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Instituto Universitario de Estudios e Desenvolvemento de Galicia

NEW TRENDS IN
THE RENEWAL OF THE CITY

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the renewal of the City

Young Scholars Book • 1
Geography

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IDEGA-USC

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Preface

As Director and Secretary of the IDEGA (Universitary Institute for the Studies and Development of Galicia), from University of Santiago de Compostela, we know the extraordinary importance of diffusion and dissemination of the results of any research.

IDEGA is a center of the University of Santiago de Compostela (Galicia, Spain), devoted to scientific research and technical assessment, and also organises other activities.In the field of research, IDEGA undertakes basic and applied research in Social Sciences, focusing on problems of past and present development, and especially on social and economic issues in Galicia. IDEGA is a centre of interdisciplinarity between Economics, History, Geography and Sociology.

In the field of teaching, IDEGA works in the education of specialists, as well as undertaking lifelong learning and training of professionals, research in Social Sciences and non-university teaching.Another important task is the attraction of funding and the undertaking of technical works within the fields of competence of the institute for institutions, companies and people.

Also, IDEGA offers to the scientific community data bases, bibliographic and documentary sources, related to its specific research areas. We promote scientific interchange, through the organization of seminars, debates, conferences, scientific meetings and another activities. Established in 1975, the IDEGA is a social science institute of great dynamism within Galicia. Currently there are more than 30 researchers, integrated in 7 groups of research, associated with IDEGA.

With this in mind, it is a pleasure for the IDEGA to publish this book. Here the reader can find interesting research by young researchers from different european and american universities, including several from the University of Santiago de Compostela. All of them take an active part in the annual, regional and world conferences organized by the International Geographical Union Urban Commission - "Emerging Urban Transformations" - through the presentation of papers and participation in workshops.

This *Young Scholars Committee* book is an important contribution to geographical knowledge, edited from a university in the South-West of Europe, at the end of one of the oldest ways of pilgrimage of the World, the Way of Saint James, and more than 500-years-old . The IDEGA is very honoured to collaborate with the International Geographical Union, as well as to promote young scholars. They will be the future of Geography.

Santiago de Compostela, May 2011

Melchor Fernández,
Director of the IDEGA
Miguel Pazos,
Secretary of the IDEGA

Foreword

Since 2008 more people are living in urban settlements than in rural areas for the first time in human history. Although the transition from rural to urban lifestyles has already taken place in many countries, this urban change now affects the whole world, and is taking place at the same time as major new transformations in our existing human habitat. As more of the world's population lives and works within an urban habitat, the intrinsic properties of urban systems and urban settlements have become the most important determinants of human life. Within this newly urban world, the size and characteristics of the cities in which we live shape our life chances, our economic and social opportunities and our quality of life, especially within the huge metropolitan concentrations. But a series of emerging trends are rapidly transforming the character of these cities and hinterlands which influence so much of our day-to-day lives. These are seen in new combinations of urban land use mixes, varied degrees of concentration or de-concentration, changing spatial distributions of employment, income and ethnicity, a revived emphasis on civic culture and policies, increasing concern about the new hazards of the city life, in addition to an increasing recognition of the need to incorporate historical heritages and address the quality of life and amenities in cities. At the same time, these urban transformations have imposed even greater pressures upon the nearby countryside.

The International Geographical Union established a commission on urban geography 1976, and this commission has been renewed and the goals reformulated since. The present Urban Commission (IGU–Urban Geography Commission 2008-2012: Emerging Urban Transformations) is designed to

encourage geographical research on new urban problems, and to further the exchange of findings among urban geographers from many countries. Since cities, with their distinctive processes and problems, are major features of the modern world, it is vital to focus on their characteristics, problems and solutions in a comparative global context. A key aspect of the commission is the encouragement of younger scholars to participate in the commission activities. This book edited by Maria José Piñeira Mantiñán (Santiago) and Niamh Moore (Dublin) is the first result of the effort of the young scholars group. The group has set focus on the city, and they look on urban space, revitalization, tourism, social reality, urban identity, image building and urban marketing. Five authors from Poland, Cuba, Spain, France and Ireland present papers on ´Swiebodzin, Havana, Bari, Paris and Dublin in a context of urban theory. They illustrates that although the various processes causing urban transformations are common to many countries, the new changes in the geography and marketing of cities, take different but still similar forms from city to city.

Christian Matthiessen

President:
Urban Geography Commission 2008-2012:
Emerging Urban Transformations

Introduction

The key role of the IGU Urban Commission is to encourage geographical research on new urban problems, and to further the exchange of findings among urban geographers from many countries. Since cities, with their distinctive processes and problems, are major features of the modern world, it is important that researchers examine their characteristics, problems and solutions in a comparative global context. This book is the first in a series to be produced by the Young Scholars Committee that takes up this challenge. The Committee aim to encourage participation by and harness ideas from younger members to ensure the sustainability of this important Commission into the future. Three key research areas are of interest to us:

- Interdependent urban systems;

- Change and conflict within cities;

- Sustainability and social justice.

The papers in this collection highlight the link between each of these thematic areas. Common to all of the papers is a concern with how cities are projecting themselves in an increasingly competitive global environment. Broadly all of the papers are interested in the urban image being developed and presented by cities, particularly to external stakeholders such as investors, tourists and others. What is most interesting is that although a range of international case studies are examined here from Poland, Cuba, France, Ireland and Italy, similar issues confront all of them.

In these papers, cities are conceptualised as lived experiences rather than simply technical systems. A number of the contributions here question who

the city is being developed for, potential investors or the residents who live there and experience the city on a daily basis. The sustainability of the kinds of strategies being adopted in both historic cities and in more contemporary developments is a key theme and one that should be a key concern for all of those interested in urban studies.

Our Committee hopes that this and future volumes of work by Young Scholars will provide a way of sharing urban knowledge internationally, of learning from the experience of other cities and, through dialogue, of generating new ideas on how cities can be better understood and managed in the coming decades. Much of the research upon which this collection of papers is based stems from the challenges that globalisation is generating for urban areas. These challenges have local, regional, national and global dimensions and we hope that future volumes will develop this theme. In light of the current economic crisis that now faces so many countries and cities, understanding how our cities work, their role in national and international networks and their potential for future development is critical.

The Young Scholars Committee welcome ideas from scholars internationally for other volumes or for other activities that might allow us to fulfil our goal of giving voice to new ideas about the future of our cities. We may be contacted through the Young Scholars Committee link on the Commission webpage (http://igu-urban.com/), through the Chair of the Committee (Niamh.moore@ucd.ie) or Editor of this volume (mariajose.pineira@usc.es). We hope that this volume will be the first of many that highlight the contribution Young Scholars can make to important international discussions.

Niamh Moore and Maria Jose Pineira,

April 2011

Urban identities in a globalising world: Reimaging Dublin city

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ABSTRACT

Cities are the economic drivers of globalisation and the need for them to be increasingly competitive has resulted in major challenges for urban identity. This paper examines how the pursuit of urban entrepreneurial policies in Dublin, Ireland has fostered a culture of creating globally recognisable images as a means of competing for international investment. One result of this in practice has been the replication of apparently successful global images and strategies in a wide variety of locations with some minor variations. The paper illustrates how local government and business organisations are creating and projecting very similar urban identities and it argues that this is a core aspect of an entrepreneurial urban

agenda designed to retain and maximise the city's global appeal. The results of the analysis demonstrate the key role of urban design in promoting the entrepreneurial agenda of a variety of urban stakeholders, but also generate questions related to the sustainability of this approach to creating an urban identity.

Keywords: Urban identity, globalisation, marketing, image building

RÉSUMÉ

Les villes sont les chauffeurs économiques de globalisation et le besoin pour eux pour être de plus en plus compétitif s'est ensuivi dans les défis importants pour l'identité urbaine. Ce papier examine comment la poursuite de politiques entrepreneuriales urbaines à Dublin, Irlande a encouragé une culture de création des images à l'échelle mondiale reconnaissables comme un moyen de concurrence pour l'investissement international. Un résultat de cela a en pratique été la réplication d'images globales apparemment réussies et de stratégies dans une large variété d'endroits avec quelques variations mineures. Le papier illustre comment la collectivité locale et les organisations d'affaires créent et projettent des identités urbaines très semblables et il soutient que c'est un aspect de base d'un ordre du jour urbain entrepreneurial conçu pour retenir et maximiser l'appel global de la ville. Les résultats de l'analyse démontrent le rôle clé de design urbain dans la promotion de l'ordre du jour entrepreneurial d'une variété de parieurs urbains, mais produisent aussi des questions rattachées au sustainability de cette approche à la création d'une identité urbaine.

Mots clé: l'identité urbaine, la globalisation, le marketing de la ville, l'image

INTRODUCTION

Cities are the economic drivers of globalisation; a striking fact given that just 14% of the world's population lived in cities in 1900. In recent decades, globalisation and rapid urbanisation have resulted in the shaping of the structure, appearance and design of many cities. Competition for a shrinking pot of international investment is critical in this increasingly globalised world shaping both economic and policy choices. However, these cannot be separated or considered in isolation from the social and cultural elements that give cities their identities, rather they are inexplicably intertwined.

This paper examines how the pursuit of urban entrepreneurial policies in Dublin, Ireland has fostered a culture of creating globally recognisable images as a means of competing for international investment. The process of doing so has resulted in an increased use of marketing strategies, once primarily associated with the business world but now incorporated into the privatised realm of local government. At the heart of these campaigns are the images created for promotional and attraction purposes, and it is these images that I suggest are utilised to create a global urban identity for the city. Identity is generally assumed to be place specific but this is challenged when numerous cities replicate images, and the processes that created them, in order to put their locale on the international map. The effects of this process has generated considerable debate in geographic circles, and many argue the uniqueness of place is greatly reduced in such instances (Amin & Thrift, 1996; Harvey, 1996; May, 1996; Healey, 2002; Cresswell, 2004; Massey, 1994, 2005, 2007).

Global Political Processes of Change

The concept of globalisation first emerged in the 1960's with the discussion by Marshall McLuhan of a global village (Johnston et. al, 2000). This period was characterised by a move to considering social, cultural, political and economic processes at a global scale. The rise of 'the global' was explained by the concept of time-space compression, whereby high speed communications between states and societies in different parts of the

globe was being facilitated by new technologies. It was no longer necessary to conduct business in person neither did it necessitate unnecessary international travel. Key to the expansion of globalisation was the development, strengthening and continued reliance on international networks, relationships and linkages, while the command and network roles of cities gained in prominence. The neoliberal political framework that guided this transformation continues to shape the pattern of global interconnectedness; it is for this reason that neither globalisation nor neoliberalism can be understood to be complete rather they are intertwined political processes that are on-going and constantly evolving (Ward, 2003; Healey, 2004; Peck, 2005; Brenner, Peck & Theodore, 2010). Amin &Thrift (2009) define the city as a "*set of constantly evolving systems or networks"*. They further emphasise the importance of cities as "*places of work, consumption, circulation, play, creativity, excitement, boredom"* (ibid). If the influences upon, as well as the influences of, these global cities are constantly evolving then it is reasonable to suggest that the identity or image they project must also transform.

The context within which this transformation occurred has been variably described as an 'urban renaissance' (Scott, 2008) or the 'new urbanism' (Massey, 2008; Allen, Massey & Pryke, 1999; Ward, 2003). These concepts embrace the process and consequences of the move away from heavy manufacturing toward a flexible post-fordist, knowledge based service economy marked by the embracing of neoliberal urban policies characterised by liberalisation, marketisation and privatisation (Harvey, 1989; Jessop, 1995; Peck & Tickell, 2002; Ward, 2003; Brenner, 2004; Scott, 2006; Pratt, 2008; Ren, 2008; Brenner, Peck & Theodore, 2010). This approach is largely responsible for the current shape of cities today, particularly in the Western world but increasingly in countries like China. Entrepreneurial urban governance, which marked the decline of a Keynesian type approach to urban development (Harvey, 1989; Ren, 2008), has provided the mechanism through which neoliberalism has been 'grounded' in space. Harvey argues that *'the role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices."* (2009) and in his earlier work he characterises the entrepreneurial city as one where public-private partnerships dominate and risk taking, profit motivation, inventiveness and increased competitiveness, have become key drivers (Hubbard and Hall,

1996). As "*cities are the economic drivers of the regional and national economy"* (Ward, 2003), they must be successful and this has become ever more important in the context of growing competition for mobile investment. The adoption of international marketing strategies, construction of large scale redevelopment projects such as sports arenas and entertainment venues, the designation of cultural quarters, promotion of local events and festivals coupled with the involvement of international designers and architects in re-shaping the built environment have become key tools in delivering the entrepreneurial agenda. It is therefore unsurprising that urban design has become critical in communicating the global aspirations of cities and has become a key activity in facilitating the city marketing and branding agendas. Actors involved in this process include but are not limited to private developers, city managers, chambers of commerce and other business associations. Together the processes of urban design, image production and city marketing actively create a particular brand and identity for a city that often outlives the strategies that produced them.

The images of the city conceptualised by this broad coalition of actors and created during the urban design process cannot be considered shallow visual images but rather they are embedded with meanings of the city (Lynch, 1973). Vanolo (2008) describes the meanings attributed to city images by local inhabitants and actors as "*internal images"* (2008) but it would be naive to assume that these are read in the same way by all stakeholders. In addition, the images projected internationally through city marketing can be defined as external images and it is these combined with the internal images that construct urban identity. However, Castells (2004) argues that the "*social construction of identity always takes place in a context marked by power relations"* (2004) so not all urban actors will or can equally influence the production of the city image in the same way. Lynch and de Chernatony (2004) suggest that a successful image or identity should embrace a cluster of "*functional and emotional values that promise a unique and welcome experience"* (cited in Dinnie, 2004). Thus for a city brand or identity to achieve its goal of being globally attractive, it must promote its place-specific qualities while simultaneously retaining a global appeal. One result of this in practice has been the replication of apparently successful global images and strategies in a wide variety of locations with some minor variations. The remainder of this paper illustrates this phenomenon in

Dublin, Ireland, highlighting how local government and business organisations are creating and projecting very similar urban identities and argues that this is a core aspect of an entrepreneurial urban agenda designed to retain and maximise the city's global appeal.

This will be achieved through a visual analysis of advertising, promotional and other literature used to communicate a strong global message about the city. Crang (2002, 2003a, 2005) and Rose (2007) have both highlighted the potential of this type of qualitative research in a geographic context. Most social research uses this technique in relation to human subjects (largely found in education studies and anthropology), but this paper adopts an innovative approach by focusing on inanimate objects such as iconic building structures and urban spaces.

Data, in the form of visual imagery such as photos and computer generated images, has been collected from four primary sources:

1. Tourist Material: brochures, leaflets and postcards

3. Websites of key agencies

4. Websites of private companies located in the city centre and attracted here by the Industrial Development Authority

5. Online databases of photographic images: Google Images and Getty Images

Key information such as image type, image content, and source was recorded in a database generated for each category. Each of the three databases were analysed separately in terms of location portrayed in the image and frequency of recurrence and the results were then combined for further analysis. Paramount at this later stage of analysis was the source, style, content, dominating style of architecture and designer of each image. The cross referencing of these features generated an understanding of both the intention and use of the images across a wide spectrum of fields, some examples of which are discussed in the following section.

Dublin: The Political and Economic Context

Dublin not unlike other cities during the 1980's experienced a declining economy with its resultant effect on the social and physical landscape. The movement outward of industrial and manufacturing activities left behind a declining central core, characterised by high unemployment, dependency and low educational attainment. This was further exacerbated by zoning restrictions placed on residential development and a national economy in crisis. Mindful of changes in urban policy elsewhere, Irish policymakers increasingly saw the neoliberal urban agenda as a way of reversing the fortunes of the inner city. Influences by British approaches such as Urban Development Corporations and Enterprise Zones, Irish policymakers quickly moved to embrace a more entrepreneurial approach to urban development. The Urban Renewal and Finance Acts of 1986 marked the beginning of political, economic and physical change. While they aspired to social, environmental and economic revitalisation, a firm focus was placed on 'property-led regeneration' through fiscal incentives, with the overall goal of stimulating national recovery. By the late 1990s, the city had been transformed and was being described internationally as the engine of the Celtic Tiger economy, a dramatic change from the 'dirty, old town' image of earlier decades. The city began to play an increasingly important role in facilitating Irelands' embeddedness in global economic and cultural networks and thus the image projected to an international audience became a critical concern for policymakers.

Dublin's 'Official' Identity

The image of 'official' Dublin projected to an international audience is the responsibility of a range of actors including local government departments, business associations and other economic stakeholders. The data suggests the incorporation of very narrow and specific representations of the city into branding strategies with clear links evident between city marketing strategies and urban policies aimed at attracting inward investment. The type of message that Dublin wishes to convey to potential investors is clearly represented through the way in which the local authority, Dublin City

Council, as well as other organisations with an economic remit brand themselves. In 2001, the name, image and logo of the local authority was recreated to project a more entrepreneurial external image. Evidence of this rebranding dominates the current banner page of Dublin City Council website, where the three 'castles' of the city coat of arms is juxtaposed with a computer generated image of the Dublin skyline highlighting specific iconic symbols (Fig. 1).

Figure 1. Dublin City Council Web banner.
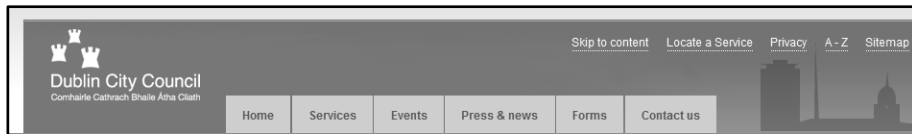
These are Liberty Hall (one of the only examples of high-rise modernist architecture within the city and for 30 years the most dominant feature on the skyline) and the Custom House (one of Dublin's most iconic examples of Georgian architecture) with the Monument of Light (otherwise known as the Spire) between the two. The latter is a new stainless-steel monument commissioned as a Millennium project and was a core element in the overall re-design and re-imaging of Dublin's main thoroughfare, O'Connell Street, over the last decade. The juxtaposition of these three symbols creates the impression of a unified past and present, a city with historical connections but very much at the cutting edge of contemporary urbanism. The importance of the Spire is evident in its recent incorporation into a city-wide marketing strategy to raise the profile of the city centre and is also referenced in a large number of other image-making activities. Dublin Chamber of Commerce, an organisation representing the interests of business in the city, similarly incorporates references to both the Spire and Dublin Castle into its new logo and these are accompanied by a very clear visual cue to the importance of bridges within the city (Fig. 2). The importance of bridges in connecting a city that is divided both physically and in many terms culturally by the river Liffey is highlighted in their marketing. Each of these three elements appear central to the contemporary identity of Dublin City and reappear frequently in many fields of image projection and across the range of literature examined during the visual analysis.

Figure 2. Dublin Chamber of Commerce Brand Logo.

The high visibility of the Monument of Light (Spire), designed by Ian Ritchie Architects, across all of the data sources, might be explained through its role as a focal point on O'Connell Street, the main street of the city. Primary thoroughfares in cities receive a lot of attention across a range of media e.g. the Champs-Elysees Paris, Broadway or Fifth Avenue in New York and the National Mall in Washington D.C. Tourists flock to these places for sightseeing, residents traverse these locations in daily commutes and activities, they are often important meeting places and of historic value. O'Connell Street, Dublin is no different. The motivation for erecting the Monument of Light was to herald a new future for the centre of Dublin, to mark the regeneration of a large swathe of the north inner city and is perhaps why it has become such a central plank of marketing strategies by a range of agents. Figure 3a illustrates the central location of the monument, while Figures 3b and 3c demonstrate how it has been incorporated into a number of branding and marketing campaigns. All representations of the spire uncovered in this research use bright, clear focused photographs or digital reproductions emphasising the iconic appeal of the full height of the spire. A striking example of this is evident in the *Make the City Yours* campaign which incorporates the actual spire into the lettering of the advertising campaign. This further allows the people to make this new feature of the urban landscape theirs by interacting with it.

Figures 3a, b, c. The Spire, O'Connell Street.

A second major feature of Dublin's projected identity emerging from the results of the visual analysis is bridges. Both the traditional stone bridges and more contemporary constructions recur time and again across the range of sources- Getty and Google Image databases, City Jet Inflight magazine, corporate listing databases and tourist material postcards -which were consulted and analysed. The symbolism of bridges makes them perfect elements in marketing campaigns as they are easily understood to join two parts of the city with each other and are dominant physical features on the landscape. The two most recent additions to Dublin's riverside are the Santiago Calatrava -designed James Joyce and Samuel Beckett bridges. These occupy key focal positions in the city and have marked a trend towards understanding bridges as more than just transportation devices or aids. They now symbolise the global status of the city; the commissioning of world renowned architects or 'starchitects' to give a city international credibility has become a key tool in city marketing as it puts the city on the world map of urban development. The styles of the most recent bridges in Dublin stand in marked contrast to the traditional bridges along the river Liffey (Fig. 4-7). However, all of the different types of bridges feed into different aspects of the marketing strategy for the city.

Figure 4. James Joyce Bridge.   *Figure 5. Samuel Beckett Bridge.*

Figure 6. Halfpenny Bridge   *Figure 7. Grattan Bridge.*

A surprising result was that specific images one would have expected to be central to Dublin's attempt to market itself are absent from the visual data. The city has recently opened the doors to a new performing arts theatre, Grand Canal Theatre, designed by the acclaimed architect Daniel Libeskind. To the front of this development is an impressive and newly-created open space in the city, Grand Canal Square, designed by world-renowned landscape architect Martha Schwartz. One would have expected that the profile of the designers combined with the iconic designs would have resulted in their appearance in the range of materials consulted. Figure 8, a computer generated image from the Dublin Docklands Development Authority, illustrates the potential wow factor held by both of these spaces within the redeveloped Grand Canal dock area and illustrates why one would

expect these development to have become more central to the marketing of the city.

Figure 8. Grand Canal Theatre and Grand Canal Square.

Another iconic development that opened its doors in September 2010, the Convention Centre Dublin (Fig. 9) designed by renowned architect Kevin Roche, has been slowly appearing in marketing material such as the head banner of the Discover Ireland tourist website. However the scope and field of vision of the images used direct attention toward the promotion of the regenerated waterfront and docklands generally while very indirectly showcasing the recent addition to the urban landscape. To date and contrary to what one might expect, images of the National Conference Centre are very limited. While specific images have been generated by the promoters of the national conference centre to attract business (Fig.s 9a and 9b), the development has yet to make a visual impact in wider marketing materials and more generally as part of the image of the contemporary city.

Figures 9a, b. Dublin Convention Centre.

Relatedly, it is worth noting the dependent relationship between marketing of these iconic venues and the linkages on their websites promoting Dublin as a 'destination' relying on place specific qualities.

Discussion: Dublin as an entrepreneurial city

The results of the visual analysis demonstrate a very specific image and set of messages of Dublin being projected to external stakeholders including potential tourists and investors. The various sources drawn upon in this study illustrate how urban marketing strategies in Dublin have become heavily dependent on a juxtaposition of the traditional and the modern using a very limited range of urban images to generate a specific image. It may be argued that the goal is to produce an urban identity that, through the focus on iconic, contemporary architecture such as the Spire, is globally appealing but one that also portrays a certain place-specificity or uniqueness. References to and the deliberate incorporation of important historic buildings such as the Custom House into the 'city brand' are designed to generate a specific sense of place and function as unique selling-points or attractions to a range of local and international stakeholder. This process of 'glocalisation' is key to the goal of demonstrating global competitiveness while simultaneously highlighting the local attractiveness relative to other places. This supports Ward's (2003) contention that the entrepreneurial city should be understood not only in terms of the policies implemented but also the discourses created and told through particular representations of the city.

What is clear from the evidence is that urban design has become a key tool in the city marketing arsenal. The commissioning of four world-renowned architects to design important recent additions to the urban landscape is a very clear example of the so-called Bilbao effect in Dublin. Grodach (2008) defines this as a process whereby a leading designer is employed to develop an iconic building in the hope of spearheading the attraction of inward investment The meaning of these flagship developments and their role as catalysts for future economic development almost become more important than the art contained inside them. This would explain the growing role and expansion in numbers of iconic or flagship developments across western cities, particularly as part of regeneration projects. Dublin is

no exception and the results of this analysis demonstrate the range of structures and buildings that have been developed in the last decade to achieve this goal.

These recent constructions demonstrate a move away from redevelopment as a process designed to revitalise inner cities through re-population and residential development as was the case in the late 1980s and 1990s. Rather current and recent redevelopment projects appear to privilege commercial developments aimed at attracting global attention. This is a core part of a more entrepreneurial urban agenda that focuses specifically on the prosperity of the city rather than necessarily on the needs of its residents (Ward, 2003; Jones & Ward, 2002; Kearns & Paddison, 2000; McGuirk, 2000). Hubbard (1996) links the production of new urban identities through the combination of iconic developments and more place-specific references to the awareness of both urban residents and governing authorities of the need to compete internationally for capital and simultaneously create a distinctive character for their city. One of the side effects of these kinds of activities is that while residents may recognise the economic imperative to heighten the appeal of their city, they often cannot develop an association with or recognise the identity projected to external stakeholders. A significant gap can emerge between the external and internal image of the city, a result of the different power relations between various actors and the uneven opportunities provided to influence the urban identity. In some instances, unanticipated interactions and negative engagements can result. For example the construction of the Monument of Light (Spire) in a historically important location in Dublin City in the early 2000's, generated a very strong negative response from a large proportion of city dwellers who simply considered it an appropriate and meaningless structure for its proposed location. Colloquially, the monument has been referred to as the *Stiletto in the Ghetto*, *The Nail in the Pale* or more generally *the Spike*, indicative of a very different image to that portrayed in more official circles.

One of the most interesting findings from the data analysis was the low level frequency with which the most recent additions to the urban landscape have been incorporated into the official marketing of the city. One possible explanation may be that some sort of timelag occurs between the appearance of the structure in the city and its incorporation into the identity of the city. It is possible that the frequency with which structures such as the National

Conference Centre and Grand Canal Theatre appear in visual representations of the city will gradually increase in the coming months and years. However another explanation may be that these two iconic structures in a dockland location that was widely perceived as the heart of the Celtic Tiger economy may be too closely associated with the excesses of the economic boom that characterised Ireland until very recently. Their incorporation into the urban identity of the city may be much slower as they represent a recent past that has resulted in dramatic and negative social, economic and cultural consequences. It will only become clear in the coming years whether this is indeed the case or whether they can be re-positioned as beacons of the future for Dublin City.

CONCLUSION

As discussed in this paper, the active pursuit of an entrepreneurial agenda in Dublin in recent years has been facilitated through the development promotion of a 'glocal' identity for the city. New flagship developments, often designed by world-renowned architects, have been combined with impressive historic images of the city to generate a specific kind of global image with which the city is attempting to attract and retain global investment. Through visual analysis of a range of data sources, this paper has adopted an innovative approach to unpacking the way in which the city is promoted on a global scale. The results of the analysis demonstrate the key role of urban design in promoting the entrepreneurial agenda of a variety of urban stakeholders, but also generate questions related to the sustainability of this approach to creating an urban identity. Future papers will examine in more detail the processes through which the portrayed identity is constructed and question the sense of place constructed and interpreted through such image-making strategies.

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Old Havana: Tourist use and perception of its image as an urban destination

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, tourism has been playing an important role in global economic development, and is extremely important in territorial planning processes. As a result of new tourist trends, urban tourism has increased, representing a big challenge for historic cities: the preservation of their cultural legacy. Old Havana, declared a World Heritage site in 1982, is the subject of this paper that analyses territorial planning processes and tourist use of its Historic Centre. Additionally, the image of Havana as an urban destination from the perspective of the Spanish market, the principal source

of tourists to Havana city, is evaluated. The results show that territorial planning is based on sustainable tourism strategies, but themes like the carrying capacity of the destination require further investigation. The research concludes that Spanish people expressed a great interest to visit Havana although their information level was considered medium-low. The key attraction for them was cultural tourism and the population, the music, the Historic Centre and the lifestyle were identified as the distinctive elements of the city.

Keywords: Historic City, Territorial Planning, Tourism, Image.

RÉSUMÉ

Ces dernières années, le tourisme a joué un rôle important dans le développement économique, et il est extrêmement important dans les processus de planification territoriale. À la suite de nouvelles tendances touristiques, le tourisme urbain a augmenté et la préservation de leur héritage culturel est un grand défi pour les villes historiques. Vieille Havane, déclaré site du patrimoine mondial en 1982, fait l'objet du présent document qui traite des analyses de planification territoriale et de l'utilisation touristique de son centre historique. En outre, l'image de La Havane comme une destination urbaine du point de vue du marché espagnol, la principale source de touristes à la ville de La Havane, est évaluée. Les résultats montrent que la planification territoriale est fondée sur des stratégies de tourisme durable, mais des thèmes tels que la capacité de charge de la destination exigent une enquête plus approfondie. Les résultats montrent que les Espagnols ont exprimé un grand intérêt à rendre à la Havane, bien que leur niveau d'information a été jugé moyen-doux. Le pôle d'attraction majeur pour eux est le tourisme culturel et la population, la musique, le centre historique et le mode de vie, ont été identifiés comme les éléments distinctifs de la ville.

Mots clés: Ville historique, l'aménagement du territoire, du tourisme, Image.

INTRODUCTION

Urban problems and challenges for urban governance have resulted in increasingly complex urban systems in recent years. Consequently, the operation and development of cities require updated methods to elaborate territorial and urban politics. The key elements of the new urban planning and management are: increasingly diverse urban actors, rapid urbanization and migration into cities, the incorporation of new urban functions, the demand for citizen participation in the urban process, technological change and the need to be increasingly competitive. During the last decade these factors have resulted in the development of new strategic urban plans to complement traditional planning.

Tourism is one of the sectors that is growing in importance in terms of regional economic development (OMT, 1998; Kandampully, 2000). As a result, the new territorial plans have focused on the tourist sector, either as a preferred specialization or as a complement to other activities. In this context, historic cities are becoming more important for tourist purposes. Cultural tourism has increased in importance and is now an essential element in the life and urban recovery of important historic areas. Developing this as part of a city development strategy is not easy; specialization has become a limiting factor to consolidate tourism as a sustainable growth alternative at socio-economic, territorial, environmental and cultural levels. (Patullo, 1996).

At a basic level, tourist destinations compete through the image perceived by potential tourists in comparison with the rival destinations (Baloglu and Mangaloglu, 2001). Consequently, to get a competitive position requires the development of a positive image in target markets (Gartner, 1993; Baloglu and McCleary, 1999). Only in this way can cities become a preferred destination for the tourists during their selection processes. The lack of differentiation between Latin-American and Caribbean destinations as a result of a similar tourist development model and offer has led to an intensification of competition in the region. This is one reason why it is so important for Cuba to promote a different cultural tourist product.

The Historic Centre of Havana, declared a World Heritage site in 1982, is the main cultural attraction in the country, accounting for 48% of national

tourist demand. The Havana Historian Office has identified tourism as a key way to promote development. However, in spite of moving towards a sustainable tourism approach, understanding the profile of tourists and their demands is important. Key issues relating to the quantification of visitors (tourists and excursionists), their profile (origin, motivation, sex, expense, etc.) and their perception of the city image as an urban destination need to be considered. Taking this into account, the present paper will analyse tourist use in Old Havana and evaluate its image as an urban tourist destination from the perspective of the Spanish market.

METHODOLOGY OF INVESTIGATION

Primary and secondary sources have been used in this project. A wide-ranging bibliography as well as statistics from the National Statistics Office of Cuba (SNO) was consulted. Additionally, the results derived from my personal survey on the image of Havana were utilized as primary data.

The principal aim of the questionnaire[1] was to investigate the major attractions in the city and to evaluate more general aspects such as: access, mobility, tourist services and local population. The Spanish market was chosen as a focus because it is the primary source of tourists to Havana. According to the SNO, Spanish citizens represented 21% of the total overnight stays in the city in the 2003-2008 period. Both image components (cognitive and affective) were evaluated using a combination of structured and non-structured techniques. Scale questions included in the survey were scored between 1 and 5.

The key methodological approach is outlined in table 1 below:

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[1]Annex 1. Havana Image questionnaire

Table 1. Technical specifications of Havana's Image.

Characteristics	Survey
Universe	The Spanish are the populationunder study
Geographic Scope	Spain
Period	March – April 2010
Sampling Method	Non-probabilistic sampling by quota
Sampling Error	5%
Confidence Level	95 % (k=2) for the worst casep=q=0,5
Sample Size (n)	For an infinite population $$n=\frac{k^2 * \sigma^2}{E^2}$$ For K=2E= 0,05and $\sigma^2 = p \times q = 0,25$ **n = 400**

Source: Author

Since applying the questionnaire in all Spanish cities would be difficult, Santiago de Compostela was selected as the fieldwork site. This developed on previous work undertaken by the Santiago University[2]and the working period chosen was Easter Week to capture tourists there during the Holy Week Holidays. This meant that a more diversified sample of the Spanish population could be approached. Processing of results was done using the statistics program, SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences).

HISTORIC CITIES: CONCEPT, TOURIST USE, AND IMAGE

Worldwide cultural destinations are sites where monumental and historic-artistic riches are the principal attractions. They are generally cities that have conserved their Historic Centres without great modifications or with a sympathetic approach to retaining traces of different past epochs (Salinas and Echarri, 2005). The Historic Centre of a city constitutes its symbolic space and it largely represents the collective history of the society that lives there. It could be considered as a text where vestiges of the past, are present

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[2]Pérez, Y. (2010): Máster Tesis "Turismo en Centros Históricos: El caso de la Habana-Cuba." Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y Empresariales, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela.

in the actual scenery, revealing the city and its inhabitant's history (Levy, J. P., 1987). This cultural reality is a spatial reflection of various social formations, and contribute to the urban identity.

Historic Centres are defined by a marked multifunctional character but can be characterized in different ways. Three functional typologies are defined:(Troitiño, M. A., 1992):

- Old Towns that are no longer the economic centre but retain a symbolic and cultural centrality.

- Old Towns that support certain functional and patrimonial centrality.

- Old Towns that continue being the functional centre of the actual city.

Historic cities have been enhanced as tourist destinations, within the general context of the growing attractiveness of cities as tourist attractions. While cities have traditionally been attractive destinations, nowadays, the set of factors favoring historic cities growth as tourist destinations is very wide and it's is determined not only by changes inside the own sector but also by exogenous variables. Within the first the fragmentation of vacation time is a key factor, and a progressive segmentation of motivations that support tourist movements and the emergence of new products and destinations. Among the factors not directly related to tourism, but that affect the magnitude and profile of demand are a general increase in interest in culture, general changes in mobility patterns, technical progress applied to travel, etc.

Ashworth (1995) argues that the growing interest in tourism and historic cities are the result of the actions of three key actors: tourist industry awareness of changing demand and the development of new products; cultural managers, who perceive tourism as a complementary source of income when public subventions are retracted; and specially local governments, that want to sustain physical and functional renovation of certain urban areas focused particularly on the leisure of residents and visitors. Tourism, culture and site, form the three triangle vertices. Numerous researchers worldwide have been interested in the study of tourism in historic cities. Principal investigation lines have been focused in: patrimony aspects, visitor flows, environment, traffic and mobility, economy, etc.

The analysis of visitor flow and profile, as well as their motivations and the use they make of the city, together with the establishment of carrying capacity limits for cities and monuments are key topics for designing sustainability strategies (Calle, 2002). Hard measures (physical limitations and penalties) and soft measures (coordination, accessibility and mobility, urban planning, differential promotion, etc.) can be investigated. The latter are generally the easiest adapted for urban sustainability provided that crucial matters like accessibility and visitor flow regulation are discussed.

Additionally, understanding tourist perceptions of city image are crucial in setting marketing strategies for the international market. From a psychological point of view, tourist destinations are considered a mental construction based on an evaluation process of information from various sources about that place (Reynolds, 1965; Gunn, 1972). As a result of this process the destination image is defined, a concept that has been the focus of much attention over the last two decade, as it is a key determining factor in the selection of holiday places (Gunn, 1972; Baloglu and MaCleary, 1999).

Traditionally tourist destination images have been understood based on peoples beliefs and knowledge about the attributes or characteristics of a particular site.(Baloglu and Brinberg, 1997; Baloglu, 1999). However, there is now a growing awareness of the presence not only of beliefs which determine the cognitive component of image, but also affective evaluations in the individual's perception of the tourist destination (Kim and Richardson, 2003; Pike and Ryan, 2004). These last, actually correspond with the individual's feelings toward the place (Chen and Uysal, 2002).

Crompton and Ankomahl (1993) point out that definitive selection of a destination is produced under the influence of external and internal information and cognitive constructions. The major influence comes from social stimuli to which tourists are exposed (real visits, advertisement, other people's experiences). Internal ones depend on personality, lifestyle and on motivations and attitudes toward travel. With regard to cognitive constructions, they represent the integration of both types of data. In summary, it can be argued that the image of a site is highly related to the tourist advantages offered compared with initial expectations and the requirements of visitors before and after the visit, whether conscious or unconscious.

Structured and unstructured approaches can be taken to understanding the destination image held by tourists. In the first, a multi-attribute approach is adopted where the researcher identifies in advance a group of attributes more or less common to all destinations (Echtner and Ritchie, 1991, 1993). After that, individual perceptions of each attribute are measured using a likert scale, so the common image component of a certain destination can be obtained. Unstructured techniques are based on using open questions that allow individuals to make free descriptions of the destination (Reilly, 1990; Tapachai and Waryszak, 2000). Thus, this technique provides a more holistic view about the place as well as the characteristics that make it a unique and distinctive destination – unique image components (Echtner and Ritchie, 1993).

According to the methodology proposed by Echtner and Ritchie (1993) both techniques can be used together to capture all components of destination image and this has been done in recent research (Choi, Chan y Wu, 1999; Baloglu and Mangaloglu, 2001; Bigné and Sánchez, 2001; Hui and Wan, 2003; O´Leary and Deegan, 2003; Hsu, Wolfe and Kang, 2004). Studies related to city image constitute a significant tool in tourist planning, because they provide information about the actual perception of the destination, from which it can be determined where efforts must be guided to achieve the desired objectives.

HAVANA: TERRITORIAL AND TOURIST PLANNING

Frequently, the development of tourist equipment, infrastructures, types of accommodation and tourist space configuration is problematic (Donaire J.A.et al, 2005). Generally the planning of tourist spaces has been deficient, although in recent years there has been a higher degree of organization and planning of these areas. The basic planning instrument of urban spaces is the General Urban Ordination Plan (GUOP). The GUOP is a regulatory framework that defines general objectives of municipality growth, delimits the areas that should be a focus of growth and proposes the urban criteria (volumes, heights, types of facades, colours, etc.) that should be adopted. The most recent regional plans have introduced the "tourist via" as a priority axis in spatial development (Norrild, J., 2006). These new plans value the

identity of urban and natural spaces, tend to limit growth capacity, and promote recreational strategies that foster urban projects and incorporate periurban natural space into the municipal recreational offering.

The Territorial Planning of Havana

In Cuba during the so-called "special period" of the 1990s, a number of territorial, economic and social decisions forced a return to policies promoting agriculture and industry. The General Urban Ordination Plan of 1997, demonstrates a change in approach to the economic development of the country and, therefore, of Havana. In that new context, capturing international tourism became a priority objective. Facilitating this was the encouragement of partnerships with foreign capital, the creation of free zones, development of new equipment and infrastructure and the promotion of small enterprises to improve services to tourists (Ponce, 2007).As part of this new approach, urban planning in Havana began to adopt more flexible legal instruments, through special or local planning, to address problems.

In summary, the new plan proposed more balanced urban development in order to avoid the daily internal migrations between different functional parts of the city. Residential functions were encouraged in the centre where tertiary use primarily prevailed and the development of more infrastructure and services in peripheral neighborhoods was encouraged to create well-structured community zones at the pedestrian scale. As part of this commitment, priorities such as re-instating jobs at the district scale and improving the urban image to create symbolic as well as functional value were proposed. The second *Strategic Plan for Economic and Social Developmentof the Capital 2001-2003* identified similar objectives to any strategic plan. These were based on efficacy, competitiveness, habitability and sustainability (Pérez and García, 2001):

"To elevate the quality of city government management in economic and administrative activities, in order to improve financial capacity, efficacy and efficiency in the use of available resources and to enhance the city's economy. To ameliorate the quality of life of citizens, to restore the built heritage, to increase environment quality and urban services. To stimulate a major citizen involvement in decisions and to fortify local government

structures. To promote national and international projection of Havana in cultural, sport, scientific spheres, among others.

The Master Plan for the Old Havana Historic Centre emerged as part of these projects aimed at designing the city in a more strategic manner.
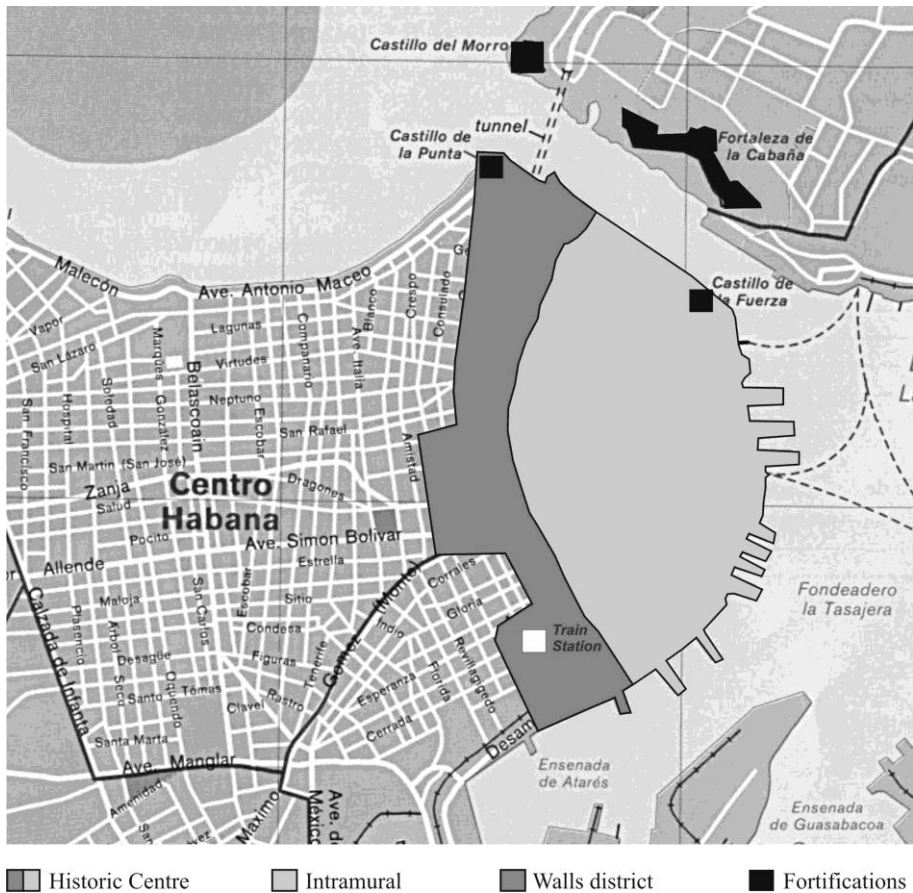
The Old Havana

The Historic Centre of Old Havana extends to 2.14 sq.km and occupies 50% of the municipal territory. It has a population of 66,752 habitants (70% of Old Havana municipality)[3]. It is comprised of two zones clearly differentiated from the urban point of view: the old intramural city, and the surrounding band that was urbanized after the demolition of the city walls and built between the mid-nineteenth and the early twentieth century.

As is illustrated in Figure 1, intramural Havana extends from the western margin, including the current sea border, to the axis through which flowed the old land wall. The other zone is integrated by Murallas district that includes from San Salvador de la Punta Castle to the Railway Central Station yard. In addition, the fortification system of Havana bay is also part of the Historic Centre.

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[3] Oficina del Historiador de la Habana [On line] <http://www.ohcu.cu> [Query: December 20, 2009].

Figure 1. Delimitation of the Havana Historic Centre. Sustituido por nuevo

Source: Own elaboration using material from Perry-Catañeda maps collection. University of Texas.

The Old Havana suffered a serious decline in its heritage due to damage from several factors: urban sprawl, urban decay and the consequent loss of buildings, as well as the devastating effects of tropical hurricanes. During the twentieth century, it became an area characterized by a high density of low-income population. Poor housing conditions and the decline in accessibility and sanitary or educational equipments were critical. Deficiencies in the infrastructure required by the elderly, disabled and other vulnerable groups also emerged. In addition, technological infrastructure and networks were

damaged provoking overload in local areas. Another problem was the lack of safe drinking water, partly mitigated by the use of portable tanks[4].

The urgency of protecting historic buildings and monuments, as part of a promotion of the Cuban culture and nationality, led to the founding of the Office of Historian of Havana in 1938. In 1981 it was designated to manage the Historic Centre rehabilitation. In 1982 UNESCO declared the Havana Historic Centre and its Fortification System as a World Cultural Heritage site. This achievement opened new possibilities for the Integrated Rehabilitation Program for Old Havana. Five -year restoration plans were put in place. Based on a strategy of recovering public spaces, the image of the main squares was changing and marking the lines of what would constitute the patrimonial rehabilitation in the old city.

Regeneration was structured by following specific development criteria, based on self-financing the recovery mechanism and cultural development. This was integrated into the Special Plan of Integral Development of 1998, where five principal goals were established (Leal, 2007):

- Safeguard the national identity through research, promotion and cultural development.

- Protect the heritage, rehabilitating the territory by a Special Plan for Integral Development applied continuously and with legal force.

- Avoid displacements of local people and establish adequate densities and quality of life.

- Provide technical infrastructure and basic services to ensure the area can function in line with contemporary needs.

- Achieve self-financing integral development that makes possible recoverable and productive investments in heritage.

The Historian's Office, participates with local governments in many international cooperation projects and implements plans at the neighbourhood level. The Integral Development Plan is articulated through and interacts with the city territorial plans.

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[4] Oficina del Historiador de La Habana (2006): Desarrollo integral del Centro Histórico de la Habana Vieja.. [On line] < http://habitat.aq.upm.es/bpal/onu06/bp1315.html> [Query: December 14, 2010].

Tourist Use of Old Havana

The tourist use of heritage is the group of actions that allow tourists to get in touch with the culture of a particular place. Even though this encourages a rediscovery and revalorization of specific places, there are also other things that need to be taken into account to ensure the conservation of this fragile and non-renewable resource (Marchena and Carrasco, 1996). The commitment to tourist development based fully on a continued increase in the number of visitors involves taking excessive risks. The heritage tourist use has its limits and without a consideration of adequate carrying capacity, it could become highly unsustainable. This is the key reason why it is so important to know the threshold at which physical, environmental and social damages may occur.

Different studies have been done regarding the planning of tourist space in the Old part of Havana. The Historic Centre has been classified by functional sectors differentiated by typological characteristics, traditional functions and future role. These divisions were devised in order to achieve the following objectives (Salinas and Echarri, 2005):

1. Protect the territory respecting basic statements that is: protect and tolerate a clear residential vocation of Historic Centre, endorsed by the built typology and its history.

2. Promote tourism and the tertiary sector in terms of allowable uses and in restricted areas suitable for such purposes.

3. Encourage those uses and functions that achieve a diversified centre, taking into account the disposition, customs and physical potential in each area.

Tourist activity planning is mainly developed in tertiary sectors, with the aim to organize the destination as an integral and attractive product, promote stay and consumption. Key considerations were to:

- Create a good space-time relationship avoiding excessive long routes.

- Cover on the route as much attractions as possible trying to combine elements of different use categories.

- Achieve a good distribution of the complementary offer.

- Avoid unpopulated areas or empty public spaces.

- Promote an overall image avoiding sudden changes in physical and social environment.

- Inform and promote the attractions.

In this manner, tourist foci of first and second category, the routes connecting them and the areas of influence formed were identified. The territory ordination allowed a better spatial organization of tourist movement. Allowing different access and promoting a range of routes minimised the impact that a high number of visitors could have on small areas. In relation to this, the following become interesting questions: What is the threshold of visitors that Old Havana can withstand? What is the current situation with regard to it? Are there signs of overcrowding in the destination?

In spite of work done by the Historian Office and its collaborators, among them the University of Havana, to regulate the tourist use in Old Havana, these are questions that require more examination. For example, data is not available on the amount of visitors to the city and research on the carrying capacity is still very scarce. The carrying capacity according O'Reilly (1986) can be defined in its simplest form as the maximum number of visitors that a tourist destination can contain. However, the concept can be applied from a variety of perspectives: physical, ecological, economic, social and anthropological. Carrying capacity as a concept applied to tourist destinations must be considered holistically where numerous elements are interlinked (Williams and Gill, 1991).

Although the number of visitors is not the only aspect to influence the limits of the tourist use, it is the key element. Knowing this allows for useful indicators to be established such as the relationship to the amount of tourist facilities in an area or to the number of local residents. To address these issues, Old Havana must create a system to analyse the impact of visitors including: quantification, categorization, origin, preferences, motivations, travel arrangements, expenses, etc. To achieve this objective, a Tourism Observatory to take charge of data collection, statistical processing and report preparation could be established.

The perspective of visitors on carrying capacity includes all the factors that influence their satisfaction, and to what extent the destination provides a quality experience despite the increase of visitors. For this reason, it is important to assess satisfaction with the tourist services. Likewise, the perceptions of those who haven't yet visited the destination is useful because it allows tourism policies to be influenced by the preferences and motivations of potential tourists.

## THE TOURIST IMAGE OF HAVANA FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SPANISH MARKET

The presentation of the survey results on the perceived image of Havana is structured under several headings. Firstly the characteristics of the population questioned are outlined: percentage that visited Havana, origin, sex, age, educational level and income. After that, information related to intention to travel and level and sources of information are discussed. The most attractive tourist activities and the most interesting cultural elements, as well as the affective image associated with the city is then explained.

Information is also provided on city aspects like: access, mobility, connection with other cities, cultural diversity, accommodation, prices, tranquillity and security, cleaning, hospitality of residents and overcrowding as detailed by the Spanish who had previously visited Havana. The unique or distinctive characteristics of Havana and the influence of certain of the variables studied on the degree of attraction of cultural tourism are then discussed.

Profile of the Spanish interviewed

The respondents came from 15 Spanish autonomous communities, except the Rioja, Canarias and the autonomous cities of Ceuta y Melilla. As shown in the Graph 1 Galicia has the highest percentage of respondents (51%), unsurprising given that the the surveys were carried out in Santiago de Compostela. Having said this, the proportion of residents from other places - Madrid (20%), Cataluña (8%), País Vasco (5%), Andalucía (4%), León (3%) – is substantial.

Figure 1. Origin of respondents.
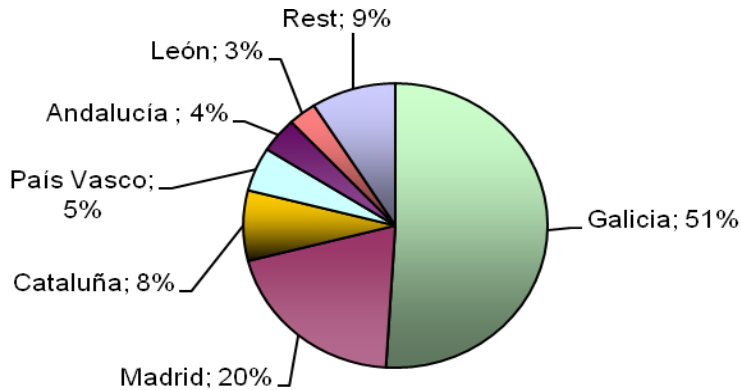
Source: Field work.

40% of the sample was women and 60% men. Their mean age was 38, ranging from 16 to 78. The majority (63%) had a higher educational qualification and the most common monthly income was 800-1500 euros (43%).

Intention to travel, level and sources of information

22% of those interviewed had been in Havana at least once. Regarding the intention of travelling to the city, 90% of those who hadn't visited indicated an interest to do so, showing the attractiveness of the destination for them. The other 10% stated their main reasons for not wishing to travel as: the political regime and the lack of tourist attractions. Other reasons cited were the country's poverty and the lack of money to travel that far.

66% of the respondents considered their information level in relation to Havana to be between medium-low and medium. The principal sources of tourist information were the television, chosen by 64% of respondents and friends or relatives chosen by 63%. Travel agencies was the medium through which the least information was obtained about Havana.

Activities and elements of tourist interest

The greatest level of interest for the respondents was in cultural tourism, as seen in Table 2, the average had a value of 4.1 and typical deviation was the lowest, which means homogeneity in their responses; thence 90% of them range between the average and the maximum value. Sun/beach and gastronomic tourism appear at the same level with an average rating of 3,4. This is a relevant result because gastronomic tourism is underdeveloped in the city, in spite of having a wide array of options. Sporty tourism and shopping were the activities of least interest.

Table 2. Level of interest in tourist activities.

Statistical	Cultural	Sun and beach	Gastronomy	Sporty	Shopping
Mean	4,1	3,4	3,4	2,1	2,2
Typical deviation	1,1	1,5	1,4	1,3	1,4

Source: Field work.

The most attractive cultural elements are shown in Table 3, and the Historic Centre is given the highest score and lowest standard deviation. 62% of respondents stated this as the greatest attraction; this result shows the consensus of those interviewed in relation to the Historic Centre and its importance as a tourist resource able to attract visitors. Next music, dance and idiosyncrasy are the elements that most attracted the Spanish. Gastronomic tourism emerged again as a key consideration. Crafts and the art of cigar and rum had scores above average, while the socio-political aspect was the worst rated.

*Table 3. Most attractive cultural elements.*

Statistical	Historic Centre	Music	Dance	Idiosyncrasy	Food
Mean	4,4	4,0	3,9	3,9	3,7
Typical deviation	1,0	1,3	1,3	1,2	1,2

Source: Field work..

Affective Image

Feelings experienced by respondents related to Havana are shown in Figure 2. As can be seen the predominant feeling is curiosity reported by 66%. This is a positive result because it reveals the desire of Spanish to know the destination. The city was perceived as poor by 48% of those interviewed, but also considered as an entertainment place (46%). A sense of familiarity and friendliness was noted by 40% and 38% respectively, while admiration, insecurity and pity were selected by a minority. Likewise, love for its culture, anger, hope, kindness, and beauty were also associated with Havana.

Figure 2.Respondent's feelings toward Havana.
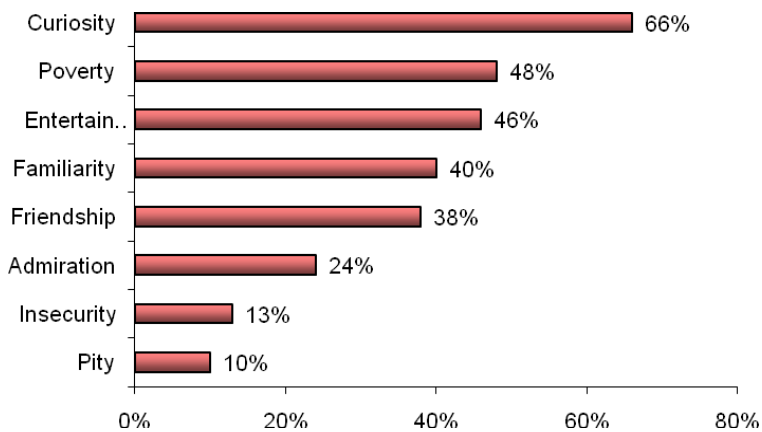
Source: Field work.

Integral aspects of the city

In regard to evaluated city aspects, the hospitality and friendship of its habitants was the most valued with a mean of 4.5 as shown the Figure 3. This aspect was given the highest score by 71% of those interviewed. This element gives the city an added value because visitors are increasingly looking to have an exchange with local people in order get a more complete tourist experience.

Figure3. Integral aspects of the city.
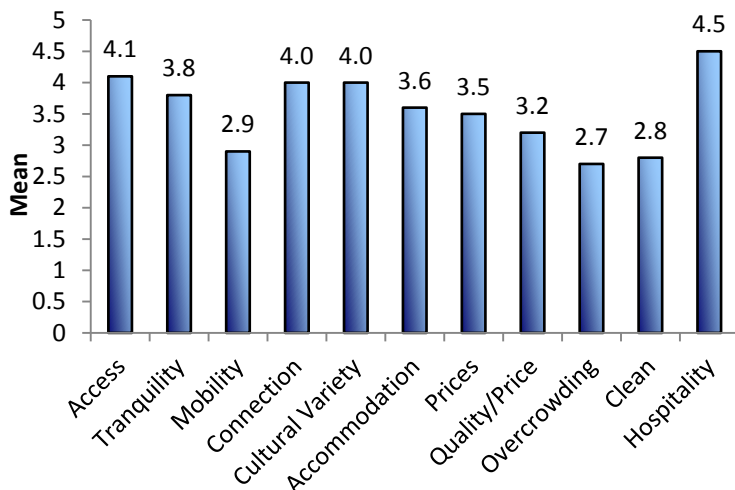
Source: Field work.

Access, connection with other cities, tranquillity and security and cultural variety also scored highly. The accessibility of a destination is highly relevant in the international market, since tourists want to optimize time and combine different tourist products in one trip. It is important that a suitable connection with nearby cities is available to complete the tourist offer. The fact that Havana is considered a secure city is very positive, since in the process of selecting a destination, a city with an image of security has a greater advantage over others. In addition, the recognition of the rich variety of cultural resources is a crucial factor to promote the development of cultural tourism in Havana.

In the survey, respondents did not consider the city to be a crowded tourist destination. This is a positive outcome, because nowadays visitors avoid crowded destinations and look for gratifying experiences. However, mobility in Havana was considered deficient (2,9) as well as cleaning (2,8) and these constituted the most negative aspects of the city. For its part, accommodation, prices and relationship between quality and price of tourist products were rated similarly, situated around the mean value.

Distinctive elements of Havana

The determination of unique elements of Havana was made from an open-ended question, which gave a high value to the responses, since respondents answered freely according to their own criteria. 45% of those interviewed considered that Havana possesses some unique attraction that makes it different from other cultural destinations. As summarized in Figure 4, the people were identified as the distinctive element most frequently mentioned (41%), then music (41%), the Historic Centre (13%) and the population lifestyle (12%).

Other elements were also identified, although with a lesser frequency than the others. Dancing, socio-political aspects and climate were mentioned by between 5 and 8% of people. Gastronomy, sports, culture, cigars, history, landscape, sexual tourism, vintage cars, the seawall, the Museum of the Revolution and the Capitol were recognised by less than 5%.

Figure 4. Distinctive elements of Havana.
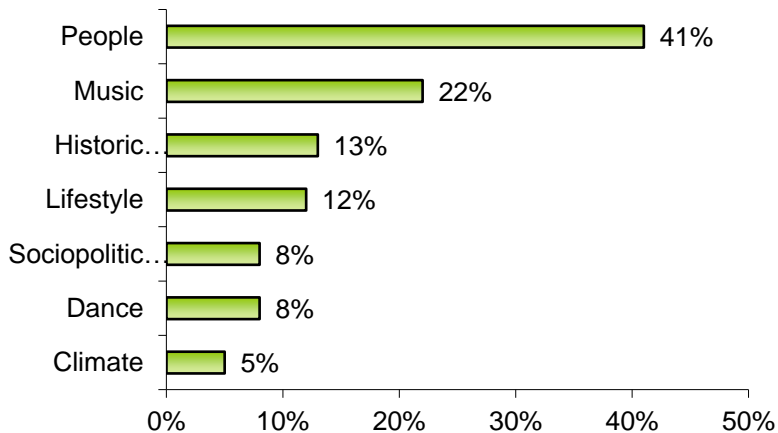
Source: Field work.

Influence of profile in cultural tourism

This section assesses the degree of reliance on cultural tourism in relation to the following variables: origin, income, educational level, age and

information level. It was used a multivariate analysis of causality, ANOVA or linear regression, according to the type of independent variables (metrics and non-metrics) at a confidence level of 95%.

Table 4 illustrates the results of applying linear regression to analyse the relationship between the information level and age with cultural tourism. The level of significance obtained for age (0.258) allows us to conclude that this variable didn't affect the degree of interest in cultural tourism. Thus, it can be said that culture was attractive to all ages tested, without preference. However, the information level was a determining factor (Sig.0) with direct impact (positive B coefficient), i.e., those with a greater knowledge of Havana had more interest in cultural tourism.

Table 4. *Influence of age and information level on cultural tourism.*

Coefficients[a]					
	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
Model	B	Typ. error	Beta	t	Sig.
Information	0,218	0,053	0,203	4,083	0,000
Age	0,006	0,005	0,056	1,133	0,258

a. Dependant Variable: Cultural tourism.Source: Field work.

The origin and incomes of those surveyed did not affect the interest in cultural tourism, as seen in the significance values obtained after applying ANOVA test (Table 5), but educational level and gender did (signification of 0,04). A higher educational level corresponded with a greater interest in culture and women showed a greater preference for cultural tourism than men.

Table 5. *Influence of origin, incomes, educational level and sex on cultural tourism.*

Variable	ANOVA (Sig.)
Origin	0,669
Incomes	0,207
Educational level	0,044
Sex	0,043

Source: Field work.

CONCLUSIONS

The territorial planning of Old Havana is conducted by the Havana Historian Office, which, through the Rehabilitation Integral Plan has established the basis for territorial redevelopment. The institution has committed to the development of tourism based on its cultural heritage and following the guidelines of sustainable growth. The old town is divided into functional areas and tourism planning is focused on those with a tourist vocation. However more information on carrying capacity is required to promote sustainability.

The Havana Historian's Office should promote research aimed at quantifying and characterising visitors to the Historic Centre through the creation of a Tourist Observatory. That would provide a starting point for an in-depth exploration of themes related to the destination's carrying capacity, a subject of great interest for historic cities, which should adopt multifunctional strategies in which tourism, residents, culture, commerce and government complement each other. Part of the planning will also have to take account of outsiders perceptions of the city. This research has shown how this can be undertaken through a case study of Spanish perceptions of Havana.

90% of respondents who had not previously visited Havana expressed an interest in visiting it. Of those who had visited, the preferred tourist activity was cultural tourism, followed by sun and beach product and gastronomy. The most attractive cultural elements were by order: Historic Centre, music, dance, idiosyncrasy and food. In regard to the affective image, curiosity was the most associated to Havana, and then poverty, entertainment and familiarity.

Other important aspects influencing people's perceptions of Havana were the hospitality and friendliness of the population, the access from Spain, the connection with other cities and cultural diversity. Havana wasn't considered a crowded city from the tourist point of view but issues such as cleanliness and mobility were the most negative aspects noted.

45% of those interviewed considered that the city had some distinctive characteristics that differentiated it from other cultural destinations. The

elements identified were: first people, then the music, the Historic Centre and the lifestyle. It is interesting to note that specific elements such as: the seawall, the Museum of Revolution and the Capitol were mentioned by only a small number.

The results obtained in this study can be useful for projecting the destination Havana not only to the Spanish market, but also to possible potential markets. It also shows the significant journey that needs to be taken to enhance tourist studies and provide an evidence base for good territorial management based on the principles of sustainable tourism.

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ANNEX 1. QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MEASURING THE IMAGE OF HAVANA.

This questionnaire is part of a study by the University of Santiago de Compostela to analyse the image of Havana as an urban tourism destination since the perspective of the Spanish market. Your collaboration will be very helpful to the research and it only takes 5 minutes to answer the following questions.

Thanks you very much for your cooperation.

1. Have you ever visited Havana?

YES [*] ___Number of times ____

NO ___

[*] **If the answer is yes skip to question 3.**

2. Would you travel to Havana by tourism?

YES__

NO__

In case of negative response say the reasons:

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3. Your information level of Havana is:

Low	Medium-Low	Medium	Medium-high	High
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

4. Mention the source(s) from which you obtained tourist information.

☐ Television

☐ Internet

☐ Press

☐ Travel agencies

☐ Friend and family

5. Indicate your level of interest in the following tourist activities to do in Havana.

I'm not interestedI'm very interested

Sun and beach tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cultural tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gastronomic tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sports tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Shopping tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

_____

6. Choose how much you are attracted to the following elements of Cuban culture.

Don't attract me at allAttract me much

Historic Centre	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Traditional music	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Dances and popular parties	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Socio-political aspects	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
People idiosyncrasy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Typical food	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Art of cigar	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Art of rum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cuban crafts	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. Say the sensation (s) you feel when thinking in Havana.

☐ Curiosity ☐ Poverty ☐ Familiarity

☐ Insecurity ☐ Friendship ☐ Entertainment

☐ Admiration ☐ Pity ☐ Other _____

8. Indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements (for those who have visited Havana).

TotallyTotally	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
DesagreeAgree	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Access from Europe is easy.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mobility within the city is good.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It's well connected to the rest of cities.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Havana is quite and secure.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Presents a rich cultural diversity.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The acommadation facilities are comfortable	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The prices of tourist products are high.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The relationship quality/price is good.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It's a crowded tourist destination.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The city is clean.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
People are hospitable and friendly.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

9. Could you say an unique or distinctive attraction (s) of Havana in relation to other cultural destinations?

10. Autonomous Community:

11. Sex:FM

12. Age:

13. Educational Level14. Mensual income

☐ Primary		☐ Under 800 €	
☐ Secondary		☐ Between 800 and 1500€	
☐ Superior		☐ Between 1500 and 2000 €	
		☐ Between 2000 and 3000 €	
		☐ Over 3000 €	

Thanks very much

The old town center of Świebodzin - revitalization as the dynamization of space

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ABSTRACT

One of the objectives of the process of regeneration is functional and spatial revitalisation, namely, modernization, transformation, and the increased activity of small and large spatial structures. The aim of this study is to work out a project for the revitalization of the downtown area of Świebodzin – a city of high historical and cultural value as well as a city which has a particularly advantageous location in the regional and supra-regional system of western Poland. The idea is not to disrupt the historical

layout and the order of the town when introducing changes in road traffic and transportation, and when improving the availability and opening the downtown area to residents and tourists, but rather to use the available building gaps in the urban quarters.

Keywords: revitalization, dynamization of space, revitalization of Świebodzin, the Old Town in Świebodzin,

RÉSUMÉ

L'un des objectifs du processus de régénération est revitalisation fonctionnelle et spatiale, à savoir, la modernisation, la transformation et l'activité accrue des petites et grandes structures spatiales. L'objectif de cette étude est d'élaborer un projet de revitalisation du centre-ville de Świebodzin - une ville de la valeur historique et culturelle de haut ainsi que d'une ville qui bénéficie d'une situation particulièrement avantageuse dans le système régional et supra-régionaux de l'Ouest la Pologne. L'idée est de ne pas perturber le plan historique et de l'ordre de la ville, lors de l'introduction des changements dans la circulation routière et de transport, et quand l'amélioration de la disponibilité et l'ouverture du centre-ville pour les résidents et les touristes, mais plutôt d'utiliser seulement les lacunes de construction disponibles dans les quartiers urbains.

Mots clés: revitalisation, la dynamisation de l'espace, la revitalisation de Świebodzin, la vieille ville de Świebodzin,

INTRODUCTION

"The political system which exists in Poland since the end of 1989 has created a completely new socio - economic situation. In place of the centralized command-and-quota system, mechanisms of the market economy have been introduced, and top-down control has been replaced by authentic structures of the local government. This has led to the emergence of independent and free enterprises (the entrepreneur), in terms of choosing the area of business activity, and to the emergence of an authentic administrator of the area - the local government." (Parysek, 2001). Local authorities have gradually begun to notice more and more gaps in the structure and function of individual areas of municipalities or cities. Obviously, there have been several attempts to improve this situation, however, due to the lack of experience or legal regulations at the national level, the immediate models have been adopted from our western neighbors. All of the activity was undertaken on a "conservative restoration" principle without paying particular attention to the social and economic sphere, and as such revitalization failed to work. In Poland, the process of revitalization has been approached comprehensively only in big cities, where the issue of displacement and the disappearance of urban quarters has been considered.

The following paper is an example of a revitalization program which aims at carrying out the dynamization process of the downtown area of Świebodzin – a city of high historical and cultural value as well as a city which has a particularly advantageous location in the regional and supra-regional system of western Poland. The objective is to draw up a revitalization project for the downtown area of Świebodzin without disrupting the historical layout and the order of the town and using only the available building gaps in the adjacent urban quarters. The project includes changes in the road traffic and transportation system, which would significantly improve accessibility and lead to the opening of the downtown area to residents and tourists.

The basis for working out the revitalization project of Świebodzin was an analysis of the positive and negative aspects of the city, a detailed inventory, interviews with residents and the source literature and historical plans.

THE BASIC RESEARCH ASSUMPTIONS

After the year 1945, Poland suffered significantly greater losses and ravages of war than any other European country. Nearly 45 consecutive years of Poland as an Eastern Bloc country, and the long-standing, centralized management policy, resulted in shapeless, architecturally uniform blocks built of prefabricated concrete which were erected in the place of demolished urban quarters, and very frequently in historical city centers and Old Towns. After 1990, although rapid economic development took place in Poland, it was accompanied by sluggish land policy. Government legislative bodies did not provide district authorities with sufficient legal instruments to target degraded, misused areas or those areas in need of revitalization. District budgets did not anticipate any funds for this purpose, and municipalities did not aspire to carry out any major changes. At the same time, municipalities were obtaining revenue from private development which shifted the central point of cities from the historical old towns to the outskirts and less built-up urban quarters, by building e.g. shopping malls and suburban housing estates in those areas (Billert, 2001). Historical city centers gradually became deserted and small-scale migration took place. This was further intensified by a steadily progressing period of population decline which in the years 2009 - 2010 reached a 350 year peak. The great migrations of Polish citizens to EU Member States which began in the years 2004-2005 should also be taken into account. A large part of these migrations will be permanent, and this fact must be taken into account as far as modern and intelligent city planning is concerned.

Revitalization, which is nowadays undertaken more often in Polish cities, is often a response to functional problems. It is a comprehensive attempt of improving urban areas which are subject to slow, yet visible degradation (Kaczmarek, 2001). The destruction and desolation of the urban quarters cannot be stopped only by means of repair work. In these types of problem areas, not only the physical aspects, but also the quality of life are deteriorating, and therefore there is a need for a multifaceted approach to the process of revitalization. However, there is no doubt that the economic aspect is of great importance. Unfortunately, the recently noticed opportunity to reimburse the costs incurred by local governments for revitalization activities from the European Union seems to have been wrongly interpreted

by Polish local authorities. These funds are most frequently used in a one-dimensional way, namely for repair work, which does not address social or economic problems, which in turn are very significant in the process of revitalization. In recent years, however, not only local authorities, but also residents and potential investors and buyers have become increasingly interested in the revitalization of degraded urban centers. There has been growing interest in historical buildings, and residents have begun to appreciate the surrounding architecture, often investing their own financial resources and participating directly in improvement. The potential of old cities has been clearly recognized.

THE CITY OFŚWIEBODZIN

Location

Świebodzin is located in the central part of the Lubusz Voivodeship, at the intersection of the main traffic routes in the borderland of western Poland, i.e. main road No. 2: Berlin - Warsaw - Moscow and road No. 3: Szczecin - Prague and the railway route Berlin-Warsaw-Poznan. The above-mentioned roads link Świebodzin with the supra-regional centers in its vicinity, such as Poznan and Berlin and the regional centers: Gorzow Wielkopolski and Zielona Gora. In 2008 Świebodzin had 21 670 residents (CSO).

Figure 1. The location ofŚwiebodzin.
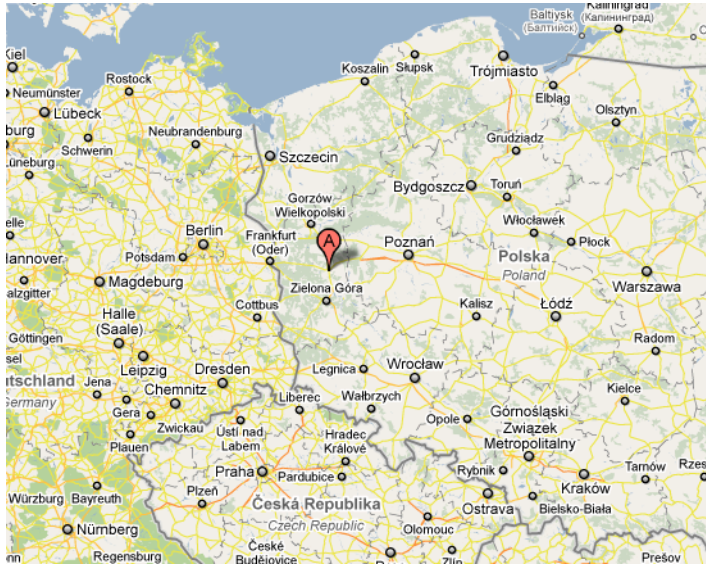
Source: maps.google.pl

The origins of the city

The development of Świebodzin, as in the case of any other city, has been influenced by a number of spatial, historical and social factors. The rise of the city was linked to good soil conditions and the availability of water (numerous lakes), which resulted in the inflow of the first settlers. The city initially developed organically but from 1335, the city obtained a foundation charter based on Magdeburg Law (www.baza.archiwa.gov.pl). The case of the stone castle in Świebodzin, which has been there from the very beginning, as well as the fortifications have not been fully investigated or resolved.

Throughout its history, Świebodzin shifted several times between Greater Poland, Silesia and Brandenburg.

Economic development

In the Middle Ages, fairs were organized two or three times a year. There was a boom in local trade and long-distance trade was developing dynamically. Świebodzin was a significant site for grain, wool and leather trading. The oldest craft was cloth making. The cloth makers of Świebodzin were granted privilege in 1395, and the cloth makers' journeymen fraternity was founded in 1452. Cloth made in Świebodzin and valued for its high quality, was exported to many cities and countries, for example, Poland, Hungary, Frankfurt (Oder). 'A big importer of cloth made in Świebodzin was the city of Frankfurt, which acted as an agent in supplying cloth for the French army. Large amounts of cloth were purchased by the Court at Berlin for the Prussian army" (Majchrzak, 2001). Świebodzin was also famous for tanning, furriery and pottery (Kowalski, 1994). With time, the city became the owner of several local giant farms and an urban forest. Wine growing began to flourish in suburban areas. It was mainly the suburban residents who earned their living from agriculture (Majchrzak, 2001).

The sixteenth century was a period when many epidemics and fires broke out in Świebodzin, after which the city would be reconstructed every time according to the former layout. The seventeenth century was a time of The Thirty Years' War, and with it the time of military marches and numerous plunders. In the seventeenth century the city of Świebodzin had two breweries, including the Peschel brewery, famous for its "Peschel-Gold beer, which existed until 1944" (Chmielewski, 1962). The nineteenth century was a time of population growth in the city. In the year 1806 the population of Świebodzinwas 3,114, in the year 1850 - 4870 and 1900 – 8660 (Kaiser, 1939). The nineteenth century was marked by significant changes in the economy of the city. It was in the era of capitalism that Świebodzin turned into a major industrial center. Technological advances began to appear in key sectors of the economy and in the everyday life of the city. Three schools were developed- elementary, vocational and high school, a new post office (1897), and court (1879) were erected and the Poznan-Frankfurt railway line was built (1870). In 1865 the city had gasworks, waterworks (1910), and sanitation was introduced in 1928 (Chmielewski, 1962). Before the outbreak of World War II there were 28 operating factories.

The dynamic development of Świebodzin was hampered by population migration (the nineteenth century) (Szaflarski, 1947) and by the outbreak of World War II. Towards the end of the war the town was plundered by the Red Army soldiers who ravaged the area and closed down most of the factories. The transformations of the Polish economy initiated in the eighties changed the proprietary nature of companies and plants to a greater extent. The existing plants changed the production and employment profiles. The construction industry was developing. The rehabilitation center was thriving. Timber processing companies and furniture production plants began to play a major role which was also true in the case of other parts of the *voivodeship*. The transit location of the city was also conducive to being in the transport service sector. At present, agriculture is of minor importance, whereas the city's and region's tourist value is increasing. Local authorities and residents have noticed the enormous tourist potential of the city and its surroundings as well as the economic benefits of being located in the vicinity of many lakes and forests.

Spatial development, urban layout

The oldest iconographic source of Świebodzin is the view of the city depicted on a copperplate by J. Braun of Cologne, together with a description in Latin in the work entitled "Theatrio Urbium"- "Civitatas Orbis Terrerum ".

Figure 2. A view of the city. Braun's drawing from 1584-1609.
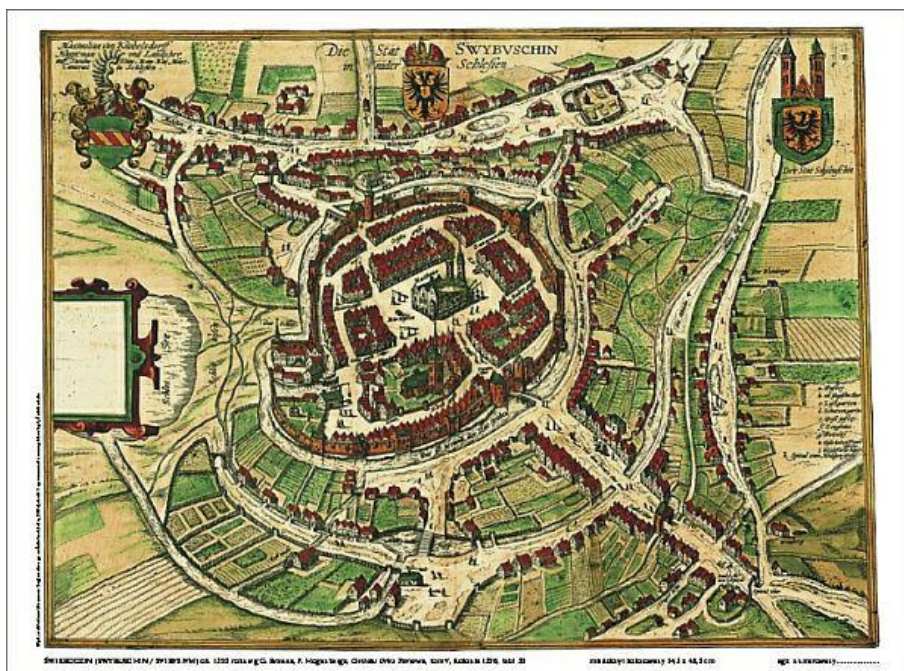
Source: The Regional Museum in Świebodzin.

The author, in addition to the description of the city, carefully presented the areas outside the city walls. He presented the image of an oval-shaped city, surrounded by medieval walls, with three heavily fortified gates, a castle, a church and a town hall. Surprisingly, the architectural details of individual houses, numerous wells, two water tanks which had wooden pipes to obtain water from the hills, mills, chapels, hospitals, a school, and a windmill are very clear. The medieval city was clearly laid-out with specific built-up quarters. It was surrounded by city walls which ran around the city, and on the east the walls and moat were coupled with the fortifications of the castle. The walls, built of fieldstones, were about 8 meters high and did not have battlements yet had fairly densely spaced embrasures. These walls had rectangular towers all around (12).

Picture 1. The tower today, and the surrounding green squareas an example of the remnants of the city walls.

Source: Author

In the late Middle Ages, they were rebuilt and received an extended, closed semicircular shape. The walls and castle were surrounded by a moat over twenty-meters-wide. The major transportation routes of the city had a cobbled surface. With the development of the city, more facilities slowly began to appear. The mention of the town hall dates back to 1397, however several years later – in 1413 – was the first time that the office of mayor was mentioned (Majchrzak, 2001).

The small amount of space within the city walls led to the fact that, as early as in the Middle Ages, the city began to develop along the main routes outside the city walls, thus creating suburbs.

At the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the city of Świebodzin experienced two large fires, three earthquakes and epidemics which claimed many victims. Each time, the city was reconstructed according to previous principles, erecting buildings of a predominantly timber-frame construction. In was in these years that two breweries and a number of arcaded houses, often richly decorated, were erected. The oldest data on the number of

dwellings dates back to 1619 and there were 422 of them at the time in Świebodzin (Kaiser, 1939). The arcades were obtained by demolishing the front part of a house, which in the case of a half-timbered structure was not a construction problem.[17] Not even one example of dwelling houses characteristic of Świebodzin in those days, has survived till this day.

Picture 2. An example of arcaded house on the market square. Postcard from the nineteenth century.
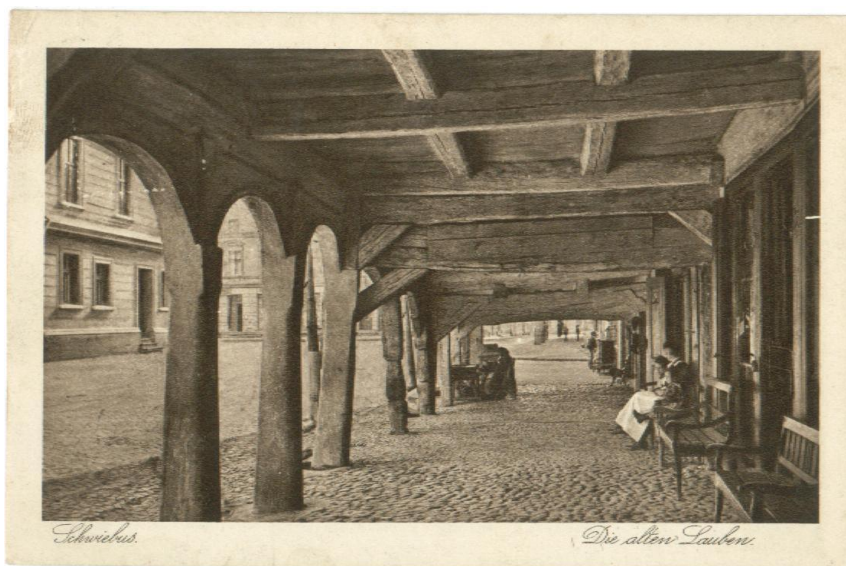
Source: The Regional Museum in Świebodzin.

The eighteenth century brought changes in the urban morphology of the city of Świebodzin as the moats were filled and the city walls were reduced. The city gates were also removed at this time.

The nineteenth century brought a lot of changes connected with the industrialization of the city. There were changes in the physical aspects and in the character of the city. In 1827 one of the towers of the town hall was torn down, and the southern tower was topped with a neo-Gothic battlement (Zabłocka-Kos, 1994). The butcher shops which were annexed to one of the walls of the city hall building were closed down (Berndt, 1909). The

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[17] Karty ze zbiorów Muzeum Regionalnego w Świebodzinie.

architecture of the nineteenth century was primarily based on houses and villas characterized by rich stucco ornamentation, late classical architecture and Art Nouveau. Out of the large number of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century tenements, only a dozen or so survived. Currently, most houses in Świebodzin are those built in the late nineteenth century, which refer to the architectural style and trends of the bygone eras, yet the residents still find them aesthetic. A characteristic element of tenements is bay windows. A corner bay window is an architectural element, which appears very often in newly built houses. In the old town area and along the streets branching off from the market square, there are many tenements built of glazed brick (late nineteenth and early twentieth century).

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Świebodzin developed mostly in the south where an industrial quarter came into existence in the vicinity of the railway station. The city developed on a regular basis, expanding its area of influence.

Picture 3. A bird's eye view of high-density hou-sing in the down-town area of Świebodzin from the south - east side before 1945.

Source: The Regional Museum in Świebodzin.

After World War II, despite the convenient location and the natural charm, which was the result of the specific climate, the city did not manage to avoid the mistakes connected with centralized space management. Like many other Polish towns Świebodzin was subjected to the unification process, and is now facing the problem of dealing with the panel housing estates built in the 1970s and 1980s.

Plan 1. Świebodzin – Old Town Center – the area of development, historical analysis of the structure.

LEGEND: 1.The boundaries of the study, 2. Fortifications 3.Buildingsbefore 1945

Source: Own ellaboration.

THE OLD TOWN CENTER OF ŚWIEBODZIN – THE STATE OF THE AREA AND ITS SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT NEEDS

The area of particular interest in this study is the Old Town Center of Świebodzin, that is the Old Town and the buildings in the southern quarters, all the way down to Pilsudski street. The current layout of the Old Town Center, where most of the buildings are under the charge of the Provincial Conservator of Monuments, is inspired by the spatial layout of the road running from Głogów to Frankfurt (Oder), which is the main "backbone" of the city. The preserved medieval quarters and the parceled-out areas show the original structure of the Old Town. The city walls and the areas of the medieval moat demarcate the circle which used to be formed around the city. Parts of the old moat have been drained and planted with trees, and they now constitute the green areas of the city. The partially preserved historical buildings of the former Old Town, which constitute a historical and architectural complex, including the monumental buildings of high architectural and aesthetic value dating back to the Middle Ages, the early modern period, and classicism, are of significant cultural value. Many historic public buildings with their original functions have survived to the present. These include: two parish churches, one of them dating back to the late Gothic period, associated with the city's history from the very beginning and the second parish church - a former evangelical church, which joins the edge of the Old Town and the nearby, nineteenth-century urban park. In the central part of the Old Town there is a neo-Renaissance town hall with fourteenth-century vaults, which is now the seat of the Regional Museum, the registry office and a cafe. Nearby, there is a castle with an attached hospital, and a former parish school from the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as fragments of fortifications with three towers preserved to this day. In addition to the administrative functions of the Old Town Center other dominant functions include clothing and food trade.

The oldest buildings which have survived are those in the side streets of the market square. There are several half-timbered buildings, although the previous structure of these buildings is now hidden under later layers of plaster.

Fragments of the historical buildings located in the northern and southern parts of the market were destroyed during the war. Tenements were replaced by panel housing estates. Fortunately, they were incorporated into the initial building alignment and the architecture drew on arcaded houses.

Picture 4. Arcade houses - view before 1945.

Source: The Regional Museum in Świebodzin.

Picture 5. For comparison, in the place of arcaded houses- a block of concrete slabs, 2005.

Source: Author.

In the market square and along the streets off the market, there are two three-storey houses with usable attics. For several years now, there have been more and more attic conversions so as to make previously unusable attics into habitable space.

The extensive repairs of the road surface of the market square which were carried out a few years ago as well as the partial repairs of the facades, improved the aesthetic aspect of the area, yet this did not contribute to 'fixing' the functional problems. The quarters are still too densely built-up. Poor planning makes the space appear very chaotic which leads to lowering the potential of an area. The majority of flats in the Old Town Center of Świebodzin is privately owned (housing associations) and there is not much building activity in this area. It is therefore necessary to improve and raise the attractiveness of the residential structure in the city center. There is great potential for this, if residential quarters are built in the attractive historical center of the city. The priorities should, therefore be to invest in technical renovation, to restore the facades of tenements and to cover the urban quarters with greenery. In many cases, the comments of the Conservator of Monuments should be taken into consideration, without changing the existing form, or layout of buildings. It would be advisable to infill the gaps in the quarters of the Old Town Center which would increase housing space. The internal parts of the quarters should also be straightened up by means of assigning them to a particular owner and administrator. According to an inventory of land ownership, a large part of the Old Town Center is owned by municipalities and housing associations. Only a small percentage belongs to private owners, making these areas common property, yet at the same time no one's property.

There is great potential for greening the city in the downtown area of Świebodzin where the city walls and the moat formerly stood. This would complement the urban park that is located very close to the market square and stretches almost to the walls of the church.

The problem with this part of the town is the poorly planned out infrastructure for cars. As a medieval town, the originallayout of the city does not accommodate cars. The city has still not adapted to the increasing amount of vehicles, and has continually put off addressing the problem. Świebodzin lacks parking lots and parking spaces, and this is a deterrent to

visitors. Public transportation is contrary to the aim of integrating the entire downtown area and is arduous for the residents.

Another negative aspect in the entire city and its surroundings is the insufficient number of marked bike paths. It is necessary to mark out and build new bike paths and tourist routes which will improve the tourist image of the city, adapting it to the needs and requirements of the many visitors who come to Świebodzin in the summer. The lack of tourist information and not enough advertising of the city, reduce its value in the region. Tourists ought to be encouraged to visit Świebodzin all year round and this could be achieved through creating a service package that would provide entertainment for people of all ages.

The city could build on the recent national interest in it that has arisen in relation to the statue of Christ the King built on the outskirts of the city by the exit road to Zielona Góra. The height of the statue and the way it looks, make it similar to the statue of Christ the Redeemer in Rio de Janeiro and it will likely become the subject of numerous trips and religious pilgrimages.

THE CONCEPT OF REVITALIZATION

When drawing up a revitalization program the following are key considerations: the entries in the Local Zoning Plan, the Study of Conditions and Directions of Spatial Development, as well as the guidelines of the Provincial Conservator of Monuments. The aim of the revitalization plan should be to bring back the former, dynamic urban functions, such as trade, catering and services in the Old Town Center of Świebodzin. A trade route should be created which would cut across the Old Town Center along Żymierskiego Street, the market square and Głogowska Street (Plan 2, dark blue). The Old Town Center, through investments, should offer such conditions which would lead to attracting a new group of residents, while eliminating the gaps and deficits in the spatial function inside the quarters. The historical value of the city, the architecture and urban layout in particular, should be exposed in such a way so as to become a tourist landmark of the city.

Plan 2. *Revitalization plan.*

LEGEND: 1.The boundaries of the study, 2.Retail and service functions (light red), 3.Complete ban on road traffic (dark blue), 4.Temporary road traffic (light blue), 5.Public transportation (white), 6.Parking spaces – parking lots (yellow), 7.Green areas (green),

CENTRUM STAROMIEJSKIE W ŚWIEBODZINIE

Plan rewitalizacji ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem rozkładu i koncentracji funkcji użytkowych, systemu transportu, parkowania i terenów zielonych.
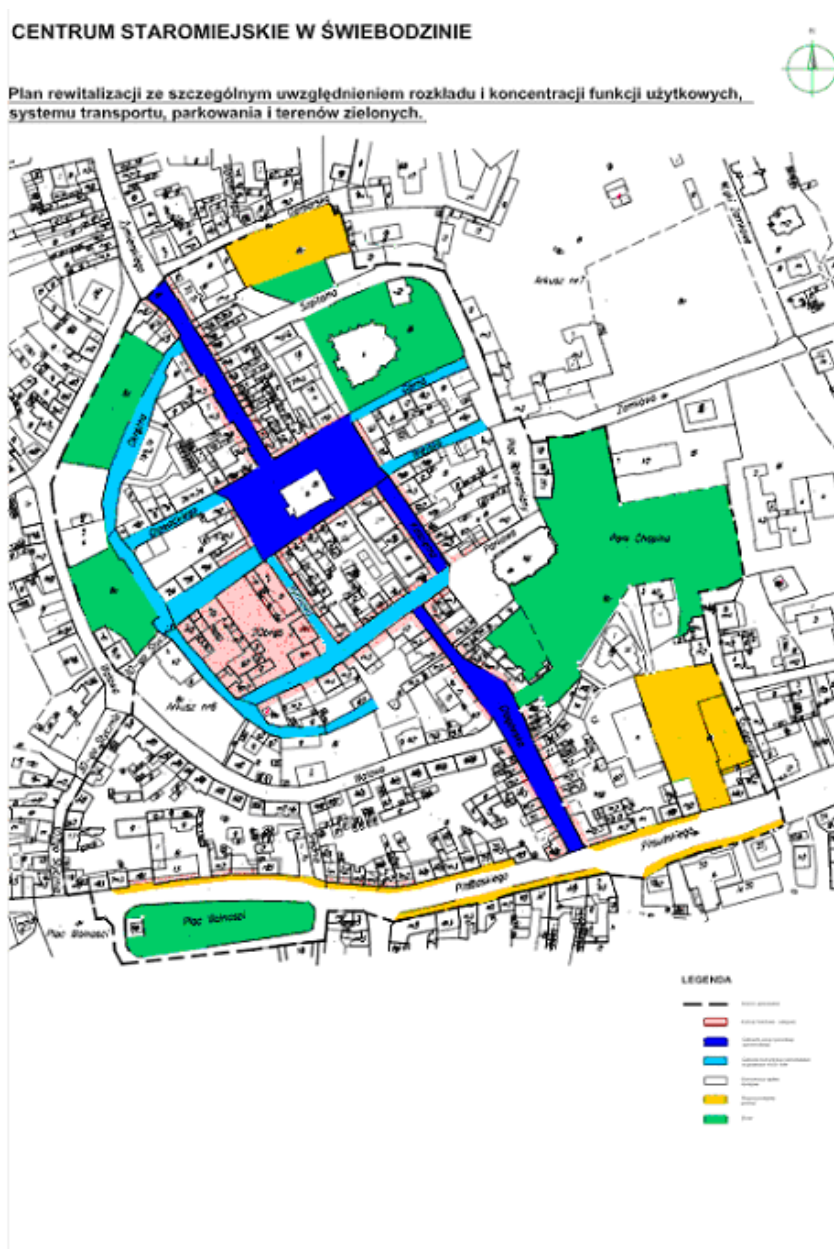
Source: Own ellaboration.

Dynamization of spatial functions - Multi-functional Center

The dynamization of spatial functionsof the Old Town Center area, namely, the modernization, transformation, increased activity of small and large spatial structures, can be achieved mainly by:

1) Dramatically strengthening the functions of trade, services and catering.

2) Creating a strong purpose for new spaces and integrating them with the existing ones.

3) Changing the transport and parking systems (Janicka, 2005).

In terms of creating new, strong retail and service spaces, it is essential to create a multifunctional center in the central area of the Old Town Centre. Such a centre should include two or three mega stores and a number of smaller retail, service and catering spaces. The Revitalization Project suggests that the location of such a center would be between the following streets: 30-go Stycznia, Rynkowa, Kilińskiego and Okrężna. (Plan 2, the red quarter). It must be a high potential area in order to meet market demands and the increasingly sophisticated demands of customers, and to satisfy the needs of both local and regional consumers, as well as to provide effective competition to prevent the outflow of the purchasing power to Zielona Góra. The multifunctional center should also become a magnet for tourists during the summer and autumn seasons.

The implementation of the multifunctional centre requires partial demolition of the existing buildings in the "shopping quarter", while at the same time, using the street facades of the present Municipal Office and the buildings on 30-go Stycznia and Kilińskiego street. The Centre should have an underground parking lot (about 5000 square meters), with an entrance from the intersection of 30-go Stycznia and Okrężna streets. The architectural solution should combine the fragments of the preserved old buildings with modern architectural forms (for example, with a metal structure and glass).

Picture 6. Berlin – Potsdamer Platz. An example of a combination of a historicalbuilding with the modern architecture of a new shopping complex.

Source: Author.

In the immediate vicinity of the multifunctional center it is expected that there will be a wellness and renewal centre which would be built in the place of the building gap in the vicinity of the market square, where there is a parking lot at present. The wellness and renewal centre should complement the architectural style of the multifunctional center. It has been proposed that the center should include a beauty, hair, and massage salon, and other (fitness, sauna, gym, fitness gym).

The role of the multifunctional center is, therefore to become a strong functional element near the market square area, in order to bring more dynamism to the development of the Old Town Center. The multifunctional center is to play a decisive, developmental role in the spatial and functional structure of the Old Town Center, and it is also to have an impact on the formation and effective functioning of smaller retail and service facilities in the area.

A third strong element should be the town hall, which by complementing the modern, functional element of the city centre (retail and services), will have a strong catering function of a particularly high degree of attractiveness, based on the historical and architectural value of this significant building. This function is not being fulfilled by the hard-to-reach catering facilities located in the basements of the town hall. The administrative function located in the town hall, or even the regional museum has little effect on the recovery of the market. It is proposed that in this situation, the present catering function in the basements of the town hall be extended to the entire ground floor. This would instantly create a strong catering function, at the same time using the stately halls intended for larger events. The rooms on the ground floor of the town hall, as well as the basement, have an interesting decor (gothic vaults), which would increase the attractiveness of the catering function. Allowing the customers of the café and restaurant to climb the town hall tower, could become an additional attraction.

To do this, it would be necessary to reconsider the location of the museum and Municipal Office. This problem might be solved by restoring and revitalizing the castle which is located on the eastern edge of the Old Town Center. Giving the castle a new function could be crucial in shaping the structural renewal of the Old Town Center. Moving the Municipal Office to the castle would allow this important function to be more available to the public. The present municipal office has small rooms, no representative conference room, and the steep stairs between the different floors make it hard for citizens to be in contact with the officials. Therefore, it is not fully adapted to perform the main administrative functions of the town. The castle would be a more accessible and more functional place, while being more representative as the seat of the city. The forgotten castle is an underrated and unused example of the city's rich history which is another important reason why the regional museum should be transferred there as well.

The new transport and parking system

The proposed developments are closely linked to the transportation and parking problems in the Old Town Center. The retail trade in the old parts of the town functions optimally when it is carried out with the appropriate

intensity, accompanied by large shopping centers, and by less traffic intensity to result in more shopping space for pedestrians. For this reason, the presented concept proposes a new transport and parking system.

Road traffic should be prohibited in the Old Town to create a pedestrian precinct. Such a revolutionary approach is nothing new in the case of Polish cities. Similar solutions have been used by our western neighbors.

This could also be done in the streets near the market square and the pedestrian precinct. Such action would lead to creating "a trade axis" which would offer retail and service customers a uniform pedestrian system and would increase the security, attractiveness and flow of pedestrian traffic.

In other parts of the city centre, the revitalization plan offers diverse accessibility to road traffic, depending on the residents' need to access their private parking lots and parking spaces. Certain streets could be temporarily excluded from road traffic.

The proposed intensity of trade, services and catering in the Old Town Centre and the proposed changes in the transport system require new, effective solutions in terms of parking. Two large parking lots should be built for the residents. If it is possible, these parking lots should be located inside the residential quarters or in underground car parks.

Green areas

The revitalization project includes upgrading and increasing the amount of urban green areas in the Old Town Center. This applies to both public green areas as well as private ones. The project addresses the need to revitalize the green areas which are located in the belt of the fortifications, and those related to the area near the castle and schools in the western part of the Old Town Center.

The revitalization of green areas is particularly important in terms of increasing the location value, as well as the residential and recreational functions within the city centre. Parking areas and public parking lots should be surrounded by green areas. It is advisable that residents should take care of the green areas in their own quarters. The city should set a good example also in this regard. The number of flower beds should be increased in the existing pedestrian precinct and along the roads with less traffic intensity.

Improving the spatial structure of the quarters

Also, the land within the urban quarters of the Old Town Center needs to be divided. This is a prerequisite for creating functional cadastral units, meant for privatization, which should create attractive conditions and ensure a high standard of housing functions.

Reconstructing the historical landscape of the city

The city's historical potential, apart from its history, is the legacy which it has left behind. The Old Town constitutes the rich urban cultural heritage, expressed in a particular urban system. It consists of old streets, alleys and squares. All of these elements of historical spectrum are potentially the identity of the population. In the context of the restoration of the city, the historical monuments and urban planning, these values should be a magnet for potential new residents and tourists alike.

However, establishing an efficient tourist information service (tourist information office, leaflets, flyers tours, postcards, brochures, gadgets) and an information system conducive to sightseeing the city, is also the basis for the city's development.

CONCLUSION

"Revitalization is the process of implementing spatial, technological, social and economic changes undertaken in the public interest, whose aim is to pull an area out of recession, and to restore its former functions, and create favorable conditions for its further development, making use of its endogenous features" (Heller, 2002).

Such action should be taken in the downtown area of Świebodzin. Not taking action to repair and reverse the ongoing degradation of space and substance will lead to further destruction of the existing values of the Old Town Center. It will lead to a decrease in the number of commercial and service facilities, drive the residents out of the city centre, create negative social selection, lead to the degradation of cultural values, the loss of new services and result in a lack of interest from new investors. Not caring about

the aesthetic aspects and functionality of the Old-Town-Centre quarters will lead to a decrease in the social identification with the place and to its further degradation. The continued decline of urban spaces, resulting from the negative aspects presented in the study, will shatter the opportunity for sustainable development of the city. Therefore, there is no doubt that action must be taken to revitalize the Old Town Center of Świebodzin, which may be based on the proposals contained in the revitalization project presented above. However, in order to carry out the project, it is necessary for aggressive, professional, managerial action to be undertaken by, both the city and the entire community, and therefore all the residents and subjects of the area of Świebodzin.

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The urban reality of a mediterranean city: Bari (Italy)

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ABSTRACT

Cities have turned into complex realities; they can disclose at any time news potentialities and new methods of reading and interpretation. For instance, the English geographers Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift (2002) analyze how the peculiarities of the urban reality of Northern European cities can be discovered through daily practices. Indeed, this method can be applied to other cities.

The present paper proposes to read the urban reality of the Mediterranean city of Bari (Italy) according to the following aspects that make up its Everyday-life urbanism:

I.   Urban rhythms

II.   Urban forms of representation

III.   Examples of informality in the city of Bari

IV.   The history of the city through urban stratification

V.   The city in movement: traffics

VI.   Urban communities

VII. Bari Sensuous Geography

The aim of the paper is "*to grasp a phenomenality that cannot be known through theory and cognition alone*" (Amin, Thrift; 2002). For this reason it will avail itself of informal, quantitative and qualitative methods. The urban reality is analyzed from the point of view of the individual, who observes the reality to reach the social information. The complete immersion in the social reality (Corbetta, 2003) facilitates the identification of daily practices.

Keywords: Mediterranean City; Bari (Italy); Everyday-life Urbanism; Phenomenological patterns.

RÉSUMÉ

Les villes sont devenues des réalités complexes qui révèlent constamment des nouvelles méthodes de lecture et d'interprétation. Par exemple, les géographes anglais Ash Amin et Nigel Thrift (2002) analysent la manière dont les particularités de la réalité urbaine des villes de l'Europe septentrionale peuvent être découvertes à travers les pratiques quotidiennes. Cette méthode peut s'appliquer à d'autres études de cas.

La présente contribution propose la lecture de la réalité urbaine de la ville méditerranéenne de Bari (Italie) selon les aspects suivants qui caractérisent « sa vie urbaine quotidienne »:

I.   Rythmes urbains

II.   Les formes urbaines de représentation

III.   Exemples d'informalité dans la ville de Bari

L'objectif de cet article est "*to grasp a phenomenality that cannot be known through theory and cognition alone*" (Amin, Thrift; 2002). Pour cette raison, nous allons adopter des méthodes informelles, quantitatives et qualitatives. La réalité urbaine est analysée du point de vue phénoménologique, qui prend en compte les expériences et la dimension quotidienne de l'individu. L'immersion complète dans la réalité sociale (Corbetta, 2003) facilite l'identification des pratiques quotidiennes.

Mots-clés: Ville Méditerranéenne, Bari (Italie), Espace urbain de la vie quotidienne**,** modèles phénoménologiques

URBAN RHYTHMS

The importance of the human experience and its symbolic dimension are key aspects of the phenomenological approach in geography. This emerged out of a humanistic geography approach that stressed the importance of human aspects and environmental cognition (human experience, feeling and emotions) in geography (Unwin, 1992). Different scholars have examined the importance of the concept of everyday-life and the associated dimensions of territoriality and everyday practice. Subjective and objective practices but even rational behaviors and unconscious expressions are carried out and became true in Everyday-life. Nowadays it is difficult to define what a city is, as it covers different functions: "*Cities are place of work, consumption, circulation, play, creativity, excitement, boredom.Cities gather, mix, separate, conceal, display. They support unimaginably diverse social practices*" (Amin and Thrift, 2002). Urban rhythms are coordinates by means of which inhabitants and visitors try to make sense of their urban experiences (Amin, Thrift, 2002). Not all rhythms are visible as some of them mark the everyday life of human experience, habits, sounds and smells that produce a sense of time (Allen, 1999).

In the Mediterranean area time spreads and stretches, in fact L. Leontidou states that: "*it is here, in the Mediterranean cities that we find cities that never sleep (…). Southern urban neighborhoods are busy and live longer, many of them until very late at night*" (1993:947). The city of Bari has Latin rhythms that illustrate its Mediterraneity; for instance during the night people like to meet in a coffeehouse or in a pizzeria or just together in particular squares; they have long breaks for lunch and most of all very long nights.

Rhythms determine the character of public spaces. During the day, the seafront of Bari is a major transport axis, while by summer nights it becomes a "public place enjoyed in a private way". This space is enriched and given its character by the manifold meanings that people ascribe it, thus it becomes pivotal for the people and their identity (Copeta, Lopez, 2008). Rhythms pervade the entire city, they are everywhere and key determinants of how it functions. Informal methods such as walking, thinking, reflecting and describing allow us to capture the nature of these rhythms. While these methods may seem simple, they are indeed complex. Walking is an active and reflective process. Paba (1998) suggests that to "*walk is to cross a space, to interact on a communication structure, to meet a palimpsest of culture (…). To walk is to read today's world never forgetting to talk with the old one*". Walking allows the complexity of the city to be captured, the past and present to be read as one, and the walker to have a personalised experience or encounter with particular urban spaces.

URBAN FORMS OF REPRESENTATIONS

Rhythms can be caught through forms of self-representation of the city, such as:

a)   How the city (especially the Medieval historical city centre) shows itself to tourists

b)   How the city appears by forms of communication

a) How the Medieval historical city centre shows itself to tourists: the ancient metaphor of the city as a theater has been reconsidered by contemporary authors, among which the sociologist Erving Goffmann,

proposes a dramaturgic approach to understanding social life. The city is the stage on which individuals perform multiple social interactions (Gofmann, 1959; Amin and Thrift, 2002). The street is the emblem of the complexity that provides maps and tales to understand how to move in the city.

This metaphor perfectly fits to Mediterranean cities, because theatricality is a core part of their character. The structure of the historical centre of Bari which goes back to Medieval Age is a case in point: it has a labyrinthine street plan stretching out the sea, is covered by small white houses strictly placed side by side, and a district replete with elegant buildings of the XVI century. Moreover, in the historical centre of Bari, there is a castle, a Basilica, a Cathedral and numerous churches and convents. As shown in picture one, the houses overlook narrow streets or yards, and are adjacent to coffee houses, bars, and pizzerias catering to visitors.

Picture 1. Streets of the old historical centre of Bari.

Source: Author

Picture 2. People in Ferrarese Square, old historical centre of Bari.

Source: Author

b) *How the city appears by forms of communication*: the city is also a narrative structure continuously renewing itself through forms of representation such as films and theatre performances in local speech and local broadcastings (radio and television, local newspapers, etc). These artistic experiences and urban cultural communication forms may elucidate hidden practices and rhythms.

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Mass media are*knowledge technologies* whose variety of styles produces different urban images.

Local mass media have an inner point of view; they make reference to urban places, thus nourishing the urban collective imaginary. Consequently, performances, films and series in local speech or set in the city can be considered as local knowledge technologies whose symbolism reinforces the sense of belonging. In Bari there are three local newspapers and seven local broadcast organizations.

In the city of Bari there are 15 theatres and 4 of them are specialized in staging performances in local speech. These exemplify "localized" cultural forms, for instance the performance entitled *Jarche Vasce* (Low Arc) is centered on the arc of the historical city, which metaphorically discloses the intimate life of the historical centre of Bari. Once passed the arc, the spectator enters the historical city. The performance has been staged for over 37 years. Furthermore, the city appears in many films which amplify our comprehension of Everyday-life needs. Like novels, films disclose the city. In Bari, the first film was shot in 1931, and in total 26 films has been shot there. According to Paul Rodaway (1994), broadcasting, performances and films are daily visual forms of representation that structure the *visual geography* of the city; they contribute to the reconstruction of a context and of its symbolism.

A different form of daily urban representation is the novel, which is as well based on Everyday-life. Novels might bring to light unknown urban aspects; they analyze the urban dimension, nourish geographical imagination and even make the city famous.Gianluca Carofiglio wrote ten novels set in Bari, but among them *Né qui, né altrove. Una notte a Bari* (Edizioni Laterza, 2008)[22] is perhaps the most well known. In this novel the city of Bari is the main character; it discloses itself through the writer's eyes, and the reader is guided inside the city through well-known routes thanks to mental maps. In this novel, the urban image as theorized by Kevin Lynch (1960, 2008)[23], is based

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[22] Proper translation: *Not Here. Neither Elsewhere. A Night in Bari*. It has been published in Italy in 2008, it has already reached its tenth edition and it has sold 150.000 copies. The novel has been translated into German and Spanish.

[23] Thanks to his most important work *The Image of the City* (firstly published in 1960), Kevin Lynch was the first one who investigated the *mental map of the city*. In his work he analyzed the relations between individual and territory. According to him, the urban image in based on

on commonly known streets and edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. For this reason, the citizens of Bari recognize themselves. A further geographical contribution is that Carofiglio has put Bari on the national and international map*; in order words, he has made famous a city previously unknown.

Another example is thenovel *Riportando tutto a casa* (2009, Edizioni Einaudi)[24] by Nicola La Gioia. While also set in Bari, he offers just a partial vision of the city.

EXAMPLES OF INFORMALITY IN THE CITY OF BARI

Informality is a feature of Mediterranean cities that influences their rhythms, habits and sense of place. Here the space is lived in all its opened and closed forms and public and private spaces are not clearly demarcated (Giovannini, Colistra, 2002). Great value is given to the seafront and to public spaces, because they are *places*, that is they have symbolic value and are landmarks and traces for social relationships and urban identification. As mentioned previously, by night the seafront becomes a meeting place. Public space is also enjoyed in a more private way in the historical centre of Bari, where residents consider the street contiguous to their houses and use them accordingly.

Picture 3. Stalls selling sea urchins, Bari

Source: Author.

Picture4. Women frying Sgagliozze, historical centre, Bari. foto estirada

Source: Author.

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five main concepts: *paths* (streets, sidewalks, trails, and other channels in which people travel); *edges* (boundaries); *districts* (relatively large sections of the city distinguished by some identity or character); *nodes* (focal points or intersections); *landmarks* (objects which serve as external reference points).

[24] Proper translation: *Bringing Anything Back Home.*

"Mediterranean Europe has been always surrounded by a booming regenerating informal economy" (Leontidou, 1993:954). While *walking* throughout the city, we *observe* different forms of informal commerce such as stalls selling flowers, dried fruit, fresh almonds and sea urchins. These habits of the city are also pointed out in the above mentioned novel of Carofiglio, as he reminds his readers that in the historical centre women fry sgagliozze[25]: *"Are there still those who fryscagliozze? (...). Typical and very tasty Bari street food"* (Carofiglio, 2008:64). These informal economic activities show the ease with which the meaning of urban space is constantly changed.

Finally, informality is as well expressed through forms of illegal work.According to Lila Leontidou (1993), illegality is a further feature of the Mediterranean world, as the postmodern Mediterranean man has always been acting regardless of norms and rules.

THE HISTORY OF THE CITY THROUGH URBAN STRATIFICATION

In Leontidou's words, stratigraphy is the way in which "*The passage of time is thus partly written on the built environment, where different periods and different styles are superimposed"* (Leontidou, 1993). The apparent architectonical confusion of Mediterranean cities derives from the coexistence ofthe urban heritage of different civilizations. Stratigraphy can be related to the metaphor of footprint proposed by Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift (2002), as in both cases there is a relation between past and present and a reference to historic symbolic systems. Complicating these features according to Lila Leontidou (1993) is that the evolution of Mediterranean cities is not linear, as post-modern culture is innate. This post-modernism is reflected in the "visible and evident" urban dimension and in the "hidden and unknown" one.

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[25]*Sgagliozze* is a typical food of Bari consisting in slides of fried polenta.

The city of Bari is rich in footprints that evoke the past and activate a sense of belonging and identification for the citizens. The historical stratification of Bari can be read both horizontally and vertically. By horizontal level, it is meant the visible urban stratigraphy, what the eye can easily catch. By vertical level, it is meant the hidden urban landscape that archeology discloses.

Having a walk in the historical city of Bari, it is possible to reconstruct its history through footprints. Among them, there is the hypogeum of the Cathedral (called *succorpo*), which today is a museum consisting of churches and other remains belonging to the Roman, early Christian, Medieval and Modern periods. Further examples of the hidden Bari are: numberless hypogea, rupestrian churches, foundations of buildings and monuments; visible evidences are Peuceti walls (VI-IV cen. b. C.) of Santa Scolastica Church, Roman columns of the Via Traiana and the Francigena Ruga.

Picture 5. Pavements of the Via Traiana, Bari

Source: Author.

Picture 6. Roman Columns of the Via Traiana.

Source: Author.

The defensive city walls shape the Medieval profile and character of the city; they are called "Muraglia", along which nowadays there are offices, houses and meeting places.

THE CITY IN MOVEMENT: TRAFFICS

Traffic is a domestic rhythm that illustrates the movement of the city towards new destinations and nourishes communication and social exchange within the city (Tinacci Mosello, 2005). For the case study, there have been considered the following typical kinds of traffic:

a) *Urban Traffic*: in Bari it is irregular. The following photo illustrates that motorcycles travel in an uncontrolled manner regardless of the correct direction and not all motorcyclists wear the helmet.

Picture 7. Urban traffic, Bari.foto muy estiraday se distorsiona

Source: Author.

b) *Goods Traffic:*it refers to the movement across commercial centers which are usually located at the periphery of the city, so that streams of people move towards the different points of the city.

c) *Train traffic*

d) *Air Traffic*: Bari airport is connected with 31 destinations[26]. They are distributed as follow: 14 destinations are in Italy, 5 destinations are in Germany, one destination is in Switzerland and one destination is in

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[26]http://www.aeroportidipuglia.it/default.asp?idlingua=1&rif=11&what=1&where=bari&colle gamento=0&compagnia=0Consulted on 15 December 2010.

the United Kingdom. Furthermore, 3 destinations are in Spain and 5 destinations are in Eastern-Europe. Paris and Malta are other destinations.

e) *Port Traffic*: the port is a key element for the identity of a Mediterranean city (Leontidou, 1993; Carofiglio, 2008) and for the urban economy. It is a vital space and a central node for traffic networks connecting different regions together. It is the reference point both for sea and ground communication forms, for people and goods traffics that move in two directions. Considering its functions, the port of Bari is:

- *A World*: in it streams of people, workers, tourists and transports circulate. People coming from different nationalities meet, each one with the rhythms of their own everyday-lives. As a matter of fact, there are different rhythms between a worker and a tourist, between who arrives and who leaves. This metaphor is perfectly described by the following words "*The port is a separate universe. If you walk there by night, you are not able to understand how it can be so immense, how it is possible that a so vast place is contained in a city, when it seems to be the opposite*" (Carofiglio, 2008:85).

- *System Network*: the network dynamics reinforce the geographical position, the existing infrastructures and the endogenous resources that facilitate the regional economic organization. The Apulian ports of Bari, Barletta and Monopoli have shaped the society: *Network Autorità Portuale del Levante*[27] in order to get a more relevant position in international markets and reinforce their territorial economic identity. Moreover, the port is a node of the *Pan-European Corridor VIII*, which ensures diversified users: tourists, workers and transport (goods and people).

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[27] Proper translation: *Near East Port Authority Network.*

Table 1. *Traffic within the Port of Bari*

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Ferries Pax	1.262.093	1.308.819	1.339.464	1.454.948	1.575.367	1.780.029	1.846.398	1.961.283
Cruises Pax	203.431	213.984	262.888	277.979	303.338	351.897	465.739	567.885
Car Traffic	173.042	178.985	182.837	210.127	223.247	253.790	249.836	271.081
Bus Traffic	4.536	3.769	3.406	4.057	4.786	5.078	5.218	5.674
Camion Traffic	114.478	118.060	121.866	147.709	185.673	203.620	203.988	176.674

Source: Autorità Portuale del Levante. Proper elaboration.

Ferries connect Bari with Greece[28], Croatia[29], Albania[30] and Montenegro[31]. The following table summarizes the statistics of the port of Bari concerning passengers, cars, buses and lorry traffic within the port. Cruises and ferry traffic reveal a growing trend. In addition, the number of cruise-landings[32] has been constantly growing during the latest years, in 2006 and 2007 they were 120, in 2008 they grew up to 142, and they grew up to182 in 2009 and to 146 in 2010.

THE COMMUNITIES OF THE CITY

The city is articulated in communities defined according to social relations among its members. In the case of Bari, it is possible to find out the following communities:

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[28] Patras is served by two companies, each has one daily connection. Corfu is connected by one company daily. Igoumenista is reached by three ferries companies.

[29] Dubrovnik is reachable by two lines, one of them operates daily.

[30] Bari is the leader port regarding the connection to Durazzo, indeed there are five ferries lines, four operate daily, and one has two connections in a day.

[31] Bar is reachable each two days.

[32] Cruises companies that operate in Bari are: Costa Crociere, MSC, SEABOURN CRUISE LINE, P&O CRUISES, MONTENEGRO LINES, CONSTELLATION CRUISE HOLDINGS, Tapas, AZAMARA, DELPHIN CRUISE, KRISTINA CRUISES, MANO SHIPPING

a) *Closed community*: it is the community of face to face interactions. Although some scholars consider it an already overcome concept, in the historical centre there are still relations based on proximity, for which the street is a geographical reality (Dardel, 1952). The street is the centre and setting of Everyday-life, in which people are passersby, inhabitants, and workers. For many people the street is core to their life cycle; they were born, lived and died there.

b) *Opened community*: it is formed by the remaining inhabitants of the other districts of the city. It is also formed by immigrants; so the city has a multicultural aspect.

c) *Marginal community*: it is located in marginal places, almost always in suburban districts. They are authorized or even unauthorized Rom Communities.

d) *Virtual community*: any aspect of daily life is influenced by Internet, which connects users of different age and with different motivations (Malecki, 2003). ICT grant their users active participation to the world system (Castells, 2006). As users and creators are the same, virtual communities are an example of self-representation. For these reasons, they are auto-poietic systems that produce utopian social relations.

e) *Bari Global City*: it has not precise geographical connotations, the relation space-place disappears and all its inhabitants have access to the media. Portal, web pages, social networks virtually reconstruct Bari, so that the local identity becomes associated with the global dimension. For instance, in the case of the social network Facebook, the city presents and re-presents itself through groups, dealing with the local speech of Bari, gastronomy and history. New technologies produce information flows that are difficult to control and to analyze as information moves silently and secretly.

f) *Bari Informational City*: it originates after the electronic revolution. The presence of a large number of computers enables the connection between the local and global dimension.The electronic revolution has dislocated urban structure, but social values remain essential as the informational economy is based on them: "*Since its first joint is information, the informational city is based on the immaterial ability*

of symbolic manipulation, which is another way of saying culture"
(Farinelli, 2003:191).

BARI SENSUOUS GEOGRAPHY

Cognitive knowledge is a human process as the body is the source of the action in the city (Amin, Thrift, 2002; Paba, 1998; Arnheim, 1974). How we experience place draws from our internal 'dictionary' of tastes, smells, sounds and experiences. According to Rodaway "*Perception is an experience of the whole body and an activity in a dynamic world. Behavior and perception are implicative of one other*" (1994).

Senses catch concepts which are useful in understanding external reality (Arnheim, 1974; Paba, 1998), and for this reason they *"...are crucial elements of urban life"* (Amin, Thrift, 2002). They are examples of hidden rhythms that guide us throughout the city.Sensations are also bound to daily rhythms *"(...) to sounds and even to smells that mark the life in the city and that give (...) a sense of time and place*" (Allen, 1999). These *sensuous geographies*help structure our environment. As mentioned previously, walking requires the ability to perform a perceptive, emotional and sensuous immersion in the city (Sheringham, 1996). During the walk, one should let himself go to listen to sensations and feelings, thus catching urban reality and its secrets.

Here follows a reading of the urban reality of Bari through senses: sight, smell, hearing, and touch:

a) The *sight* is "*the most extraordinarily efficient human organ for human motions*" (Arnheim, 1974:XI). Thanks to it, we catch the colors of the city. In a Mediterranean city, characterizing colors are: the blue of the sea and of the sky; the white of the monuments, of some buildings and of pavements of the streets of the old city, and the air brightness. Furthermore, through the eye we move inside the city and we recognize where we are (Paba, 1998).

b) The city is also an *olfactory landscape*. We live the city according to smells and perfumes (Paba, 1998). The smell that accompanies us in Bari is the one of the sea, it is saltiness. There are also smells of some typical

foods, as for instance the one of the Focaccia, which is "*...oily, crispy, fragrant*" (Carofiglio, 2008). Focaccia even recalls the sense of taste: "*The focaccia is one of the tastiest things in the world (...). It is one of the few symbols in which Bari citizens concrete their Identity*" (Carofiglio, 2008).

c) The city became a concrete reality through a plurality of voices because "*the sound is a constant in cities, marking out through the daily to and fro of traffics*" (Lefebvre, 1996, quoted in Amin, Thrift, 2002). In the case of Bari, dialect, intonation and accent characterize the city. Indeed, sounds are crucially important in distinguishing the cultures of cites (Schafer, 1985); Scialò (1995) refers to topophony in order to indicate the musical tradition of a culture, which is able to make up specificities of the sound-scape. Daily sounds differ from the night ones, for instance by day there are the voices of people, the noises of the markets and of the irregular traffic. In the city of Bari, the sound par excellence is the lapping of the sea that can be heard when you are near the water.

d) The *sense of touch* plays a central role in the perception of the environment (Paba, 1998). It derives from the most extended organ and it recalls the constant relationship between cities and natural elements (Sarlo, 2002). Climate is a natural element that determines and creates urban reality, marks the passing of time and the Identity of the City. In Mediterranean regions, it is determined by dry and hot air coming from the South (Spina, 2002). For this reason, in the Mediterranean city touch sensations are notable, such as the sea breeze; mistral, and humidity. It is possible to find out characteristic elements of the Mediterranean Region: the length of season, the sand, the sea, the wind (Taccone, 2002).

CONCLUSION

Contemporary urban studies should reconsider their focus starting from their characterizing urban phenomenological patterns. Understanding the city is a more experiential manner is critically important. Phenomenological patterns refer to rhythms, traffics, knowledge, economy, history and senses. The reading of Bari undertaken above illustrates how each city has its Identity, which reveals itself through citizens, movements and knowledge.

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Une analyse critique des «flagship projects» urbains: Le cas de la bibliotheque nationale de France

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ABSTRACT

Since the 1980's, the construction of 'flagship projects' has been a general trend among cities of different ranks in the hierarchy of urban networks. This represents a marketing strategy for urban (re)development in the logic of urban competition. Global cities, like London or Paris, began to build flagship projects which have become landmarks for other cities. This article is a first critical analysis focused on the viability of the construction of the *Bibliothèque François Mitterrand* in terms of its territorial impacts, in the context of the *Grands Projets* in Paris. Among other Parisian cases, the

'flagship project' chosen for this study was one of the most symbolic from the era of the President from whom the library takes its name. Besides, it is the catalyst for the process of urban regeneration of the zone of the *Rive Gauche,* which today is still under development.

The first approach of this research was focused on interactions among representations, spatial practices and power games between the variety of actors implied in the project, as well as the re-creation of the place over time. We have tried to point towards new research paths in this field that could allow a critical analysis of the social and economic changes led by these projects. The final objective of the initiated research would be to make a balance of the territorial consequences of this type of projects in order to evaluate their viability as an urban planning policy..

Keywords: urban flagship project, image, place, monumentality, urban marketing, « Bibliothèque François Mitterrand », « Grand Projet », Paris

RESUME

Depuis les années 80, la réalisation des « flagship projects » en tant que stratégie de marketing pour le (re)développement urbain a été une tendance généralisée dans des villes de différents niveaux de la hiérarchie de réseaux urbains, en suivant une logique de concurrence interurbaine. Ainsi les villes globales, dont Londres ou Paris, ont commencé à réaliser des projets phares qui sont devenus une référence pour d'autres villes. Cet article constitue une première analyse critique focalisée sur la viabilité de la réalisation de la Bibliothèque François Mitterrand en fonction de ses impacts territoriaux, dans le contexte des *Grands Projets* à Paris. Parmi les autres cas parisiens, le « flagship project » urbain choisi pour cette étude a été l'un des plus symboliques de l'époque du Président duquel prend son nom et représente la pièce phare pour la régénération de la Rive Gauche toujours en développement.

La recherche initiale sur le sujet était centrée sur l'interaction, en termes de représentations, de pratiques et de jeux de pouvoir, entre les différents acteurs du projet et la re-création du lieu au cours du temps. Nous avons aussi essayé d'apporter des pistes pour des futures recherches orientées vers

une analyse critique des transformations sociales et économiques que ces projets induisent. L'objectif final de cette recherche est l'obtention d'éléments qui permettent de dresser un bilan des conséquences territoriales de ce type de projets et de sa viabilité en tant que politique urbaine.

Mots clés : « flagship project » urbain, image, lieu, monumentalité, marketing urbain, Bibliothèque François Mitterrand, Grand Projet, Paris

INTRODUCTION

La réalisation de projets phare qui catalysent la régénération d'espaces urbains en déclin a été une tendance dans des villes européennes. Ces « flagship projets » constituent un type de politique de marketing urbain choisie par des villes de différents rangs dans la hiérarchie urbaine depuis les années quatre-vingt pour améliorer leur compétitivité interurbaine (Bianchini et al., 1992; Paddison, 1993). Le manque de recherches critiques, globales et interdisciplinaires, sur leurs conséquences territoriales ont été les enjeux à l'origine de cette recherche (Evans, 2005)**.** Les *grands projets* réalisés durant les mandats de F. Mitterrand (1981 – 1995) sont une référence clé au niveau des villes globales (Evans, 2003). Nous partons de l'idée que ceux-ci sont des édifices iconiques[33] qui attirent des grandes entreprises transnationales et des touristes grâce à leur monumentalité et leur visibilité internationale. Alors qu'ils sont présentés comme des infrastructures à vocation culturelle et sans compter qu'ils ont un coût social élevé entraînant un processus d'embourgeoisement. Ceux-ci ont été le résultat de « entrepreneurial politics » (Harvey 1989) de collaboration entre des acteurs publics et privés qui portent des discours contradictoires. Nous considérons que ces projets entraînent une transformation morphologique de leurs quartiers et deviennent les points de repère pour les utilisateurs en changeant l'imaginaire qu'ils ont de ce secteur urbain. Parmi ces *grands projets*, (Fig. 1) le site de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France dans la ZAC Rive Gauche

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[33] Ce concept est surtout employée dans des recherches de critique d'architecturale (Jencks 2005) ou dans des travaux centrés sur les impactes socio-économiques entraînés par certains édifices à forte symbolique (Sklair 2005, 2006). Il indique la ressemblance formelle des édifices à d'autres objets, ce qui favorise leur visibilité, leur attractivité et leur monumentalité. Ainsi, ces édifices facilitent le souvenir de la symbolique de leur conception.

est spécialement intéressant à cause de sa forte symbolique liée à la figure du Président et parce que le quartier est encore en train d'être aménagé.

Figure 1: Localisation des« flagship projects » de Paris depuis les années 1980.
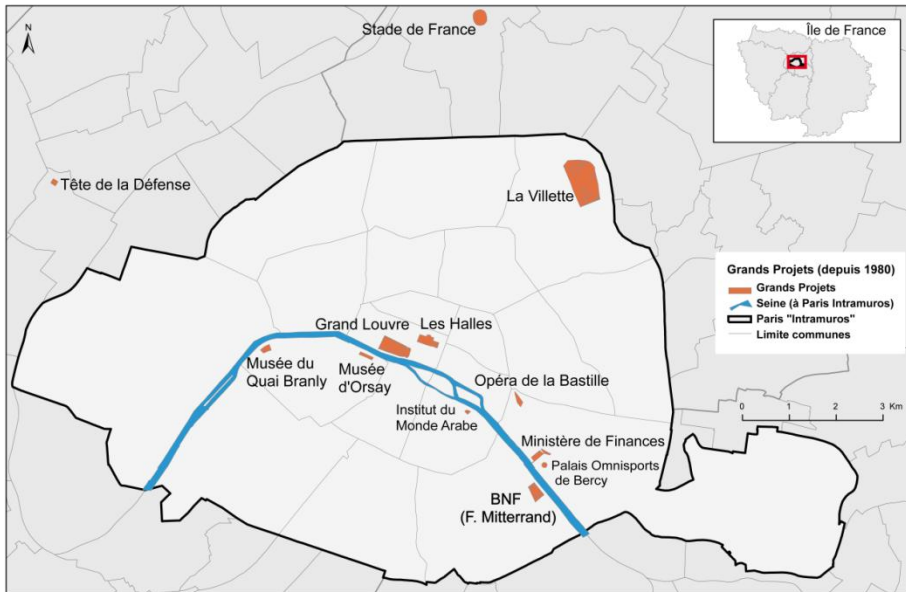
Source : Carte réalisée personnellement à partir des projets étudiés dans des publications sur Paris et les grands travaux (Boulbina, 2007; Chaslin, 1985; Collard, 2008; Fourcaut et al., 2007; Luyer, 1997) et à partir d'une comparaison de la cartographie sur Paris (Vila Vázquez 2008).

L'analyse du cas de la Bibliothèque F. Mitterrand essayait d'approfondir la connaissance des conséquences territoriales de ce type d'actions urbanistiques et de créer une méthode de travail type pour de futures recherches. La démarche mise en place a consisté à l'observation *in situ* des déplacements des utilisateurs du quartier à différents moments de la journée et à la conduite d'entretiens dans l'aire d'étude (secteurs A1 et A2, Fig. 2). Nous avons également réalisé une comparaison de documents cartographiques et photographiques élaborés avant et après la construction de la Bibliothèque, ainsi qu'une lecture comparative entre les dossiers produits par les aménageurs de la ZAC et les documents sur le projet écrits par l'architecte de l'édifice et par les acteurs politiques. Nous allons exposer l'ensemble des aspects qui sont à l'origine de ce type de projets. Nous

indiquerons ensuite les conséquences de ce-dernier dans les transformations du lieu[34]. Ainsi, une brève présentation de l'évolution du quartier d'emplacement sera exposée initialement. Ensuite, nous montrerons les différents discours[35] des acteurs qui sont intervenus dans la conception de la BNF François Mitterrand, les jeux de pouvoirs, les différents espaces de représentations et les représentations d'espaces (Harvey, 1997; Lefebvre, 2000). Finalement, une ébauche des modifications sociales, économiques et de la morphologie urbaine du lieu de Tolbiac sera exposée. Cela permettra de montrer la validité des idées générales sur ce type de stratégies urbaines dans ce projet et d'arriver à un bilan de leurs impacts territoriaux.

MISE EN CONTEXTE DE LA REALISATION DE LA BIBLIOTHEQUE F. MITTERRAND POUR REGENERER LA RIVE GAUCHE PARISIENNE
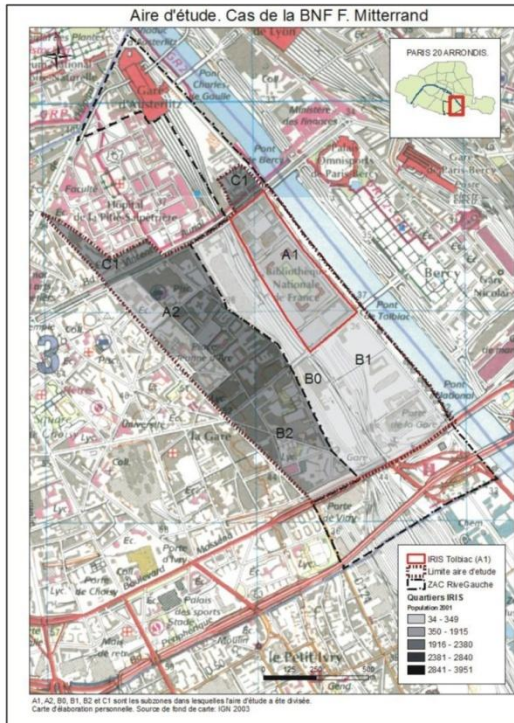
L'aire d'étude prise en compte pour cette recherche a été différente selon les aspects analysés du quartier de Tolbiac et de l'édifice de la Bibliothèque F. Mitterrand. Nous avons, tout d'abord, pris en considération la rive gauche Est de Paris afin de décrire le contexte. Ensuite des échelles progressives depuis celle de l'arrondissement (13ème) jusqu'à celle de l'ensemble de la Bibliothèque ont été utilisées pour l'étude de l'image. Finalement, les aires d'étude ont été délimités en fonction du découpage législatif et statistique, plus précisément de la plus ample échelle à la plus petite : l'arrondissement, le quartier de la Gare, l'ensemble de la ZAC Rive Gauche (Zone d'Aménagement Concerté où la BNF est insérée), le secteur de Tolbiac (dans la ZAC citée) et le site de la Bibliothèque. (Fig.2).

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[34] Le lieu est considéré dans le sens de portion concrète de la superficie terrestre qui participe activement dans la construction sociale de l'espace. Son essence ou *genius loci* est celle qui contient une symbolique qui lui est spécialement incorporé grâce à la matérialisation de la monumentalité (Harvey 1979, 1996; Loukaki 1997; Tuan 2005; Rossi 1982).

[35] L'importance des discours dans la planification urbaine et dans la construction de l'espace fait qu'il soit nécessaire leur analyse comparative comme celles qui ont été menées par différents spécialistes (Collard 2008; Ploger 2001), spécialement sous un angle plutôt politique et historique.

Figure 2. Des aires d'étude pour le cas de la BNF.

Figure 3. (en haut).Trois des quatre Tours de la BNF F.Mitterrand. Au premier plan. les travaux du projet de la Rive Gauche dans le faisceau des voies ferrées.

Figure 4 et 5. (en bas). Photos du quartier de la Gare depuis le Pont de Tolbiac (rue Tolbiac) en 1975 et 2008, respectivement.

Source: Carte d' élaboration personnelle ayant par sources la carte de l'IGN (2003) et la page web: http://www.parisrivegauche.fr.

Nous avions émis l'idée que la construction de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France- François Mitterrand (BNF) avait été réalisée afin de créer un lieu visible, attirant du capital économique grâce à la transformation de l'image du quartier (Fig.3). Cette œuvre serait le porte drapeau ou le projet phare de ce processus. La BNF- F. Mitterrand a été construite dans le Sud-est du centre de l'agglomération parisienne. Il est nécessaire de connaître l'origine de l'état du quartier en question au moment de la décision de son emplacement. Le quartier de la Gare, concrètement de ce secteur de Tolbiac a été marqué par la construction de l'Embarcadère d'Orléans en 1840 (l'actuelle Gare d'Austerlitz), un facteur limitant l'extension des bâtiments à fonction résidentielle (Rouleau, 1997). Par contre, des établissements ferroviaires et de transport de marchandises ont été construits. Cette espace était une barrière qui séparait l'ensemble de ce quartier populaire de la Seine.

Seuls les ponts comme celui de Tolbiac, permettaient de traverser l'espace intermédiaire proche de la rivière. Ce n'est qu'à partir du milieu du XXe siècle, les décennies suivantes, que cet espace commence à être sous exploité. Nombreux établissements présents dans la zone depuis longtemps, étaient sous utilisés ou reconvertis en squats, entraînant une dégradation de l'image du quartier, perçu dès lors comme dangereux. Un des témoins de cette époque est le bâtiment des «Frigos », vestige d'anciens entrepôts frigorifiques, ou la Halle Freyssinet (Fig. 7 et 8).

L'impulsion pour régénérer ce secteur, considéré comme une friche, a aboutit à la décision d'aménager cette partie du quartier (Fig. 4 et 5). Dans ce contexte, la décision de la réalisation du projet de la BNF sur le site de Tolbiac a été prise en 1988-1989 par l'équipe du Président dans un des espaces offerts par le maire de Paris J. Chirac[36] (Boulbina 2007). Cette construction a entraîné une transformation directe de la morphologie urbaine du quartier car le projet s'inscrivait dans une ZAC (Zone d'Aménagement Concertée). Il ne s'agit pas d'un processus spontané, mais d'un aménagement absolument dirigé, dont les différentes étapes étaient planifiées dès le départ. La pièce principale, la BNF, avait et a joué le rôle d'élément phare du fait de son image, un point de repère pour la population et un pôle d'attraction pour le développement de tout le quartier. Donc, cela a provoqué d'une manière indissociable avec le reste des actions dirigées par la SEMAPA, la forte rénovation ou plutôt la construction *ex novo* de tout un secteur considéré comme en friche ou en déclin et même dangereux dans les années quatre vingt. Une analyse des discours des acteurs participants dans la conception de l'ensemble du projet et les images des utilisateurs du quartier peuvent montrer la symbolique du projet et la transformation de l'imaginaire de ce secteur.

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[36] Après la décision de la construction de la nommée Très Grande Bibliothèque, en 1988 le choix de son emplacement a été prise. Par la suite, un concours international d'idées a été réalisé et l'architecte D. Perrault emporte le concours lors de la décision finale du Président en 1989. La Bibliothèque a été inaugurée avant la fin du chantier, par F. Mitterrand en mars 2005, et par J. Chirac en décembre 1996 (Blasselle 2006). La société chargée de l'aménagement est la société mixte SEMAPA, laquelle mène la plupart des transformations dans les quartiers de la ZAC Rive Gauche.

LA CONSTRUCTION SYMBOLIQUE DU PROJET ET DU QUARTIER: ENTRE LES DISCOURS CONTRADICTOIRES DES DECIDEURS ET L'IMAGINAIRE URBAIN DES UTILISATEURS

Les objectifs principaux poursuivis par les décideurs politiques et attribués au projet, ne coïncidaient ni avec ceux de l'architecte et ceux des urbanistes et des aménageurs ni avec ceuxqu'ils avaient annoncés à la population. D'une part, les premiers n'ont pas entièrement réussit à offrir les prestations annoncées avec ce grand projet, surtout par rapport à la démocratisation de l'accès à la Bibliothèque. Ils ont transmis un intérêt particulier pour le renforcement de l'identité nationale à travers la magnificence formelle et fonctionnelle du projet. D'autre part, les vraies intentions ont pu se déduire des discours de l'architecte (Perrault, 1995) et surtout des documents des projets d'aménagement du quartier (Belmont et al., 1980; Schweitzer, 1993), qui sont les moins visibles pour l'opinion publique. Les projets d'aménagement auraient eu pour but la création d'une image (malgré les idées supposées de l'architecte de la BNF sur son œuvre) afin d'attirer du capital, notamment sous forme d'activités du secteur quaternaire[37] et touristique.

La volonté de produire une décentralisation de l'institution de la BNF (Blasselle, 2006; Boulbina, 2007)n'était pas très forte car le nouveau site (Tolbiac ou F. Mitterrand) a été finalement placé dans le centre de Paris. Cette construction représente un rééquilibrage vers l'Est de la centralité de la ville en opposition à la localisation du quartier de la Défense. Néanmoins, comme objectif secondaire, les urbanistes et les aménageurs ont a essayé de réaliser un quartier plus vivant et ayant une mixité sociale et fonctionnelle plus élevée à celle de la Défense. Les aménageurs de la Rive Gauche ont donc prévu une diversité des activités pour le quartier et la dotation de logements sociaux.

Le résultat est un nouveau quartier où le design était central dans sa conception. Les interprétations de celui-ciproposent des nouvelles symboliques qui répondent aux besoins mythiques des idéologues du projetmais aussi qui transmettent les idées de l'architecte ou de l'aménageur.

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[37] Le secteur quaternaire se réfère à l'ensemble d'activités économiques de direction, de gestion et de services avancés à des entreprises. Il s'agit d'activités liées à la production et au traitement d'information.

La forme et la fonction sont étroitement liées, ce qui entraîne une source de critiques controversées. Certains spectacles publics célébrés dans la BNF ont donc contribué à la construction mythique de la monumentalité de l'édifice, son image. Ainsi, l'inauguration, la nuit blanche de 2006, les visites guidées de l'édifice ou des expositions ou des conférences constituent des actes d'exaltation de la monumentalité du projet et de publicité de l'offre culturelle de la BNF et de Paris (Fig. 6). Cet aspect doit se mettre en relation avec la critique de Baudrillard (Baudrillard, 1994) du musée Beaubourg qu'il avait défini comme un « simulacre ». Il existe une simulation d'un objectif culturel qui permet la dissimulation de la transformation économique et sociale du quartier afin de l'incorporer au centre ville.

Figure. 6: La Bibliothèque François Mitterrand avait une croix rouge quiservait de publicité pour son exposition "L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque".

Source : Élaboration personnelle depuis le pont de Tolbiac du coté de Bercy (11-03-2008).

Nous avons pu constater que l'ensemble des aménagements liés à la ZAC et, en particulier, la Bibliothèque ont transformé le lieu de Tolbiac.

Maintenant, la BNF est un point de repère pour les utilisateurs de l'aire d'étude, profitant de sa visibilité à cause de sa monumentalité. Mais, en fait, l'utilisation du lieu était réduite, bien que le bâtiment fût fréquenté par des nombreux lecteurs et chercheurs. D'autre part, les faisceaux de voies ferrées liés à la Gare d'Austerlitz étaient encore des barrières pour les utilisateurs du quartier[38], mais cet effet se réduit grâce à l'amélioration de la perméabilité des rues qui le traversent, comme c'était le cas de la passerelle provisoire directe à la BNF, qui était utilisée par un nombre important d'individus. Elles étaient un point d'accroche visuel qui contraste avec l'espace bâti alentours. La Seine était aussi perçue comme une barrière, plus visible que la précédente et qui était une vraie frontière avec un autre quartier et un autre arrondissement. Ainsi, il y avait des gens qui travaillaient dans le secteur de Tolbiac qui ne connaissaient vraiment pas où se trouvait le quartier de Bercy[39]. De la même manière que dans le cas des voies ferrées, la construction de la passerelle Simone de Beauvoir qui relit la Rive Droite à la BNF a favorisé la perméabilité d'accès entre les deux quartiers. La construction de la ligne automatique de métro (ligne 14) a contribué à rapprocher ce quartier au centre ville. Les transformations morphologiques et fonctionnelles sont une continuation d'une re-création symbolique du lieu à travers les différents discours et des représentations et pratiques spatiales de leurs utilisateurs. Ces changements doivent être analysés, tout en considérant le dynamisme culturel et la vitalité acquise du quartier. Ainsi, l'impact sur le *genius loci* sera mis en évidence et il y aura des éléments pour montrer la viabilité du projet.

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[38]La perception des utilisateurs du quartier à été étudié à travers des vingt quatre entretiens réalisés dans l'aire d'étude entre le 22-02-2008 et le 25-05-2008. Ceux-ci ont montré certains aspects de l'image publique du quartier.

[39] Le quartier de Bercy est situé de l'autre coté de la Seine : dans la Rive Droite (12e arrondissement).

LA RE-CREATION PHYSIQUE ET FONCTIONNELLE DU SECTEUR DE TOLBIAC ENTRAINE-T-ELLE AUSSI UNE REVITALISATION ET UNE RENAISSANCE CULTURELLE DU QUARTIER?

Ce secteur du quartier de la Gare était une friche ferroviaire, considéré comme dangereux. Du point de vue morphologique et fonctionnel, la solution d'enfouir les voies ferrées est la transformation physique la plus satisfaisante pour ce type d'espace malgré son coût élevé, d'après la littérature spécialisée (Capel Sáez, 2002) (Fig.7 et 8). Cela permet, d'une part, la réutilisation d'une partie des voies pour les transports ferrés métropolitains, d'autre part la création d'un nouvel espace à urbaniser et l'amélioration de l'accessibilité à la Seine et à la Rive Droite. Néanmoins la solution concrète d'une trame urbaine en quadrillage est controversée. D'une part, pour K. Lynch (Lynch 1985) c'est précisément ce type de voies celles qui sont les plus agréables pour la population car celle-ci reconnaît rapidement la structure des quartiers et leur longueur, ainsi que la fin et le début de celles-ci. Par contre, à propos des rues, C. Sitte (Sitte 1996) considérait comme les plus naturelles et belles, celles qui n'étaient pas droites et donc cette idée était l'une de ses critiques à propos de l'urbanisme moderne. En ce sens, la trame urbaine proposée pour le quartier est efficace pour l'occupation de l'espace mais reste peu inspiratrice afin de construire un espace vécu et faire en sorte que les déplacements dans son intérieur soient favorisés.

Figure 7 et 8: (À gauche) La barrière des voies ferrées dans la Rive Gauche. Un fort contrasteentre le secteur construit de Tolbiac, à droite dans l'image, et les terrains ferroviaires (i.e. halle Freyssinet) et le reste du quartier de la Gare.

Source: Élaboration personnelle depuis une passerelle entre l'Av. de France et la rue du Chevaleret (07-04-2008). Orientation de la photographie: vers le nord-ouest. (À droite) Photographie du recouvrement des voies ferrées depuis la rue de Tolbiac avec la même orientation que l'image à gauche (11-01-2011).

En résultat de nos analyses[40], nous avons constaté une transformation complète du lieu, à l'exception de quelques bâtiments industriels et de magasinage qui ont réussi à rester grâce à des manifestations d'opposition. Les deux cas les plus significatifs sontLes Frigos, des anciens entrepôts frigorifiques qui fonctionnent comme une association culturelle d'artistes depuis les années quatre vingt, et les Grands Moulins, bâtiments qui appartiennent à l'Université Paris 7 (Fig. 9 et 10). Ces derniers témoignent de l'ancien lieu de Tolbiac et représentent des espaces vécus par la population et prolifiques dans le domaine de la création artistique. Par contre,un quartier fondamentalement quaternaire qui présente une prédominance de grandes entreprises internationales et d'activités de services et commerciales de haute qualité a été crée.

Figure9 et 10 : (À gauche) Photo des « Entrepôts frigorifiques de Paris Ivry. Magasins généraux » (Les Frigos), depuis le carrefour entre la rue du Chevaleret et celle de Tolbiac (années soixante dix). (À droite) Les Frigos entre les bâtiments construits ex-novo d'après l'aménagement de la ZAC Paris Rive Gauche (11/01/2010).

Malgré les objectifs des chargés de la planification, au moins pour le moment, on n'a pas crée un véritable quartier vivant car des grandes dissymétries sociales et de présence entre les journées et les soirées existent.

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[40] Nous avons réalisé des comparaisons diachroniques de photographies, des cartes et d'images aériennes comme celles qui sont montrés dans ce texte. Cela doit s'ajouter au changement des perceptions des utilisateurs et les références existantes sur l'ancien quartier et toute la construction symbolique de la BNF et de l'ensemble du secteur.

Les gens qui travaillent et vivent pendant la journée dans le quartier sont pour la plupart des individus ayant une haute qualification. Mais, d'une manière générale, ils n'habitent pas dans le quartier, tout comme les propriétaires des commerces et des services. Les résidants appartiennent soit aux classes plus défavorisées ou moyennes qui vivent en partie dans des logements sociaux (qui représentent presque 39% des résidences dans le secteur de Tolbiac) soit aux classes hautes, installées d'avantage dans le 61% des logements libres du secteur[41]. Or l'inexistence des services et des commerces courants destinés aux ménages à pouvoir d'achat différenciés rend difficile la continuité de la vitalité du quartier après la journée de travail. Nous avions observé une fuite massive des cadres spécialement par le métro (ligne 14) et par le train métropolitain de Paris (RER C). Cela a été réalisé pour améliorer l'accessibilité de ce quartier excentré et son rapprochement au centre ville. Par conséquence des dissymétries entre les travailleurs du quartier, leurs habitants et les services et les commerces existants que nous venons de présenter, le quartier souffre d'une sorte de *gentrification* fonctionnelle et diurne (malgré les propos originaux). C'est dans les limites extérieures à lanouvelle Rive Gauche, autant vers l'ouest que vers le nord, où des commerces plus accessibles pour des ménages modestes sont ouverts[42]. Dans ces secteurs, la vitalité du quartier semble être plus grande et constante, étant un espace moins contrôlé. Il existe, par exemple, une concentration de graffitis plus élevée que dans le nouveau quartier.

À la différence des fonctionnalités économiques, les activités culturelles et sociales sont moins prises en compte dans le projet, malgré, entre autres, la présence de la BNF et d'établissements éducatifs des différents niveaux. D'une part, il faut se souvenir des objectifs indiqués par les études des aménageurs qui dédiaient une partie importante à l'orientation économique. D'autre part, il y avait eu l'intention de détruire le bâtiment des Frigos et certains décideurs du quartier ont réussit à construire des nouveaux bureaux dans un terrain à coté de ce bâtiment (voir Fig. 10). Tout cela, même si l'association d'artistes des Frigos proposait l'idée du lancement d'un concours pour la construction des nouveaux ateliers pour les artistes, qui,

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[41] Ces chiffres ont été calculés à partir du *Bilan de la programmation de logements*(02/11/2005) de la SEMAPA.Ces données sont plutôt indicatives et sont des outils de travail de cette société d'aménagement.
[42]Observation des déplacements des travailleurs du quartier le 22-04-08 entre midi et 14 heures dans les secteurs de Tolbiac et Austerlitz.

apporteraient des activités culturels tout en assurant une rentabilité économique. Par rapport à la Bibliothèque, le nombre d'utilisateurs quotidien semble avoir une légère tendance régressive[43] même si le nombre de chercheurs qui l'utilisent augmente (voir Fig. 11). En d'autres termes,la Bibliothèque devient un espace pour les lecteurs spécialisés (Rez-de-jardin) et son usage quotidien pour le grand public se réduit (Haut-de-Jardin).

Figure 11: Évolution du nombre de lecteurs et jours d'ouverture entre 1999 et 2009 dans le site F. Mitterrand de la BNF. Sustitución de gráfica

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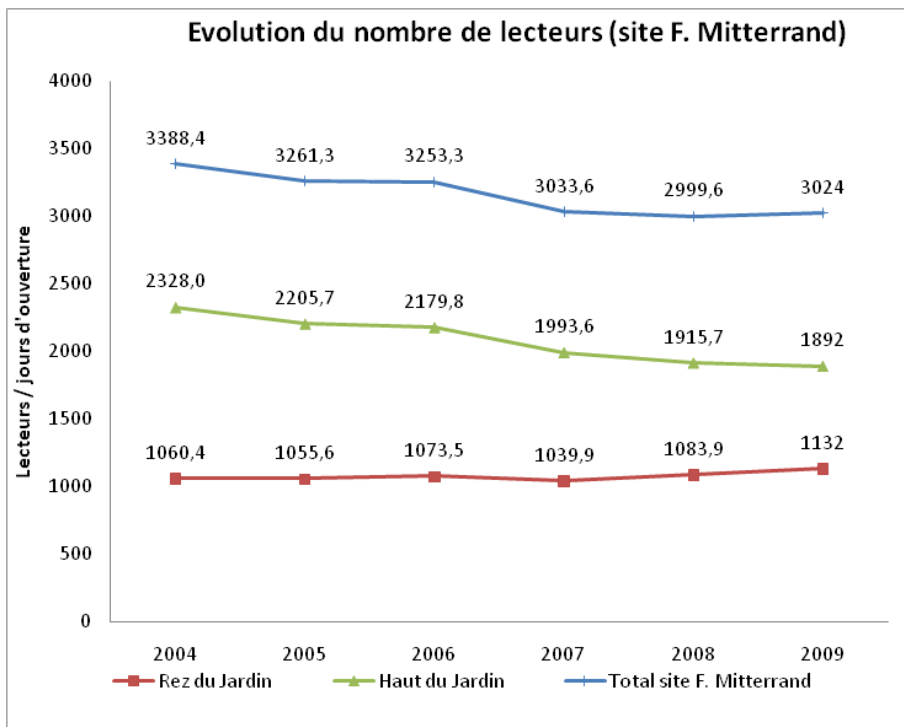
[43] Entre 1999 et 2009 le nombre de lecteurs dans la Bibliothèque F. Mitterrand a passé d'environ 960000 en 1999 à 870000 en 2009. Le nombre de chercheurs a augmenté légèrement (de presque 310000 en 1999 à 330000 en 2010) mais des lecteurs ont réduit leur nombre. Par rapport aux expositions temporaires plus significatives, le nombre de visiteurs était plus grand dans les années centrales de la décennie de 2000 que les premières années de la Bibliothèque.

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Source : Élaboration personnelle à partir des rapports d'activité de la BNF de 2000, 2006, 2007, 2008 et 2009.

La transformation physique du secteur de Tolbiac a contribué à l'installation de bureaux de grandes entreprises transnationales, et l'installation de services et de commerces de haute qualité et à prix élevé. Néanmoins, la culture n'a pas été l'axe central de la régénération du quartier et il existe une contradiction entre la mixité sociale recherchée et les services et commerces de haut niveau qui y sont présents. Ainsi, la vitalité du quartier ressentie pendant les journées se réduit le soir après la fermeture des plus grandes entreprises.

CONCLUSION

La localisation du nouveau site de la Bibliothèque a été un choix centraliste par rapport, d'une part à son territoire de référence (la France), et d'autre part, à la métropole parisienne. L'emplacement sur une friche ferroviaire, une position excentré, en déclin, mais à proximité du centre ville et de la Seine, suit la même logique que le reste des « flagship projects » parisiens. De plus, il contribue à un rééquilibrage de la centralité du Paris *intramuros* vers l'Est grâce à leur monumentalité et au processus de régénération, qui implique la « reconquête » pour les classes plus aisées de ce secteur urbain auparavant en déclin.

La BNF François Mitterrand faisant partie de l'ensemble de la ZAC Rive Gauche a entraîné la transformation radicale de l'essence du lieu de Tolbiac en créant un nouveau quartier articulé autour d'elle. Le choix s'est porté sur une trame urbaine moderne à l'image de la sobriété de tout l'ensemble, y compris le design du monument. Les objectifs des études d'aménagement ont été accomplis car la BNF a réussi à attirer des activités quaternaires, cependant le projet n'a pas réussit à instaurer une vitalité continue (jour et nuit) dans le quartier en raison d'une inadéquation entre les différents groupes sociaux et les services existants. Cela permet de présenter les idées à tester, le manque d'une mixité sociale effective et de favorisation du dynamisme culturel en dehors des institutions publiques présentes. Somme toute, les hypothèses générales autour des « flagship projects » urbains par

rapport à leur origine fonctionnelle, leur localisation et leur interaction avec le lieu ont été vérifiées. De même, nous avons réaffirmé dans cette étude de cas, le changementmorphologique et la transformation de l'image du quartier, ainsi que les nouvelles représentations et les nouvelles pratiques spatiales des utilisateurs qui sont entraînés par la réalisation d'un projet emblématique. En considérant les impacts de ces projets, dont la BNF – ZAC Rive Gauche, nous pensons que la démarche à favoriser est celle du type « bottom-up »[44]. Celle-ci promeut des actions urbanistiques vécues par la population qui favorisent la vitalité et l'identification des utilisateurs avec les espaces construits.

La continuation de ce programme de recherche sur d'autres projets urbains phares semble nécessaire pour aboutir à une analyse critique rigoureuse et constructive sur la viabilité de ce modèle urbanistique dans le contexte actuel pour les différents territoires.

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[44] Nous pensons à la réussite de la réutilisation des Grands Moulins et de Les Frigos qui ont été le résultat des initiatives et de l'engagement de la population, surtout des artistes. Ce dernier édifice risque encore d'être détruit pour la construction de nouveaux bâtiments pour des bureaux.

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