearthed is applicable to the wider urban academy.

The eclecticism in authorship serves to produce a somewhat disjointed narrative within the different 'parts', but this does not detract from the messages being conveyed in the individual chapters. The chapters throughout the first part of the book carry a similar ethos, that the technologies afforded to us in the augmented city are somehow creating 'hybrids' of humans, technology and the city; a more connected society in which communication thrives and is the life blood of the urban process. The opening chapter of the first part, entitled *Places, Situations and Connections*, by architect/artist Katherine Willis, discusses the notion of Euclidian space and how technology influences it. She concludes by suggesting that 'spatial concepts such as separation, boundeness, linkage, presence and temporality are reconfigured by mobile and wireless technologies so that although the physical setting influences our actions, many aspects of social connectedness are further elaborated and accentuated' (p. 24). Chapter 3, by Heesang

Lee, entitled *Mobile Networks, Urban Places and Emotional Spaces*, bucks the trend of the rest of the chapters by providing a fascinating theoretical insight into the role of mobile phones as they blur the lines between humans, technology and the city. A theoretical augmentation of Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) body-without-organs to suggest that urbanites are bodies-with-mobiles is an interesting development and the kind of rigorous engagement that is required to gain a more nuanced understanding of the augmented city; and makes this chapter one of the more engaging in the book as a whole.

The empirics of the chapters range from the location and spread of wi-fi services, the use of mobile devices in locating ourselves within the city, city-run broadband projects, the use of information communication technologies in planning procedures and the use of CCTV and the 'surveillance society'. On this particular topic, one chapter notably stands out, that is David Murakami Wood's chapter entitled *Towards Spatial Protocol: The Topologies of the Pervasive Surveillance Society*. He discusses ubiquitous 'pervasive computing', which is computing and technological capabilities, that when functioning is not seen – it is only when it fails that it becomes 'recognised' and forced out of the urban background and into the public consciousness (p. 97). Through a discussion of Radio Frequency Identification tags, the author suggests pervasive computing demands changes in human behaviour, and so rightly needs to be taken as dystopic and treated as such. By concluding that open-sourced 'spatial protocols' create more civility, Murakami Wood aligns with the prevailing ethos of the book which suggests the augmented urban spaces need to encourage collaboration, community cohesion and commensurability as opposed to a Panoptic-like dystopian vision which will alienate and subvert urban populations.

Other impressive chapters that stand out from the book in this regard include Anthony Townsend's chapter entitled *Public Space in the Broadband Metropolis: Lessons from Seoul*, which highlights how digital planning procedures in the city based on 'lines' creates exclusion areas, and instead suggests that 'planning with borderlands means on the contrary, thinking of thick, open zones of potentiality where urban subjects can get constituted through a communicational process' (p. 251). Digital planning, it is argued throughout the third part of the book, is broadly economically-focused and a relic of a pre-technological and Web 2.0 era. In Mark Gaved and Paul Mullholland's chapter, entitled *Pioneers, Subcultures and Cooperatives: The Grassroots Augmentation of Urban Places*, the authors places the community firmly at the forefront of the information communication revolution, and by outlining case studies from each category of their taxonomy outlined in the chapter title, give a sense of empirical credence to their reasoning.

Due to the literal infancy of the subject in academia, it is no surprise that edited collections such as this book appear. In laying the groundwork for further research and analysis, this book is extremely useful in equipping urban researchers with vignettes of empirics, morsels of theoretical insight and plenty of food for thought. It is unlikely to become core text for mainstream urban studies modules, and its mix of writing standards makes it a complicated, and at times, frustrating read. This is not helped by elementary grammatical and referencing errors (particularly toward the beginning of the book) which adds to a general feeling of over alacrity within the book, perhaps a symptom of

a desire to publish the material while it is still very much a contemporary commentary, rather than a description of technologies and cases that have been outdated by future advances as per Moore's law.

And it is this point that serves as a paradox for this collection. Due to the fast-paced nature of the augmentation of urban topographies, the themes of this book will fall foul of its own thematics and sooner rather than later become outdated. This, of course, is not a problem for those chapters which have expanded on the pure empirical engagement to embrace a broader applicability, however, as this is the exception rather than the rule, then the main functionality of the collection will be an empirical reinforcement of existing literature rather than a disciplinary touchstone. The variety of writing styles and levels of sophistication with the broader urban studies, social science and social theory literature means that there will be sections of the book that appeal to undergraduates, established urban researchers, high-ranking academics and practitioners.

Cities continue to stir the whole spectrum of emotions within those authors charged with writing about them, and the augmentation of cities with technological capabilities can only serve to increase our resolve to understand and critically engage with the built environment and its virtual plugins. This book will no doubt inspire others to research and analyse our augmenting built environment, and for that, it must be applauded.

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Luigi Fusco GIRARD and Peter NIJKAMP (eds), *Cultural Tourism and Sustainable Local Development*, Ashgate, Farnham 2009, 319 pp.

The contemporary society is visibly the 'society on the move' which makes tourism one of the biggest trades of today, gaining increasing importance. Moreover, tourist demand and consumption constantly evolve, in the recent years there is *inter alia* a visible shift from mass tourism to more and more individualistic tourist consumption and creation of many different specialised and niche markets. Among them, cultural tourism is certainly presently regarded as very promising, and often perceived as a potentially more socially, culturally and ecologically responsible tourism segment with sizeable potential to inspire local and regional development. Ideally, cultural tourism should be profitable and beneficial to everyone. Tourists may count on being provided with means of enjoyment, leisure and relaxation as well as spiritual and intellectual inspiration. The local popula-

tion should get a chance to open up or be employed in tourist related businesses and services as well as broaden their horizons through contacts with representatives of different nations and cultural circles. Most importantly, local authorities, heritage organisations and owners of historic building stock should acquire financial means for restoration and conservation activities, counting on the fact that if heritage generates tourism it should also profit from it. In reality, the issue is much more complex, with tourism offering not only chances and opportunities but creating many threats to the local cultural milieu and heritage (e.g. Bendixen, 1997).

The book *Cultural Tourism and Sustainable Local Development* edited by Luigi Fusco Girard and Peter Nijkamp and published within the Ashgate series New Directions in Tourism Analysis explores the very timely issue of the relation between tourism, specifically cultural tourism and sustainable local development. It is a collection of essays gathered together following an international conference *Cultural Heritage, Local Resources and Sustainable Tourism* organised in Naples in 2006. The volume is divided into four parts: *Tourism Development as a Sustainable Strategy*, *Policies on Sustainable Tourism and Cultural Resources*, *Case Studies* and *New Departures for Evaluation*, supplemented by an index of main topics and key concepts.

The unquestionable strength of the book, making it a valuable addition to the body of literature in the field of tourism, is the wealth of methodological approaches and attempts at their application with respect to measuring the potential and effects of tourism, specifically cultural tourism on regions, cities and sites. It offers both a useful review of such approaches and shows how they may be applied in diverse contexts ranging from evaluation of sustainability of tourism policies in regions to supporting decision-making with respect to heritage conservation and adaptation projects as well as the content of museum exhibitions. Broad lists of references appearing at the end of each chapter are likewise a very good up to date literature guide for anyone interested in the topic.

The first part of the book usefully starts with the interesting text by David Throsby in which he analyses the tourist demand for heritage and the three 'golden rules' which should be followed if it is to be used sustainably ('get the values right, get the sustainability principles right and get the analytical methods right'). In the following chapter on *Tourism and Development: Towards Sustainable Outcomes* Geoffrey Wall highlights several issues such as the need for broad strategies recognising the interdependence between heritage, tourism and other fields and domains, the 'fuzziness' of the concept of sustainable development perhaps involving irreconcilable ideas and the complexity and difficulty of defining heritage as the main resource for cultural tourism. Next, Harry Cocossis discusses the opportunities and threats tourism brings to cultural heritage underlining the idea of tourism as a catalyst for economic development thanks to its multiplier effects but also the problem of dealing with excessive tourism volumes and taking into account the carrying capacity of the sites. In the last chapter of the first part Peter Nijkamp and Patrizia Riganti bring the very interesting and complex challenge of the evaluation of cultural heritage to the fore, allowing to include this largely non-market good in cost benefit analysis and in the decision-making processes. Different measurement methods are proposed depending on whether use values are measured (in this case revealed preferences methods for e.g. using travel cost methods and hedonic pricing),

non-use values are examined (then stated preference methods are needed such as contingent valuation methods and conjoint analysis) or a wide selection of variables applied (multicriteria analysis). The first part of the book thus offers an excellent, in-depth and sound theoretical insight taking a step forward in the analysis of the interaction between tourism and cultural resources from simple description of problems and hazards to measuring them and using the obtained data for strategy formulation and evaluation. As such it foreshadows the themes and considerations surfacing throughout the remaining chapters.

The second part of the book intends to take the question of sustainable cultural tourism further into the realm of policy and planning, however does so much less convincingly than the first part. The aim is most explicitly fulfilled in the text of Christian Ost attempting to present main policy guidelines for sustainable tourism strategies. Maria Giaoutzi, Christos Dionelis and Anastasia Stratigea discuss the more general issue of the need of rational use of energy and utilisation of renewable energy sources for any type of tourism activities. The remaining two papers are less insightful though Antonio Saturnino points to important issues related to cultural heritage, economic development and sustainability of tourism as seen from the perspective of Southern Italy.

The third part of the book is devoted to case studies, among them the issues of: involvement of the local government in networking (the text of Francesco Polese) and the Romanian experiences in the development of cultural tourism described by Daniela L. Constantin and Constantin Mitrut mainly from the angle of the much needed infrastructural development in the postsocialist state. The Romanian case also highlights the important issue of the use of EU programmes and co-financing as a great opportunity to develop cultural tourism products under different headings ranging from straight forward infrastructure development to rural development, urban regeneration and tourism promotion programmes. In this context in the future perhaps it would be useful to compare the experiences of mature capitalist economies with those of Eastern and Central Europe. Maria Francesca F. Cracolici, Miranda Cuffaro and Peter Nijkamp in turn present a methodologically very interesting analysis of the efficiency with which Italian provinces utilise their available tourist resources, while Danatella Cialdea proposes the use of GIS to aid the local authorities in the sustainable management of coastal areas as demonstrated by the Interrreg IIIA Adriatic Cross Border Project GES.S.TER. Lastly, Ken Willis and Naomi Kinghorn use the case of Shipley Art Gallery in north-east England to demonstrate how stated preference choice experiments can be used in the art gallery management taking into account audience preferences. This is a very useful contribution showing the growing audience focus of museums and galleries though it is a pity that it seems to have been only a pilot project with rather few interviews conducted in a non-tourist season which probably also affected the results of the survey.

The final part of the book is very interesting although it seems slightly incoherent mixing articles of more general character with case studies which would perhaps fit better in the previous part. The two more case-study oriented texts are the paper by Andrea De Montis, in which he presents the use of multicriteria decision support system using the example of the proposed restoration of the historic roadmen houses in Sardinia, and the article by Douglas Noonan, who evaluates the impacts of heritage policies,

precisely the effects of landmark designation on the real estate prices in Chicago in the 1990s. Other texts are more general in nature. Luigi Fusco Girard and Francesca Torrieri present an overview of tourism evaluation possibilities, methods and indicators also underlining the problem of data scarcity. Patrizia Riganti takes the discussion a step forward usefully moving from general discussion of cultural tourism and its measurement to e-valuation and e-tourism. Girard and Nijkamp in the concluding text recall the most important themes of the book indicating that 'research on and planning for cultural tourism in the context of local sustainability is a challenging task' still in need to develop a mature research methodology with many possibilities open for further studies. As such the book opens up the discussion rather then ends it.

Tourism is a spatial phenomenon referring to concrete regions, localities and sites; from that point of view what one would have perhaps wished for in the book would be a broader geographical scope of presented cases and examples, here mainly narrowed to Italian experiences to which three other main examples have been added. The Charles Bridge in Prague placed on the book's cover and being the symbol of many problems experienced by the Czech capital due to the uncontrolled development of tourism since the fall of the Iron Curtain seems to promise a more diverse geographical distribution of cases. The book would also benefit from adding to it an index of places and sites, especially that several pages have been left blank at the end of the volume.

Last but not least two other points have to be mentioned. The first is the definitions and concepts of cultural tourism which broadly understood relates not only to the past reflected in cultural heritage but also to present day culture and contemporary artistic life of a given locality, i.e. larger urban centres but also smaller settlements, villages and countryside. Not all cultural tourism is focused on the legacy of the past and not all of it is urban. For example, both positive and negative effects of cultural tourism may be more acutely and visibly present in smaller localities and communities. Although the authors of the book seem to agree with such approach, they describe and analyse cultural tourism as essentially an urban phenomenon and a phenomenon related almost exclusively to the heritage of places. The second important question which comes to mind is the realisation that although throughout the book the issues of sustainable tourism and sustainable development are constantly referred to, few authors actually consider or address the question of sustainable *local* development nor attempt to define it, although precisely this particular concept is a part of the book's title.

The book is well edited, however, some chapters seem to have not been proofread enough. This pertains for example to the chapter of Giuliana Di Fiore in which many spelling mistakes may be found in addition to numerous Italian words used instead of proper English words while the citied references which are exclusively in Italian can only be found useful by Italian speakers. Throughout the book there is also a great incoherence in the style of tables and figures and, to some extent, of citations and references. It is also a pity that some very interesting figures are hardly readable (e.g. too small font size, overlapping of symbols). In one case the same figure is erroneously printed twice under two different titles (figures 12.2 and 12.3).

Despite these few shortcomings the book may surely be recommended as a very useful compendium on the topic of evaluation of tourism policies and projects from the point of view of sustainable development taking into account ecological, but also

cultural, spatial, economic and social impacts of tourism. The question of tools supporting decision-making on tourism and heritage projects remains a relatively unexplored issue, similarly greater advancements have so far been made in ecological valuation and more research done on the issue of measurement of ecologic efficiency of projects than on the issue of heritage sustainability. Such presentation of issues of cultural tourism, for example from the point of view of cultural economics and various economic valuation techniques, is thus quite novel and interesting.

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Gert DE ROO and Geoff PORTER (eds), *Fuzzy Planning. The Role of Actors in a Fuzzy Governance Environment,* Aldershot: Ashgate, Aldershot 2007, 246 pp.

'Beware of beautiful days. [...] Beware of having a plan!' These quotes, taken from the beginning of Nicci French's novel *The Red Room*, open the central part of this edited volume, called *The Actor-Consulting Model* (chapter 6). Plans fail to meet society's demands, they fail to engage with the actors concerned, and they fail to be implemented in a satisfactory way. Two decades or so ago, the 'beautiful' days of post-war rational-technical Planning ended. Not only were the Plans' results often highly disappointing, as manifested by rising traffic congestion, environmental pollution, and sprawling sleeping towns punctuated by sterile business and shopping parks; planning was also seen as deeply undemocratic and, perhaps worst of all, terribly ignorant - failing to take into account amongst others the insights and preferences of 'lay' people whose lives were directly affected by the Plans. Even the development of more strategic approaches in the form of *scenario planning* could not resolve these shortcomings.

The initial response was, so the story goes, *communicative* planning. In chapter 6, Gert de Roo explains how the communicative approach, based on a socially constructivist worldview, serves to reach consensus when actors' interest oppose each other. In communicative planning, much attention is paid to the coordination of planning *process.* This can only be effective, however, when actors' power positions are relatively equal, and where the core challenge is to deal with complexities and uncertainties. Yet, most planning issues do not meet these conditions. In a continuum running from 'technical' to 'communicative', most issues sit somewhere in the middle. They entail moderate levels of complexity and uncertainty, and involve certain dominant actors. It is the domain of

'fuzzy planning': what is at stake is not so much the opposition between actors but the fuzziness of the core planning concepts and contexts. This middle arena of 'fuzzy planning' can be reached from the technical side by using 'scenario planning'; but how can it be reached from the side of communicative planning?

This edited volume provides the answer: the actor-consulting model. In this model 'all actors reflect upon perceptions and interpretations of the roles they play (or believe they are playing) and the responsibilities they carry within a particular policy arena', aiming at 'a mutually agreed frame of reference that guides regulatory mechanisms in an efficient and effective way' (p. 53). The model is also characterised as a post-modern and pragmatic method of problem structuring, that includes some degree of top down coordination. Where communicative approaches target discursive planning, Actor-consulting presents an iterative five-step model focusing on the framing of problems, solutions and evaluations (p. 136). In this method, the key goals are, to some extent, known beforehand, captured by notions such as 'sustainability' or 'compact city'. A key objective of actor consulting is to turn these fuzzy concepts into more concrete targets. The basic model thus works from the 'desired contribution' to planning goals such as sustainability, which through confrontation with the concrete 'present contribution' results in the formulation of the 'potential contribution' (p. 140). The approach thus follows a mix between substantive and procedural rationality. While a substantive public interest is taken on board from the onset (like sustainability), this is given full shape and consensual significance use communicative procedures.

As a whole, and in contrast to many other edited volumes, *Fuzzy Planning* presents a well structured and smoothly integrated set of contributions revolving around the actor-consulting model. Part A introduces the problem context: new but illusive planning ambitions, such as striving for sustainability (chapter by Patsy Healey), in an increasingly complex and fuzzy planning environment (Healey and Karel Martens), involving new scales (such as regional planning, Henk Voogd and Johan Woltjer) and methods (Donald Miller on the use of indicators). Part B explains the actor-consulting model, followed by a series of case studies in which the model is applied (part C). In the latter, the use of actor-consulting ranges from an inventory of new planning ideas (Newcastle Great Park), to reaching a shared vision on sustainability (Viborg, Groningen-Assen and how it should be achieved (two cases in the Province of Drenthe), to improving the implementation of agreed planning ambitions (Dutch Wadden Sea).

So what is the significance of actor-consulting? As the authors themselves acknowledge, it does not really present a new practice, but labelling it this way may bring important lessons to the field. Comparing with the communicative approach, the approach comes across as somewhat less theoretically and normatively loaded, and more hands-on and pragmatic. For those who have increasingly become frustrated with the overly procedural, drawn-out nature of communicative planning processes, this may yield a clear benefit. The way the approach is presented, however, also comes with some weaknesses. While its practical elements are well described and illustrated, the concept's theoretical foundations remain somewhat obscure while the case studies are lacking in analytical depth. Various references are made to core contributions from planning and sociology (Niklas Luhmann, John Forester), but others are missing. In particular, despite the mentioning on framing, the relevant literature is not used. Likewise, with the exception of the conceptual chapter by Healey, little attention is paid to the broader societal contexts in which planning processes

take place. Healey emphasises the inherently political-discursive nature of planning concepts, which stands in stark contrast to the insistence on well-defined and well-performing concepts found in other chapters. As authors like Forester have argued, certain concepts play an important communicative and social role thanks precisely to the lack of precise definitions. Marten's interesting debate on institutional forms of governance, given an increasingly 'fuzzy' governance environment, also provides useful insights that receive insufficient attention later on. What remains unclear, for instance, is the relationship between fuzzy concepts and fuzzy governance. Besides political and institutional aspects, also the normative dimension is somewhat thin. Here, Scharpf's (1997) work on actor-centred institutionalism (social norms) or cultural planning approaches inspired by Sandercock (1998), just to name a few, would have provided useful ideas.

In conclusion, while as a script actor-consulting will prove its usefulness, its broader significance remains doubtful. More is needed to understand, and work on, the link between cognition, language and collective action than is provided in this volume. Indeed, actor-consulting as framed here echoes the instrumental stance much planning literature tends to display towards communicative and social methods. Rather than seeing such alternatives as challenges to the role and status of planning itself, as demanded by a truly democratic perspective, the basic goal is to make planning more effective and efficient. While this book does raise fundamental questions – how to respond to the democratic deficit, how to engage those who do not usually raise their voice – the current elaboration of actor-consulting does not provide adequate answers.

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William S. SAUNDERS (ed.), *Nature, Landscape, and Building for Sustainability*, Harvard Design Magazine Readers Series, University Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 2008, 201 pp.

'Humans have torn themselves from the rest of nature, and sustainable design is the only way to repair the rift'. So begins this series of essays, which cannot be faulted for its ambitious scope. The first six chapters are grouped into a theme of imagining nature. They address current thinking in environmental philosophy and how it relates to landscape architecture and urban design. In the first essay Albert Borgman considers how technological developments such as GPS and air travel have changed our relation-

ship with physical space – into something he calls technological space. While not the first commentator to make the link between technology and physical space, it is the implications for urban design that are of most interest.

'When you first visit a new acquaintance in a metropolitan area, you find your way by the number and directions of an expressway, the name or number of an exit, the number of blocks first in this direction and then that, and finally by a house number'.

He says that it is only over time and with familiarity this counting is unnecessary as a corridor of familiarity and orientation emerges. While it is not possible to return to a premodern city it is possible to 'demobilise' for periods of time and restore nearness and openness – for example in New Urbanist walkable neighbourhoods.

Two of the essays look at the re-creation of nature. Lucy Lippard considers the Grand Canyon in Arizona and its status as both a wilderness and a natural spectacle for tourists. She looks at the desire among artists and landscape designers to 'explore the potential of manufactured materials to simulate nature and reconstitute a comparable sublime'. She points to recent trends in the design of zoos, indoor beaches or indoor ski slopes as examples. She also looks at public sculpture including Andrea Zittel's work, which aims to bring a small amount of the 'action adventure' of nature to Central Park in New York. John Beardsley argues that two sites of re-creation today, the shopping mall and the nature-based theme park are fundamentally different. In shopping malls he examines the way in which nature is packaged for consumption through stores such as the Body Shop, the Nature Store and the Rainforest Café. He suggests that the Rainforest Café is less a simulation of nature and more a simulacrum: a copy for which no precedent exists. He highlights the 'hodgepodge' of different ecosystems – rainforest, coral reef and savannah that are brought together. Exhortations from the talking tree (called Tracy) on the one hand urged customers to engage in environmental behaviour like recycling, while on the other hand urge customers to by more merchandise. In the message put forward by the Rainforest Café, the Body Shop and the Nature Store there is no conflict between environmental protection and increased consumption. The essay concludes by putting the case that shopping malls should adapt to play a role as sites of production and not just consumption – by for example generating their own energy and treating their own wastewater.

Catherine Howett explores the boundaries between sculpture and landscape architecture. She focuses particularly on the work of Robert Smithson, who through his writing and work as an artist tried to challenge prevailing views that art was an expensive luxury beyond the understanding of ordinary people. She continues by exploring Smithson's role as part of a larger group of environmental artists that includes Walter De Maria, George Trakas and Alice Aycock. Artists face public censure when they diverge from dominant ideas about the beauty and harmony in nature. Controversial work by Richard Serra was removed from a prominent location in Manhattan because it did not conform.

The second part of the book is made up of nine essays themed around the idea of designing for nature. In one of the most focused essays in the book Susannah Hagan looks at the arguments for practitioners adopting environmental design. She contrasts the work of architects who look to nature for inspiration with built-form to those who look to nature for new ways to construct and run buildings. She rejects arguments that environmental design would reduce creativity, and looks at the benefits an environmental design approach can bring. Peter Buchanan looks at what lessons the US could draw from high profile green development projects in Europe: the Commerzbank tower

in Frankfurt; the Reichstag in Berlin and BEDZED in south London. He argues that one of the reasons that Europe is so far ahead of the US in green design is fee structures that allow more design input, research and testing by the engineers involved. The selection of three very particular projects presents problems for drawing wider lessons, which are not explored in the chapter. From a European perspective the essay does not appear to be constructively critical of some of the challenges and shortcomings experienced in bringing forward green building projects.

Robert France reviews progress in the landscape architecture profession towards the inclusion of sustainability in the training of new professionals. He finds that while the professional societies have taken a vigorous role, many academic programmes lag behind. He is critical of the teaching of landscape architecture which does not include any academic study of environmental ethics or even prepare students for wise stewardship of natural resources. He continues by arguing that there should be no conflict between creating aesthetically pleasing projects and those which enhance the natural environment, giving examples of wetland restoration projects.

In the final essay Peter Del Tredici discusses some of the issues raised by invasive species. He argues that programmes of eradication and replanting with native species have committed landscape managers to long-term programmes of management which amount to little more than gardening. The polarised debate around exotic versus native species ignores the valuable ecological functions many non-native species perform in urban and suburban environments. In these environments native plants would struggle with soil compaction, air pollution, heat build-up and road salt.

Some common themes emerge from a number of the authors: education; re-creating synthetic versions of nature; the role of artists in sustainable design. However, none of the authors appear to have read each others work so they are not able to bring together any of these common threads. The brief introduction and conclusion do not really manage to do this adequately. More illustrations showing the work of artists, landscape designers and architects could have helped readers engage with the material more readily. Finally, and perhaps most frustratingly, many of the papers spend a long time on well-rehearsed arguments about environmental ethics with much less attention focused on how these arguments relate directly to urban design and landscape architecture. There are a plethora of books that address broad themes on environmental ethics but far fewer that look at applying these ideas to the built environment and landscape.

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John EYLES and Allison WILLIAMS (eds), ***Sense of Place, Health and Quality of Life,*** **Ashgate, Aldershot 2008, 221 pp.**

The core argument Eyles and Williams seek to highlight is that an individual's sense of place is an important factor in determining population health and health outcomes. As such, the aim of the various chapters collected together is to highlight the determinants that appear to be central to the link between sense of place and health. In chapter 2, Lily

DeMiglio and Allison Williams provide a comprehensive review of the sense of place and Allison health literature, across the various disciplines that have taken an interest in the subject. DeMiglio and Williams point out that 'interpretations of sense of place' are discipline specific, with certain disciplines considering an individuals sense of place contributes to well-being more than others. However, they further point out that all disciplines agree that an individual's sense of place can have a positive or negative effect on an individual's well-being. DeMiglio and Williams further highlight the factors that have been found to mediate an individual's sense of place. These variables include; time, residential location, age, ethnicity and the characteristics of the place itself. However, they also stress that the variables that influence one's sense of place will depend on the place itself. Chapters 3 and 4 extend DeMiglio and Williams's consideration of sense of place. Edward Relph examines sense of place and well-being in terms of the environmental challenges of the past century. He essentially offers a humanistic approach to place which balances individual and local concerns within a system of shared values and interests. Relph argues that place as a concept is inseparable from being and as such that ways of dealing with global issues must be balanced against sense of place. Ingrid Leman Stefanovic in her effort to define sense of place and its relationship with health examines the common elements in the philosophies of place and health. Using an example of 'place-making' among children, Stefanovic highlights the health-inducing attributes that acquiring a sense of place/homeliness can induce among the young.

Chapters 5 and 6 offer methodologies that main be used to study the concept of sense of place and its relationship to health and well-being. In chapter 5, John Eyles provides an overview of the various qualitative mythologies and their various strengths and weaknesses in studying sense of place. These methods include; narrative, phenonomological, grounded theory, ethnographic and case study methodologies. In contrast, in chapter 6, Allison Williams, Christine Heidebrecht, Lily DeMiglio, John Eyles, David Streiner and Bruce Newbold provide an overview of a quantitative approach to a study of sense of place. Using a series of focus groups, data facet design, expert panel evaluation, one-to-one cognitive testing and psychometric testing, Williams *et al*., propose that they will be able to quantify an individual's sense of place. These two chapters provide a strong methodological background to the book and provide the reader with a basic knowledge of the tools that are currently/potentially used to study an individual's sense of place.

The final seven chapters provide a diverse range of case studies, all of which seek to examine sense the relationship between sense of place and health and well-being. In chapter 7, Lynne C. Manzo emphasises the relationship between sense of place and health by examining the concept of home and homeliness. Using environmental psychological concepts such as place attachment, she examines the effect of the displacement of low-income families in the US and reports on how such change can reduce sense of place and well-being. Through her analysis, Manzo concludes that state policies should not perpetuate programmes that may threaten the well-being of already vulnerable individuals. In chapter 8, Daniel R. Williams and Michael E. Patterson use a number of cases with regard to recreational pursuits in natural settings to argue that time-use, in this case through leisure, is also an important dimension of health and well-being. Williams and Patterson found that for many people, relationships to specific areas were a central facet in their individual identity. Thus, they aim to show hoe people seek place-based meaning and identity through the places they frequent. As such, Williams

and Patterson argue that leisure, recreation and tourism in general provide important venues for building and maintaining an individual's relationship with place.

In chapter 9, Carles Carreras examines young people's sense of place in Sarajevo. He study examines how a city which has experienced considerable political, economic and religious upheavals over time, effects individuals depending on their age and generation. Carreras finds that given the historical context of Sarajevo that it is the desire of the young for consumerism and emigration that shapes their sense of place and well-being. In chapter 10, Marko Krevs continues the focus on fast-changing contexts, by examining post-socialist realities in Eastern Europe, in particular Slovenia. Noting the changing quality of life in these countries, Krevs notes the influence that quality of life and changing quality of life intersect in the mindset of Slovenians. Quality of life is something that is aspired to and a principle aim when changing place for these people.

In chapter 11, Paula Santana and Helena Nogueira study based in Lisbon, aims to discover the health determinants of obesity. Interestingly, their research finds that in terms of obesity, an individual's sense of place is unimportant. However, they do point to previous work, which found that social environment and Body Mass Index (BMI) can be linked. Santana and Nogueira conclude that the work on the environmental effect on weight (and overall health) is a new area of research and that improved/different methodologies may provide a different result.

In chapter 12, Michael Buzzelli emphasises the importance inequities and individuals sense of place, through considering of environmental injustice in disadvantaged backgrounds. He points that that while these communities may develop a sense of place that this sense may indeed negatively affect on individuals/communities well-being and health. As mentioned in chapter 2, sense of place is not unidirectional and may have strong negative effects on an individual's well-being and health. In the final chapter, Gregory Ashgate attempts to define place and sense of place through an individuals sense of heritage. Ashgate, using Dutch policies as a specific example, argues that heritage may create an identity over time and questions if this can be maintained through future policies.

The contributions in this book provide a holistic approach to the current debate on sense of place. Outlining and using a variety of methodologies both quantitative and qualitative this book provided a clear overview of the present research on the relationship between sense of place and well-being and health. Each case study provided a different insight into how individuals interact within their 'place' to create or destroy a sense of well-being. The non-directional relationship between sense of place and well-being (i.e. its ability to be both positive and negative) is a strong message throughout the book. In their concluding chapter Williams and Eyles point out that it is more than twenty years since the first studies on the influence of social relationships on mortality. In that intervening time, numerous studies across a variety of disciplines have sought to solidify this relationship. Thus, the aim of this book was to provide a set of distinct chapters that provided evidence that sense of place and well-being are interlinked. Given the research contributed throughout this book, the reader is left to conclude that understanding individual's sense of place is an important determinant of well-being and health.

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Mick SMITH, Joyce DAVIDSON, Laura CAMERON and Liz BONDI (eds), *Emotion, Place and Culture*, Ashgate, Farnham 2009, 318 pp.

With *Emotion, Place and Culture*, Joyce Davidson, Mick Smith and Liz Bondi have further extended their succesful cooperation in the field of emotional geography. Laura Cameron, Canada Research Chair in Historical Geographies of Nature, with whom Davidson and others co-organised the 2006 international conference on *Emotional Geographies*, completes the editorial team of the book at hand. Perhaps this extension of the editorial team is responsible for the more historical piece of emotional geographies that was explored in this collection.

The volume starts off with a brilliant introduction, partly based on Cameron and Smith's entry on emotional geographies in the *Encyclopedia of Human Geography*. The editors provide explanation of the coming into existence of the emotional in sciences in general and the emotional turn in geography is placed in a context of theoretical as well as methodological evolutions in the field. The authors hold a warm pleading for the necessity of 'de-abstracting (or re-humanizing) inhabitants from numbers in computer systems or dots on Cartesian coordinates in an abstract space by treating them as diverse, living (not just *thinking*, but also *feeling*) beings' is being clarified (p. 12). While the predecessor of this book – *Emotional Geographies* (2005) – mainly explored the emotional dimensions of social and cultural geography, the claim made explicitly in this book is that 'emotional geographies critique and re-constitute almost everything that geography has so far taken for granted' (p. 13). It is explained how emotional geographies can not be seen as a new science that will focus on how to map of define emotions and emotional landscapes, rather, like other critical geographies – as feminist, non-representational, psycho-analytic and phenomenological – they want to enter upon a struggle against a pure materialistic view of the world where the emotional is seen as a disturbance of rationality. The set-up of the collection is to illustrate how the assumptions and activities embodied in the ordinary practices of everyday life might be transformed by doing emotional geographies.

Apart from the introduction, *Emotion, Place and Culture* consists of 16 essays. Understandably, this work that tries to cross borders between different disciplines does not use some kind of disciplinary classification, but rather a thematical one. The chapters are organised in five sections: remembering, understanding, mourning, belonging, and enchanting – so broad and overlapping that you could question their actual importance. For this reason, I will not make use of this organisation in the review, although that would perhaps make it easier to wander through the book. Alternatively, I will shortly run through some of the most significant essays to give an idea of the broad scope of the book.

One remarkable contribution is of the hand of Nigel Thrift, who challenges the separation of the social and the biological in contemporary political action. Because the concept of affect makes it possible to merge these two analytical objects, he disputes that the recent interest in it can be written off as just another passing intellectual fad. The political diagnosis he starts here remains unfinished, opening pathways to new thinking, that in these times of political passions greatly relying on sentiment and media attention, will undoubtedly be continued.

As Thrift, Jennifer Foster sees affect as a highly relevant key to get insight in current political formations by focusing on how people imagine and experience nature – codifying social order and as a consequence excluding different social groups. The overview of literature she provides is particularly interesting for those studying human-environment relationships.

Examining the reproduction of emotions in a historical context, Associate Professor of English and Theatre Studies R. Darren Gobert uses the concept of 'katharsis' as a modus to successfully infer and demonstrate that emotions are inescapably historical and cultural constructs. Commentators in different historical moments have not had the same thing in mind when they were writing of emotions. It is an instructive case, enabling to understand that presuppositions are historically constituted and can not be taken apart from the cultural embedding in which they were/are described.

Same point is made in the unusual essay of Emilie Cameron about *Senecio lugens*, and the naming of and giving meaning to this flower by the European explorers of the Arctic. In her well-written account, Cameron reveals the role of (hidden) emotion and story in early nineteenth century so called 'universalizing, detached and emotionless' scientific practice.

In the part on Belonging – but also talking about mourning and remembering – Katy Bennett's essay considers nostalgic feelings and practices in the community of Wheatley Hill, an ex-mining village in County Durham. She elucidates how a collective identity is (re)created by a particular group of people that has dealt with extraordinary changes in the course of its lifetime. It is specified how the village's smooth stories help to avoid or erase painful experiences, or recast them in more emotionally manageable terms, but also how gender stereotypes and feelings of belonging serve to exclude.

This is a theme that is explored in Deborah Thien's discussion of the emotional geographies of the Royal Canadian Legion as well. In this in-depth case study, masculine Legion spaces and more specifically the related image of the ultimate un-feeling soldier are described in much detail and are connected with a spatial politics of emotion as sign of weakness. This same theme of the friction between manhood and emotions returns a couple of time throughout the book, for example in the very first chapter, on fatal encounters with Other animals on the road and explicitly in chapter 12 about masculinity, nature and emotion in the novels of David Adams Richards and Matt Cohen.

Avril Maddrell, once herself an insider of the Isle of Man and the Peel community, observes the memorial benches opposite St Patrick's Isle as spaces of bereavement, where place is central to giving the bereaved a focus for locating grief. Embodied emotions are intricately connected to specific sites and contexts, she states. Spaces in that way become 'sacred', emotionally heightened spaces, places of representation, sites of identity markers, or, as one of her respondents called it 'thin spaces' – where the gap between heaven and earth is almost non-existent. Emotional landscapes are in this way revealed as deeply rooted in local place meaning and belonging.

That the emotional turn implicates reflection on our own way of working and researching as well, is demonstrated by Richard Powell's ethnographic studies in the Canadian Arctic. Concerned and careful approach to ethical issues in research is highly relevant to ethnographers and I would say to all scientists. In this very personal essay, Powell walks the recognisable line you sometimes find yourself on as an 'emotional

geographer' (in both meanings), where you can ask yourself for instance whether some knowledge should be recorded at all. The feeling of guilt plays a central role here, in the sense of 'What can I give in return?'

How fiction works as a catalyser for emotions is shown in the chapter *'What We All Long for': Memory, Trauma and Emotional Geographies* of Anh Hua about handling trauma in the Vietnamese community as in Dionne Brand's novels. In the next chapter, Mary O'Neil discusses the transformative power of creative arts in coping with grief. These chapters, as well as the one on human-computer-interaction are not always comprehensibly written and could leave the impression of drifting too far away from any concrete geographical world. Dianne Newell and Jolene McCann, and Alexandre Gillet follow with more on art, books, writers and poetry. Personally I find these 'arty' pieces less my piece of cake, but mentioning them only briefly is probably disrespectful, since imaginably people with a broader background in arts and literature, or philosophy, could enjoy these sound case studies, where geography seems to be used mainly as a metaphor, rather than as referring to concrete places.

It is clear that this highly interdisciplinary piece of work is not to be missed by anyone with special interest in emotions in recent scientific work. The book illuminates the recent emotional turn in geography from diverse perspectives whereby the rich and insightful collection of essays will be inspiring to anyone interested in understanding the emotional, feeling and affect. Although there is something in it for everyone, interest in and some basic knowledge about philosophy could come in handy when reading. Some essays can make it quite heavy to get trough, certainly because not all chapters are as readable as one would like. Though unless the differences in quality of the chapters, the editors certainly deserve a feather in their cap for mapping and bringing into the picture of such a controversial and interdisciplinary subject.

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Joyce DAVIDSON, Liz BONDI and Mick SMITH (eds), *Emotional Geographies*, Ashgate, Aldershot 2005, 258 pp.

Non-representational theory and concerns with the geographies of embodied performance are slowly making their presence 'felt' in the broader disciplines of human geography. This text contributes to this emerging research foci on emotions and space by contributing to our further understanding of the complex interaction between affect and ecology through which place is experienced, perceived and to a degree constructed. In doing so, this text revisits the perspectives, arguments and practices of previously established work on phenomenology and 'sense of place' conducted by Anne Buttimer, Yi-Fu Tuan and Edward Relph. This 'reboot' of the subject however, has some interesting things to say, albeit within the context of an Anglophile perspective on the complex interplay between space and emotion.

The text is divided into three main section entitled respectively *Locating Emotion*; *Relating Emotion* and *Representing Emotion.* In the first section the site of emotional experience ranging from terminal care for cancer patients and place of emotions in later life in the United Kingdom, to monitoring women's reaction to hysterectomies in Australia, to mapping the 'guilty' pleasures of McDonald's 'globally', concludes with a cogent, and thoughtful chapter, illustrating elements of literary geography by John Urry entitled *The Place of Emotions within Place.* Urry draws upon the works of the Romantic poets and Raymond Williams, to expirtate the emotional language of landscape in the face of current environmental concerns.

The second section highlights work which concerns itself with attempts to come to grips with emotional terrains of mental health problems in the Scottish Highlands; self-landscape encounters in Dorset, southern England parsed through the lens of non-representational theory; the embodied experiences of 'going-out' in the spaces of a night life produced by the public houses and fleshpots of Leicester, to an examination of the geographical dynamics of consumer culture which draws upon feminist psychoanalytic theory, to the phenomenology of the Reike massage experience.

The final section *Representing Emotion* examines variously Victorian paintings and the social prescription, location and situating of the expression of human emotion., an interesting dissection of popular assumptions concerning the nature of intimacy, an attempt to perform (rather more a reflection) an exploration of emotion, memory, self and landscape, and a short treatise on environmental ethics by Mick Smith, which strives to cast a wider net than the 'emotional geographies' situated by the volume. The text's editors argue cogently for an 'emotional turn' in geography, and provide an interesting and thought provoking work, though with an emotional scope which betrays a bit strongly an Anglophilic tendency in the geographical sense.

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Guy M. ROBINSON (ed.), ***Sustainable Rural Systems: Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Communities,*** **Ashgate, Aldershot 2008, 210 pp.**

Since the publication of the Brundtland Report in 1987, 'sustainable development' has become one of the most widely used terms in public policy and international development. It has also become a core focus of research interest for geographers and other natural and social scientists (see Whitehead, 2007 for details). This edited collection provides an analysis of sustainable rural systems, focusing on sustainable agriculture and sustainable rural communities. The continued critical scrutiny surrounding industrial models of food provisioning, alongside growing recognition for the need to limit the impact human settlements and 'consumer lifestyles' have on the environment, indicates that this volume is a timely contribution. The book stems from a session dedicated to the above themes and debates at the International Geographical Union's 30th Congress, held

in Glasgow in 2004, with some additional invited contributions. It comprises ten chapters and is divided into three main parts.

Part 1, *Introduction*, starts with a chapter by Guy M. Robinson introducing sustainable rural systems, particularly sustainable agriculture as a concept and research focus and, to a lesser extent, sustainable rural community development. This is followed by a useful chapter by Mark Tilzey and Clive Potter which puts debates about sustainability in wider macro-scale socio-economic and political contexts, examining in particular how 'post-productivism' is represented in the European Union, the United States and Australia. The authors argue that in all three contexts productivism remains dominant. They use this evidence to critique tendencies to conflate post-productivism (a form of production) with post-Fordism (a regime of accumulation/mode of social regulation) and argue instead that 'there has been a shift to post-Fordism, combining an increasingly dominant market productivism with subaltern elements of post-productivism' (p. 57). In their view, sustainability discourses must therefore be situated and understood within their particular political context if they are to have meaning and substance.

Part 2 then scales down to these more particular contexts and comprises five chapters that examine different aspects of sustainable agriculture. They are all based in the UK. This includes: a chapter by Rosie Cox, Moya Kneafsey, Laura Venn, Lewis Holloway, Elizabeth Dowler and Helena Tuomainen (chapter 3) on 'Alternative' Food Networks (AFNs) and their particular constructions of sustainability; a chapter by Nick Evans and Richard Yarwood (chapter 4) examining the way that farm livestock have been neglected in debates about sustainable agriculture; an essay by Frances Harris, Guy M. Robinson and Isabel Griffiths (chapter 5) on the reasons why some farmers are exiting organic farming; a text by Bruce D. Pearce (chapter 6) on the genetically-modified (GM) foods debate in the UK, especially in relation to environmental, economic and social sustainability; and a study by Christopher Short (chapter 7) on high-value nature conservation sites within lowland England. Each of the chapters makes an interesting contribution in terms of unpacking specific aspects of sustainable agriculture. The chapter by Evans and Yarwood, for example, makes a good point about the way that farm animals have been overlooked in these contexts, including in (UK-based) agri-environment schemes. Equally, the Harris, Robinson and Griffiths chapter plugs a useful knowledge gap in terms of why some farmers in the UK are opting to leave organics. Essentially, the decision, they argue, is a financial one. They define this group as 'pragmatic organic farmers', initially motivated largely by the price premiums of organic food and subsequently put off by diminishing organic premiums (especially for milk) and negative experiences with the certification and inspection process. What is missing in this part of the book though, and more generally, is a sense of how these different chapters and quite different topics link together to make some broader collective points about sustainable agriculture. What is the link between AFNs, farm animals, GM foods, organic farming and high-value nature conservation sites? Is there a link or do they represent very different perspectives on sustainable agriculture? Yes, probably. Some wider discussion about these thematic connections – in the introductory chapter – would have strengthened this part of the book and the rest of the volume more generally.

Three chapters in part 3 examine sustainable rural communities. The first of these, by Mary Cawley and Desmond A. Gillmor (chapter 8), applies the 'culture economy'

concept to the development of integrated tourism in the west of Ireland. Their research shows how entrepreneurs (i.e. those selling tourist goods/services) have a much more economic emphasis than resource controllers, who are more concerned about conservation and the environment. The emphasis on integrated tourism and different stakeholder perspectives is useful in relation to debates about sustaining rural communities. The last chapter in the book (chapter 10), by Robinson, also makes a useful link to debates about how different forms of active citizenship can help to promote sustainability at a community level, discussed in this case in relation to two environmental programmes implemented in Canada. Sandwiched between these two chapters is an empirical evaluation of the Cumbria Hill Sheep Initiative in the uplands of Cumbria in northern England by Lois Mansfield (chapter 9). The chapter contrasts farmer perspectives of the uplands, which tend to be productivist, with public attitudes of the uplands, which tend to be 'post-productivist'. This section on rural communities is heavily farmer focused, with the exception of Cawley and Gillmor's chapter.

All in all then, this is a useful collection of papers. The sustainable rural communities theme is less well developed relative to the emphasis on sustainable agriculture. Perhaps a sole emphasis on the latter would have been preferable, especially as this may also have enabled the edited collection to develop a stronger collective thesis in terms of what the individual papers tell us about sustainable development? Despite this criticism, the book has obvious merits and is likely to prove a useful resource to researchers interested in different aspects of sustainable rural systems. This is particularly likely now, as debates about sustainability become increasingly aligned to debates about food security, adaptation to climate and environmental change, vulnerability and resilience.

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Edward BEST, Thomas CHRISTIANSEN and Pierpaolo SETTEMBRI (eds), *The Institutions of the Enlarged European Union – Continuity and Change*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham (UK), Northampton (MA, USA) 2008, 262 pp.

Since the fall of the Soviet block in the 1990s, the enlargement of the European Union to encompass the countries of Central and Eastern Europe has been regarded as an extremely critical challenge for the future of European integration. The possibility that the EU would have expanded from 15 to 27 member states in the first decade of the

2000s posed fundamental questions, concerning both the objectives and processes of European integration. So fundamental were these questions that they started to shape the debate on all aspects and dimensions of the EU, from policy development to institutional and decision-making reforms, the conundrum being related to the maximum level of diversity the EU could accommodate before it ceases to be a durable community.

It is almost universally accepted that the European Union constitutes a unique political organisation, a complex system in which the function of control is distributed among multiple actors located at different territorial levels, which needs constantly to adapt in relation to its ever-changing environment. In more than doubling its membership from six to fifteen over less than forty-years, such 'adaptation processes' were required many times before. However, the challenges raised for the Union by the possibility of nearly doubling its membership again in a shorter time-scale were qualitatively different from those faced before.

In the past, the enlargement debate was more fragmented, and focused on the problems of particular states and policy areas. Though the EU has, from time to time, engaged in a more wide-ranging debate about the effects of diversity – for instance in the late 1970s and early 1980s, as the likelihood of enlargement into Mediterranean increased – pragmatic compromises were usually found, and the more fundamental implications of recasting the whole system were left unexplored. On the other hand, the collapse of the USSR, leading to the creation of new sovereign states and to the political and economic reorientation of Central and Eastern Europe, has transformed the environment in which further EU enlargement would have taken place, openly challenging those assumption of integration based on the shared objectives and historical experiences of a small core group of Western European states.

Building on the above assumption, the book *The Institutions of the Enlarged European Union* examines the effects that the enlargements which occurred in 2004 and 2007 have had on the institutional structure and functioning processes of the European Union. Building on the common expectations that the institutional structure of the EU was ill-equipped to deal with the much wider number of players and the more diverse range of interests implied by the acquisition of its new eastern dimension, the main aim of the editors is to investigate empirically and systematically the precise nature of those changes that have affected key institutions and institutional mechanisms of the EU as a consequence of the enlargement.

While earlier publications on similar issues agree with the overall conclusions that decision-making within the new EU could be safely described as 'business as usual', they all prudently warned that it was too early to suggest that European institutions would have been able to cope with existing rules in the long term. At the same time, official statements seemed quite contradicting as well, with the European Commission's *Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges* affirming both the preservation of the capacity of the European institutions to take decision as well as the need to check the effectiveness and the accountability of the EU decision making process in the future. Similarly, the European Parliament, in its *Report on the Institutional Aspects of the European Union's Capacity to Integrate the New Member States*, conditioned the proper functioning of the EU to further institutional reforms. Further contributing to the described debate, the volume manages, on the one hand, to extend the time frame of earlier academic contributions, in so doing allowing for more solid conclusions charting changes also beyond and across individual institutions. In second place, it complements

official ex-post assessment, producing meaningful findings to be used in the debate on the future EU institutional setting.

In order to achieve these results, the book offers individual evaluations of the evolution of the European Union's main institutional bodies in the context of the enlargement, as well as an assessment of trends in the rules and practices governing the interactions between EU public bodies, national contexts and private actors. The different chapters aim explicitly to avoid any normative assumptions about the nature of institutional change and/or ideal forms of institutionalisation in the EU setting, with the contributors that were asked to answer a number of key questions concerning the very nature of the changes produced by the enlargement in relation to the different EU institutions and organisational practices.

The different chapters are highly consistent, both in terms of obtained results as well as the adopted methodology, and explore the degree of formalisation of the changes, their intensity as well as their short- or long-term nature. Going more in details to the different institutional bodies, the enlargement did not seem to have locked the activity of the European Council, as decision-making continue to run smoothly, without any relevant change in terms of outputs' quantity and substance. Similarly, the Council of Ministries have assimilated the new members into decision-making dynamics avoiding any stand still. Also the role of the European Commission has not been fundamentally altered, with the enlargement having only contributed to reinforce the impact of pre-existing trends, including the increase of flexibility and the tendency towards a higher presidential leadership. As far as the European Parliament is concerned, only minor changes were noticed, with new members having aligned to existing the way of acting, hence following their political – rather than national – affiliation. The European Court of Justice, on its side, took the enlargement process as an opportunity to effectively address some of its existing problems in terms of working methods, while the European Central Bank, due to its peculiar nature, was almost unaffected by relevant changes. Finally, whereas the enlargement does not seem to have altered the role and the functioning of the European Economic and Social Committee, the changes that took place in the Committee of Regions were more relevant, mainly relating to a growing interest of the other institutions in its role as a legitimate channel of communication with the European citizens.

As regards the changes in the inter-institutional relations that characterise EU multi-level governance, the book provides three interesting insights. The analysis of the evolution of the EU's legislative process shows that the Union has proved to be an extremely flexible system, provided with an extraordinary adapting capacity. The post-enlargement EU delivers an amount of acts comparable to that of the EU 15, doing it faster and without engaging in greater political contestation. Nevertheless legislation is now shaped by an increased variety of interests, contributing to significantly longer acts. Similarly, the enlargement does not seem to have significantly affected the implementation of EU legislation within the different national contexts, as the increasing formalisation of procedures contributed to guarantee the level of delivery of the so-called 'comitology'. Whereas formal legislative process has not changed much, the increased diversity within the EU is reported as a relevant factor in the consolidation of non-legislative approaches and alternative forms of policy coordination, as the Open Method of Coordination.

Elaborating on the evidence of the different contributions, in their conclusive remarks the editors suggest that the enlargement affected the nature of both formal and informal arrangements in the EU only to a minor extent, mainly through higher formalisation of official meetings and procedures. At the same time, the increase in the use of informal channels and methods to prepare 'pre-cooked' decisions reinforces the already ongoing trend of more and more decisions taken within administrative spheres rather than in the political arenas of the EU, with the enlargement showing to be an important catalyst towards greater efficiency, but potentially undermining EU accountability.

In any case, although contributing to the described developments, it is not correct to individuate the enlargement as their main cause. The recent changes are more likely interpretable as pre-existing long-term trends of European governance, with the impact of the enlargement having been mainly to reinforce them. The book shows how it is impossible to identify factors affecting the evolution of EU policies which are specifically and uniquely caused by the enlargement. There have been broader changes in the international political and policy environment, as well as endogenous changes which may have been caught up in – and catalysed by – the specific elements introduced by the enlargement. Therefore, when looking across the board of institutional politics in the EU the most appropriate perspective to adopt in order to understand the impact of the enlargement it is to consider its intertwining with these secular trends, and the additional and new demands coming from a greater and more diverse membership.

Keeping this in mind, the challenge is not much that of the Union adapting to newcomers as of a new Union learning to manage its new self – including a wider territory, a higher number of people, a wider range and depth of underlying interests and diversities. In this connection, the more important shift in the long term may regard the balance of perceptions and interests affecting the way in which the EU responds to questions regarding the most appropriate way of responding to internal and external pressure, i.e. the impact of the enlargement may foster changes both in the nature of the challenge and in the evaluation of possible answers. By now, the EU seems to have managed to protect its administrative efficiency rather well, but it is also clear that its democratic accountability is – and will be – further challenged by the greater resort to informal arrangements that characterise post-enlargement decision-making.

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Martin SCHIEFELBUSCH and Hans-Liudger DIENEL (eds), *Public Transport and its Users. The Passenger's Perspective in Planning and Customer Care*, Ashgate, Aldershot 2009, 330 pp.

What does the user think? The crucial question for market research, marketing campaigns and consumer reports to promote and develop more successful products became in the last years also increasingly important for spatial planners. Keywords that describe this trend are citizen participation, governance or planning communication. The

involvement of the user perspective in planning processes leads to more democratic planning processes and better planning results as the resource 'knowledge of the citizen' is also used – at least that is what the theory says.

This book, edited by Martin Schiefelbusch and Hans-Luidger Dienel focuses on public transport and asks the question if involvement of the users can lead to the growth and improvement of public transport. Therefore the authors discuss a topic which appears in a similar way in other fields of urban planning: what tangible effects does public participation really have? The answer to this question is – from a dramaturgic point of view a little bit unfavorable – already given on page one: in almost all cases that passenger rights have been enforced, the number of passengers has increased, and the image as well as the economic situation of the public transport companies has improved. Why and how this can happen is the subject of this well-written book. The authors pursue an interdisciplinary approach and tackle the issues of public transport and user participation from legal, planning related, political and socio-organisational point of view.

The book deals with passenger *rights* and passenger *participation*. Passenger *rights* describe the legal position of the passengers and the possibilities they have like consumer protection, service guarantees or complaint management. The authors present examples of these passenger rights mainly from Germany and come to the conclusion that the implementation of passenger rights is of high importance for the overall service quality of transport companies.

The issue of passenger participation is closely related to the discussions in other fields of urban and regional planning and is worth a deeper look.

The authors differentiate between direct formal and informal citizen participation. Case studies which represent 'positive exceptions rather than contemporary practice' describe successful formal and informal participation processes in public transport. The Swiss Timetable participation, the Customer Dialogue Process in Berlin and informal methods like the planning cell method and a Future Search Conference in Hannover and Düsseldorf are examples of public participation in public transport.

Participation in public transport differs from that in other areas of planning – for example transport companies often have quasi monopoly. Because of their unrivalled service they not necessarily have to improve their quality and involve the customers. Even though these characteristics exist the participation methods are similar to other planning processes and led in the illustrated examples to positive results.

In addition to the formal/informal citizen participation the passengers' perspective in public transport is also represented through organised interest organisations. These passenger associations represent the users not only against the transport companies but these independent groups also do political lobbying and public relations and take part in legislative procedures. It seems that in comparison to the direct user involvement this organised interest groups have a far more substantial influence in all fields of public transport including the legislative framework.

The book provides not only examples from Germany but also gives an overview of the customer representation and legal passenger rights in different European countries. As it could have been expected, passenger rights in countries like the UK, Italy, Austria or Germany show significant differences. The title of this chapters conclusion *Different Solutions for Similar Problems* summarises the findings of the European comparison and

shows the heterogeneity of the approaches. But in all analysed countries passenger organisations as independent groups address the rights of bus and train customers. What kind of influence these independent groups have in the different European countries and what relationship to the direct formal/informal user participation exists, lays beyond the scope of the book.

The book concludes with an optimistic outlook and predicts an increasing importance of passenger rights and passenger participation. The European Commission is seen as a motor for passenger rights and in the opinion of the authors will strengthen also the importance of passenger participation. Also the trend towards a withdrawal of the state from all types of infrastructure supply will lead towards an increasing significance of the user, in some cases not only as a consumer but also as provider of public transport, as the example of the citizen bus in North Rhine Westphalia shows.

Schiefelbusch and Dienel demonstrate with this book, that participation in public transport is important and can lead to improvement of its quality. Especially impressive is the interdisciplinary approach of the book and the merging of aspects from law, sociology or planning studies to a readable book for practitioners and scholars interested in public transport and transportation.

My concluding remarks emphasise the importance of analysing the users of public transport in a more detailed way. With the growing plurality of society also the passengers of public transport are becoming more heterogeneous and also their demands on public transport: old people could have different needs than younger people, families other than singles and so on. Therefore it can be argued that the user with certain needs concerning public transport does not exist but instead a multitude of different user groups with a plurality of different needs. The big challenge – and this is true not only for public transport but for all participation processes – is therefore to find ways and methods that secure the involvement of *all* user groups and not only some users. In this context, it could be also a fruitful research task to analyse the organised interest groups, which seem so important for customer representation in public transport regarding their representation of minority/special group interests.

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Barry GOODCHILD, *Homes, Cities and Neighbourhoods: Planning and the Residential Landscapes of Modern Britain,* Ashgate, Aldershot 2008, 356 pp.

Rapid urbanisation puts great pressure on housing provision. When towns grow relatively slowly piecemeal expansion of the housing stock by small developers may be sufficient to meet demand. Such organisations will undoubtedly be insufficient in periods of fast growth, however, especially catering for the less well-off in society, who may dominate the expanding population. In such circumstances, occupancy of the existing stock will increase, with the higher densities almost inevitably associated with

poor living conditions and ill-health; alternatively, residents may build their own homes, as in the squatter settlements that characterise many Third World cities.

The first of these situations characterised British cities in the industrial revolution's early decades, but by the twentieth century such conditions were unacceptable in an advanced society. Means of providing mass housing of reasonable quality were needed (not least after both of the two world wars), which involved a combination of state and market mechanisms concerned with not only the production of homes but also planning of the environments in which they are sited. Goodchild's book focuses on those combinations in Britain, from the beginning of the twentieth century on. He identifies three periods – early modern (pre-1914); modern (1920–c.1980); and post-modern (c.1980–); the division between the first two is marked especially by the introduction of central planning.

Of the book's two main sections, the first deals with the provision of mass housing in the modern period and the development of major land use and transport plans (though it is not clear what the two types of planning in the title of chapter 4 were, and the chapter ends with a brief comparison with the French situation rather than a conclusion). There is plenty of material, but a lack of detail that would help the reader 'ground' it. There are no illustrations, for example, for a subject that cries out for both maps (of street layouts within the pre-urban cadastre, of building arrangements within those layouts, and of building types) and photographs (including aerial views). There are nine, poorly-reproduced, stand-alone plates at the start of the book and we are told that 'Image and narrative are best considered as complementary' (p. 24) – but the author does not live up to his own precepts. A third chapter is about the search for alternatives towards the period's end – being more a discussion of what was not than what was.

The book's other main section comprises four chapters on the post-modern period, which read as a series of essays (even essays within essays) rather than components of a coherent argument. Thus the chapter on *(Re)tracing the Context* contains much on various theories of planning and of governance regarding how the housing stock was to be replenished and expanded. The following chapter on *Quantity and Quality in Housing Development* starts with a discussion of housing prices linked to the growing (relative) scarcity of land – in which there is no solid empirical material to sustain the general argument made; it moves on to the responses of the large house-building firms to this situation and the changing role of the (increasingly fragmented yet still rigid) planning system, before turning to a discussion of quality in housing provision, catering for special needs, and zero-carbon homes. A chapter on *Urban Design and the Environment* similarly ranges widely – over sustainable cities, urban form and densities, and mixed versus segregated residential developments. The section's final chapter on *Neighbourhoods of Choice and Constraint* has a similar broad remit, covering the relationships between neighbourhoods and communities (with no discussion of the possible links between community and housing design), on policies targeting resources at certain areas, housing and population types, regeneration, gentrification and studentification, deprived suburban social housing estates, and landscapes of fear. The brief concluding chapter on *Looking Back and Looking Forward* deals with trends in housing and neighbourhood quality under the first part of that title, and on planning and housing in future periods of possible economic decline.

The book covers a large field, though patchily: there is a massive literature on which any author has to draw selectively, but much (especially detailed empirical research) appears to have been omitted. Each chapter introduces important material and may be a way in to a wider literature – though for whom, as an intended market is indicated by neither author nor publisher, other than all those interested in the interaction between planning, housing markets and the urban environment in Britain? – but the whole is not more than a sum of the parts (and some of the parts no more than the sum of their own parts).

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Lauren C. HEBERLE and Susan M. OPP (eds), *Local Sustainable Urban Development in a Globalized World,* Ashgate, Aldershot 2008, 293 pp.

The title of this book could be turned into the question the book endeavours to address: is local sustainable urban development possible in a globalised world? The attempted answer from the editors is a resounding yes, but to accept this readers need to exercise a fair amount of trust in the two initial cornerstone premises of the book posed by Lauren Herbele: 'local sustainable planning alternatives may be pursued in spite of the constraints generated by the process of globalization' and 'the array of public policy options, [...] could reduce the effect of globalized forces in shaping the local alternatives'(p. 2). These premises addressed by Lauren C. Herbele as 'facets of local sustainability planning' are debunked in several of the book's contributions, most forcefully in the three contributions representing non-industrialised and non-Western countries. Lidia Mierzejewska (Poland), describes the difficult task of maintaining a local commitment that can ensure healthy ecological conditions after the country's switch to a global market economy; Kasama Polakit and Davisi Boontharm (Thailand) demonstrate how oblivious to the plight of the poor (survival of traditional traders, street and canal vendors) can become a process of urban development to be flexible to global market forces; and, Mamoru Taniguchi, Hirofumi Abe and Yoshiro Ono try to coin a definition for a self-reliant region seeking to articulate a parameter that can show 'the antinomy or paradox of the relationship between environment and growth' (p. 154). In this same vein Andrea Collins and Andrew Flynn speculate whether developers of an international sport village in Cardiff, wedded as they are to market forces and developmental positions, can be at all persuaded or influenced, and so lament and acknowledge the risk that tools for sustainable decision making, like the Ecological Footprint, may end up being used in the context of rationalisations for unsustainable decisions made by powerful actors. Thus, while it is possible to agree with Herbele about the real opportunities for achieving success in local sustainable policy implementation, asserting that this success can reduce the effects of external global pressure would require empirical proving. And as hypothesis it is challenged in several accounts throughout the book. On the other side of the coin,

the expectation that successful local strategies could add up to global sustainable solutions needs also proving, and is mostly discussed as a challenge by some of the contributors. Katrina M. Harmon questions whether the task of measuring fragmented efforts and specific indicators at the city level can be related to sustainability measured at the regional or global level, appropriately encapsulating this dilemma as the 'challenges of connecting local relevance to global significance' (p. 107). Also, Robin Ganser warns us that a too narrowly defined target or indicator may not adequately serve to monitor overarching sustainability objectives. Harmon brings us back from confronting the intractability of the global dilemma by reminding us that 'cities are crucial testing grounds for the pursuit of sustainable development' (p. 108).

Global forces and global significance aside, and accepting the urban context as testing ground for sustainability the book provides a number of excellent contributions ranging from single disciplinary approaches in economic, sociology, geography, and political science to interdisciplinary contributions in urban, transport and regional planning. All bringing forward the complexity of the task at hand and the kind of innovative thinking that emerges when researchers, planners and decision-makers are truly engaged in attempting to make possible local sustainable urban development. A good number of the book's contributions, discussed shortly in this review, make for recommended reading to academics, policy-makers, practitioners working on urban, regional and transport planning and related interdisciplinary subjects, in three key areas of urban sustainability debate into which this book has been assembled: the significance of frameworks (legal, planning, institutional) to urban sustainable policy implementation; evaluation of measurement tools for assessing progress towards sustainability and, the role of education and participation.

Having a clear legal, planning and institutional framework for sustainability implementation has been a priority for many years in the Netherlands and the articles by Jan Jaap de Boer and Jaap van Staalduine demonstrate the latest conceptual evolution taking place there re-focusing land use planning objectives from the 'standard-oriented' approach – that furnished an equally exhaustive list of environmental quality requirements and legislation to all urban areas – to a 'quality-oriented approach' that allows each urban area to set priorities according to their particular specificities. Raquel Pinderhughes enthuses us with a long 'to-do' and a 'must-do' list for sustainability, making calls to lending institutions, wealthy nations, governments etc., that may leave the reader wondering about who will part take in this 'to-do' list and who will enforce the 'must-do' list. Gerhard Steineback, Robin Ganser and Simone Allin rightly points at the discrepancies between the German Federal Planning Act and the two-tier local urban planning system, signalling as one of the chief problems delays created by the required public and multi-agent consultation. Their suggestion that e-government can be a fair substitute for active democratic participation does not seem to contemplate the possibility that e-government may in turn create new exclusionary lines between the haves and the have-nots access to electronic means or knowledge, or between those who can/ cannot properly articulate written demands. Ending the first section Hai-Feng Hu and Tzu-Chia Chang seek to make a case for how to reach efficiency in voluntary agreements regarding land use distribution. Efficiency and utility are concepts difficult to match with the essence of the task at hand in sustainable urban planning which, as Ruth

Yabes and David Pijawka later in the third part of the book emphasise, needs to consider equity at its core, as in their example concerning implementation of programmes centred on sustainability to redevelop inner city areas. Also Criseida Navarro-Diaz emphasises the importance of fairness in planning and urban policy and the need for attentive consideration to social (cost of living, affordable housing projects, migration patterns) and, environmental justice to reduce the effects that economic policies, aimed at creating flexible conditions (to global forces) for the development of a high-tech region in a city-region can have.

Harmon advances the debate on the important role of tools for measuring progress towards sustainability arguing how indicators alone do not promote action; and why fragmented efforts i.e.: when each city defines its own set of indicators — make it difficult to learn how and whether sustainability is being attained at a regional or global level. She re-considers the question: Is it fair to say that if sustainability has made it into the public agenda that is progress? Marta Moreno and Juan Pedro Ruiz demonstrate one of the key factors for the meager results transport sustainability can claim across the globe: people do not change attitudes when provided with more information because they do not trust others will change and, for the most part, they will let their own egoistic motives prevail when making everyday travel decisions. The authors conclude that pricing policies and deliberation may accomplish more in the end to change behaviour. This positivist approach to human capabilities for learning and changing is also present in the final section regarding environmental education. Georgina Echániz Pellicer considers that the education needed for a transition towards sustainability is one that should encourage planners, politicians and decisions-makers to gain autonomous knowledge which will put them in better position to prevent environmental problems and propose solutions. Karen Cairns discusses the relationship between environmental education, participatory democracy and the precautionary principle claiming that an extensive use of these three concepts in the public arena will facilitate a proactive rather than reactive approach towards environmental issues in planning and decision-making. While calls for education towards environmental local-global citizenship are important they tend to leave open the question of agency (who participates and how) and power (who decides) which are issues difficult to address more directly in planning. This makes more valuable the contribution by Singh Intrachooto, Luke Yeung and Yaourai Suthi-ranart demonstrating how and why it is necessary to educate architects to address urban problems in building design and why and how urban sustainability needs to be practiced from the universities to the cities.

Susan M. Opp had the difficult task of bringing the book to an end including drawing conclusions from the book's limited attention to the global dimension. Despite the small number of contributions from Southern/Eastern countries, the ones presented give a tasteful spoon of other narratives, other stories that are begging to be told, researched, published and acknowledged. It is striking then to read how Opp finds mostly general misunderstanding and no contradiction between the forces of economic growth and sustainable development and disingenuously attributes lack of advancement towards sustainable development, in developing country cities, to these countries position on the Maslow's Hierarchy of Human Needs. Unsurprisingly, she fails to take notice of the inadequacy of Maslow's theory to explain why the more unsustainable living conditions

in the world are extruded by the one-third of the world's population that long ago achieved satisfaction of their basic human needs and, how they continue to show no interest in accepting responsibility for the disastrous environmental consequences of their unstoppable and unquenchable consuming appetite. I like the quote she chose to end the book from Mahatma Gandhi: 'one has to do the right thing' (p. 283). If we are to start doing the right thing a first step will be to open our own research, editorial and urban planners eyes to understand and include the different realities in the South and the East accepting that what we have to learn from there is an important part of the learning for sustainability that we all need to embrace.

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Máiréad Nic CRAITH, Ullrich KOCKEL and Reinhard JOHLER (eds), *Everyday Culture in Europe; Approaches and Methodologies*, Ashgate, Aldershot 2008, 190 pp.

This edited book argues for European ethnology to be seen as a unique discipline, rather than subsumed by another discipline such as history. It illustrates European ethnology's historical polemics and entangled realities, especially in terms of the reproduction of national ideologies through ethnological endeavours. Due to the multi-vocality of the book as a whole, each chapter requires some attention.

From National to Transnational: A Discipline en route to Europe (chapter 1) by Máiréad Nic Craith is arranged into an articulate history of ethnology as a term, methodology and discipline. This introduction will leave the reader with a good starting point on various uses and variations of ethnology. In discussing European Ethnology as an emerging disciplinary field, the author states, 'This emancipatory movement can be a cry for freedom from oppression or an attempt "to soar to new heights of understanding, being and becoming"' (p. 1). Immediately, this statement rings of romanticism and has quite a strong emotional pull.

From CIAP to SIEF: Visions for a Discipline or Power Struggle (chapter 2) by Bjarne Rogan is an adventure unto itself. The chapter is fraught with suspense, betrayal, and an academic organisational *coup-d'état*. The amount of archival hunting and research is immensely impressive and reconstructs well the trials and tribulations of *la Commission Internationale des Arts et Traditions Populaires*. While there is a detailed discussion of key figures, the impact of this organisation on the discipline of ethnology is not made clear, especially since the author talks about other ethnological organisations in existence, such as the *International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, the *Comision Internacional Permanente de Folklore*, and *Ständige Internationale Atlaskommission*.

Small National Ethnologies and Supranational Empires: The Case of the Hapsburg Monarchy (chapter 3) by Bojan Baskar begins with, 'The expression "small national ethnologies" suggests a central and east-European provenance' (p. 65), but fails to

elucidate on what this claim is based. For someone reading the book to learn about ethnology, this important assumption needs clarification. The insights are striking in discussing how the national aids in the reproduction of the supranational. While the approach is critical, the author assumes the reader shares the same mental boundaries of west, central, and eastern Europe, which are shifting and at times blurry.

How Large are the Issues for Small Ethnographies? Bulgarian Ethnology Facing the New Europe (chapter 4) by Galia Valtchinova illustrates nicely how ethnology has supported the national ideology and how the cultural is part of the national through 'the making and remaking of national borders' (p. 95). The author emphasises this 'home' or 'native' perspective as an important positioning for an ethnographer and is a key theme throughout the book. The real gem of this chapter is how the author cautions that 'there is a real risk for the "native" ethnologist ... to remain blind for his own role as producer of authoritative discourse' (p. 90).

Challenges to the Discipline: Lithuanian Ethnology between Scholarship and Identity Politics (chapter 5) by Vytis Ciubrinskas states, 'Nationalism went along with Romanticism and the discipline of ethnology was born as a child of the Romantic nation-state building ideology of Central/East Europe' (p. 103). Ethnology then sounds very much like the counterpart to geopolitics; where geopolitics looks through a nationalist lens at understanding and defining the global environment, ethnology then can (or at least has in the past) look through a nationalist lens inward to understand and define itself. Nationalism as a tool of identity construction is a key foundation for the nation-state, but what seems to be missing from this book overall is how this nationalism plays out on a larger scale.

When is Small Beautiful? The Transformations of Swedish Ethnology (chapter 6) by Orvar Löfgren contributes to the discussion of ethnology and nation building. Also, he draws attention to the importance of studying heterogeneity in communities. Both of these points come across as being intrinsic to the discipline. In discussing the historical field of ethnology, Löfgren's description could easily be that of regional geography or archaeology. Statements like, 'measuring dilapidated barns before they collapsed, studying villages before the last open fields were enclosed, collecting forgotten artefacts hiding in attics in outhouses' (p. 122) reveals the myriad overlaps in academic disciplines.

The Hybridity of Minorities: A Case-Study of Sorb Cultural Research (chapter 7) by Elka Tschernokoshewa talks about bilingualism, multiculturalism, hybridity and 'multiple perspectivity' for the Sorb in particular and minorities in general. These are pressing and important topics in the current global environment for a researcher to consider. 'What is significant therefore is the explicit and open recognition of difference, and, at the same time, the attempt to bundle together otherness and sameness conceptually' (p. 144). Tschernokoshewa's discussion includes insights into relational shifts and border permeability. This type of work is desperately needed in academia to illuminate 'social processes and everyday practices' (p. 139).

Turning the World Upside Down: Towards a European Ethnology in (and of) England (chapter 8) by Ullrich Kockel touches on some of the central debates discussed in chapter 2, specifically, evolutionism versus diffusionism. Critically examining England's lag in employing ethnological approaches, Kockel illustrates how the term folklore and

ethnology in England come across as interchangeable. This is a point of contention discussed throughout sections of the book. In discussing perspectives on ethnology, the author gives a nice breakdown of conceptual phases.

Ethnology in the North of Ireland (chapter 9) by Anthony D. Buckley comes across as a grand literature review. He narrows this massive literature down to main approaches that are clear and important trends for the ethnology of this area. Buckley quickly gives a working definition of ethnology, which he notes can fit a description for numerous fields, as 'the study of the everyday lives, actions and activities of the broad mass of the population' (p. 165). I thought this literature review was astutely laid out.

As a side note, the referencing system is an important part of any book, chapter, or article, yet here it is inconsistent leaving half the items I wish to follow impossible, therefore diminishing one of the central features of a book of this type. While the book stresses the turns in ethnology to a heterogeneous perspective and the importance of the 'home' ethnologist, I caution that there could be a tendency to forget the greater scope. Each nation-state is not an island unto itself and each case study needs to be placed in a larger context. There is a running argument in the book that at one point describes European ethnology as 'an interdisciplinary or, indeed, post-disciplinary discipline' (p. 160). Throughout the book, the various authors discuss how ethnology is or has been equated with anthropology, philology, etymology, cultural studies, history, literature, languages, geography, sociology, folklife, and folklore. The reader is left with no cookie-cutter explanation of ethnology, but given a glimpse into the entangled reality of this endeavour.

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Talja BLOKLAND and Mike SAVAGE (eds), *Networked Urbanism: Social Capital in the City*, Ashgate, Aldershot 2008, 241 pp.

Although, as Talja Blokland and Mike Savage suggest in their preface to *Networked Urbanism*, 'the concept of social capital has now been so much discussed that one may wonder whether there is anything to add' (p. xiii), it is likely that many readers will agree with the editors when they reject this view. Indeed, ten years after Markusen (1999) accused social capital of being a fuzzy concept lacking theoretical rigour, subsequent literature suggests that we are still seeking to explain what social capital is, how we can measure it, what it does and how it works (e.g. Beugelsdijk and van Schaik, 2005; Leonard, 2004; Mohan and Mohan, 2002). *Networked Urbanism* concentrates less on the first two issues, which have been the focus of much of the literature. Instead, this collection of articles considers the arguably less often discussed but perhaps more important issues of what social capital can do and how. In their introductory chapter, Blokland and Savage trace the evolution of the concept and argue that we need to 'relate social capital to matrices of power and inequality' (p. 4) and 'to explore more fully, how

the actual ties and relationships which bring about social capital about are spatially and socially organised' (p. 4). This approach is a welcome antidote to some previous work which sees social capital as a panacea for all social ills, regardless of the effects of class, gender, race and space, such as that by Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000), which has promoted overly simplistic policy initiatives. Rather, their approach builds on work, such as Leonard (2004), which has sought to unpick the immensely complicated social processes from which social capital arises, in particular exploring 'the specific kinds of inter-personal ties which facilitate mobilisation' (p. 4) and employing the concept of networked urbanism. This concept 'emphasises the need to understand contemporary "sociation" not in terms of bounded, small-scale communities with an intense public realm, but in terms of their decentralised, diffuse, and sprawling character' (pp. 4–5).

The book consists of three parts, *Social Capital and the End of Urbanism*, *Networks and Urban Social Capital* and *Urban Associations and Social Capital*. In the first part, Talja Blokland and Douglas Rae's chapter *The End to Urbanism: How the Changing Spatial Structure of Cities Affected its Social Capital Potentials* explores the changing structure of urban society, resulting, they argue, not in a loss of social capital, but a change in its form. It makes for slightly frustrating reading if the reader is not familiar with previously published work on the two studies on which the authors draw extensively. However, it provides an elucidation of the concept of networked urbanism, which is very useful for placing the subsequent two chapters in a theoretical context. These are Rowland G. Atkinson's article *The Flowing Enclave and the Misanthropy of Networked Affluence* and Bruce D. Haynes and Jesus Hernandez's article *Place, Space and Race: Monopolistic Group Closure and the Dark Side of Social Capital*. With much literature focussing on the role of social capital in relieving poverty and deprivation, it is refreshing to read about the workings of social capital in more affluent areas of society. In particular, these chapters make important points about the exclusionary nature of social capital, not in 'bonding social capital – bad', 'bridging social – good' type statements, but by pointing out that the use of social capital by privileged groups in order to maintain their privilege may have the flip side of excluding less privileged groups and keeping them in their less privileged positions.

In the second part, the focus of the papers shifts towards exploring networks. Alexandra M. Curley's chapter *A New Place, a New Network? Social Capital Effects of Residential Relocation for Poor Women*, is a particularly interesting read for those interested in the policy implications of social capital theory. Her study of a relocation programme aimed at deconcentrating poverty shows that the close ties can be both positive and negative for those living in deprived communities, and that while deconcentrating poverty can mean that women are freed from negative draining ties, they may also be freed from the supportive ties which enable them to survive their poverty (a trusted neighbour who can provide free child care, for example). Similarly, weak ties with more affluent communities are not necessarily positive if you do not possess the human and economic capital to make use of them and are not necessarily increased by relocation. For instance, weak ties are little use for finding better employment if you do not possess the qualifications or access to affordable child care which would enable you to apply for any positions of which you hear through these ties. Such points may seem obvious to those with knowledge of deprived communities, but the implementation of

relocation policy suggests that they are not obvious to the designers of such programmes. Talja Blokland and Floris Noordhoff's chapter *The Weakness of Weak Ties: Social Capital to Get Ahead Among the Urban Poor in Rotterdam and Amsterdam* further explores the social complexities of weak ties, in particular revealing how leveraging them can threaten independence and respect, especially for women, rather than empowering their possessors as is sometimes theorised. Meanwhile, Alberta Andreotti and Patrick Le Galès' chapter, *Middle Class Neighbourhood Attachment in Paris and Milan: Partial Exit and Profound Rootedness,* presents empirical evidence that a complete end to urbanism is not due anytime soon, at least in Europe. The middle classes remain rooted in urban communities, even if they have disengaged with public activities in the city to a large extent.

The voluntary association, an institution which has been central to the social capital literature since Putman (1993, 1995, 2000) singled it out for attention, comes under further consideration in the third part. Fiona Devine, Peter Halfpenny, Nadia Joanne Britton and Rosemary Mellor's chapter *Conserving the Past of a Quiet Suburb: Urban Politics, Association Networks and Speaking for 'the Community'* is perhaps the most disappointing article in this section of the book. Their descriptive account of the conflict between those wishing to develop and those wishing to conserve middle class Manchester suburbs, promises an enlightening critical analysis that never arrives. On the other hand, Blokland's chapter, *Gardening with a Little Help from Your (Middle Class) Friends: Bridging Social Capital Across Race and Class in a Mixed Neighbourhood,* really does provide insights into workings of social capital, and in particular why weak ties between heterogeneous groups do not necessarily provide the bridging type social capital thought to be so beneficial to communities. In her study of New Haven, Connecticut, Blokland shows how middle class ideology inspires some middle class bridge builders, while power relations between groups coupled with differing understandings of community and reciprocity mean that bridge building attempts can end up reinforcing discourses concerning class, race and poverty, with real opportunities for assisting individuals missed. Mike Savage, Gindo Tampubolon and Alan Warde employ social network analysis in their chapter, *Political Participation, Social Networks and the City*, to examine engagement within Manchester voluntary associations. Comparing a conservation society with a local branch of the Labour Party, they find that the network structures and interactions, institutional environment and the spatial distribution of such groups are important factors in the generation and maintenance of activism and social capital, as well as providing evidence that the difference between bridging and bonding social capital is not necessarily clear or helpful. Finally, Tim Butler looks at social capital in relation to the gentrification of various areas in inner London in his chapter *Social Capital and the Formation of London's Middle Classes*. He suggests that gentrification has resulted in the loss of Putman type social capital in the areas studied, with little engagement in the civic public realm compared to the emphasis placed on socially exclusive friendships ties amongst the gentrifying middle class incomers. However, to a reader not familiar with these areas, it is not clear what sort of social capital existed in these areas before gentrification, since this is not described. It seems to be assumed that such social capital existed simply because these areas were previously predominantly working class. This may be the case, but some evidence would have strengthened the

argument. However, Butler does produce a convincing account of the formation of middle class groups living separate and parallel lives to their non-middle class neighbours in gentrified areas under study and the construction of middle class 'mini habitases' in these groups.

In conclusion, then, *Networked Urbanism* provides a number of useful insights into the social and spatial processes behind the formation and working of social capital in relation to the contemporary city, revealing complexities that suggest there is plenty of room for the social capital debate to run for a good while yet. One minor complaint is the frequent typographic errors – nearly one on every page in some chapters – which sometimes impair understanding.

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Bernard GAZIER and Frédérick BRUGGEMAN (eds), *Restructuring Work and Employment in Europe – Managing Change in an Era of Globalisation*, Edward Elgar Publishing Cheltentham (UK), Northampton (MA, USA) 2008, 424 pp.

The book has been published using the knowledge base of Monitoring Innovating Restructuring in Europe (MIRE) project and benefited from exchanges with other projects in this specific field. More than 150 researchers, human development managers, trade unionists, outplacement and redeployment of re-employment experts, and members of territorial bodies participated in the project. As the authors wrote in the *Introduction*:

More than ever at the beginning of the new century, restructuring processes, the fears they inspire and changes they trigger, are the top of the European agenda. […] One often implicit but persistent choice made by policymakers in Europe, has been and still is, not to abandon depressed areas when firms leave them, but to re-develop territories and help regions doing it. The choice is congruent with the strong propensity of many European workers to stay in their region of origin even if companies and job opportunities leave (p. 1.)

The reasons for dissatisfaction with the recent situation are:

1. Less favoured, less skilled and less adaptable are very often caught in a real trap, and may endure severe loss of income, prolonged unemployment and even poverty and exclusion. Not only in mature welfare states, but in New Member States (NMS) of the EU a new generation of rights has emerged, connected to career management, building competencies, coaching and reconciling work and family life. We could see a collective policy failure: we are still not able to reconcile necessary economic change with basic security for the common people.

2. Restructuring remains associated with fear and feeling of injustice and the EU is less seen as a protector against its consequence. The globalisation process and the evolution of institutions of the EU seem to converge in the connection of markets and the ascendancy of mobile capital over immobile labour. In this specific context the European Union seems to be a threat to employment security rather than solution. In the opinion of the reviewer coming from a NMS (Hungary) the protective role of the EU seems rather weak and indirect, while the globalisation process forced the workers into direct and unregulated competition.

3. Restructuring is becoming a permanent process (Tronti, Carabelli, 1999) and even profitable firms consider cutting jobs, reorganising production, externalising and offshoring activities. As a consequence it is no longer possible to deal with this problem on an ad hoc basis, and enduring responses are needed in the face of a permanent challenge.

There are 18 authors in the group, representing France, Sweden, Germany, Great Britain and Belgium, five 'old member states' of the EU. The majority of them are academics and researchers, with many of them having connections with market actors via national and international projects. They are specialists in a wide range of knowledge areas including management, business administration, economics, psychology, law, health, sociology, history and gender studies, organisational theory, and issues relating to labour and trade unions.

Some of the issues addressed in case studies include the corporatist regime of Belgium, the law driven restructuring system of France, the negotiated restructuring process in Germany, the 'Swedish model' and the market driven restructuring phases in the United Kingdom. These are all are highly developed countries with a long history of the capitalist regime with well defined institutional backgrounds. However, it must be noted that the specific local/national roots of economic and administrative development resulted in quite different ways of, for example, negotiation, consultancy, or career assistance, but from the East-European point of view the major structures seems highly similar. One of the most important conclusions of the book is that we need to make use of the experience of those countries in developing comprehensive policies regarding creation of the missing institutions, NGOs, social workers networks and the routine paths of problem solving rather than deal with these problems on an *ad hoc* basis.

After a quite illuminating *Introduction* Frédéric Bruggeman and Bernard Gazier (the editors of the book) discuss the major elements of *Comparing Processes across Europe.* The title suggests a continent-wide review of the problems, however, the focus is on the well developed, highly industrialised part of the EU.

In the next two chapters – *The Restructuring Process: Towards a Comprehensive Analysis* and *Innovation: From Employment Protection to Anticipation* – Gazier and Dominique Bernard theorise on the process of restructuring and concentrate on a new model of solving the problem. After the five case studies the authors carried out a highly detailed investigation in the areas of company experiences (chapter 9.), the traditional and new roles of trade unions (chapter 10), and job transactions from the specific perspective of workers' representatives and agencies (chapter 11). Spatial issues are dealt with in chapter 12, discussing the role of regions (territorial units) and regional governments in the consultancy and negotiation phases of restructuring through local administrative capacities and knowledge, local development resources and activity in global investment markets. The next two chapters (13 and 14) concentrate on two new phenomena: networking employment groups, as bottom-up organised actors in direct and indirect personal help in the restructuring period, and health impacts before, under and after the restructuring, including physical and mental health. The unique way of thinking in MIRE project, as we can see in the book, is how to integrate new elements into the 'traditional' methods of problem solving and forming new focal points for the improved model. The question Claude Emanuel Triomphe asked in chapter 15 – *Does Europe Have Restructuring Policies?* – implies an answer – probably there are some useful elements, but we need a more proper political background for treatment of this specific problem. It is blindness on the part of the NMS representatives to look at restructuring as a process in which our countries 'get' industrial plants etc. from the 'West', thus creating new job opportunities, resulting in improvement of incomes and so on. There are at least two major aspects of the process from the NMS point of view: the emerging competition of the Pacific Economic Zone has resulted in job losses not just in 'traditional' industrial sectors, but also in high-tech industries and services, and the rate of unemployment in the Western part of the EU is increasing or stagnating, so the dynamic converging economies of NMSs will lose their major export markets and the possibility of a high rate of development.

The major question of the *Conclusion* is:

> What would a coherent system of managing restructuring processes, that really focuses on the protection of the interest of the various actors involved, look like? To answer this question, one needs to heed innovations and understand them not as 'good (or bad) practices' that can be identified by case studies, but rather as a 'subject for decision' (p. 368).

The editors suggest that in the different countries the local/national regulations differ but the principles, stages and consequences of restructuring processes are similar. The mechanic use of models and methods is dangerous, the desirable result of intervention seems uncertain, far from the optimal way of problem solving.

> In other words, countries often use the same basic tools to respond to the same type of problems with different legal and institutional resources and constrains (p. 368).

In the concluding chapter the editors defined the major steps of capacity building, the formation of multi-actor transition and risk management, and the specific roles of actors in the restructuring process. The authors also gave some general recommendations for policy-makers and potential actors at different territorial levels. They defined five cornerstones and blind spots as key elements of the successful management of the restructuring process.

The reviewed book is based on a specific project concerning economic restructuring with a particular focus on unemployment and re-employment. In comparison with some other recent works (Castree *et. al.*, 2004; Benner, 2002; Fagan and Webber, 1999; Herod, 2000; Jessop, 2001 and others) the connection with mainstream economic geography is relatively weak in this book, however, the authors tried to find the common points with some fundamental works. The outlook from the 'Western' point of view at least to the horizon of NMSs is still missing, The most important conclusions on transition and (industrial) restructuring (see e.g. Bradshaw, 1996; Pickles and Smith, 1998, Bradshaw and Stenning, 2004) could help them to generalise their impressive results.

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Stewart BARR, *Environment and Society: Sustainability, Policy and the Citizen*, Studies in Environmental Policy and Practice, Ashgate Aldershot (UK), Burlington (VT, USA) 2008, 280 pp.

Stewart Barr's book *Environment and Society: Sustainability, Policy and the Citizen* attempts to offer a practical response for policy-makers and society at large. The UK government, DEFRA-funded research aims to build a case for making sustainable lifestyles significantly more mainstream through methodologies and approaches that are linked to 'social marketing' and 'social-psychological research'. In so far as the average citizen in the UK has *not* responded positively to previous initiatives aiming to move towards sustainability, accounts for this research headed by Barr.

The contention and critique, aimed at human geographers, is that with the 'Scientisation' and politicisation of environmental issues and their solutions, the issue has become characterised as elitist and top-down, and consequently has failed to effectively persuade sufficient behavioural changes in the majority, to the degree that was 'rationally' expected. Furthermore, the assumption that individuals are 'rational agents' and therefore knowledge of (and by inference responsibility *for*) environmental problems will lead to concern and then the desired action by the individual (the policy-makers favoured 'linear' model of behaviour change) is challenged in this book. Barr argues for a more 'deliberative' perspective on behaviour change, which involves both the nature and manner in which information on the environment and sustainable development is presented and the pragmatic recognition of 'the spatial and temporal scales at which individuals are expected to take action' in response to such information. In short, the information is less prescriptive but more about democratically engaging, with the aim of not merely identifying solutions to problems but also 'reframing' the nature of the challenges to be met. The argument is that it is by further 'democratisation' of the sustainability issue at local levels, and by using the marketing skills already established in today's consumer society, and particularly the segmentation of society into groups warranting particular attention with specific messages aimed at determining a desired response, that the government's policy objectives and long-term sustainability strategy will arguably be more effectively met.

The book provides very useful introductory chapters on the dilemmas inherent in 'green issues' and some background to the increasing importance of the environment in terms of awareness, relevance, debate and policy actions at the international, national and personal level. Pertinent references are made to Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, Garrett Hardin's *Tragedy of the Commons* and the Club of Rome's *Limits of Growth* (1972). This latter provided the springboard for other international and UN meetings discussed, including Gro Harlem Brundtland's *Report of the World Commission on the Environment and Development* (1987), responsible for institutionalising of 'sustainability' and therefore the catalyst for the Rio Earth Summit, 1992 and its offshoot, *Agenda 21*. As well as bringing environmental issues to the fore in the developed world, the Rio Summit, through *Agenda 21*, incorporated many issues related to Third World concerns around poverty and development, and also emphasised for the first time the importance of individual and citizen participation, together with government institutions, in addressing environmental problems. The complex of ethical, social, economic, psycho-

logical and practical aspects related to 'green issues', policy development and behaviour are thoroughly covered in the first part. The second part, called *Perspectives*, includes two chapters *Behaviour Change: Policy and Practice* and *The Social Psychology of Environmental Action* engaged particularly with environmental policies in the UK and provides background to the research project evaluating the environmental attitudes and behaviour of 1,260 households divided between four areas in Devon, UK. The methodology employed, with its merits and shortcomings, is competently described. A wide range of factors were investigated, providing results that are interesting though not altogether surprising. The conundrum for the policy-makers is how to take up the challenge of effectively employing the marketing techniques recommended by the research team to persuade more constituents to behave in the manner desired.

Despite the excellent analytical engagement with the interrelated topics of sustainability and the citizen, something of deep importance was missing or neglected. As well as the increasingly relevant issues of population increase and environmental pollution, was the *unsustainability* of growth, which is dependant on continued extraction of non-renewable resources that were - and still are - adding to the constantly rising material standards of living of the developed world, standards, which are understandably seen as primary aspirations of the developing world. Debate about the extent of these resources there can be, but that they *are* finite, some more critically so than others and many technically irreplaceable, is not denied. However, long-term 'sustainability', in the analysis of this book, does not really address the profound implications of this point. Brundtland Report's emphasis on present human needs (poverty alleviation and redressing deepening inequalities) as central to sustainable development, built into the agenda and subsequent policies of the UN's environmental programmes. However, this is the proviso regarding the primary developmental needs of the world's poor and therefore a cue for the continuing growth model of the developed world. The inherent paradox, between the Western economic growth model and developing world aspirations, and the inevitable environmental cost, remains, and in practical, ethical and political terms is exemplified by the issue of climate change and the different stances taken by the major economic groupings in addressing it. To employ the persuasive skills of the developed consumer market economy may have minor positive impacts on *some* people's behaviour, but to address the *real* and profound environmental issues of the present surely greater political courage, imagination and leadership at the national and international level are desperately called for if the profound culture shift needed is to be realised.

The book should nevertheless be read as a 'rigorous alternative' (p. 258) to critical human geography and political ecology approaches. Generally, it is recommended for the academics, students at higher levels and the policy-makers looking for a comprehensive outline of many of the issues and challenges involved in environmental policy and the public. The description and explanation for empirical research, illuminated in the third part, should provide excellent insight for those engaged in research.

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Mike ROBINSON and David PICARD (eds), *The Framed World: Tourism, Tourist and Photography*, Leeds Metropolitan University, Leeds 2009, 263 pp.

Tourists love taking photographs. Very often they are associated with always taking photographs. They (including us) enjoy the 'snapshot moments'. Imagine the time when we, along with our family or friends, visited various 'exotic places' as enthusiastic as when we told our friends about the 'exotic experiences' in visual narratives when we came home. Taking photographs has become one of the most characteristic and symbolic moments in tourism for years.

While that activity seems a typical practice of tourists, there are interesting questions that emerge from this. Why do tourists take photographs? Why do tourists frame certain things or events? How do tourists photograph a vast variety of people, places and events? What does it mean when tourists shoot, capture or take photographs? How does tourism photography mediate or change the realm of the photographed? Who controls tourist photography and who owns the photographic images? Do tourist photographs need captions or voice-overs? What happens to tourist photographs once the tourists have returned home? What do those photographs tell us about the photographer and photographed?

Mike Robinson and David Picard now offer us new and fresh perspectives on understanding the relationship between tourism, tourists and photography together with an international and interdisciplinary team of contributors. They believe that the relationship will bring us into broader issues of sociality in tourism.

Robinson and Picard start their examination with providing the historical context of photography development. Imbued by the need of renaissance travel and exploration for recording the discovery process, photography started its role as representation and circulation medium to the vast majority of population in an ambiguous manner between artistic endeavour and the shift to objectification and recording things.

Photography then initiated new visual economy development from the late 1830s throughout the nineteenth century. A new term 'travel photography' emerged – a marriage between photography and travel, which was not only creating new tourism industry structure but also mirroring the society development marked and defined by the term of 'immediacy' reflecting a speeding up of social life and the closing down of distances.

In the early twentieth century, photography was controlled (in its production and circulation) by a small number of producers and publishers providing a series of views framed by the professionals. The idea of personalising the photograph was out of reach until the time of 'Kodak Brownie' revolution in 1900. Technology development provided brilliant innovation in making the personal camera. Everybody could take photographs now! New terms, such as 'tourist photography', 'holiday photography' or 'family photography' came into fashion.

Personal camera (followed by digital camera) had serious social impacts in a touristic context. It gave everyone more power (in capturing the world) than what was done by the professionals before. Suddenly everyone had the same absolute right and opportunity to determine where, when and how an object or situation was to be captured in tourist photographs. It was something that had never happened before. Now there is a direct, personal, intimate relationship between the photographers (tourists) and the photo-

graphed. Consequently the photograph narratives also became personal rather than performed in tourism brochures made by the professionals. There had been transfer of power and projection of social development stage as instant society.

Robinson and Picard use the historical context of photography development in building construction and re-construction of our understanding of various tourist, tourism and photography identities and terms. They examine the term 'capture' and our understanding of what is precisely captured in tourist photography. They also examine the meaning of 'framing' and 'performance' as well as the meaning of 'materiality' and 'memory' of photography. Although tourist photography has less significance outside the social context of family and friends, this book proposes to us a possibility that photography, and tourist photography particularly, actually has a unique and important role.

This fourteen-chapter book clearly provides us not only with a historical examination of photography, but also gives us a platform for deeper investigation to re-contextualise the photography in its very processes and meanings. It offers surprising perspectives on tourist, tourism and photography. Rather than provide us with rigid categorisation relating to the various approaches taken in the examination of tourism and photography, Robinson and Picard prefer to invite some authors to address their interests in tourism and photography from different historical, anthropological and sociological perspectives.

In chapter 2, Matthew Martinez and Patricia Albers offer a diachronic study of the visual techniques, ideologies and power relationships underlying the touristic enchantment, imaging and imagining Pueblo people in Northern New Mexico. Nineteenth century tourism photography is seen here as a powerful means of generating, diffusing and controlling a conventionalised representation of Pueblo people and their place within the wider social worlds of North American society.

Vassiliki Lalioti, in chapter 3, analyses how the Greek National Tourism Organization uses virtual representations of 'Greekness' to define and position Greece as a tourism destination within an international, and primarily Western European context. Through a historical and ethnographic study of ancient Greek theatres as 'visual images', Lalioti reveals the genealogy of the 'semiosphere' in which Greece and its capital, Athens, evolved and were touristically enchanted as the birthplace of secular European civilisation.

Chapter 4 deals with persistent and pervasive colonial representations and their global cultural context. Brian Cohen and Ilyssa Manspeizer study the dilemma faced by Western agencies working in the fields of relief and development; that of picturing 'Africa'.

Stan Frankland, in chapter 5, studies the tourist consumption of Pygmies as an ethnic tourism product and the way in which photography is implicated in this process. For Frankland, the touristic value of the Pygmy 'brand name' resides precisely in their social ethnic 'otherness' satisfying the touristic search for 'untouched' environments and populations.

Also within the seemingly constant context of colonialism, Elvi Whittaker, in chapter 6 analyses how tourism photography within the colonial realms of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries established a pervasive visual discourse about race and human difference. In these contexts, photographic technology was considered as truth-recording machinery, able to objectify images of the human condition and its presumed discontinuities.

In chapter 7, Teresa E. P Delfin studies how the visual rhetoric of tourism advertisements influences the imaginings and symbolic constructions of tourism reality. She

argues that the visual rhetoric of tourism advertising goes beyond the colonial trope of empty land, by marketing a trope of palimpsest, with layers of meaning to contribute to.

Janet Hoskins explores in chapter 8 the colonial stereotype of the native who 'fears that camera will steal his soul' and the alternative phantasm of 'global vampirism', both corresponding to a discursive formation in colonial thought. Colonial writings of the nineteenth century recurrently document stories about 'local superstitions' regarding the power of a photo camera to absorb into itself some of the vitality of photographed people or sacred objects.

In chapter 9 Andy Letcher, Jenny Blain and Robert Wallis analyse the contested interpretations and uses of stone circle in Stonehenge and Avebury, in England. Through a critical discourse analysis of pictorial representations by conservation agencies, the authors reveal how these stone circles are being produced and consumed as images of prehistoric sites.

Photographs are a central instrument in the 'making' of tourist sites or sights. In chapter 10, Celmara Pocock studies how photography has created the Great Barrier Reef in Australia as an object of tourism consumption.

Joyce Hsu-yen Yeh, in chapter 11, analyses tourism photography as a social act and a performance enabling the creation and mediation of sociality in both tourism and post-tourism contexts. Her study focuses on Taiwanese students she accompanied to England.

Rebecca Sobel in chapter 13 studies the progressive development of post-tourism narratives following forms of politically instrumentalised tourism to Israel. For Sobel, photographs become mediators for social and emotional links to a place.

Arguably, one of the most influential concepts in the study of tourism, that of the 'tourist gaze' as used by John Urry (1990, 2002) is examined in chapter 14 by Marie-Françoise Lanfant. Lanfant interrogates Urry's use of the term 'gaze' and reflects on it as being a departure point for a reflection on the complexity of what is shown, what is 'given to see' and what is actually seen in the field of tourism.

Finally, Robinson and Picard propose to us to embrace an approach which can bring different disciplinary lenses to bear and a range of methodological approaches. Actually we need to increasingly explore the many overlapping contexts, spaces and practices of tourist photography with photography in general so that we can better understand how tourists frame the world. Reading this book not only provides us with a lot of useful and rich materials for photography and tourism study, but also privately makes us realise that every time we are taking photographs, actually we are also taking part in the social practice of representing the world.

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