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Public Policies for Urban Revitalization

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TECHNICAL INFORMATION

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Public Policies for Urban Revitalization

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SHRINKAGE IN PORTUGUESE NATIONAL POLICY AND REGIONAL SPATIAL PLANS: CONCERN OR UNSPOKEN WORD?

Sílvia Sousa
Paulo Pinho

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to assess whether and how current Portuguese national spatial planning policy and regional spatial plans are based on evidence revealing trends and patterns of population decrease and rural and urban shrinkage in Portugal. Firstly, built on a literature review, we identify the consequences of population decrease, the so-called characteristics of shrinkage, and we briefly look at dominant approaches and strategies to deal with it. Secondly, we review macro level policy documents to assess global awareness and perception of shrinkage from a transnational perspective. Finally, after sketching an international framework on our subject matter shrinkage, a content analysis is applied to the Regional Spatial Plans of the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon and of the Northern Region.

Urban shrinkage and shrinking cities are not explicitly mentioned in these documents. This is partly understandable because it is an emergent phenomenon in Portugal, in comparison with other countries, and because the concept is recent and it has not yet come to light in Portuguese planning practice. In addition, results suggest that the doctrine of growth is still embedded in Portuguese planning culture. In sum, despite clear evidence of population decrease in Portugal, spatial planning policy and regional spatial plans have either disavowal or reactive character pertaining population decrease and shrinkage.

Keywords: National Spatial Planning Policy, Regional Spatial Planning, City Shrinkage, Portugal

JEL Classification: R00, R23, R28, R38

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to assess whether and how current national spatial planning policy and regional spatial plans are based on evidence revealing trends and patterns of population decrease and rural and urban shrinkage in Portugal, specially focusing on Regional Spatial Plans of the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon and of the Northern Region, where the two hardest hit cities, Lisbon and Oporto, are located. With this purpose in mind, we review macro level policy documents to assess global awareness and understanding of shrinkage, and later compare it to the Portuguese national and regional situation. Lastly, after outlining an international framework on our subject matter shrinkage, a content analysis is applied to the Regional Spatial Plans of the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon and of the Northern Region.

Shrinking cities are now on the spotlight all over the world. German planners were the precursors of the shrinking cities debate but efforts have been made to widen the international discourse on this topic. The Shrinking Cities Project, an initiative of Germany's Federal

Cultural Foundation, kicked off in 2002. Later, in 2004, the Shrinking Cities International Research Network (SCiRN™) was founded. More recently, in 2009, COST¹ Action TU0803 Cities Regrowing Smaller (CIRES) was launched. In the same year, the Project SHRINK SMART was initiated focusing on governance of shrinkage within a European context. Thus, this topic came into view as a fertile field open to contributions since there was not yet a view or published research on shrinking cities in Portugal before Sousa (2010).

Although the center of gravity of shrinkage has been the west, especially Europe and the USA, it is fair to say that it is spreading throughout the world. The number of shrinking cities is increasing, faster than the number of growing cities, despite it all. Shrinkage is not found exclusively in the north, center or south, east or west of the globe or in an individual country, in large, medium or small-sized cities, or in specialized cities; it can occur in parts of or in entire cities, city-regions, metropolitan areas, regions, urban areas, rural areas, etc. This trend will surely increase: in the future, Europe will barely participate in worldwide population growth and developing countries will be affected. Some countries should even prepare for a general decrease in resident population.

In this overall picture, Portugal has been occasionally pinpointed, but until recently there was not a clear view on the subject of shrinkage and its characteristics in the country (Sousa, 2010). Panagopoulos and Barreira (2012) systematize what they call the most common strategies adopted by the Portuguese central and local governments and identify their results in dealing with population decrease, based on a survey of newspapers and municipal websites and by using economic and demographic time series from 1999 to 2008.

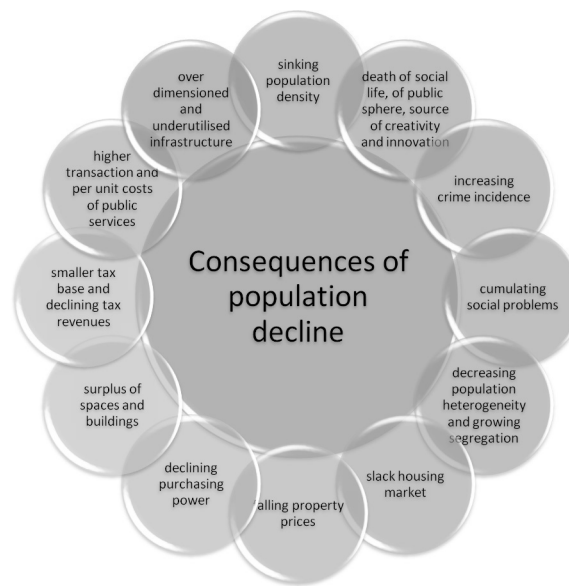
Sousa and Pinho (2013) identify the consequences of population decline, the characteristics of shrinkage (Figure 1), which range from decreasing population density to over-dimensioned and underutilized infrastructure, death of the public sphere, creativity and innovation, almost as much as the approaches, strategies and recommendations to deal with it found in the literature. Planning is mostly reactive and aspires (re)growth, as a result of a generalized negativism against shrinkage, and optimism to population growth; but is also adaptive and accepts shrinkage, having a positive position toward shrinkage, being realistic and pragmatic toward population change (Sousa and Pinho, 2013).

Lisbon, the capital, and Oporto, the major city of the industrialized Northern coast, are very old Portuguese cities, where shrinkage is a growing issue. The former is twice the size of the latter in population, but both have lost population for more than two decades. Housing units grew 16% and 21% respectively, in the last 20 years. Greater Lisbon is more affluent, with the country's highest GDP per capita, whilst Greater Oporto, more peripheral (where unemployment is also more of an issue) is just slightly above the national average. With a similar population density, the two cities also have the same social diversification index (0.71).

By the 19th century, the city of Lisbon had stagnated and lost relative importance in Europe. Lisbon is the financial and administrative center. The Port of Lisbon is one of the busiest ports of the European Atlantic Coast and many of Portugal's national and international firms are based in Lisbon. Main economic activities include tourism, consulting services, telecommunications, steel and chemicals. Lisbon's core has approximately half a million inhabitants and the population in the Greater Lisbon region is two million. Over the last decades, the city core lost population while the region grew. These population trends are due to the core's tertiarization and new emerging lifestyles, though the national total fertility rate has also been dropping.

¹ COST is an intergovernmental framework for European Cooperation in Science and Technology.

Figure 1. Consequences of population decline



The economic and cultural prosperity of Oporto occurred in the 19th century when the driving forces were based on highly concentrated industrial activity, strong trading and the opening up of the city to the world, which contributed to the development of the city and to a certain cosmopolitan flare. Deindustrialization was followed by tertiarization. Today, Oporto's economy is still based on machinery, textiles, Port wine exports and, of course, on consulting services. Some of the largest companies are located in the city-region. Oporto's core has a population of a quarter of a million and the Greater Oporto population region reaches 1.3 million. The city core lost population while the region grew. These population trends are due to general processes of deindustrialization, tertiarization and changes in standards of living.

Both cities increasingly gravitate around the Tourism industry, driven by low-cost airline companies and forceful marketing which made them fashionable.

Table 1. Approaches, strategies and recommendations to deal with population decline/shrinkage

General/Reactive Mainstream Planning	Specific/Adaptive Planning for shrinkage
Attraction-retention	Vacant properties and land banks
Urban regeneration	Housing and integrated regeneration (inc. downsizing and demolition)
Culture and creative industries	De-suburbanization and social capitalization
Knowledge, innovation and systems of innovation	Regional
Information and communications technology	Technical infrastructure
Environment/Sustainability	Transportation
Community involvement	Finance

2. DISCUSSION

2.1 International awareness of shrinkage

A review of macro level policy documents (mostly European; Table 2) demonstrates growing awareness of demographic challenges, including shrinkage. Shrinkage slowly became part of the technical vocabulary, and we can also find related keywords like "population decline",

“aging”, “economic decline” or “urban decline”. Although these words are carefully used, with reluctance at times, given their inherent negative connotation and general implications, it should be admitted nonetheless that progress has been made during the past 10 to 15 years.

Table 2. Most relevant macro level documents regarding demographic trends and shrinkage 1999-2012

European Commission (1999) European Spatial Development Perspective –Towards Balanced and Sustainable Development of the Territory of the EU (official document), Committee on Spatial Development, Luxembourg.
European Commission (2005) Green Paper “Confronting demographic change: a new solidarity between the generations”, Commission of The European Communities, Brussels.
European Commission (2006) The demographic future of Europe – from challenge to opportunity, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg.
EU (2011) EU Hungarian Presidency Budapest Communiqué on European urban areas facing demographic and climate challenges, Directors General responsible for urban development, Budapest.
European Spatial Planning Observation Network (2006) ESPON ATLAS – Mapping the structure of the European territory, Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning, Bonn.
European Spatial Planning Observation Network (2007) Scenarios on the territorial future of Europe. ESPON Project 3.2, ESPON, Belgium.
European Spatial Planning Observation Network (2008) “Territorial dynamics in Europe: Trends in population development” ESPON Territorial Observation 1: 4–15.
European Spatial Planning Observation Network (2010) DEMIFER – Demographic and Migratory Flows affecting European Regions and Cities, ESPON and NIDI, Luxembourg.
UN (2004) World Population to 2300, Department of Economic and Social Affairs – Population Division, New York.
UN (2007) World Population Prospects: The 2006 Revision, Department of Economic and Social Affairs – Population Division, New York.
UN (2009) World Population Aging 2009, Department of Economic and Social Affairs – Population Division, New York.
UN (2011) World Population Prospects. The 2010 Revision United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs – Population Division, New York.
UN-HABITAT (2006) State of the World’s Cities Report 2006/2007, The Millennium Development Goals and Urban Sustainability–30 Years of Shaping the Habitat Agenda, Earthscan, London.
UN-HABITAT (2007) Global Report on Human Settlements 2009 “Revisiting Urban Planning” Outline, United Nations Human Settlements Programme, Nairobi.
UN-HABITAT (2008) State of the World’s Cities Report 2008/2009, Harmonious Cities, Earthscan, London.
UN-HABITAT (2009) Planning Sustainable Cities: Global Report on Human Settlements 2009, United Nations Human Settlements Programme, Earthscan, London.
UN-HABITAT (2011) Cities and Climate Change: Global Report on Human Settlements 2011, United Nations Human Settlements Programme, Earthscan, London.
UN-HABITAT (2012) State of the World’s Cities Report 2010/2011, Bridging the Urban Divide, Earthscan, London.
EUROCITIES (2008) Cities and economic migration – Challenges and local policy responses, Eurocities, Brussels.
EUROCITIES (2008) Demographic change and its impact on housing (report pre-release version), Helmholtz Centre for Environmental Research, Leipzig.
EUROCITIES (2008) Demographic change and urban mobility and public space, Europaforum Wien, Centre for Urban Dialogue and European Policy, Wien.

The European Spatial Development Perspective/ ESDP (European Commission, 1999) identified three main trends that would lead population development in the European Union (EU) in the next 20 to 30 years: declining population; migratory movements; and shifts in age profile. A shift from population growth to population decline was forecasted to occur around the year 2020. The ESDP also recognized a number of less dynamic towns and cities

in the EU, with a relatively narrow economic basis led by a single economic sector, whose decline has had a negative impact on the regional economy as a whole.

The European Commission (2005) published a Green Paper on demographic change about solidarity between generations, highlighting the challenges the EU had to confront: falling population, continuing low birth rates and continuing increases in longevity. However, the Green Paper suggested that the EU should return (first) to demographic growth, ensure a balance between generations, and find new bridges between the different stages of life.

Under the heading “from challenge to opportunity”, the EC (2006) published a communication to present its objectives with regard to Europe’s demographic future. The direction built on demographic renewal, through a more productive and dynamic Europe with sustainable public finances, promoting employment and receiving and integrating immigrants. The Budapest Communiqué (EU, 2011) gave emphasis to demographic and climate challenges which, because of cross-border consequences, could only be tackled through international cooperation and the adjustment to the principles of sustainability, making recommendations and proposals for shrinking cities.

The United Nations’ projections (2004) suggested that world population, after moving through the demographic transition from high, and relatively balanced, birth and death rates to low rates, would not necessarily return to the old equilibrium. According to the *World Population to 2300* report: if the medium scenario is correct, future population growth will be slower than it has been at any point since the Industrial Revolution; if the low scenario is correct population decline will ensue; and if the high scenario is correct, future population growth rates will resemble earlier rates before the demographic transition, but population will continue to grow substantially to unprecedented levels. The subsequent *World Population Aging 2009* and the *World Population Prospects* (UN, 2009; UN, 2011) also validated these kind of scenarios.

The European Spatial Planning Observation Network/ ESPON admitted that differences in population development were increasing, at the regional level, and asserted that around 40 per cent of NUTS-3 regions experienced declining population numbers thru the 1990s (ESPON, 2006). Eighty of the 133 “most declining regions” were identified in Germany, 18 in Bulgaria, 11 in Spain, 10 in Romania, 7 in Estonia, 5 in Portugal and 4 in the United Kingdom as well as in Latvia. These were described either as relatively rural, sparsely populated and geographically remote regions or as more central old industrial areas and regions.

Coastal areas, specialized in fishing and trade, were also identified as experiencing population, employment and income decline, particularly the remote ones. This decline was seen as a consequence of fertility decline and aging, which combined to alter the *rules* of the regional-demographic *game*. In this context, both inward and outward migration became increasingly important, from the ESPON standpoint. Finally, regions, which show both a negative natural population change and net losses due to migration, are defined by ESPON as “depopulation areas”.

ESPON (2008) identified an East-West pattern of demographic development polarization in 2001-2005, challenging the aims of territorial cohesion: regions with population growth were mainly located in Central-Western Europe while regions with population decline were more dominant in Eastern Europe. ESPON’s demographic prospects up to 2030 for Europe and its neighboring countries showed significant demographic discrepancy in terms of population growth between Europe and its Eastern neighbors and between Europe and its neighbors to the South. Whereas the neighboring countries to the East faced a negative trend, Southern and South-Eastern countries were expected to grow above European average.

The Network of Major European Cities/ EUROCITIES (2008) emphasized that many European cities now faced population decline – shrinkage – despite the fact that population

growth had been (and remained) a major driver for urbanization for a long time. If fertility rates were lower than mortality rates and migration did not fill the gap, shrinkage was expected to occur. The EUROCITIES argued that only cities with a positive net migration balance and a strong economic base were experiencing on-going population growth, emphasizing that correlation.

As explained by the EUROCITIES, the growth paradigm is still the dominant pattern steering the cities' development strategies, mainly due to strong economic competition. The need to accept urban shrinkage as a valid development pathway, just like urban growth, was considered urgent by the Network. The EUROCITIES was aware that shrinking cities now need even more attention and support for their specific demands in policy and governance; and that urban and regional decision-makers need new strategies in spatial planning, such as innovative housing market instruments.

The recent *State of the World's Cities 2008/2009* (UN-HABITAT, 2008) dedicated considerable attention to shrinking cities, to its causes and to future developments. It was admitted by the UN-HABITAT that although slow or negative urban growth was mostly a developed world phenomenon, it was also occurring in developing countries. A UN-HABITAT analysis of 1,408 cities in the developing world showed that 143 cities (10.2 per cent of the sample) experienced a reduction in population between 1990 and 2000. These cities experienced the loss of 13 million people. The phenomenon of declining populations in 48 cities of the developing world was considered relatively new, an emerging trend that was not yet as prevalent as it was in the developed world. However, the UN-HABITAT asserted that population loss may be a prelude to a new urban trend that was starting to unfold. The *Global Report on Human Settlements 2009* also highlighted that in developed countries some of the key issues were shrinking cities and the retrofitting of decaying areas within the city (UN-HABITAT, 2007), a fact already vaguely mentioned in the *State of the World's Cities* (UN-HABITAT, 2006).

UN-HABITAT (2009) accepted that shrinking cities were found in the developed and transitional regions of the world, but was aware that more recently, city shrinkage had occurred in some developing countries. In the former, the demographic trends with the most far-reaching implications for planning were urban population decline and an aging population; whereas in the latter, comparatively, international migration rendered the features of shrinkage and aging less intense. In the report, planning challenges in both developed and transitional country contexts were pointed out: determining how to meet costs from underused infrastructure; identifying alternative uses for abandoned social facilities, managing huge swathes of vacant housing units, as well as commercial and industrial facilities; managing an increased demand for healthcare, recreation, transportation and other facilities for the elderly, due to aging.

2.2 Methods and materials

Following the aim stated in the introduction, we set out to review the Regional Spatial Plans of the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon and of the Northern Region (Figure 2), where population decrease and/or shrinkage and its direct consequences are more severely felt, namely in Lisbon and Porto.

The method is a very simple content analysis. The key goal of this content analysis is to shed light on how planning is reacting, according to the national (central government) and regional (*Comissão de Coordenação de Desenvolvimento Regional*) awareness of the shrinkage phenomenon. The diagnosis is not intended to grade planning's performance, but instead to get acquainted with the perception and corresponding policy formulation in situations of population decline/shrinkage. We do not expect to measure how well decision makers and planners are doing, but instead qualitatively assess it.

This content analysis implies answering a group of questions regarding certain aspects of shrinkage. To be precise, we inquire what the documents say about: population decline and other related demographic issues, such as natural increase, net migration, elderly population, consequences, perception, meaning, concerns, priorities, alternatives, opportunities, obstacles and roles. The analysis involved the acquirement of a number of spatial planning policy documents (see the following Table 1) and two Regional Spatial Plans.

This diagnosis is organized into 13 matrixes; each matrix representing a characteristic/ consequence of shrinkage (e.g. “Population Decline”; see Introduction and more importantly Figure 1). The procedure consists in going through the whole document against these and the questions stated². There are limitations due to discrepancies between the date of the several spatial planning documents, and between these and the process of population decrease.

The reader should bear in mind that the diagnosis is not a description of reality; it is an account of the perception/ awareness of population decline/ shrinkage. A great synthesis effort was made. The next sections present a synthesis of the findings.

Table 3. National Programs, Dossiers and Other Documents

Priority from the Portuguese presidency for the Environment, Spatial Planning and Regional Development (2007-07-02)	Prioridades da presidência portuguesa para o Ambiente, Ordenamento Territorial e Desenvolvimento Regional (2007-07-02)
Strategic National Reference Framework 2007-2013 (2007-01-16)	Quadro de Referência Estratégico Nacional 2007-2013 (2007-01-16)
National Program for Spatial Planning Policies (2006-04-27)	Programa Nacional da Política de Ordenamento do Território (2006-04-27)
Urban Development and Reintegration Interventions in Deprived Neighborhoods (2006-10-02)	Operações de Qualificação e Reinserção Urbana de Bairros Críticos (2006-10-02)
Green paper on European territorial cohesion (2009-02-09)	Livro verde da coesão territorial europeia (2009-02-09)
South Waterside Arch Project (2008-09-12)	Projeto do Arco Ribeirinho Sul (2008-09-12)
Action Plan for the Coast (2008-02-21)	Plano de Ação para o Litoral (2008-02-21)
Preparatory Actions of Urban Networks for Competitiveness and Innovation (2007-12-17)	Ações preparatórias de Redes Urbanas para a Competitividade e a Inovação (2007-12-17)
Cities’ Policies, Polis XXI (2007-04-11)	Política de Cidades, Polis XXI (2007-04-11)
Priorities for the Coast (2006-12-20)	Prioridades para o Litoral (2006-12-20)
Guidelines for the Strategic National Reference Framework and operational programs 2007-2013 (2006-03-10)	Orientações para o Quadro de Referência Estratégico Nacional e programas operacionais 2007-2013 (2006-03-10)
Framework for the Integrated Management Strategy of the National Coastal Zone (2006-01-23)	Bases para a Estratégia de Gestão Integrada da Zona Costeira Nacional (2006-01-23)
Program from the XVII Constitutional Government (2005-2009)	Programa do XVII Governo Constitucional (2005-2009)

² Three steps were taken to implement the content analysis in a simple two column matrix :

A. Listing the analysis/policy statements: The first column under each characteristic/ consequence is marked ANALYSIS/ POLICY STATEMENT. When there are analysis/ policy statements in the reviewed document that address a particular characteristic/ consequence, they are listed in this column, covering the most significant parts of the statement, including citations (e.g. “PROURB, Anexo 2, p. 4”). When there are no policy statements in the documents reviewed addressing a particular characteristic/ consequence, either positively or negatively, then “no statements found” is written.

B. Listing the goals and implementing code (if there is one): The second column under each characteristic/ consequence is designated GOALS AND IMPLEMENTING RULES. In this column are listed whichever goals and/or implementing rules addressing, in any way, each characteristic/ consequence of shrinkage.

C. Evaluating the spatial planning instruments and policies: Once the first two columns are filled, each policy statement is evaluated according to two criteria: (1) did the policy statement demonstrate awareness of the characteristic/consequence under which it was listed; and (2) did the corresponding goals and implementing rules effectively support the policy statement, in the following manner:

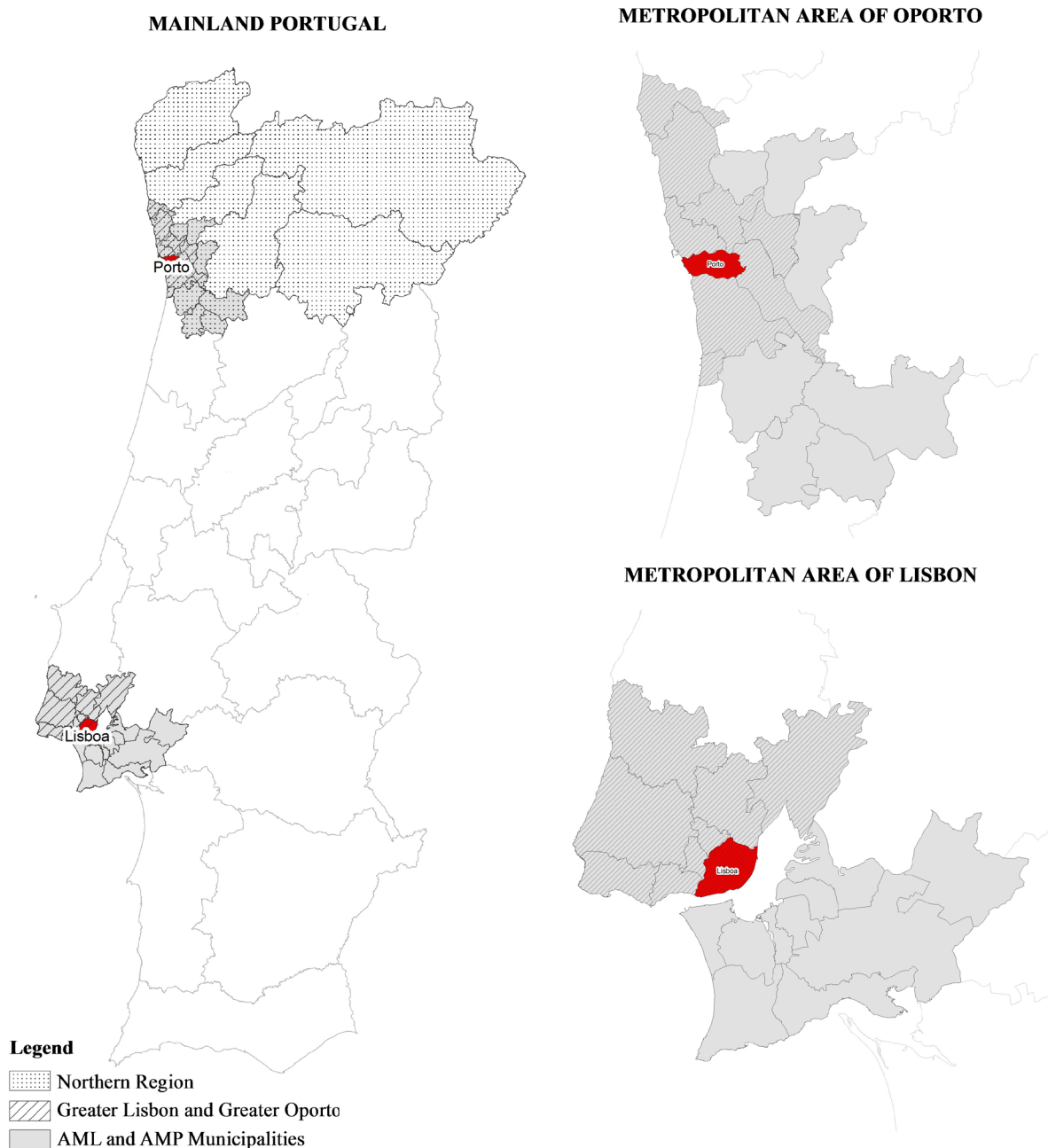
1 – POOR, if the policy does not address or is at odds with the characteristic/ consequence.

2 – RULES NEED IMPROVEMENT, if the goals and implementing rules do not entirely support the policy statements listed.

3 – POLICY NEEDS IMPROVEMENT, if the policy does address the characteristic/ consequence but falls short of problem description and formulation.

4 – EXCELLENT if there is almost complete awareness of the characteristic/ consequence in analysis/ policy statements and the rules generally support the statements.

Figure 2. Location map



2.3 Results and discussion – National Framework

At the national level, the existence of ongoing and future population decline and other related demographic issues is acknowledged, especially in the National Program for Spatial Planning Policies (PNPOT), in the Strategic National Reference Framework (QREN) 2007-2013, and in the Framework for the Integrated Management Strategy of the National Coastal Zone (BEGIZCN). But, only their regional and rural-urban unevenness is emphasized.

The decline in the absolute number of inhabitants, and the growing aging of the population, caused by declining fertility/ birth rates and increasing life expectancy, are often cited, albeit safeguarding the Portuguese figures likeness to the EU-15 average. It is argued that recent immigration waves mostly correspond to a population with demographic characteristics already close to the EU-15 model. Even in the case of Asian immigrants,

convergence to Portuguese fertility and mortality levels is seen as quick. It is stated that Portugal's peripheral (geographical, economic and political) condition, underpinned by EU's eastward enlargement, can contribute to further aging and to make a stronger demographic decline scenario come true.

Accordingly, recessive demographic dynamics and even depopulation are a concern and identified as threats, although typically in inner regions and in contexts of very low densities. It is also reminded that the structure of the urban system is one of the biggest obstacles to territorial competitiveness, in a context of significant unequal population distribution. Moreover, it is accepted that urban growth often mirrors rural emptying rather than sustained regional growth patterns. The QREN document emphasizes that unplanned urban growth has contributed to depopulation of the inner regions and to a fragile and inefficient urban network.

From a slightly different perspective, the BEGIZCN identifies separate realities, ranging from rural areas under the influence of urban areas or aligned along the road network to more marginal territories that match diverse demographic and functional situations. It considers growing depopulation as a threat to areas with special interest for conservation, limiting management options. Population regression and abandonment are considered serious problems in many of the classified (usually peripheral) areas/ regions, threatening their landscape and cultural continuity, in the medium term.

At the national level, a clear association is not made between population decrease and over dimensioned and underutilized infrastructure, higher costs of public services, declining tax base and revenues, space surplus and vacancies. Regarding vacant and derelict land, QREN points out that despite the fact that extractive and industrial activities and sites have been abandoned and declining for a long time, it has not always been easy to make companies accountable for its recovery.

Furthermore, a decrease in available income for consumption (e.g. housing), more severe in the inner regions due to aging, is recognized in PNPOT. Portugal is compared to Spain and Greece, characterized by a high rate of home-ownership; reduced provision of social housing, low standard and falling market supply of rental housing, and low public expenditure on housing. The QREN calls attention to the fact that unplanned urban growth has created severe spatial development problems, visible in the housing market breakdown and in the difficult balance and rational provision and distribution of amenities. Growth also caused accessibility problems, solved mainly through an excessive resort to individual motorized transport with higher congestion, pollution and land use costs.

On matters of territorial and social cohesion, some attention is given to issues such as territorial segregation, social exclusion and cumulating social problems (e.g. increasing violence). The QREN stresses concern about emergent social exclusion and spatial segregation problems in some cities. In the *Programa Operacional Temático de Valorização do Território*/ Thematic Operational Program for Spatial Enhancement 2007-2013, included in QREN, it is also noted that these phenomena associated with urban areas have been rising, calling for new forms of prevention and management. Social and integrated revitalization policies for degraded areas, with urban poverty and social exclusion problems, excessively dependent on welfare money and other public investments are considered important.

In this context, a strategic priority in the QREN, and ensuing Thematic Operational Programs, is spatial and city development – promoting better planning, preventing risks, improving connectivity and strengthening the urban system, bearing in mind the need to reduce regional asymmetries. Channeling funds to the development of hinterlands is considered an important lesson learned. Accordingly, the decline of the so-called “rural world” can affect/ distress habitats and ecosystems, because of the vast protected areas in close dependency from traditional human activities. Relevance is also given to investments

that promote mobility and accessibility to major population and economic centers, seen as important factors to strengthen population settlement conditions.

One of the strategic options of the BEGIZCN is to develop/ recover human urban and rural landscapes, through financial management mechanisms and means to ensure better living conditions. In the same mindset, it is asserted that the agro-forestry sector, while creating direct employment and fostering the emergence of new markets, can contribute to the anticipated population attraction and retention and in declining areas (PNPOT, 2007). Housing rental incentive programs for the younger population, contributing to demographic and economic revitalization of urban areas with aging problems and functional and economic decline, are also seen as part of the solution.

Reabsorbing brownfields' environmental liabilities is a priority policy area of the Thematic Operational Program for Spatial Enhancement. Two of the main objectives of the Operational Agenda for Spatial Enhancement are to promote: polycentric urban development, strengthening the articulation between cities and their surrounding areas and the improvement of urban spaces; and social cohesion, while ensuring territorial equity when providing infrastructure and public facilities and services. Innovative solutions that physically focus on efficiency and reuse of infrastructure and facilities, at the expense of new construction, are seen as necessary to answer to complex urban problems. In technical terms, solutions should explore opportunities that new technologies have to offer.

QREN's Action Program finances projects, which integrate the improvement of public spaces and the urban environment, besides socio-economic development. Investments supported by *Eixo Prioritário/* Priority Axis IX (QREN) aim at enhancing responses to urban problems and demand. It is argued that traditional solutions and funding are not enough to tackle the negative consequences of the urbanization process in Portugal (economic decline of the historic centers, housing demand, violence and crime, etc.), and require new organizational arrangements able to capitalize on investments.

Pilot projects with a significant intangible component, which use innovation to meet urban problems and new urban demand, are privileged, contributing to the development of sustainable urban communities, particularly in the areas of: provision of proximity services; urban accessibility and mobility solutions, security, risk management and crime prevention; eco-innovation in construction and housing; management of public space and buildings, energy efficiency, air quality and waste management; and urban governance models.

POLIS XXI³ encourages innovative solutions for urban development, in which urban projects serve an overall and integrated vision to transform cities. It is guided by principles of environmental sustainability, efficiency and reuse of infrastructures and facilities, community empowerment and development of new PPP arrangements. Its goal is to ensure that cities are places of citizenship, cohesion, cultural identity, integration, heritage, environmental quality and well-being, promoting sustainable resource use, urban design, construction, landscape, mobility, economic competitiveness and just access to housing, amenities, and services, making participation processes more efficient, and fighting obsolescence, crime and exclusion factors.

2.4 Results and discussion – Regional framework

2.4.1 Northern Region

In this matter, the Regional Spatial Plan for the Northern Region⁴ is especially concerned with the physical degradation and economic decline of urban areas and population loss in rural areas. The main demographic trends mentioned in the plan are: a slight decrease

³ The POLIS program is a partnership between the State and the city councils (Local Authorities), based on complementary policy instruments and financing sources, and addresses spatial and environmental planning.

⁴ Plano Regional de Ordenamento do Território do Norte in public discussion.

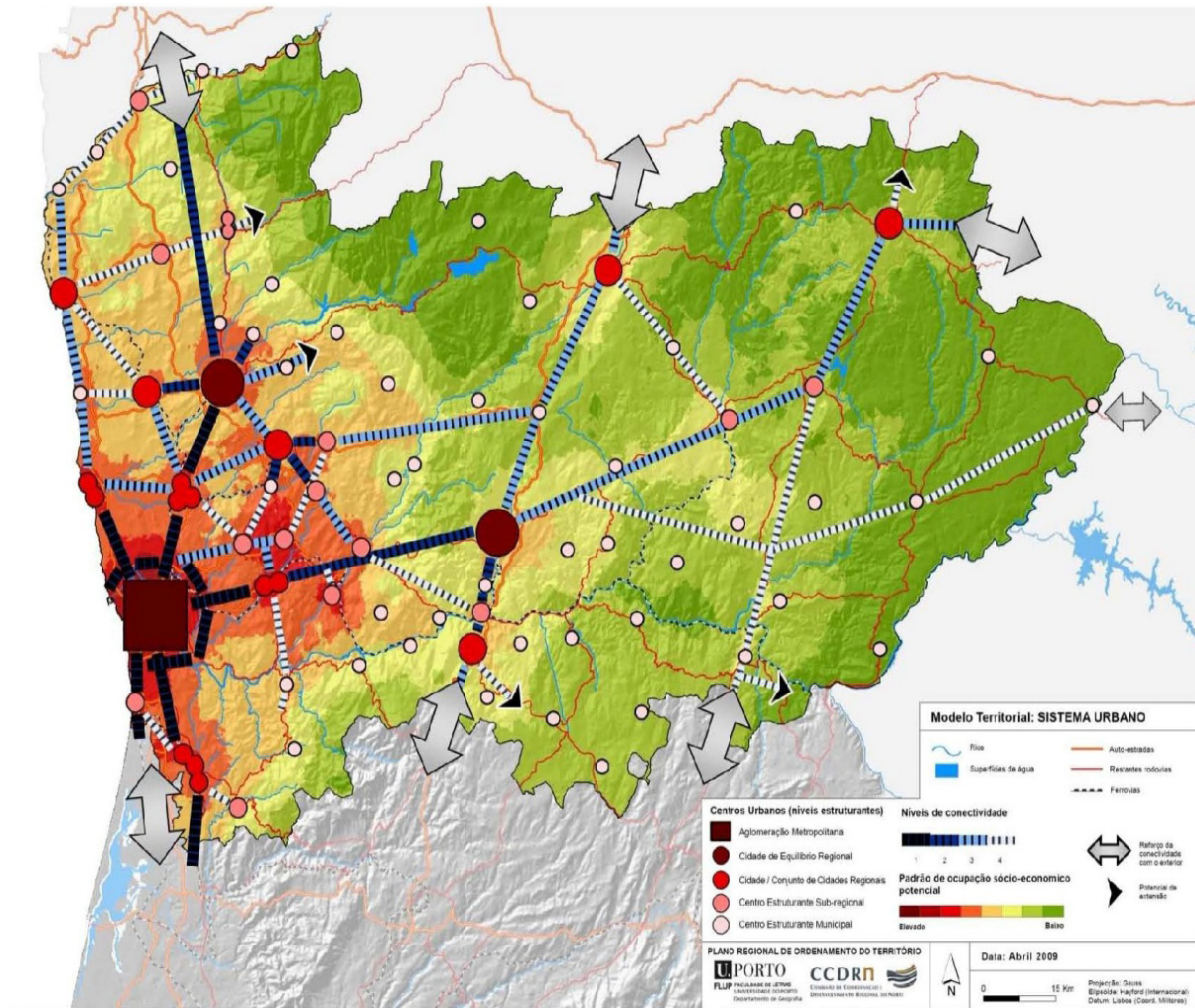
(stagnation) of the resident population in the short-term; a significant population loss in the long-term, and a noteworthy population aging. A low economic performance, depopulated and impoverished hinterland (Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro), with a strong environmental and tourism potential and a low urban and infrastructural density, is identified in the Urban System (Figure 3). In contrast, a consolidated central area in the coastal urban region of Oporto is seen emerging, whose dynamics suggest tumbling demographic and economic density processes, which usually characterize the transformation of the traditional city.

The state of degradation of the built heritage is part of the concerns expressed. It is stated that the crisis in the central city, combined with the crisis in the traditional retail sector and the relocation of services, caused spiraling more unemployment, population loss, urban degradation and decay. In agricultural/ forestry rural areas, population dynamics are reported as being in constant regression, featuring a growing elderly population. These internal and external migration movements are considered onerous, leading to a sharp population decline in rural areas, and labor force and young population flight to cities, coastal areas and abroad, unless employment and other attraction mechanisms are implemented, taking advantage of the local productive base.

The plan stresses different realities and problems. First, there is a planning deficit and excessive urban growth and sprawl, largely due to strong housing speculation in coastal areas. Second, there is continuous population decrease, abandonment and change of land exploration systems in the inland. Last but not least, there are “intermediate” areas, where urban settlements are not sufficiently infrastructured and have lower attractiveness. Decreasing purchasing power in the region is identified. Regeneration of central areas is considered a challenge. Aspects as diverse as structuring the Oporto metropolitan ring, strategic planning, strengthening compactness, polycentrism and multi-functionality, reinvention of urban-rural relationships, and control of diffuse urban development are highlighted throughout the Regional Spatial Plan. The plan encourages urban fabric densification and urban subsystems consolidation operations. As regards new infrastructure, a preventive and restrictive land policy was considered basic, especially in the most peripheral and less urbanized areas. Public investment should be strictly oriented towards this.

Concerning housing policies, efforts to contain urban perimeters (making housing policy and housing market forecasts more compatible, with special attention to less affluent local demand, rehabilitation of the most degraded urban areas, and the infilling of the existing urban voids) should be highlighted. The plan aims at minimum levels of land use and just access to public services/facilities, to fight demographic and socio-economic regressive trends that threaten social and territorial cohesion. The plan wishes to find solutions for a major challenge: being attractive, competitive and just. Two sets of measures are endorsed: (1) development of endogenous resources (e.g. agro-forestry); and (2) integrated service networks and ICT initiatives; mostly in low population density/ rural areas.

Figure 3. Regional Spatial Plan of the Northern Region: Urban System



2.4.2 Metropolitan Area of Lisbon

The 2002 Regional Spatial Plan of the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon⁵ (AML) acknowledges that, since the 1980s, the metropolitan area's attractiveness has decreased sizably which, associated to low fertility, slowed down population growth. However, it is noted that the AML still grew at a faster rate than that of the country and that of the region, reinforcing its relative demographic weight.

A metropolitan North-South divide is recognized. While the North lost population, presenting the highest shares of elderly, aging index, old-age dependency index, and the lowest shares of young people and young-age dependency index (mainly due to the city of Lisbon); the South continued to grow. It is asserted that in Lisbon and in more rural and peripheral municipalities, the percentage of older people tended to increase, together with the demand for elderly care support services.

The plan's projection model assumes progressive metropolitan population aging, as well as higher concentration of immigrants (more than 80%) in the North, exception made only to the city of Lisbon. Additionally it assumes the reversal of young population decrease, due to reduction in infant mortality and increase in fertility (although below generation

⁵ Plano Regional de Ordenamento do Território da Área Metropolitana de Lisboa was approved by the Resolução do Conselho de Ministros n.º 68/2002, 8 April, and its amendment approved by the Resolução do Conselho de Ministros n.º 92/2008, 5 June.

replacement figures). For internal and external migratory movements, it is forecasted either stability or matching decline. The plan predicts demographic loss in several municipalities.

The plan highlights several spatial pattern trends. Suburbanization or periurbanization is predicted. The metropolitan center of Lisbon is described as a central area with an important historic core, with serious problems such as depopulation, retail decadence, low standard building stock and public space, as well as industrial, logistic and social housing areas.

Two relevant types of spaces concerning dominant change trends and dynamics are identified. The *problem spaces* include fragmented and unstructured peripheral areas with low urban and environmental quality; and central areas with population and activity loss, denoting a sharp urban decline and strong degradation processes. The *areas with potential for conversion/renewal* are obsolete or deactivated areas whose location and size offer conditions for new metropolitan centralities related to dynamic and innovative activities.

It is stated that the AML has the lowest population density within metropolises with more than one million inhabitants and that Amadora and chiefly Lisbon have become less attractive over the years. Certain low density corridors are considered a result of policy favoring individual motorization without adequate matching public transportation. The acknowledgment that local finance structures are the first to encourage urban expansion, through urban subdivision operations is particularly important. Albeit in the long term, some of these interventions can involve costs for which there are no foreseeable resources available, quick and easy financial revenues from levying taxes are tempting.

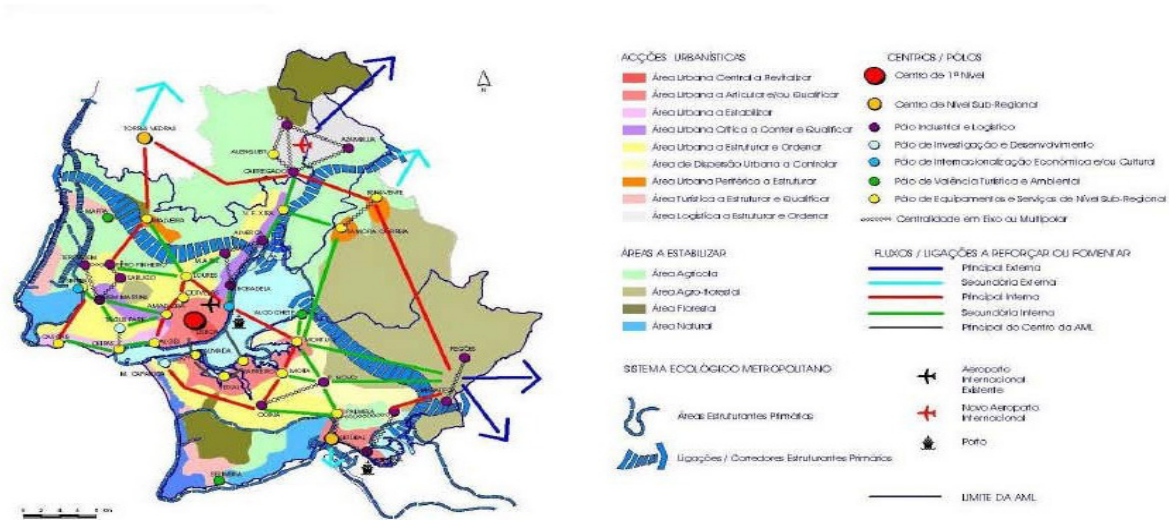
The municipality of Lisbon is given as an example of socio-economic inequality, where high-end areas and high purchasing power coexist with strongly degraded areas, mainly inhabited by underprivileged population and risk groups. In what regards the housing market, it is simply remarked that housing growth rate is much higher than that of population, especially in the North AML. Voids are associated mostly with industrial brownfields created by economic changes. Housing surplus is attributed to new but low quality residential development, often a response to low purchasing power demand, owed to poor spatial planning and inadequate urban integration.

Despite efforts made, it is argued that decrease or reversal of socio-spatial segregation phenomena that push population outwards is not yet visible. Very congested, ill-equipped and architecturally poor housing pockets are seen as social exclusion ghettos. Slum housing and critical neighborhoods populated by ethnic minorities embody socio-economic segregation and are mostly found in the North (of AML), chiefly in Lisbon and Amadora. According to the plan, the metropolitan area accumulates all the social exclusion factors: asymmetries, fragmentation and poverty.

The spatial strategy devised in the plan aims to “sustainably” revalue the city of Lisbon and the Tagus estuary as anchors at the center core of the regional and metropolitan structures, correcting urban and social inequalities, and countering low quality suburban growth, land and real-estate speculation along the coastline (Figure 4). The plan proposes the improvement of urban quality and living conditions— socio-territorial cohesion – chiefly in degraded/socially deprived urban areas, peripheral/suburban areas and historic centers.

The implementation of the strategic guidelines is based on a number of measures. For the Lisbon case, the idea is that trends can be changed or reversed in the light of the city’s role, social housing programs, and metropolitan urban and socio-economic development. For the Barreiro case, total industrial redevelopment and new accessibility conditions are seen as the solution. Provision of quality social and cultural facilities is thought of as essential for retaining population, allowing for growth of diverse job opportunities and relocation of employment centers. The plan considers the municipality of Barreiro as a preferential location for polytechnic schools, stopping population flight while meeting educational needs.

Figure 4. Regional Spatial Plan of the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon: Territorial Model



3. CONCLUSIONS

Although Portuguese demographers have seen it coming for quite some time, based on this case analysis, spatial planners and decision makers have not really been alarmed by the upcoming and, in some cases, ongoing population decrease in Portugal.

The concept of shrinking cities is not directly mentioned in any of the Portuguese national spatial planning policy documents and regional spatial plans analyzed in this paper. This can be explained by three reasons: (1) it is a fairly recent and still emergent phenomenon in Portugal; (2) it is still associated to negative social and political connotations; (3) it had not yet developed into a consistent theoretical framework able to support the knowledge transfer from theory to practice. Given that shrinkage has not been recognized in its full and comprehensive extent, we could only find some isolated references to dimensions of the concept. That is the case of general references to population decrease and to other interrelated demographic issues, but seldom with agreeing policy implications.

On a national scale, low fertility rates, diminishing net migration, and the sharp rise in population aging are consensually, considered a major social and economic development concern. In addition, population decline in inner rural areas and in urban cores, or even more specifically in historic centers and downtown areas is highlighted. Another common concern is the reconversion of industrial brownfields usually located in the periphery of the main cities, sometimes as they turned obsolete absorbed by the physical expansion of these cities.

For the Northern Region planning, especially with reference to Oporto and the rural areas, the vulnerabilities of the housing market coupled with sinking population density are the most important worries. The Spatial Plan for the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon gives more emphasis to the long trend of population decrease, to the surplus of vacant lots and buildings, and to the declining purchasing power of the population. These same topics can be found in most local spatial planning instruments and policies. This is not a surprise because population decrease is seen as, mostly, a response to inadequacies of the housing market, unbalances between housing supply and housing demand – whether because of practical matters such as the conservation state of the buildings or sociological issues such as image and dominant local lifestyles.

Whether you look at national or regional planning documents, you can always find the new buzz expression in Portuguese planning: territorial cohesion. Almost every measure falls under the umbrella of territorial cohesion that together with social cohesion might constitute the most repeated expressions in the documents under analysis. Social cohesion in central or historic areas commonly goes hand in hand with urban regeneration. Improving quality of life is considered essential to create lasting competitive advantages between cities that surpass mere short-term stimuli for leaving a city and living in another city, such as lower property prices. Quality of life is associated to amenities for the young and for the elderly, green spaces, safety, cultural activities and, to some extent, innovation.

Partnership opportunities are usually encouraged. From a resource efficiency perspective, a significant importance is given to ICT and to the reuse of existing urban infrastructures and facilities. The priority is to devise adequate strategies to revitalize existing built-up areas, reprogram brownfields, or infill urban voids. Important steps have been taken already. Issues such as reduction of urban perimeters, control of dispersion areas, and regional complementarities have been incorporated in planning strategies, approaches and recommendations.

It is possible to assert that the Portuguese national spatial planning policy documents and regional spatial plans have either a disavowal or reactive character. The growth paradigm is still paramount in Portugal. Through content analysis it was possible to verify that similarly to other Western countries, the Portuguese planning system does not contemplate, in equal or equivalent terms, shrinkage and growth. Whichever the administrative level, national or regional, planning documents fall short to describe the depth of shrinkage in the country. The imbalance is greater when considering the necessary soundness between “analysis and policy” and between “goals and implementing rules”.

The awareness of shrinkage in Portugal is similar to most other countries that do not seem to perceive the magnitude that the consequences of population decrease may have planning wise. Not only, but also because of this, strategies and approaches have a conventional planning nature, seeking to retain and, especially, attract new residents, tourists and city users. As luck would have it, it is already accepted that the process will not be swift.

There cannot be planning for shrinkage in Portugal because it has not been fully recognized: it is an unspoken spatial phenomenon and practice. Thus far, Portugal has not taken that leap. Shrinkage and/or population decline in cities is considered inexorably reversible, unlike in rural areas where it has been widely accepted and even precociously taken for granted. Notwithstanding, the present financial crises have triggered additional planning concerns regarding the economy of resources, which are pre present in new Municipal Master Plans and in the current Land Policy Reform.

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IN SEARCH OF A NEW APPROACH FOR URBAN POLICIES UNDER SHRINKAGE TENDENCIES IN POLAND

Emilia Jaroszevska

ABSTRACT

The new demographic, social, economic and cultural conditions that appeared in Poland after 1990 have crucially influenced the transformation of its cities in both quantitative and qualitative terms. One of the manifestations of those changes is an increasingly visible process of shrinkage of many of them. The overcoming of its detrimental effects will be one of the most important challenges for planning and urban policy in Poland in the 21st century.

This article seeks to identify new urban policy challenges that Polish cities have to meet in the face of advancing urban shrinkage. It starts with the presentation of theoretical issues concerning urban policy and urban shrinkage. Discussed next are the formation of urban policy in Poland and major aspects of the transformation and shrinkage of Polish cities after 1990. Special emphasis is put on the need to work out a new, integrated urban policy that would allow them to adapt to the negative demographic trends observed.

Keywords: Urban Policy, Shrinking Cities, Poland

JEL Classification: Z00

1. INTRODUCTION

The beginnings of urban policy in Europe are usually associated with the late 19th century and attempts to solve critical situations in rapidly growing industrial towns (Le Gales 2007, Parysek 2010). However, we can speak of an autonomous urban policy only with reference to measures taken in response to the crisis of the 1970s and '80s caused by the transition from the Fordist to the post-Fordist model of production and accumulation of capital in Western Europe and the United States.

Urban policy is a troublesome notion because, as Cochrane (2007) observes, "definitions of urban policy are elusive in part because the term appears so self-explanatory. It seems to be no more and no less than the sum of those policies that are intended to help cities or those living in them." The difficulties result, among other things, from the broad spectrum of areas of socio-economic life of cities to which urban policy applies, and from the fact that those are measures adopted at a variety of levels: national, regional and local. Generally, urban policy means "specific policies targeted at particular urban areas or groups within urban areas" (Harding 2007, p. 63).

Because cities and processes occurring inside them undergo a never-ending transformation, urban policy should also keep changing. Therefore there also appear new conceptions and theoretical approaches. The growth paradigm treating cities as "growth machines" (Logan, Molotch 1987), prevailing so far, was challenged at the start of the 21st century by new conceptions, for example "local governance" or "city as an entertainment machine"

(Swianiewicz 2005). The former, authored by John (2001), defines local governance as “a flexible decision-making model based on loose horizontal links among various actors (public and private)”. The policy conducted in this way rests on the process of learning and is innovative. It is open to other participants and creates a climate of cooperation in order to achieve common goals.

In turn, the author of the other conception, Clark (2003), stresses the need to adapt urban policy to the changing civilisational and cultural conditions. The new priorities of urban policy, he claims, should focus on such matters as boosting the attractiveness of cities (including their improved aesthetics) for the new class of talented and well-educated inhabitants (Swianiewicz 2005). This is also the approach advocated by Richard Florida in his well-known works (2002, 2005a, b).

However, one should be aware that a policy successful in one place may not necessarily bring the desired effects in another. As Musterd and Murie (2010, p. 332) emphasise, “cities and urban economies are not T-shirts that can be produced in much the same way across the world”. That is why the local specificity of a place should always be taken into account when preparing a strategy. As Musterd and Kovacs (2013, p. 14) put it, “Policy makers would be wise to incorporate all available knowledge about pathways and place characteristics, and how to capitalise existing networks”. That is why it is so important to gain an insight into the processes that take place in modern cities and to revise policies pursued so far in order to meet new challenges. Urban shrinkage is one of them.

The term urban shrinkage has not been defined precisely so far. In the literature one can find many examples of how it is understood. Großmann (2007) see it as a socio-spatial transformation occurring in the conditions of a steady decline in the population number. In turn, for Zborowski et al. (2012) this is a process connected with a social, spatial and economic restructuring of cities accompanied by a steady loss of their population. According to the definition adopted in the COST¹ Action “Cities Regrowing Smaller. Fostering Knowledge on Regeneration Strategies in Shrinking Cities across Europe” (CIRES), formulated by the Shrinking Cities International Research Network, (SCIRN): “A shrinking city is a densely populated urban area that has on the one hand faced a population loss in large parts of it (for at least 5 years, more than 0.15% annually), and is on the other hand undergoing economic transformation with some symptoms of a structural crisis”. This is the definition that will be used henceforth in this article.

The chief causes of urban shrinkage are demographic changes connected primarily with a negative rate of natural increase, the ageing of society, and migration. The questions still open are the identification and classification of the remaining factors responsible for urban shrinkage, and the choice of socio-economic indices characterising this process (Jessen 2012, Wiechmann, Wolf 2013, Jaroszevska, Strykiewicz 2014). The difficulty lies in the uniqueness of each city, its history, political situation, and socio-economic condition. As Wu and Martinez-Fernandez (2009) note, the same factors that underlie the socio-economic development of one city may trigger shrinkage in another.

Urban shrinkage has no single explanatory theory. The multi-aspect nature of this process makes it necessary to resort to many theoretical conceptions in order to get an insight into its mechanisms, pattern and effects.

One of the attempted interpretations relies on Myrdal's (1956, after Hoekveld 2012) cumulative causation theory where population decline - working on a ‘vicious circle’ principle - is both a cause and a result of urban shrinkage. The appearance of one negative impulse has a snowball effect, triggering successive undesirable processes and developments. To put it simply, a drop in the population number brought about by the emigration of young people (e.g. as a result of a deepening economic crisis) means a reduction in the number of

¹ COST - European Cooperation in Science and Technology.

the population of reproductive age, and the effect is a decrease in births. The disturbance in the age structure of the population of a locality thus created, accompanied by a persistently low total fertility rate and no inflow of new residents, leads to a further intensification of unfavourable demographic changes (in particular, the ageing process). This, in turn, makes the labour force dwindle and affects the local labour market, which generates further adverse effects. Understood in this way, the shrinkage mechanism shows a cumulative tendency and, left to itself, leads over a longer period to the reinforcement of negative consequences in many fields: demographic, economic, social and spatial (Strykiewicz et al. 2012). If there appear new external determinants, the process can slow down or accelerate. Theoretically, it is also possible that, stimulated by a new positive impulse, its direction will change.

An answer to the question about the nature of causes making a city or region shrink can also be supplied by a historical analysis. A study of the pattern and direction of evolution of social systems, the institutional context, as well as various events, choices and decisions from the past, can provide a deeper insight into the mechanism of shrinkage of a spatial unit (Bontje, Musterd 2012). This type of explanation relying on the interpretation of historical facts and employing a genetic approach is the essence of the conception known as path dependence (e.g. Arthur 1994, Boschma, Lambooy 1999, David 2000, Mahoney 2000, Gwosdz 2004, 2014). In this approach, shrinkage can be understood as an outcome of a solution adopted at one time. It is then reinforced, reproduced or transformed by successive chance events. As David (2000, after Gwosdz 2004) claims, this is a conception combining isolated, unique occurrences with more general growth processes of dynamic structures. It is well suited to study random, irreversible or hard-to-reverse dynamic processes - and those are precisely the characteristics of urban shrinkage.

2. URBAN SHRINKAGE IN POLAND

For the last two and a half decades, Polish cities have been undergoing an accelerated transformation in many dimensions, including material, functional and social ones. What affected the rate and direction of those changes were processes associated with Poland's systemic transformation, the advancing globalisation and internationalisation of its economy, and its accession to the EU, which opened up new possibilities of obtaining financial support. The transition of Polish cities from socialist to post-socialist units involved addressing many problems that emerged after more than 40 years of their operation in the command-redistributive system (1945-1989). The situation of cities at the start of the transformation process was different in each of them. On the one hand, the systemic transformation opened up new development opportunities for them, but on the other it meant threats resulting, among other things, from their weakness in the international arena. For many of them, especially those located in old industrial districts, this was the beginning of extremely difficult structural changes. The opening of the boundaries revealed a huge gap between Western Europe and the former East-bloc states caused by their economic isolation from the processes taking place in the world (Parysek 2005, Węclawowicz et al. 2006, Zborowski et al. 2012, Węclawowicz 2013). Polish cities had not only to cope with its effects and the heritage of the past epoch, but also to face international competition and the challenges of globalisation. In many of them past decisions had resulted in the appearance of barriers that made their development difficult in the later period - a typical case of path dependence.

The significant changes that took place in Poland over the past twenty or so years have not omitted the social sphere, either. One of the manifestations of those changes is the growth in spatial mobility that has greatly contributed to differences in the distribution of demographic potential. This includes both migration abroad, much more intensive after

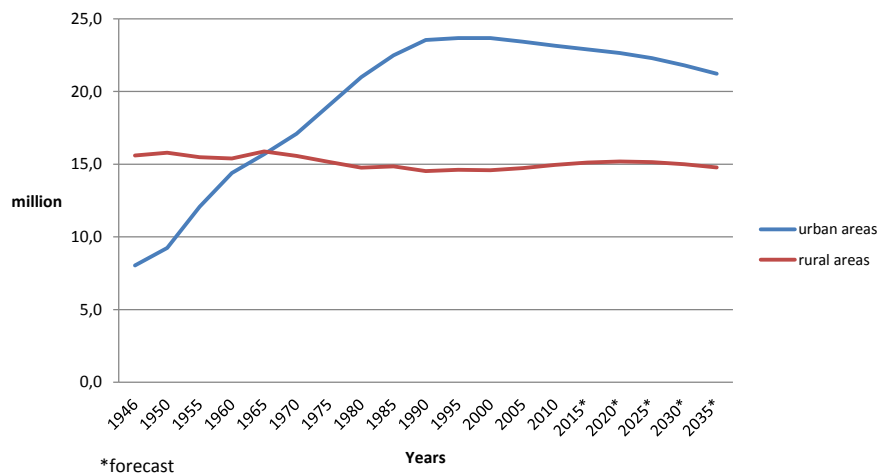
Poland's accession to the EU, and internal migration. In the case of the latter, we deal on the one hand with movement from peripheral areas to large metropolitan centres, and on the other, with suburbanisation. This last process involves loss of residents by a city within its administrative limits in favour of its suburban zone, which is often a cause of a decline of its downtown quarters.

Today suburbanisation is one of the most important processes moulding the settlement network in Poland. Unfortunately, it alters the space around cities in an uncontrolled and chaotic way, and produces a lot of problems, e.g. growing costs of building physical infrastructure, lower receipts flowing to the city budget, transport problems, and poorer availability of such basic public services as education, health care, or culture.

What distinguishes the modern transformation of cities is also a substantial demographic change known as a second demographic transition (Lesthaeghe, van de Kaa 1986, after Kurkiewicz 2010, p. 50). This process involves a unidirectional change in many types of demographic behaviour concerning marriage and replacement rates (Okólski 2005). Its effects include a change in lifestyle, the appearance of a new model of the family and household, a decline in birth rates, and an advancing ageing of society. As Kurkiewicz observes (2010, p. 51), the second demographic transition in Poland and other parts of East-Central Europe does not follow the typical pattern and lags a long way behind the West European states. As has already been mentioned, suburbanisation coinciding with demographic change has also greatly accelerated urban shrinkage in Poland.

The forecasts of the demographic future of Poland up to 2035 are alarming. According to the 2008 estimates of the Central Statistical Office (GUS), the country's population will decrease steadily, the decline rate accelerating with time (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1 Changes in the number of the urban and rural population in Poland over the years 1946-2035



Source: own compilation on the basis of GUS data

The mean annual drop in the population number, according to the GUS, will range from -0.55% to -0.12%. As is well known, this is not a process that will be distributed evenly in space; that is why it is so important to find what areas are going to be hit the hardest by the loss of residents. In the GUS forecast, it will be the urban population (and more precisely, the population living within the administrative limits of towns) that will account for the largest proportion of the anticipated decline by 2035 - as much as 90%. This process will accelerate after 2020 to an annual mean range of -0.69% to -0.27%. It will be accompanied by further undesirable changes in the age structure of the population, and in consequence by the advancing ageing of society and a decline in the number of women of childbearing age.

An analysis of changes in the urban population number over the years 1990-2010 demonstrated that out of the 829 cities² under study, 245 had shrunk, 251 were stable, and 333 had grown (Jaroszevska, Stryjakiewicz 2014) (Tab. 1, Fig. 2).

Tab.1. Cities with a growing, stable and shrinking population number in the years 1990-2010

Voivodeship	Number of cities	Growing cities (>+0.15% per year)		Stable cities (-0.15% to +0.15% per year)		Shrinking cities (<-0.15% per year)	
		number	%	number	%	number	%
Łódź	40	10	25.0	13	32.5	17	42.5
Mazovia	78	47	60.3	24	30.8	7	9.0
Małopolska	49	23	46.9	15	30.6	11	22.4
Silesia	59	7	11.9	16	27.1	36	61.0
Lublin	36	11	30.5	15	41.6	10	27.7
Subcarpathia	44	24	54.5	13	29.5	7	15.9
Podlasie	33	14	42.4	11	33.3	8	24.2
Świętokrzyska Land	25	3	12.0	7	28.0	15	60.0
Lubuska Land	40	17	42.5	12	30.0	11	27.5
Wielkopolska	108	67	62.0	33	30.5	8	7.4
West Pomerania	60	28	46.7	20	33.3	12	20.0
Lower Silesia	88	18	20.5	20	22.7	50	56.8
Opole	33	3	9.1	4	12.1	26	78.8
Kujavia-Pomerania	50	26	52.0	18	36.0	6	12.0
Pomerania	40	18	45.0	12	30.0	10	25.0
Warmia-Mazuria	46	17	37.0	18	39.1	11	23.9
Poland	829	333	40.2	251	30.3	245	29.6

Source: own compilation on the basis of GUS data

In 30 out of the 245 shrinking cities under analysis, the shrinkage was steady, i.e. in all five-year subperiods (1990, 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010) population loss amounted to -0.15% and more. This group includes such large cities as Katowice, Sosnowiec, Bytom, Zabrze, Ruda Śląska, Chorzów, Łódź, and Wałbrzych. They show both, high relative and absolute losses of residents. Their shrinkage triggers several unfavourable social, economic, spatial, and image-related phenomena which, left untended, lead to increasingly serious problems for their future development. The remaining 215 shrinking cities had at least one five-year period of stabilisation (changes ranging from -0.15% to +0.15%), or even showed population growth in excess of 0.15% annually. In turn, the 387 cities classified as stable and growing recorded episodic shrinkage.

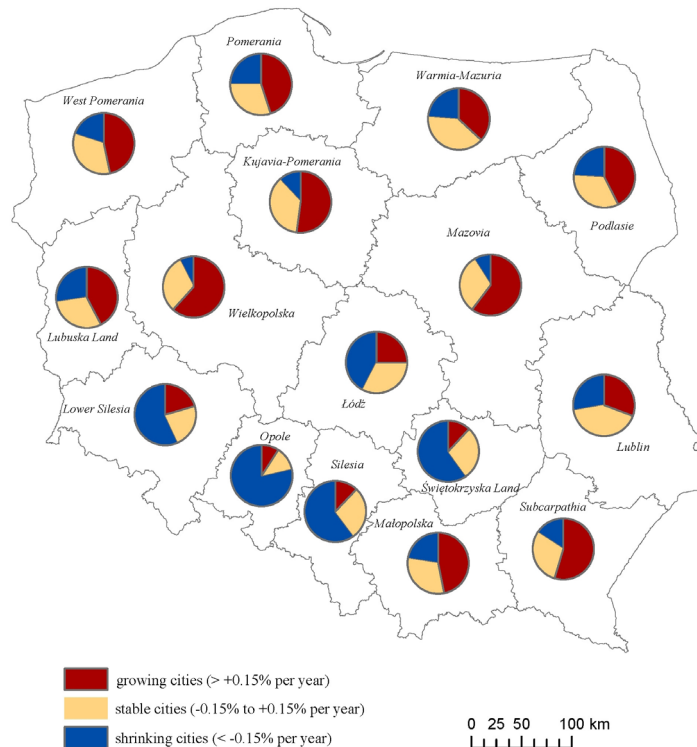
What necessitates the adoption of appropriate measures and strategies counteracting the deleterious effects of urban shrinkage is the fact that in 2010 cities thought to be shrinking had a total population of more than 9 million, accounting for as much as 38.8% of the population of all towns in Poland.

The above analysis of the situation of Polish cities, based among other things on unfavourable demographic trends, allows the conclusion that shrinkage has already got a significant effect on their development, and will also have it in the future. The analysis in this chapter has been narrowed down to population change as the most important measure allowing an assessment of the scale of this process. The results obtained are also a point of

² Data were collected for all urban communes (cities) and towns within urban-rural communes (the rural parts were excluded). Units created after 1990 were not taken into consideration.

departure for further studies concerning in particular the economic and social dimensions of urban shrinkage in Poland.

Fig. 2. Proportion of growing, stable and shrinking cities in voivodeships in 2010



Source: own compilation on the basis of GUS data

3. URBAN POLICY IN POLAND

From the year 1990, when self-governance began to form again in Poland, to this day, no formal strategy for the development of urban areas has been worked out. It is, in fact, still at an initial stage of formulation (Markowski 2013, p. 185) although, of course, this does not mean that there are no urban policy measures taken.

What affect urban development are steps adopted by public authorities at all administrative levels: central, regional and local; they assumed special importance on Poland's accession to the European Union. Regrettably, those have not been consistent steps so far. As Parysek (2010) emphasises, urban policy in Poland has never been:

- Autonomous,
- Implemented in an integrated way,
- Conducted in a systemic way within the hierarchical structure of units into which the country is divided, and
- Treated as a priority.

At the national level, regulations concerning urban policy are scattered throughout a great variety of documents; in 2010 there were as many as 42 strategic documents dealing with the country's development. This dispersal of records, which also refer to urban policy, made orientation very difficult and greatly inhibited conducting not only an effective urban policy, but also a policy for the development of the entire country. That is why a few years ago steps were taken to reduce their number. Today there are two major documents setting the urban policy framework: the National Strategy of Regional Development 2010-2020:

Regions, cities, rural areas (NSRD 2010-2020) and the Conception of Poland's Spatial Development 2030 (CPSD 2030).

The situation in urban policy regulation may change because the Ministry of Infrastructure and Development (MID) undertook to work out a National Urban Policy (NUP). In March 2014 the MID published a preliminary version of this document, which is also a first step towards integrating various measures and creating concrete instruments for conducting an effective urban policy. The most important goal of the document is "to enhance the ability of cities and urbanised areas to foster sustainable development, create jobs, and improve the inhabitants' quality of life". There is no doubt that the factor stimulating the preparation of NUP is the operational programmes within the framework of European multi-annual funds. In the new perspective 2014-2020, the involvement of cities and their functional areas is supposed to be greater. An important element in the funding of local governments will be means obtained under so-called Integrated Territorial Investments (ITI). This is a completely new instrument promoting a partnership model of cooperation among local governments in the implementation of common undertakings.

The preparation of NUP seems highly significant also from the point of view of changes and problems registered in Polish cities. Among the most important challenges they face are unfavourable demographic changes that, together with the bad economic situation, underlie urban shrinkage. Until very recently, the authorities responsible for urban policy did not seem to be aware of urban shrinkage as a problem, but this situation keeps changing slowly. The NUP draft may well be the first document identifying the challenges that face shrinking cities in Poland. There is no doubt that the fundamental condition of an effective policy in cities is the awareness and knowledge of the processes that take place in them, including urban shrinkage.

4. SHRINKING CITIES: CHALLENGES FOR URBAN POLICY

There is no one simple recipe for an urban policy conducted in a way that would counter the adverse effects of urban shrinkage. The strategies adopted often depend on how local authorities perceive urban shrinkage and whether they are resigned to the fact that the number of inhabitants will keep declining. The strategies can seek adaptation to the conditions of shrinkage and planning for shrinkage (Hollander et al. 2009), as in the cities of East Germany (e.g. Wiechmann, Volkmann 2012); they can also be oriented towards regrowth and treat shrinkage as a transitional stage; or there can be no measures undertaken at all - the process is ignored (Danielzyk et al. 2002).

There are various kinds of factors determining the stage of development and the character of the policy of a city. They include (Haase 2013):

- Existing governance systems/ cultures/ traditions,
- Political traditions,
- The issue being addressed,
- The nature of multi-level arrangements and relationships, and
- The availability and origin of resources.

It is almost certain that local authorities will not be able to cope with the effects of shrinkage of their city on their own. Hence it is necessary to engage all local actors in the task, including corporations, schools, business networks, local associations and supra-local government institutions (supported by European Union programmes and funds), academic circles, and (or perhaps primarily) the local community. It is the dialogue with residents, their involvement and knowledge of the problems and challenges resulting from the advancing shrinkage of their city that seem to be of key significance for the successful implementation

of a right policy. As Hospers emphasises (2013, after Lowndes et al. 2006), to encourage greater resident involvement the so-called CLEAR approach might be useful:

- Can do (have enough knowledge, skills and resources to participate);
- Like to (act from a “sense of place” and belief in the community);
- Are enabled to (are well-supported by government to participate);
- Asked to (are approached actively by stakeholders to join in);
- Are responded to (can see that their activities make a difference).

Thus, it will be necessary to build confidence in steps taken by local authorities and make an effort to increase the participation of residents in measures implemented in the city where they live. First, however, urban shrinkage must stop being a taboo in their perception (Wiechmann 2008) and there must be a change in mentality. As Hospers (2013) states, for a local government growth has usually meant power, hence, while many local leaders are aware of urban shrinkage and adopt policies to cope with its negative effects, for fear of losing voters they often treat it as a “silent process” (Cunningham-Sabot 2008). That is why local governments, planners and political leaders must realise that shrinkage need not automatically imply the fall of their cities. On the contrary, with a suitable policy and resident involvement it may lead to a rise in the level of living and the city’s qualitative development. One can therefore agree with Panagopoulos and Barreira (2012, p. 289) that “planners and political leaders must continue to make efforts to understand the characteristics of shrinkage and develop methods to manage this decline in a planned and creative way that will sustain the quality of life of the remaining population”.

In Poland the awareness of urban shrinkage is still low, but this has started to change. Especially in the last few years one can observe that the discussion about challenges posed by urban shrinkage slowly becomes part of public debate (Zarządzanie ..., 2013). One can also identify measures - taken mostly at the regional level - intended to cope with the negative effects of this process. For example, in Opole voivodeship, in which Jaroszewska and Strykiewicz (2014) found that as many as 78% of cities were shrinking, a Special Demographic Zone has been set up. Among its most urgent tasks are halting the outflow of young people by creating attractive jobs as well as greater assistance to young families (e.g. nursery-kindergarten care for children) and to senior citizens (Sebesta 2013). Another example of a growing awareness of local decision-makers concerning the unfavourable demographic processes is the “Plan to counteract depopulation in Łódź voivodeship. Family, Children, Work”, designed in 2013. Łódź voivodeship, and in particular its capital - the city of Łódź, are units especially heavily hit by the shrinkage process (cf. Fig. 2).

So far, the above examples have been isolated cases. Still missing are comprehensive regeneration strategies that would integrate the ‘hardware’ (housing, infrastructure), ‘software’ (image, governance) and ‘human resources’ (social and economic structures) types of intervention (Wiechmann 2013). An important challenge will also be making residents themselves more involved in the life of their cities, and in particular in the working out of a common vision of their development and its directions in the conditions of shrinkage.

5. CONCLUSIONS

There is no doubt that urban shrinkage will be a major challenge for the future urban policy in Poland, hence a discussion about a strategy counteracting the detrimental effects of this process seems to be highly topical and imperative. Of key importance for the future of many Polish cities will be the creation of visions of their long-term development in the conditions of shrinkage. The visions should accommodate the fact that shrinking cities are also units that age faster than the remaining ones in demographic terms. This will additionally make it

necessary for them to adapt not only to the conditions of a dwindling population, but also to the advancing process of population ageing.

In general, Poland has no specific strategies and policies to cope with urban shrinkage. However, after the first years of the 'transformation shock' when a host of problems appeared following the systemic change and the opening of the borders to the socio-economic processes occurring in the world, the authorities were forced to seek new solutions and regulations to assist those cities and regions that were especially threatened with an economic crisis (the population decline was usually left aside). It is only now, after almost 25 years, that the focus of attention of urban policy starts shifting to demographic problems. One can also hope that an introduction of integrated measures accommodating specific local conditions of urban shrinkage will be one of the priorities of NUP.

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EXPERIENCING THE TOURIST CITY. THE EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE IN RE-DESIGNING CITY ROUTES

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ABSTRACT

Assuming that providing memorable experiences is the *raison d'être* of tourism industry, the city envisaged as a tourist destination should assume the tourist's perspective when designing the settings and the most significant activities of a visit.

Cities are facing new challenges, noticeably the globalisation of economies, the growing importance of the visual and the symbolic that define the current trends of consumption and the attractiveness of a place. Culture and events play a strategic role when designing innovative and appealing tourism experiences. The European Capital of Culture (ECoC) is an international event which represents a unique opportunity for the cities to stand out in this globalised and competitive scenario.

This paper focuses on the study of Pécs, European Capital of Culture 2010, and it aims to study the influence of this event on the design of city tourism routes. A survey by questionnaire was administered to tourists before and during ECoC in Pécs. Respondents indicated in open-ended questions the most outstanding points in their visit to the city, on which were designed the relevant circuits and routes during that tourist experience in Pécs. Data analysis was performed using the statistical software STAS.

Keywords: Cultural City, Tourism Experience, Event, European Capital of Culture

JEL Classification: M31, O18

1. INTRODUCTION

During the transition period between the 20th and 21st centuries, cities have turned to culture as a means to creatively differentiate themselves (Herrero et al, 2006) and to gain a competitive advantage (Griffiths, 2006). Indeed, cultural resources are one of the main pillars supporting the concept of a creative city (Landry, 2000) acknowledged as one of the engines driving contemporary city sustainability, with impacts on both their attractiveness for tourists (Richards and Palmer, 2010) and over a creative class of potential residents (Florida, 2002). There is also a growing interest among the cultural, touristic, political and academic sectors in understanding the role played by culture, arts, creativity and events on building the urban space.

Some studies suggest that tourists, nowadays, are more interested in culture than they were in the past, and one reason for that can be the higher level of education attained by a significant number of people (Valle et al, 2011) who are in better conditions 'to interpret and appreciate the culture' (Richards, 2003:3). The new tourist is more informed, selective and demanding, looking for new places offering tourist products that include cultural attractions and events (Valle et al., 2011; Barbeitos et al, 2014). Cultural products are recognized

as strategic elements that add value to tourist destinations, and the decision makers are expected to consider them in strategic plans concerning the destination offer (Myerscough, 1988).

In a changing landscape underscored by hard challenges, the contemporary city has been confronted by a contingent need to adopt models and management approaches which are traditionally related to the business environment (Braun, 2008). Further to the adoption of competitive city management models (Kanter, 1995; Porter, 1995) and of total quality principles, the offer of creative and memorable (Landry, 2000; Richards and Palmer, 2010) experiences (Pine and Gilmore, 1999), aiming to attract and satisfy tourists, paved the way for the adoption of a public city management marketing perspective (Ashworth and Voogd, 1995; Braun, 2008; Kavaratzis, 2008; Kotler et al, 1999; Hankinson, 2001).

The adoption of policies that lead to an increase of a city's tourist attractiveness has in turn cleared a road for a surge in events that facilitated the offer of innovating and memorable experiences (Pine and Guilmore, 1999; Richards and Palmer, 2010), within landscapes denoted by a heavy usage of culture and arts in bringing about urban renewal projects (Ferreira, 2004; O'Callaghan and Linehan, 2007). Such events contribute to the creation of a festive ambiance in the cities, which then exerts an attraction over the contemporary consumers, regardless of their being residents or tourists.

In the society that emerged from the crisis in the early seventies, culture and tourism industries assumed a prominent role in the economic development of cities with impact on the construction and consolidation of their image. Rotterdam, Glasgow and Dublin are examples of cities that used events as a catalyst for their economies and to enhance their tourist attractiveness.

This paper addresses the impact of the ECoC in terms of its effectiveness in building the city tourist attractiveness based on cultural products. Field work took place at Pécs, ECoC 2010, a small university town formerly characterized by strong industrial dynamics based mainly on decorative artwork production. Beset by the decay of its industry, this Hungarian city took the ECoC hosting as a chance for assertion as a cultural city, strongly attractive for tourists particularly from the domestic market. The event allowed not only the edification of new cultural infrastructures but also the recovery and improvement of others, namely museological and former manufacturing facilities, whose purpose is to ensure the cultural dynamics beyond the event.

Based on a survey held among tourists at two distinct moments (before and after the ECoC event, respectively October 2009 and October 2010) it was possible not only to identify the more impressive locations and activities as reported by the tourists throughout their visit to Pécs, but also to draw the most relevant circuits and routes. From the comparison of these two moments emerges a picture of the domains in which the efficacy of the event may be seen as more relevant, as it left a deeper impression on the tourists.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

To Pizam (2010: 343) "creating memorable experiences is the essence and the *raison d'être* of the hospitality industry". Tourism experience is a concept that has been studied since the 1960's although as a research area it has been developed most of all during the 1970's. One of the most interesting publications stems from MacCannell (1973) concerning tourism experience as a ritual that is deeply attached to modern society. Tourists look for authenticity in their experiences and for the meaning of things. Cutler and Carmichael (2010) (based on Mannell and Iso-Ahola, 1987) identified three approaches on tourism

experience studies: the first one, developed in the last two decades, has contributed to the identification of the elements and the dimensions of tourism experience; the second, called “post-hoc satisfaction” (Cutler and Carmichael, 2010: 5), is focused on the study of the relationship between tourism experiences, motivations and psychological reactions, identifying satisfaction attributes with tourism experiences; the third is dedicated to the study of on time tourism experiences concerning a specific activity or place instead of the whole experience. Research about tourism experience encompasses also an approach focused on the understanding of the concept in an organizational and attractions management context. In these cases the research is centred on the study of consumer behaviour as well as in the study of the impact of product development on tourism experience improvement (Cutler and Carmichael; 2010).

As Andereck et al (2006) noted those studies have contributed to the knowledge about the dynamic nature of tourism experience. However they did not contribute to the understanding of their meaning. Cutler and Carmichael (2010) argue that more research is required about this, especially in the tourism sector. Also, there is a lack in researching the relationship between tourism experience and cultural events. This paper aims at contributing to a better understanding of events on the design of tourist circuits in cities.

2.1 Tourism experience and cultural events

The tourism experiences paradigm was first put forward by Pine and Gilmore (1999; Gilmore and Pine, 2002) aiming to enhance the performance of the organizations’ services. This concept was then set in the agenda both by professionals and academics (Gilmore and Pine, 2002; Stamboulis and Skayannis, 2003). The research on this topic has been useful to clarify the nature (Crick-Furman and Prentice, 2000), formation process (Uriely, Yonay and Simchai, 2002; Prentice, Witt and Hamer, 1998) and diversity (Prentice, 2004) of tourism experiences. However, its study is limited in some particular situations, especially in the context of events.

Pine and Gilmore (1999: 12) defined tourism experience as a set of “events that engage individuals in a personal way” and it must be formulated “from a consumer perspective”. This is something akin to “enjoyable, engaging, memorable encounters for those consuming these events” (Oh, Fiore and Jeoung 2007: 120). According to Tung and Ritchie (2011: 1371) “the motivation to design and stage memorable experiences stems from the focus that an experience is subjectively felt by an individual who is engaged with an event, on an emotional, physical, spiritual, and/or intellectual level”.

It is accepted that tourism experience is, by definition, a subjective and personal construction (O’Dell, 2007; Frey, 1998, quoted by Cary, 2004; Lengkeek, 2001; Uriely et al, 2002; Feifer, 1985; Frazer, 1989) that takes place in a precise moment of time (Cary, 2004). “Everything tourists go through at a destination can be experience, be it behavioural or perceptual, cognitive or emotional, or expressed or implied” (Oh, Fiore and Jeoung, 2007: 120). According to Getz (2008), in the case of an event, the experience can be conceptualized in terms of three dimensions: what people are doing, their behaviour (the ‘conative’ dimension), their emotions, moods, or attitudes (the ‘affective’ dimension), and cognition (awareness, perception, understanding) (Getz, 2008). This approach will lead to a holistic approach to better understand the event experience (Ziakas & Boukas, 2013).

One of the fastest growing sectors is the consumption of experiences (Pine e Gilmore, 1999). Literature indicates that tourists are looking for unique and memorable experiences (Oh, Fiore and Jeoung, 2007). This trend is a challenge to organizations that are looking to design their offers along whatever might serve to create products and services that go beyond their functional quality. According to Pine and Gilmore (1999) from the tourism experiences perspective, the offer should be designed as a setting where the consumer must be involved.

According to Pine and Gilmore (1999) the central element of the tourism offer in the city is the setting where tourists will be engaged during their visit. Sternberg (1997: 952, 954), for example, argues that “tourism primarily sells a staged experience” and that its main activity “is the creation of the touristic experience”. Each tourist as an individual, with his own personality, feelings and emotions, and the setting are the main performers. To Oh, Fiore and Jeoung (2007: 119) “what tourists primarily seek and consume at destinations is engaging experiences accompanied by the goods and/or service components of the destinations”. Binkhorst and Den Dekker (2009: 313, based on Nijs and Peters, 2002 and on Ter Borg, 2003) argue that, during their trips, tourists “are in a quest for psychological needs such as inspiration, authenticity, belonging to a meaningful community, value and meaning in general”.

The tourist experience is subjective and unique and is the result of the set of episodes that occur during a visit. Accordingly, O'Dell (2007) draws the attention to the elements positioned in the value chain of tourism industry pointing out that they are responsible for the “generation, staging and consumption of experiences through the manipulation of place and presentation of culture” (Cutler and Carmichael, 2010: 4). Where the offer is concerned, experience in the tourism field leads to the development of a process by which facilities and events are transformed in the offer of benefits and value to the tourist (Haas, Driver e Browns, 1980; Andersson, 2007).

Many authors agree that the tourism experience is a special one and it is distinct from other routine experiences (Cohen, 2004; Cutler and Carmichael, 2010). The tourism activity means a specific set of experiences, memories and emotions that are related to the visited sites and places (Noy, 2007). This perspective relates to Stamboulis and Skayannis' (2003) concept of tourism experience, which is a result of the interaction between the tourist and the tourism destination, be it a landscape, a site, or an event (Seamon, 1979; Tuan, 1993). The entertainment is just a specific component of an experience (Pine and Guilmore, 1999: 3), the place is the stage and the tourist is the actor. The memory is, according to Larsen (2007), the best predictor of the tourism experience itself.

The composite nature of tourism experience has stimulated a multidimensional approach on its study as well as it has been noted that the tourism experience is a process that encompasses some critical phases. For example, Highmore (2002) refers two different phases. The first one is the moment the experience takes place, and the second is its evaluation (that is, the process by which the tourist attaches a personal meaning to the events that occurred during the stay).

In the 1970's, authors (such as Cohen, 1972; Turner and Ash, 1975) recognized that tourism experience means a rupture with the routine and that the bizarre and the novelty are the key elements (Mendes and Guerreiro, 2010: 316). Binkhorst, Teun den Dekker and Melkert (2010: 42) argue “once the person has been through the travel decision-making process he or she will leave the daily experience environment for a holiday or a break and will return again to the home environment after travel”. In such a scenario, “tourism is, by its nature, an industry of experiences” (Mendes and Guerreiro, 2010: 317) and the performance of events that “enable the tourist to feel and live the emotion of a place in a constant creative process of innovation” has grown into a consistent topic of research (Dalonsoa et al, 2014: 181). An event experience, according to Getz (2008: 414), means “people willingly travel to, or enter into an event-specific place for defined periods of time, to engage in activities that are out of the ordinary and to have experiences that transcend the ordinary-experiences only available to the traveler or the event-goer”.

During a visit, what the tourist sees, learns, and the sources of entertainment that come along the way are factors to be taken into account when conceptualizing the settings wherein the experiences will occur. Van der Duim (2007, cit. in Binkhorst, Teun den Dekker and

Melkert, 2010: 42) designate this complex of actors and relationships as “tourismscape”, comprising travel companions, agents and operators, carriers, lodging, tourist guides, activities provided throughout the stay, residents, natural or historical landscapes, attractions, events, museums, technology, and governmental or private entities that may be responsible for the offer on location.

To Getz (2009: 18) “events, by definition, have a beginning and an end. They are temporal phenomena, and with planned events the event programme or schedule is generally planned in detail and well publicized in advance (...). Planned events are also usually confined to particular places, although the space involved might be a specific facility, a very large open space, or many locations”. Special events, to Ritchie (1984:2), are “major one-time or recurring events of limited duration, developed primarily to enhance the awareness, appeal and profitability of a tourism destination in the short and/or long term. Such events rely for their success on uniqueness, status, or timely significance to create interest and attract attention”. Getz (1991, 2008) outlines the crucial role of events in the success of a tourism destination: “much of the appeal of events is that they are never the same, and you have to ‘be there’ to enjoy the unique experience fully; if you miss it, it’s a lost opportunity” (Getz, 2008: 404).

Events such as World Exhibitions or European Capitals of Culture relate to “ways of cultural intervention resulting from the local mobilization and adaptation of pre-formatted international models” (Ferreira, 2004: 6). A cultural programme based on a permanent offer of events is a result of a broader concept of culture. To the notion of “high culture”, traditionally correlated with fields that are more or less associated with the fine arts and with the model of the cultivated Man of the Enlightenment, other forms of popular culture are added. Economic, as well as cultural globalization, have affirmed local identities and specificities in a process that brought about recognition of the importance of cultural diversity. ECoC is, at its origin, justified by the need to recognize how richly, and how diversely, the cultural European scene is characterized (European Commission, 2012). Thus, expressions of popular culture (handicraft, gastronomy, language and immaterial heritage) attained a status of cultural expressions (UNESCO, 2012). Likewise, cultural industries (cinema, pop music, design, and entertainment, among others) were integrated in a plethora of products consumed by an ever broadening public.

Although their biggest expansion occurred from the 1960s, cities have made an instrumental use of large events as a way of revitalizing their economies, creating new infrastructure and obtaining gains in image, mostly from the 19th century (Getz, 1991).

A festive atmosphere and an experience in an environment of co-creation (experiences resulting from interaction between an individual and a certain event, at a given moment) turn events into special happenings (Binkhorst and Den Dekker, 2009). When participating in events, visitors do so as actors in the experience (Kotler et al, 1999; Pine and Gilmore, 1999). Although the experience of participating in an event is a onetime moment, it remains in the memory and can contribute to the process of image formation (Mendes, Valle and Guerreiro, 2011; Guerreiro, Valle and Mendes, 2013).

The city becomes the stage where events contribute to the creation of a festive environment (Deffner and Labrianidis, 2005; Richards and Palmer, 2010; Hughes, 1999). On the one hand, residents and visitors are receptive to entertainment consumption; and on the other hand, policy makers use the events as a mechanism through which they seek to revive the urban and social city environment, with an impact on their economic development.

Prentice and Andersen (2003: 8) refer cities in search of “contemporary cultural dynamics” in which creativity and innovation on a cultural level result in a permanent offer of events that bring dynamism and attractiveness to places. Cultural events add value to a city’s traditional product and they provide an additional reason for a visit. Such events

are normally effective in generating first and second visits, although these do not imply, necessarily, the constitution of any city as a tourist destination (LAGroup and Interarts, 2005). Data available from the ECoC point to a significant increase in the quantity of tourists along the year when the event occurs, after which there is a return to the former average figures (LAGroup and Interarts, 2005).

2.2 Perceptions of a cultural city experience

The knowledge of the tourist experience from spontaneous reports must contemplate functional, directly observable and measurable characteristics (landscape, attractions, lodging, price, transportation or climate), abstract, intangible and psychological characteristics (hospitality, safety, expected quality, reputation and atmosphere) and also any attractions that differentiate the place (Echtner and Ritchie, 1991). While a functional impression consists in a mental map of the physical destination's characteristics, psychological impressions characterize the destination atmosphere.

The set of external stimuli or concrete consumption situations exert an influence on the formation of perceptions, or of images, about the destination. From this comes the formation of "a set of beliefs and attitudes about a given object, leading to general acceptance of its attributes" (Gartner, 1993: 193). From a cognitive point of view, the image of a destination consists of a set of beliefs or knowledge about the attributes of the location. These correspond to what resources or attractions are available there (Stabler, 1995) – landscape, activities, and unique experiences – which provide magnetism and seduce the tourists (Beerli e Martín, 2004b).

According to Echtner and Ritchie (1993: 39) the process of image formation is related with imagery that is defined "as a distinct way of processing and storing multisensory information in working memory" and "it can include any or all of the senses". Thus, the descriptions provided by tourists after a visit are no more than the memory of an experience. And so, the remarkable sequences of a tourist experience are pictured from discourses produced by the tourists and described in terms of "total impressions, auras and feelings" (Echtner and Ritchie, 1993: 40). This holistic approach includes "impressions that are based on combinations and interactions of attributes", directly observable or measurable characteristics (Echtner and Ritchie, 1993: 41) as well as others that can be "based on more abstract, intangible characteristics" (idem: 42). The uniqueness of the destination experience can be captured through the identification of "unique features and events (functional characteristics) or auras (psychological characteristics)" (Echtner and Ritchie, 1993: 43).

As Smith (2005:221) refers, strategies are efficient that reinforce existing images instead of introducing a revolution in this matter. The same authors sustain that this is about "communicating a coherent image to tourists, residents, and investors in order to promote, among the various public segments (current and potential), uniform associations. Hence, the official entities in charge of city management have been placing their efforts in strategies that explore the aesthetic aspects of places, centred in visual elements connected with public spaces (Lash and Urry, 1994; Zukin, 1998; Ooi, Håkanson and LaCava, 2014). According to Mair and Whitford (2013: 6) since the 1980s, "the potential for events to generate positive impacts" is recognized, playing a "significant role in the development of culture, arts, urban regeneration, education and tourism (Bowdin et al., 2011 cit. in Mair and Whitford (2013: 6).

2.3 The European Capital of Culture event

The ECoC can be a unique opportunity for the organizing cities to differentiate themselves, much by way of the international visibility, status and prestige conferred upon those, reinforcing their cultural identity and positioning them as cultural destinations on the

international scene (Smith, 2005; Hughes, Allen and Wasil, 2003; Richards and Wilson, 2006; Richards and Palmer, 2010; Ooi, Håkanson and LaCava, 2014). These cities become fashionable tourist destinations and real symbols with undeniable impact at the formation of the respective image (Ooi, LaCava & Hakanson, 2014; Vatter, 2014; Palmer, 2004).

ECoCs are considered “mega events” that (i) draw in important tourist flows, (ii) attract wide media coverage (iii) are prestigious and (iv) generate economical impacts on the local community (Getz, 1997; Deffner and Labrianidis, 2005; Ritchie, 1984). Taking into notice the specificities that characterize the ECoC, Herrero et al (2006: 47) prefer to assign it the designation of “macro festival” seen as a “set of events programmed throughout the year to celebrate the cultural capital, and so with a longer duration than that of typical cultural festivals” and events, in general. Their eclectic and multifarious character makes of this an event that, though being developed out of a pre-formatted model, allows a degree of flexibility in terms of conceptualization or in programmatic terms. By being so, it respects the uniqueness in every city and provides those responsible with the opportunity to select, develop and communicate a theme under which the concept of tourist destination is articulated.

Activities and locations offered in the city designated as ECoC are the result of an extensive cultural programming exercise that involves multiple areas, across performing arts, architecture, design, creative industries, monuments and other heritage buildings, and urbanism. Through this approach, those responsible for the ECoC cultural programs, are deeply anchored in objectives aiming urban renovation, in implementing a cultural calendar that is coherent and dynamic, and in projecting an image of cultural destination, strive to create and/or recover infrastructure and projects with a potential to stimulate experimentation of the cultural offer through routes as suggested by the organization or autonomously designed by those who come to visit the hosting city. The cultural policies adopted by the majority of cases aim to extend the impact of the event beyond its duration, sustaining – in the aftermath of the event – cultural dynamics that keep drawing tourists in. Take for example Glasgow where thanks to the ECoC project “with many positive after-effects on the creative scene and a radical boost to its international image, not only do cafes fill its streets on sunny days, but it is now considered a major cultural tourism destination” (European Commission Education and Culture, 2010: 5, quoted by Ooi, Håkanson & LaCava (2014: 422).

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Setting

This research was conducted in the three ECoC in 2010: Pécs (Hungary), Istanbul (Turkey) and Ruhr (Germany). Data collection was carried out in 2009 and in 2010 (before and during the events). This paper is focused on the study of Pécs, European Capital of Culture 2010 and it aims to explore the influence of ECoC events on the design of city tourism routes.

Located in the southwest of Hungary, Pécs has around 162 000 inhabitants and its city centre is part of the World Heritage List. Pécs is a traditional stage for a whole range of cultural festivals (Creative Cities Project, 2011). History and culture are the main tourism products of this city and the tourists who visit Pécs are most of all motivated by cultural consumption. To be noted, in Pécs, is the existence of several museums and spaces dedicated to temporary exhibitions, mostly located along the well-known Museum Street. The 19th and 20th century collections can be seen on exhibition inside buildings of Renaissance, Baroque and Gothic architecture. Since the 1990s culture and the arts have been adopted as structural pillars of the city’s economic and social development. The ECoC was a great

opportunity to Pécs as it enabled authorities to carry out a strategy placing culture at the centre of development and tourism aiming to explore the city's growth potential (Takáts, s.d., 37; Rampton et al, 2011).

3.2 Data Collection Instrument

Echtner e Ritchie (1991) consider that structured methodologies, namely through the use of scales, adequately serve the purpose of evaluating destinations in regard to relatively commonplace characteristics, being however inefficient when the goal is to seize holistic impressions and unique components, compatible with experience characterization based on the aura or atmosphere attributes of a destination. Echtner and Ritchie (1993) thus propose a series of three questions to determine the holistic and unique components of destination imagery by resorting to non structured methodologies, as they enable respondents to “use free form descriptions to measure image” (Boivin, 1986, quoted by Echtner and Ritchie, 1993: 44). In this manner, “unstructured methodologies are more conducive to measuring the holistic components of product image and also to capturing unique features and auras” (Echtner and Ritchie, 1993: 44). The authors propose three open-ended questions intended to address the appropriateness of identifying holistic impressions that integrate the imagery definition of a tourist destination. From the point of view of Stepchenkova and Li (2014: 47)” these open-ended questions were intended to be answered in a “free-flow” format, allowing respondents to describe their perceptions in their own words without restrictions.

1. What images or characteristics come to mind when you think of XXX as a vacation destination? This question endeavors to let the respondents think freely about the destination and to describe their impressions of the city. It aims to assess the more remarkable functional characteristic of a tourism experience.
2. How would you describe the atmosphere or mood that you would expect to experience while visiting XXX? This question was added to describe the atmosphere or mood of the destination in order to characterize its psychological profile based on the more remarkable memories.
3. Please list any distinctive or unique tourist attractions that you can think of in XXX? This question was chosen to capture distinctive or unique attractions of the city. According to Stepchenkova and Morrison (2008) based on the answers to this question it is possible to identify the most different attraction of each tourism destination and at the same time the most remarkable settings of each tourism experience.

In order to make the answers more operational and easy to analyse, respondents were “instructed to list the top three words that they associate” with the destination (Stepchenkova and Li 2014: 47).

This paper makes use of data collected by a self-administrated questionnaire that was conducted in two distinct moments: before the official launch of the event (October 2009) and during the final of ECoC (September 2010)¹. The questionnaire had six sections as described below:

Section I: three open ended questions from Echtner and Ritchie (1991 and 1993);

Section II: list of general and local attributes useful to measure the cognitive image of each city (this list included a set of 17 cognitive attributes to evaluate the tourism image of cities and a set of 9 cognitive attributes concerning each city in appreciation);

Section III: affective image of tourism cities scales;

Section IV: global image scale;

Section V: visit profile and recommendation and return intentions;

Section VI: socio-demographic characterization.

¹ A data collection instrument was designed to apply to tourists who were visiting the city in two different moments: before and during de ECoC.

3.3 Sample and Data Analysis

The study population consisted of tourists visiting the city in two different moments: before ECoC (autumn of 2009) and during ECoC (autumn of 2010). Regarding the research objectives and the data collection process, the sampling method of clusters was used, which is adequate to assure the random selection of tourists to interview based on geographic criteria (Malhotra, 2004; Smith, 2010). The method of clusters requires that the places where tourists are to be interviewed have to be chosen randomly (we considered for this case the top tourism attractions in each city as they were mentioned in the main local tourist guides). Once the clusters were selected, every individual who was there during a set period of time was invited to complete the questionnaire: 170 (Before ECoC) and 411 (During ECoC).

Data was analysed with SPSS *Text Analytics for Surveys* software, 4.0. The outputs, based on frequency analysis, draw a set of relationships showing the associations between answers as well as the strength of their relationships. The dimension of the nodule represents the value of each frequency in every category. The thickness of each line between nodules shows the sharing answers (Sahin and Baloglu, 2011). Only the answers that were shared by, at least, 5% of respondents were selected for analysis (Reilly, 1990).

4. RESULTS

4.1 Sample Characterization

Table 1 summarizes the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents in the cities that were queried, both before and during the ECoC event. In a very broad sense, in Pécs our samples included more women than in Istanbul either before or during the ECoC. The mean age of respondents in Pécs was around 35 years with a standard deviation of approximately 13 before EcoC, a figure which has increased during the event. On the contrary, in Istanbul the mean age of the respondents to our questionnaire was lower during the ECoC (35 and 31 years old respectively). Pécs is a domestic tourism destination as we can conclude from the country of origin of our respondents in both moments: almost half of them are Hungarian tourists. Considering the marital status of our respondents their profile is also different when we analyse Pécs and Istanbul respondents: in the first city the great majority of tourists were married and in the second one we can observe a greater proportion of single tourists on both moments. In both cities the majority of tourists possessed at least one superior degree and the mean of stay in the cities increased during the ECoC event.

Table 1: Characteristics of the sample

Variables	Distribution of answers	
City of Pécs	Before ECoC	During ECoC
Gender	female: 59,4%; male: 40,6%	female: 60,4%; male: 39,6%
Age	mean: 34,6; standard deviation: 13,1	mean: 36,9; standard deviation: 17,3
Country of Origin	Hungary: 45,9%; Germany : 18,2%; Slovakia: 5,9%; Other: 30%	Hungary: 60,3%; Germany : 10,7%; Austria: 6,1%; Holland: 2,68 Other: 20,19%
Marital status	married: 60,6%; single: 34,7%; divorced: 1,8%; widow: 2,9%	married: 50,1%; single: 35%; divorced: 6,3%; widow: 8,5%
Educational qualification	elementary: 1,2%; secondary: 27,8%; college: 71.	elementary: 4,9%; secondary: 43,3%; college: 51,8
Mean of Stay	4,6 days; standard deviation = 3,5	4,8 days; standard deviation = 4,3

4.2. The functional characteristics of a tourism experience and the influence of ECoC on it

When asked to answer spontaneously about the city of Pécs, respondents mentioned “cultural”, “university” and “historic” city (26, 26 and 20 respondents respectively). According to the tourists who answered the questionnaire in 2009 they had already had a great awareness that this city would be “ECoC” in the next year and it was impacting their tourism experiences at Pécs. In fact, Pécs was an ECoC city to 31 respondents (in this small city a great bustle was visible in the years before the event due to the urban and architectural works that were taking place in the city). Tourists’ experience at the city were also influenced by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) “heritage list” (16 respondents) and by the “festivals” that were performed at the city (16 respondents). Remarkable were also “Széchenyi Square” (15 respondents), “Dzsami” (11 respondents), “Zsolnay” (11 respondents) and the “Cathedral of Pécs” (10 respondents). These functional attributes described by tourists are drawn in a web of relationships presented in figure 1. There we can identify 4 main perspectives: those who mentioned “cultural city”, mentioned also “university city” and the “festivals”; those who mentioned specific monuments in the city mentioned “Dzsami”, “Zsolnay” and “Széchenyi square”; those who mentioned “university” mentioned also “cultural”, “historic” and “festival”; and, finally, those to whom the ECoC was since now a remarkable element influencing their description of the city mentioned also “university” and “UNESCO’s heritage”. Pécs is described as an interesting city most of all due to its historic and cultural background. It makes Pécs an attractive city to our respondents before ECoC.

Figure 1 - The most salient functional characteristics of Pécs (before ECoC)

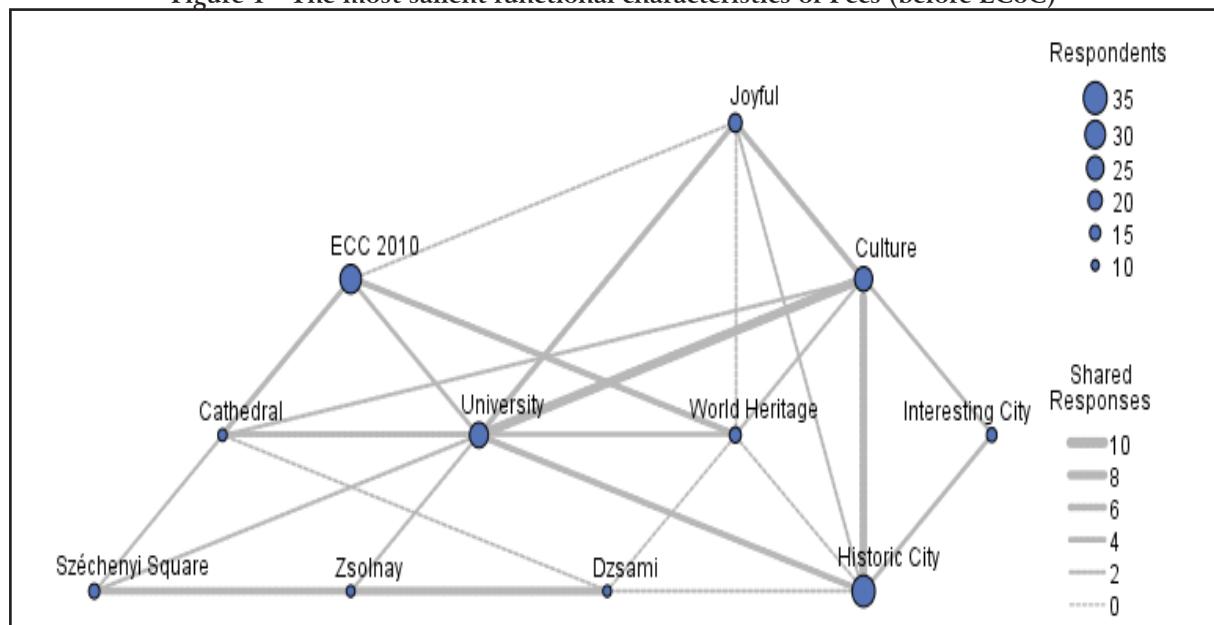
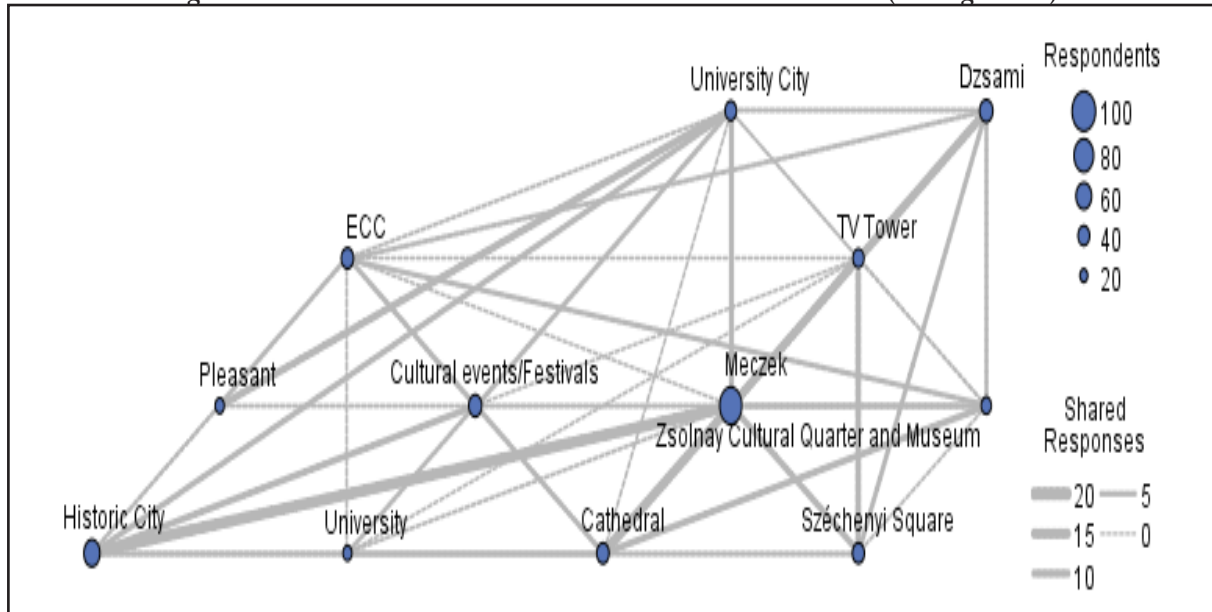


Figure 2 – The most salient functional characteristics of Pécs (during ECoC)



During the ECoC event other characteristics come to the tourist's mind when asked to answer spontaneously about it. Meczek Hills (89 respondents), "university" (48 respondents), "Dzsami" (48 respondents), "Széchenyi Square" (46 respondents), "Cathedral of Pécs" (45 respondents), "ECoC" (42 respondents), "TV Tower" (37 respondents), "Zsolnay" (35 respondents), "culture" (33 respondents), "history" (27 respondents) and "pleasant" (27 respondents) were the more mentioned characteristics of this city. Figure 2 shows the web of relationships drawn by the answers of tourists inquired in this period of time. Now the epicenter of this network is located at Meczek Hills, one of the scenarios of ECoC events. From here tourists pick some routes around the main attractions of the city: "Dzsami", "Cathedral", "Széchenyi Square", "TV Tower" and "Zsolnay" (one of the most important infra-structures of ECC). We can see also an especially strong relationship between those who mentioned "Széchenyi Square", "TV Tower", "pleasant city" and "university".

4.3 The psychological characteristics of a tourism experience and the influence of ECoC on it

When asked to describe the atmosphere of Pécs, tourists visiting the city used adjectives like "friendly" (58 respondents), "Mediterranean mood" (41 respondents), "historic" (34 respondents), "cultural" (28 respondents), "cheerful" (20 respondents), "with heritage" (9 respondents), "nice" and "beautiful" (9 respondents each). The "university" atmosphere is mentioned by 10 respondents. Figure 3 shows a clear network where the adjective "friendly" is the main epicenter from where arise other words like its "Mediterranean mood" and "history" which is specially connected with "culture". During the ECoC event, the psychological profile of the city is described as "cozy" (168 respondents), "pleasant" (91 respondents), "Mediterranean mood" (75 respondents), "young" (45 respondents), "restless" (45 respondents), "historic" (44 respondents), "beautiful" (23 respondents), "joyful" (22 respondents), "exciting" (21 respondents) and "cultural" (21 respondents). Figure 4 shows a denser web of relationships with a clearer epicenter this time focused on the adjective "cozy" strongly related with "pleasant".

Figure 3 - The most salient psychological characteristics of Pécs (before ECoC)

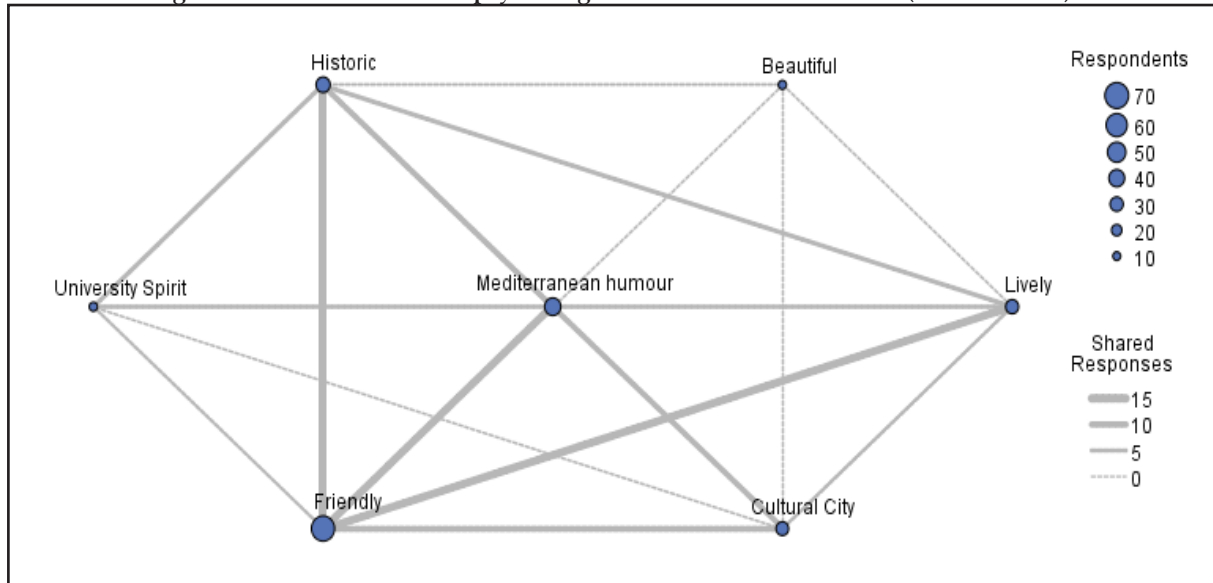
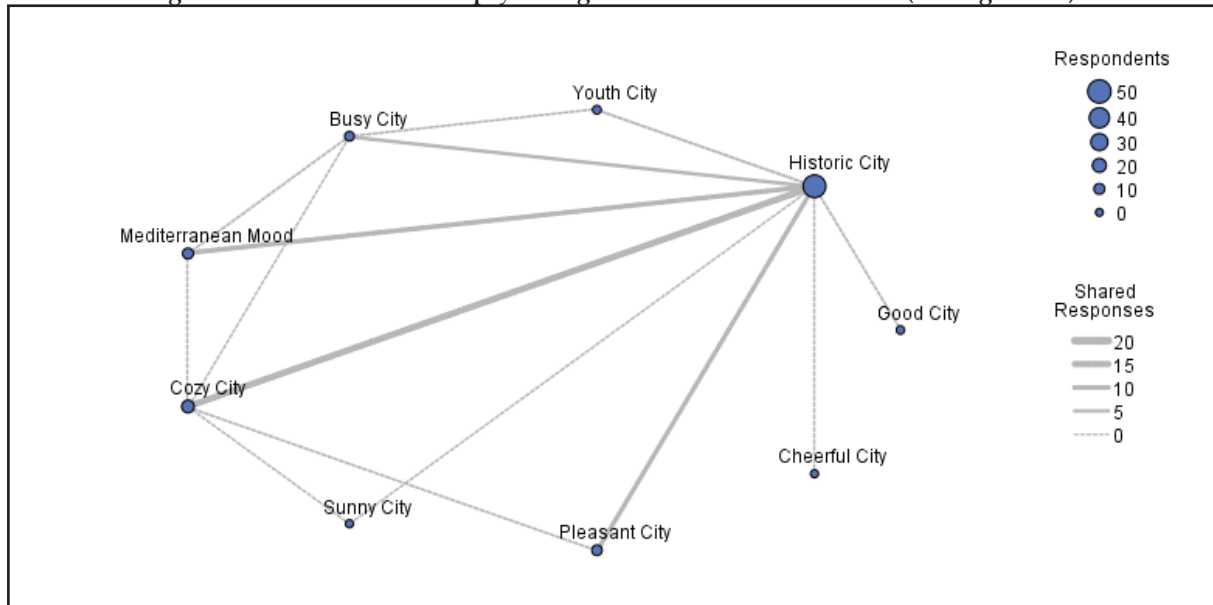


Figure 4 – The most salient psychological characteristics of Pécs (during ECoC)

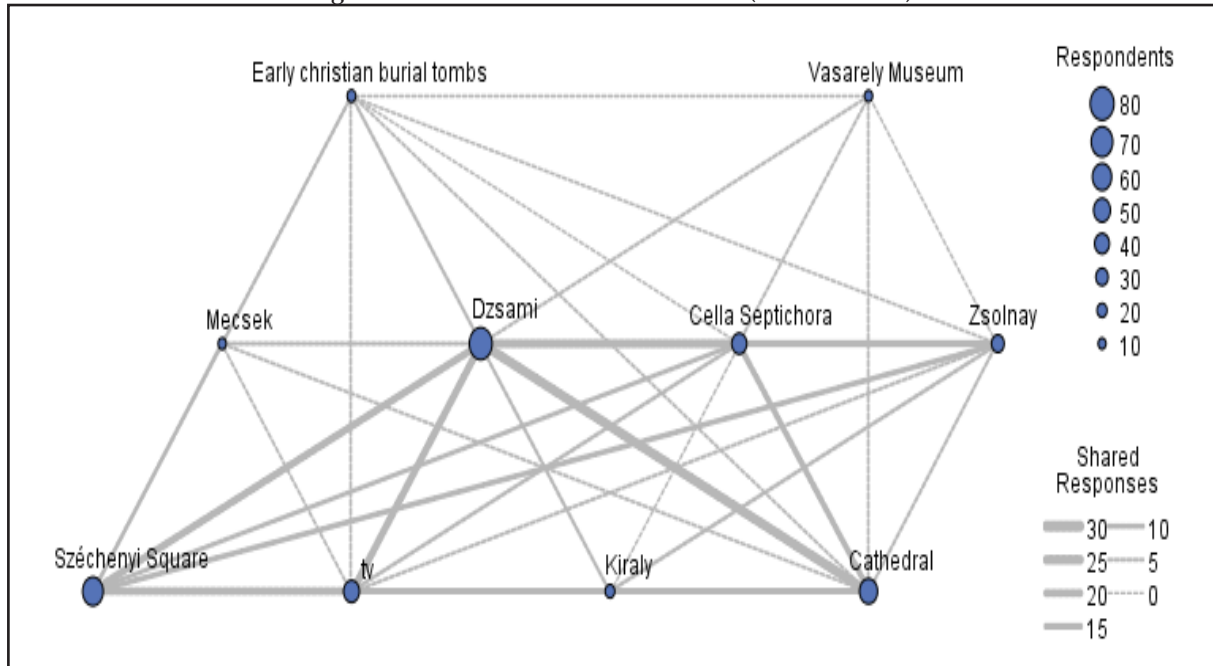


4.4 The distinctive or unique attractions that marked this tourism experience

Among the main tourist attractions in Pécs, we can find the most important Turkish mosque built during the 16th century, the “Dzsami” (73 respondents), the town’s main square, “Széchenyi Square” (62 respondents), the “Cathedral of Pécs” (46 respondents), the “TV Tower” (45 respondents), the “Cella Septichora” (41 respondents), the “Szolnay” porcelain factory (30 respondents), the “Király Street” (17 respondents), the “4th century Christian tombs” (12 respondents), “Mecsek Hills” (11 respondents) and the “Vasarely Museum” (11 respondents).

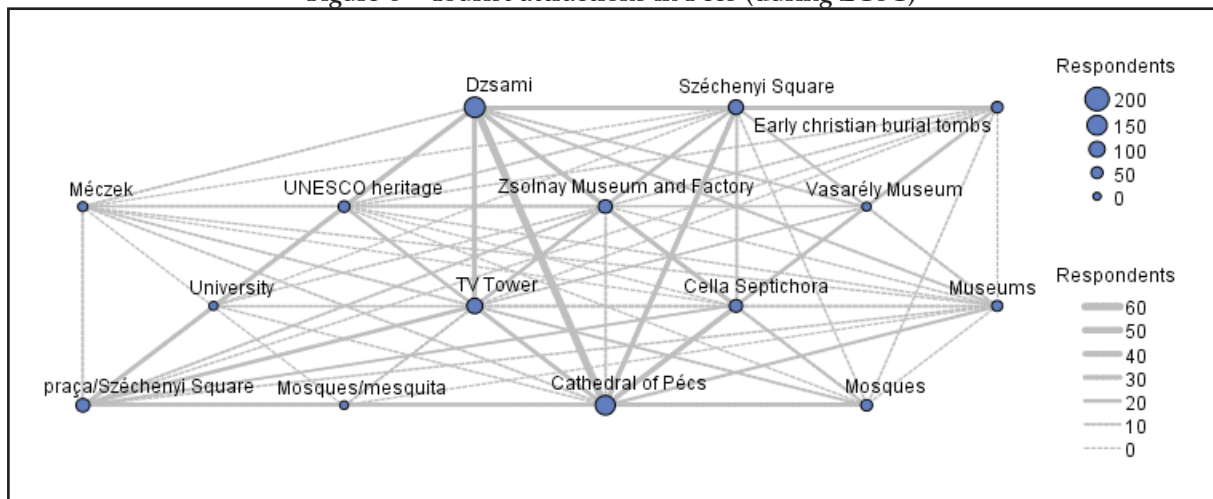
The relationships between every tourist attraction mentioned by the respondents are translated in figure 5. “Dzsami” plays the role of epicenter and is strongly related with the “Cathedral of Pécs”, the “TV Tower” and the “Cella Septichora”.

Figure 5 – Tourist attractions in Pécs (before ECoC)



According to the data obtained during the ECoC in Pécs, some of the projects that were object of intervention under the scope of this event have gained visibility as tourist attractions (figure 6). Respondents single out the Szolnay factory and museum (71), the museums along Museum Street (45) and the inclusion of the city’s heritage on the UNESCO World Heritage list. Still, the Dzsami (by 211 respondents), the Main Square (“Széchenyi Square”, 145), the Cathedral of Pécs (145), the TV Tower (91), the “Cella Septichora” (63) and the archaeological findings of the 4th century Christian tombs (43) were pointed out as well.

Figure 6 – Tourist attractions in Pécs (during ECoC)



The main web visible on figure 6 portrays a relationship set between both main monuments – the Dzsami and the Cathedral of Pécs. With the Dzsami for an epicenter, a route toward Széchnyi Square emerges, on to the Zsolnay factory and museum, and the Museum Street.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Intercity competition has become intensified, mainly, by economical globalization, an information society, and the growing significance of the symbolic as contributing factors to differentiate between cities, and so to sustain or increase their attractiveness. Large events have become important instruments whenever they were integrated with urban management strategies. They contribute to the creation of a festive atmosphere and to communicate the brand, on top of interfering in the way the tourists build their tourist experience.

In practical terms, the results of this investigation point out the following implications for the management of cities and events as tourist destinations:

The ECoC in Pécs allowed the city to develop, under a cohesive theme, new settings for the enactment of tourism experiences, which are herein characterized from functional and emotional points of view by identifying perceptions before and after the ECoC took place in this city. This event contributed to the inclusion in the list of this city's main tourist attractions of some projects that merited visibility due to the event programme, such as the Museum Street and the Zsolnay factory. Besides, the event showed a positive impact with the addition of innovative and creative notes in the development of new tourism experiences, namely in drawing tourist routes along the city and its outskirts.

Identifying psychological attributes through which tourists characterize their experience in Pécs contributes to define the city's atmosphere, based on which the brand positioning and its respective communication strategies will be defined, with due emphasis on the top contributing aspects that made this tourism experience a memorable one.

Developing new tourism experiences must, furthermore, assume as privileged settings all the distinctive and unique attractions in each city, from the tourists' perspective.

The suggestion of the impact of events on the tourism experience and on the image formation of cities as tourist destinations reinforces the importance of selecting the events as a way to provide continuity and consistency to the theme under which the tourist destination develops as experience.

The study of the impact of the ECoC on the perceptions of the tourism experience of cities as tourist destinations helps to strengthen the role of the event in the current scenario. By helping the cities to enhance their differentiating attributes the event contributes to increase their tourist attractiveness and bestows coherence to the tourists' experiences.

This analysis provides those responsible for the city while tourist destination, relevant information to the development of urban tourist routes and thematic experiences, as well as for its communication strategy.

The most relevant features of the atmosphere of the city, to the extent that encompass psychological attributes, allow characterizing the personality of Pécs as a tourist destination, vital information to the development of a brand strategy.

The results obtained within the framework of this research contribute to support the decision-making process of the professionals responsible for the management of the city and, in particular, the creation of urban tourist products.

The knowledge of the functional and psychological perceptions about the experience enables those responsible to develop and communicate the tourist town, while stage of experiences, enhancing the cognitive aspects in the memory of tourists and redesign the strategy of brand positioning of the city as a tourist destination.

In addition, this type of research has implications in the design of the events themselves, contributing to adjust cultural products to consumer expectations - tourists and residents, providing higher levels of satisfaction and memorization. The development of future events can and should benefit from all the work unfolded in the meantime.

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PLANNING FOR INTEGRAL DEVELOPMENT. PUBLIC POLICIES, ECONOMIC GROWTH AND SOCIAL IMPROVEMENTS IN SANTA ROSA (ECUADOR)

José Prada-Trigo

ABSTRACT

Ecuador is immersed, since the adoption of the 2008 Constitution, in a process of economic, social and political changes, following the steps on their path to a more equal, post-extractive and democratic society. The main tool for this purpose, the National Strategy for the «Buen Vivir» (Good living) and the Change in the Production Model emphasizes new ways for producing, consumption and self-organization. Although Ecuadorian Constitution comprises these ideas and the Ecuadorian Government has promoted different programs and strategies, there is a limited analysis about the local manifestations of these policies. In this way, this paper proposes a study of the local strategies developed in a medium-size city in the south of Ecuador through the analysis of the local networks and the initiatives of local actors for developing strategies oriented to this end. Interviews and statistical data (demographic, economic and social data mainly) are used to confirm the level of accomplishment of these objectives. Thus, the existing local networks and the path of the city of Santa Rosa may explain the different level of recent socioeconomic changes taken place at local level instead of Central government policies.

Keywords: Development Policies, Path Dependence, Local Actors, Ecuador

JEL Classification: H53, H75, O21, O54

1. INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

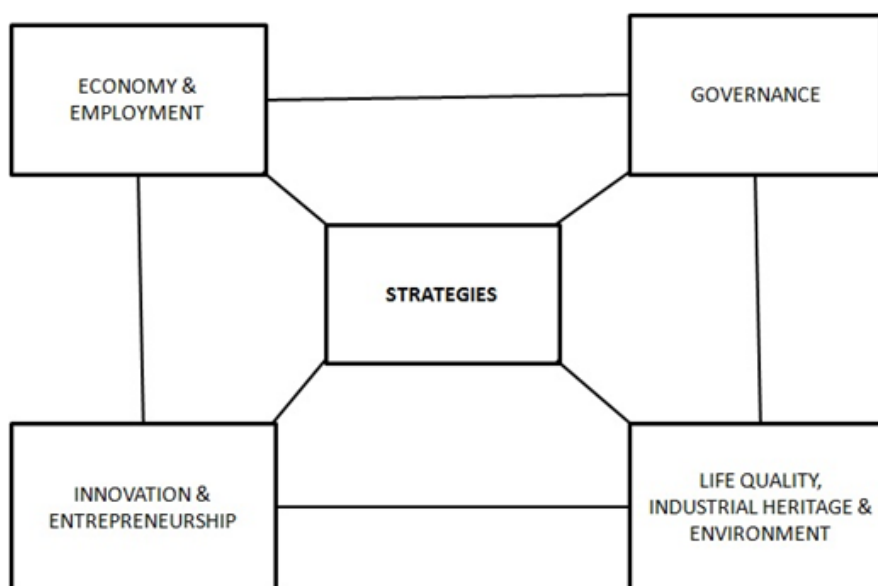
The persistence of high rates of poverty, inequality and insecurity in Latin America is a constant that must be faced, especially in the urban areas of the region. This problem usually appeared in a context of neoliberal policies following the adoption of the “Washington Consensus”. However, the XXI century has begun with major changes in Latin America. Besides the emergence of Brazil as an international actor, there is the coming to power of “new left” governments in several countries and an international context marked by the commodities upward price, very favorable for these countries. This has led to a reconfiguration “outward” and “inward” in all countries. In the first case, the first solids steps towards supranational agreements such as Mercosur, the Pacific Alliance or the Andean Community were given, after decades of internal disagreements. In the second case, there have been changes in the political and territorial management. On the one hand, new governments have initiated measures aimed to mitigate the effects of three decades of neoliberal adjustments, increasing state presence in a contrary process to the one done in other regions such as Europe. On the other hand, there has been a decentralization gradual process, continuing the trend of recent decades, which has granted more autonomy and responsibility to local and regional authorities. On both counts, improvements in forms of

territorial management and agreements have been essential, so that there is now a greater dynamism in relations between Latin American countries and, in parallel, local actors have begun to gain prominence as proactive elements of development. In this sense the key to redefine social policy in Latin America is the space of cities, being municipal governments the forefront to drive these changes.

From this perspective, this article seeks to analyze the translation of changes in territorial management in local areas, based in the case study of Santa Rosa, in Ecuador. Studies on territorial development have gradually incorporated the local dimension of development for more than twenty years ago, when the GREMI (Groupe de Recherche Européen sur les Milieux Innovateurs) began to elaborate these issues, focused on the capacity of local actors to build innovative spaces. Strategies to achieve this configuration of innovative territories from the point of view of integrated territorial development can be interpreted in many different ways. In this article, it has been decided to use a reading based on the main objectives of the measures (Méndez 2010). Thus, these strategies can be directed towards: [i] The economy and employment development; [ii] The improvement of governance and collective management of the city; [iii] The social and economic innovation; and [iv] The improvement of quality of life, the environment and the heritage restoration (Figure 1). Thus, the first ones would be linked to issues such as new industries promotion and economic clusters formation or conversion of traditional sectors to promote economic competitiveness and job creation. The second ones may be related to networking through the development of a culture of cooperation and governance mechanisms. This, than can be achieved through conciliation agencies, incentives to citizen participation or supra-government initiatives, are considered a key element in today's urban development processes (Kooiman 2003). The third type of strategies would be linked to strengthening the innovation structure of a territory by promoting technological centers, spaces for entrepreneurs and business centers. Also, by creating links between research work and economic sectors or by urban promotion (Scott 2006, 8-9). Finally, the fourth type of strategy is related to both, measures aimed at improving urban infrastructure and living conditions of residents, the renewal of the housing stock, as the improvement of the environment or the recovery of historical heritage (Musterd and Murie 2010).

This reading of the development strategies emphasizes the evolution experienced by each city after the "relational turn" suffered by the social sciences in the mid-nineties. In this sense, special attention is paid to local trajectories as economic or social structures inherited through the concept of "*path dependence*" proposed by the Evolutionary Economic Geography. A *path dependence* process or system is one whose dynamics evolves as a result of the own trajectory that follows the system (Martin and Sunley 2006, 399). That is, decisions made in the past affect the ability to make new choices, so that the dynamics of a city is not considered a rigid sequence, determined by the technology or the past, but a kind of "road map" in which certain directions are displayed, more easily identified than others (Walker 200, 126). Closely related to this is the concept of "lock-in" which refers to the persistence of inefficiencies in the systems or economies because of the path followed.

Figure 1. Interpretive perspective of local development strategies



Own elaboration from Méndez (2010)

In the case of Ecuador, there was a major break in 2007, when Rafael Correa became president of the Republic, opening a new period in which a number of changes occurs within the framework of what has become known as “the Citizen Revolution”. With this, the role of the State, will now have a more active influence in all spheres of society, imposing new guidelines in the political system, the economy and social policies, representing a radical shift in the course of the country compared to the previous decades, markedly neoliberal (Ramírez, 2009). Among the political changes taking place since 2007 in the country, it can mention some milestones such as: [i] The adoption of a new Constitution in 2008. In it, comprehensive rights are recognized to workers, poor persons, disabled, women, homosexuals, indigenous and ethnic minorities. [ii] The creation of new ministries and administrative structures to implement these rights: the Ministry of Social Inclusion, of Planning, Production Jobs and Competitiveness, etc. [iii] The nationalization of different companies in strategic sectors. It is considered that the State should have control of communications, energy resources or strategic sectors and proceeds to seize and nationalize companies in these sectors, large and underused farm buildings belonging to people related to drug trafficking or fraud to public finances. [iv] SENPLADES, the National Secretary of Planning and Development, it is created in charge to developing the broad guidelines of economic, urban and connections to the country with the aim of achieving these goals of economic development and territorial cohesion. [v] In this regard, it is the biggest investment made in infrastructure throughout the country’s history. New airports are created, the road network is improved, historic railroad after decades of neglect is recovered and put at work and major ports are expanded, with the aim of structuring the country and provide greater productivity to Ecuadorian companies.

These actions have an economic goal: changing the country’s role in the global economy and changing its productive matrix, one of the priorities of the current government (Senplades 2012). To do that, four key strategies are proposed: [i] Change a “primary-extractive” model to one adding value to the products. The aim is to stop exporting raw materials (especially oil) and importing manufactured goods, starting transformation of these products within the country and to move to export them as manufactured goods with added value, making launch an industry sector that in 2001 occupied 10.3% of the active population and in 2010 only 9.7% the population. [ii] In parallel to this, it seeks to encourage new

industries, technologically advanced and environmentally sustainable: renewable energy, pharmaceuticals, petrochemicals, tourism, etc. to help diversifying sources of income. [iii] Thirdly, it is intended to reduce imports of goods and services, moving to produce them in the country. To accomplish this objective, it is intended encouraging the creation of business in Ecuador. This will be accomplished by creating tariffs on certain products through measures reminiscent of the imports substitution model, put in action in the region during the 60s [iv] Finally, attempts are made to diversify the markets to which it is exported, placing greater emphasis on Latin America and emerging countries such as China and reducing dependence on the north American market.

Among the social policies pursued by the government of Correa was the National Plan for Good Living (PNBV its Spanish acronym), a four-year plan that seeks to improve the living conditions of the population by meeting needs that go beyond economic growth: decent work, energy sovereignty, equality, social cohesion, political decisions, comprehensive safety. After an initial Plan (2009-2013) a second Plan (2013-2017) was derived from the establishment of 12 national targets that should be accomplished to achieve the Good Living society of. These objectives, relating to political, economic and social transformation of the country must be achieved through a series of policies and targets with the 2017 horizon (Senplades 2013). To this end, funds have been allocated to improve the public education system and the creation of a public health system at all levels. Politically the implementation of participatory mechanisms and a process of political decentralization are contemplated in order to bring the administration closer to the citizen.

Programs were also carried out to provide minimum living conditions for the poorest families and to integrate people with disabilities. The first of them, the Human Development Bond is an Ecuadorian direct cash subsidy that was implemented in September 1998 for the poorest families. The Correa government increased the mensual bond to \$ 50 in 2013, with plan beneficiaries' 1.9 million people nationwide. The second one, the Manuela Espejo Mission is an intervention program for people with disabilities on four key areas: education, care, prevention and inclusion (Moreno 2012, 322). After identification and location of persons with disabilities in the country, tasks of attention were carried out (through the delivery of technical assistance and affordable housing), prevention (through early detection of potential disabilities) and inclusion (provided by a labor legislation reform that requires companies of a certain size to have a minimum percentage of disabled persons). Both programs have been internationally recognized for their effects on inequalities reduction.

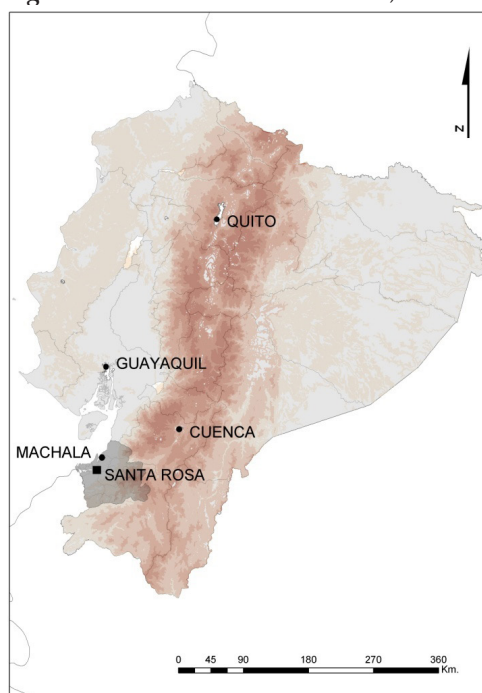
After six years of implementation, all these measures have already some visible results on issues such as poverty reduction (which, according to the National Institute of Statistics and Census decreased by 11% between 2007 and 2013). Reduction of inequalities: Ecuador was the Latin American country that has better performance in terms of the Gini index (Table 1) or the behavior of annual GDP, which was higher than the regional average in most years (Table 2). Although social, economic and political developments of the new government seem clear, there is not strong evidence that these changes are also transferred to the local level or are achieving the objectives of PNBV or that are changing the productive matrix in that scale. Therefore, it seems appropriate to make an approach through the case study and with research methods that combine statistics with qualitative techniques. In this sense, the canton of Santa Rosa has been chosen as a case study, a space that has received significant attention by the national government, as will be seen below, and which shows in parallel a clear continuity in local government. External actors and, above all, local ones have today an important explanatory weight in the policies adopted and the trajectory of local areas. Therefore, the research presents an analytical-interpretive approach that combines qualitative and quantitative methodologies. First, it uses a range of sources (previous studies, planning documents, news from the local and regional press...) with economic,

demographic and social statistics, with the intention of locating the local path of Santa Rosa. However, the main source of information used as a reference for the interpretation of the analyzed revitalization strategies is the performance of a dozen interviews with local and supra-local actors. These belong to different domains (political, economic, journalistic, social movements...) and institutions (public, private, associations). Their input has been instrumental in the development of this research. From the fieldwork and the results of interviews with local actors, the undertaken development and revitalization strategies are developed and interpreted and the results thereof are checked.

2. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY: SANTA ROSA

Santa Rosa Canton is located south of Ecuador, in the province of El Oro, near the border with Peru and adjacent to the provincial capital, Machala (Figure 2). Although Santa Rosa was founded in the early seventeenth century, for many years it remained a as a town having almost no economic activity. However, shortly after the discovery of gold mining in the region, it became in the forced passage of trade, which greatly facilitated its development. In this sense, the city has its main in is establishment as a place of transit of goods and people, both to the mining area of Portovelo and Zaruma as to Loja in the east and to Peru in the south. As result of this strategic position, during the war between Ecuador and Peru in the early 40's, Santa Rosa was occupied by Peruvian troops on July 5, 1941 and remained invaded for seven months until February 1942 The city was bombed and Peruvian troops looted and burned it leaving the town virtually destroyed. The civilian population had to flee to the province of Guayas or to El Oro elevated areas. After the war, there was the launch of banana cultivation in the 50s (Robert, 2009), and shrimping, ten years later. This involved a population growth, people came attracted by the labor supply by these companies, and Santa Rosa is currently the third core population of the province, behind Machala and Pasaje with 69,036 inhabitants.

Figure 2. Location of Santa Rosa, Ecuador



Own elaboration

As shown in Table 1, today the employment of this canton is mainly concentrated in the primary sector (from agriculture, livestock and shrimp farming) and tertiary (through trade and public administration). Thus, the primary sector (agriculture and mining and quarrying) employs more than 32% of the total workforce (37% if we disregard the undeclared or new workers), which contrasts with a city settlement of nearly 70,000 inhabitants. The service sector, which receives almost half of the local workforce, is still at the beginning of its development, with a heavy weight of the commerce sector, followed by public administration. Meanwhile, the construction and industry appear poorly developed, indicating a weakness in the ability of this canton in the secondary sector that generates a higher value added and indirect employment. When comparing the sectorial evolution from 2001, it can be seen that agriculture has decreased its participation in the distribution of employment by 8%, even though the total number of workers has increased. The rest of the activities showed modest variations, highlighting growth of industry and construction and, especially, of other activities related to the service sector (hotels, domestic service, real estate...) that in general, have little value added.

Table 1. Total Population and Percentage by industry in Santa Rosa (2010)

Activity brach	2001		2010		%
	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage	Difference
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	8.358	38	8.598	30	-8
Mining and quarrying	176	1	499	2	1
Industry and distribution of water, gas and electricity	1.042	5	1.795	6	1
Construction	1.180	5	1.686	6	1
Wholesale and retail	3.371	15	4.533	16	1
Public administration, health and education	3.651	16	4.387	15	-1
Other service activities	2.032	9	3.866	13	4
Undeclared	2.254	10	2.346	8	-2
New worker	138	1	1.105	4	3
Total	22.202	100	28.815	100	0

Compiled by us from INEC data (2010)

An important element of Santa Rosa has been the provision of investment or development projects by the central government. In the canton have been built or are planned several highways to Peru and to Machala, intending to connect this city with the border crossing Huaquillas-Tumbes and the regional capital, as part of a highway that extends from Huaquillas to Quito through Guayaquil. Secondly, 2010 supposed the closure of the airport that existed within the urban center of Machala and the opening of the Regional Airport of Santa Rosa, northwest of the city. The investment, which involved an outlay of \$47 million, does not seem to have recovered by the time, considering that the expected number of annual travelers contrasted with an average of about 4,500 per month and only one operational route with two daily flights to Quito. Thirdly, stands out the building a bi-national bus terminal in Santa Rosa whose works are already advanced. The State Bank gave a loan to Santa Rosa Municipal Government of more than 6 million dollars to build this infrastructure, estimated to benefit more than 28,000 passengers per year. The terminal will be located next to the airport and will have 34 platforms, shops, food court etc. so that an ordered traffic can be set up, to and from Peru and Loja,

Finally, the central government is planning in collaboration with the provincial government, the construction of an industrial eco-park in Santa Rosa. For this project have been allocated 1,000 hectares of land of which, 300 will be used in the first phase, to try to capture large-anchor companies that generate auxiliary industries. It is estimated that the project can generate about 3,000 direct jobs and 20,000 indirect jobs in industries processing agricultural products, which will generate added value to the production of bananas, coffee, cocoa and mainly shrimp.

From the point of view of local initiatives, following the pattern of the introduction, we have been able to find in Santa Rosa, development strategies that would focus on the above four aspects (figure 1). First, among those strategies aimed to economic development and job creation, stands out on one side, the weight that large infrastructures (airport and bus station, roads, etc.) would have for attracting investment. Although its development is still limited and nascent, it is considered that the startup of the terminal will have a positive effect on job creation, by now; the airport's capacity for job creation is less than it was expected. In any case, the construction of these works has also generated a significant number of jobs, which would have led to even migration from Peru to work on them. Although mostly the regional or provincial governments have financed the works, the local government has played an active role in searching for these partnerships, and in generating facilities for such initiatives.

Secondly, in the case of the promotion of governance and collective management of the city, despite that apparently mechanisms for citizen participation has not been found, it is evident the initiative from the local government to collaborate with other supra-local institutions. On the one hand, the Ministry of Industries had created there an Office of Economic Development with the intention of carrying out local projects. This Ministry also worked with the Provincial Council, the Technical University of Machala and the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, Aquaculture and Fisheries. It was also found a willingness to work with the central government, who is the one who carried out the airport and has designed the industrial eco-park in collaboration with the provincial government. On the other hand, the work of the bus station has been run with funds from the State Bank of Investment that has also subsidized a work for flood control in the city. This, however, does not necessarily imply the need to implement mechanisms for citizen participation, mechanisms that do not seem to be well developed in the city, despite the statistical data that are discussed below. In this regard, it seemed significant that three local associations, one environmental and two social, in the city has been identified, but at the moment to contact them for interviews as part of the fieldwork, it was found that all three had been dissolved.

Thirdly, among those measures related to strengthening the structure of territorial innovation, compared to the absence of technological centers and universities in the city, highlights the work the office of entrepreneurship, which is configured as a training center for entrepreneurs. This organization has developed workshops on business plans for micro entrepreneurs and has tried to assist in channeling business plans. The problem is that there are no grants to start the business. In some case it has made arrangements with local banks to provide credit, but the problem is they do not easily give loans to entrepreneurs. Other institutions as the Chamber of Commerce have also organized training courses, but they noted that the acceptance among the local population is not very positive, attending them even more people from outside than from the Santa Rosa canton.

Finally, if we refer to strategies related to quality of life, environment and urban planning, Santa Rosa starts from an intermediate position compared to other districts of the province with 61.4% poverty by unsatisfied basic needs in 2006 (table 2). However, in 2010 reached the third best position regarding this indicator within fourteen cantons (just behind Marcebelí and Piñas), so that its evolution was one of the best of El Oro. Some causes of this

improvement have to do with the combined action of local and supra-local agencies. Among the first, would be the provision of facilities and urban renewal carried out by the local government, which took the initiative to acquire an asphalt plant and machinery to carry out a renovation of 15 km of urban roads per year, having reached an improvement city vial of 60%. Meanwhile, the national government would have undertaken the construction of new classrooms and renovation of schools. Despite this, there could still be problems of pollution in rivers, by mercury and by discharges wastewater that the municipality does not treat

Although the interpretation of these strategies may have multiple readings, in this case, ours will be according to issues related to the National Plan for Good Living and Change in Matrix Production. In the first case, most indicators have behaved in a positive way, such as the percentage of poverty previously commented. In this regard, Table 2 shows that between 2006 and 2010, the percentage of poverty due to unsatisfied basic needs, increased in 6 out of 14 cantons, with special virulence in Huaquillas, Balsas and the capital, Machala. Conversely, a decrease of this indicator in eight cantons was observed, led by Santa Rosa, but in any case, it fell to 50% of people affected by it. Another important set of indicators related to the levels of quality of life can bring more light on these issues (Table 3). In this regard, a series of data referring to the evolution of Santa Rosa, in comparison to those of its province, (taken from the 2001 and 2010 Census of Population and Housing), show how in this period the percentage of homes without electricity, sewer service waste collection, potable water, private shower or private toilet facility, declined more in Santa Rosa than in El Oro. The studied canton clearly approached to the provincial average in all the above indicators. Furthermore, data related to roof, floor and walls conditions of the houses, not available for 2001, already reflect an equal or better position of them in Santa Rosa than in El Oro.

Table 2. % Poverty by Unsatisfied Basic Needs in the cantons of El Oro (2006-2010)

Canton	2006	2010	Difference
Machala	49,5	56,9	7,4
Arenillas	69,3	71,8	2,5
Atahualpa	61,7	59,3	-2,4
Balsas	60	69,6	9,6
Chilla	86,5	84	-2,5
El Guabo	71,9	74,3	2,4
Huaquillas	61,1	73,9	12,8
Marcabelí	65,8	52,9	-12,9
Pasaje	55,1	59	3,9
Piñas	59,2	56,1	-3,1
Portovelo	59,8	59,5	-0,3
Santa Rosa	61,4	56,6	-4,8
Zaruma	63,7	62,8	-0,9
Las Lajas	79,6	71,7	-7,9

Compiled by us, using data from the Provincial Road Plan of El Oro Government (2006) and INEC (2010)

If we look at the issue of territorial governance, which is one of the cornerstones of the National Plan for Good Living, Table 4 shows that the county seems to have developed a better management and participation of its citizens is Santa Rosa. It is always among the best positioned canton in the province in terms of increased strength in the public participation

component, availability of participatory Local Development Plans, mechanisms for consultation and accountability, even surpassing the capital in three of them, and being the best positioned in the first, which would demonstrate a breakthrough in another element of the comprehensive territorial development.

Table 3. Indicators of quality of life in cantons studied (2010)

	Santa Rosa	El Oro	Sta. Rosa	El Oro	Santa Rosa	El Oro
	2001		2010		%	
Percentage of households without electricity	7	5	3	3	-4	-2
Percentage of households without sewer	43	43	32	35	-11	-8
Percentage of households without waste collector car	39	31	19	14	-20	-17
Percentage of households without drinking water	18	25	12	21	-6	-4
Percentage of households without private toilet facility	37	31	25	23	-12	-8
Percentage of households without private shower	42	39	35	32	-7	-7
Housing with bad condition roofs	-	-	14	15	-	-
Housing with bad condition walls	-	-	11	11	-	-
Housing with bad condition floors	-	-	13	14	-	-

Compiled by us from INEC (2010)

Table 4. Levels of citizen participation in the Cantons of El Oro

	Strength component of citizen participation	It has a Participatory Local Development Plan	Application of consultation mechanisms	Mechanisms of accountability
Arenillas	57	25	65	30
Atahualpa	10	5	5	5
Balsas	5	51	5	5
Chilla	33	90	50	55
El Guabo	10	5	40	5
Huaquillas	69	60	55	55
Las Lajas	65	80	80	70
Marcabelí	50	100	95	100
Pasaje	72	75	45	60
Machala	60	60	90	60
Piñas	50	60	75	80
Portovelo	59	52	65	50
Santa Rosa	82	70	80	80
Zaruma	45	77	43	43
El Oro	48	59	57	50

Compiled by us from data of the State Bank: <https://consulta.bancoestado.com>

Secondly, regarding the change in the productive matrix discussed before, the evidence found in Santa Rosa remark that, despite progress, there has been no radical change in the production model, heavily dependent on the banana and shrimp. On one hand, it seems that the development of these sectors has decreased the level of employment requiring, having led, in the words of an economic actor, to the decline in the commercial sector by

reducing consumption. To this problem it should add the fact that proximity to Peru is seen as negative, since this country traders come to sell their products cheaper or to work for lower wages than Ecuadorians. On the other hand, most productive aid and loans have been granted to projects related to agriculture such as bananas and coffee. This makes the ability to affect change in the production model proves weak. However, a political actor noted that in the past year had been about six ventures related to the transformation of this raw material, being at that time also organizing other ventures related to the textile sector. On the other hand, business innovation was still in a very precarious state in the county, because those companies with investments in areas such as waste management (0.39% of total) , research and development (0.17 %) or training and education (1.88%) were minor (Table 5) something which, however, is a common situation in the country. Unfortunately, the lack of availability of data on this scale on imports and exports limits the interpretation of the change of the productive matrix, although the evidence collected in the work field and sectorial statistics are not very positive.

Table 5. Companies that made investments for innovative processes or products

	Santa Rosa
Expenditure on waste management	9
Expenditure on research and development	4
Expenditure on training and development	43
Total enterprises	2281

INEC (2010)

3. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The cities have become the key elements of catalyzing territorial development strategies promoted by the governments, having taken the helm of the management of local areas after having undergone a process of political decentralization. In this sense, not only large Latin American cities are the protagonists of urban regeneration strategies, investment for economic growth or innovative policies from social and cultural fields. The cities of intermediate size sometimes inspired by these initiatives and on other occasions by implementing innovative ideas, today are also protagonists of territorial development.

In the case of Santa Rosa, this paper has shown the importance of fighting against certain social (lack of facilities, poverty and poor quality of life) and economic problems (significant weight of agriculture, lack of business innovation, etc.) that are at the bottom of policies aimed at achieving the National Plan for Good Living and the change in the production model. In this sense, the work of planning developed by the Central Government has been coordinated with the actions from local institutions, which has had positive consequences. The most obvious improvements have taken place in the field of housing, urban planning and living conditions, areas where there have been important advances. In the case of change in the production matrix, from sectorial change or the introduction of innovations in processes and products, the evidence found, lower than in the case of social elements, show a minor incidence of development policies in this regard.

This leads us to two basic issues. Firstly, the need of improving the mechanisms and economic statistics at the local level, since it is priority to track their trends. Secondly the validity of the case studies and local trajectories in studies of urban, economic and social geography, as are relevant to explaining the evolution of these aspects and, finally, the need

for new cases helping to refine the research methodology and carry out comparisons between case studies at national and regional level.

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