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2019 Young Planners
Workshop

PLANNING ON THE EDGE

Plymouth, UK

Creating our futures

ECTP-CEU

European Council of Spatial Planners
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INTRODUCTION

ECTP-CEU (the European Council of Spatial Planners - Conseil Européen des Urbanistes), founded in 1985, brings together 40 000 spatial planners with 27 professional town planning associations and institutes from 25 European countries.

It is an umbrella association providing its members with a common framework for planning practice, planning education, continuing professional development and the definition of professional responsibilities.

ECTP-CEU sets standards of education and conduct for the planning profession; identifies, celebrates and rewards examples of good planning all over Europe, and engages in dialogue with local, national and European governments.

In accordance with these objectives, the initiative of the Young Planners Workshop seeks to set out young planner's perspectives and experiences in a frame of new European cities paradigms

The workshop theme on planning on the edge focuses on a broad perspective of city frontiers and territories frontiers.

This perspective includes the relationship of cities with physical limits: the water; particularly by the sea and coast, rivers or lakes, (Planning coastal settlements, urban rivers corridors... etc, urban generation around the water...); but also relationships with other peripheral limits, nature urban voids; transitory zones in the city with people coming and going; even Edge as the transition from one physical environment to another: green, peripheral rural areas.

Border, frontier or divided cities can be considered as cities on the edge. A border cities close to the boundary between two counties, states or regions have highly cosmopolitan communities, as traveling and trading often go through the town. They can also be flashpoints for international conflicts, especially when the two countries have territorial disputes.

The workshop also includes the perspective of Cities on the edge thinking in cities located far from the centre of their country and sometimes closer to abroad with a potential to develop their position "on the edge" and its connectivity within Europe and the world.

Finally planning on the edge includes urban policies on the edge from a social-economic and cultural approach:

- a) relationship with the periphery of the society, within the cities and amongst different kinds and scales of cities,
- b) cities which have a "transit poles" social structure, "immigration port"... etc
- c) thinking in the different effects and results of the globalization in big cities, small cities and rural areas.

From the Program of the Workshop.

PAPERS

TITLE

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF FORMER YUGOSLAVIA AND MEDITERANIAN CITIES – PLANNING ON EDGES AND CROSSROADS

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to open up a discussion about Mediterranean cities in the former Yugoslavia's republics: Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia and Montenegro. Although located in different states, it is possible to trace historical underpins and cultural landscape that have shaped those cities for years – the tradition of a fortified city, the urban matrix, city structure, street proportions and local materials. The challenges that are set ahead planners are how to define universalities and similarities between those cities and yet to pertain authenticity and uniqueness of the very place when introducing new urban form into the urban matrix.

Sensitive geopolitical situation and sociopolitical history on one side, and unique landscape and cityscape on the other, present main starting point for the research. The paper will briefly review the history of the development of several cities and consider its impact on planning and design practice. Those cities, although different in its scale and located on the edge of their own countries, are significantly closer to each other and banded by the Mediterranean sea. The focus of the project will be on researching how these various states treat its cultural heritage and on which goals and values they direct urban development. Analysis of above-stated relations could provide comprehensive insights into changes and challenges of the Mediterranean cities development's trajectories and contradictions. This paper will argue for the value of understanding cross border understanding of cities, faced with various social and political contexts by recognizing their effects and benefits on urban development.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to open up a discussion about Fortified Mediterranean cities in the former Yugoslavia's republics: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Montenegro. In the focus of the research are cities of Trebinje, Dubrovnik and Kotor. These cities, although different in its scale and located on the edge of three different countries, are significantly closer to each other and banded and connected by the Mediterranean sea. The goal of the research is to identify the effects of globalization on the city life in these three fortified cities that are located in different states but interconnected by historical underpins and cultural landscape that have shaped those cities for years. There are some fundamental differences between the countries, but also some similarities, as global social, political and economic processes created similar patterns of development in different countries, as the countries are adjusting differently to the crisis.

The focus of the project will be on researching how these various cities treat its cultural heritage and on which goals and values they direct urban development. Analysis of above-stated relations provided comprehensive insights into changes and challenges of the Mediterranean cities development trajectories and contradictions. Along with the identified changes, the research enabled for important short, medium and long term impacts to be identified and highlighted. This research reveals that these three cities are faced with various social and political pressures that

are mostly results of general processes of globalization, with specific expansion of tourism. After the World War II the development of the tourist industry was the biggest influence of the historic core transformation. This has been reflected on the following categories: 1. socio-demographic and 2. spatial functionality.

Data is to be presented in form of a historical narrative, told chronologically and organized thematically in order to offer a comprehensive picture of evolution of strategies and their impact on urban development. Within the historical narrative planning is seen as an extension of political-economic reality. By tracing trajectories that took place and identifying the processes in these cities, the research seeks to explain how changes in urban planning and spatial organization were caused by the pressure from tourism. The research takes an interdisciplinary approach and look into several levels of impact: local, regional and national.

2. CONTEXT

The former Yugoslavia was a multi-ethnic state in south-east Europe divided administratively between six republics: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia. In geopolitical bipolar division of the, after the Second World War Yugoslavia has been on the border between East and West. Its territory and its culture have been created between global and local influences of power and experience, through juxtaposition of Eastern and Western models. Different cultural influences resulted in mix models of governance, dominant culture, economic models etc. Various territories that become part of this state were under the several dominant powers during the history. Northern parts were under the Hapsburg rule while southern parts were under the Ottoman rule. All of this resulted in different spatial patterns and urban development, as a part of opposed cultural models - Western and Eastern. Position of fortified cities from previous times is also differently treated, while they had their respective role in western and eastern parts of the territory that will in 20th century be called Yugoslavia (various state models) in eastern and south territories they lost their significance due to different cultural identities and needs.

Yugoslavia developed as a major destination for western tourists seeking sun, sand and sea tourism in the early 1960's. This development was a result of the federal government's choice to develop and market tourism on a model similar

to the Western Europe and less on the level of tourism practices in the USSR and its satellite countries. Through the 60's and early 70's much of the tourist development occurring within the former Yugoslavia took place along the coastline. This coastline largely consisted of areas within the republic of Croatia. Croatia was the most successful earner of foreign currency through tourism for the former Yugoslavia. By the early and mid 1980's Croatia's coastline was one of the top destinations for Europeans on the same levels as sun, sand and sea destinations in Spain and Greece. For the far southern-Adriatic as defined by this report the Old Town of Dubrovnik in Croatia and Kotor in Montenegro are the major attractions for the border countries involved.

Main perspectives, challenges and opportunities for the planning and urban development of the cities are identified through three dichotomic relations: Borders / Contacts, Natural Landscapes / Cultural Landscapes and Connections / Networks.

Borders/ Contacts

The three cities that present subject areas are located in the vicinity of three borders. Trebinje is equally away from the borders of Croatia and Montenegro (21km). Kotor is located 53 km from the Croatia border and 58km from border with BIH. Dubrovnik is situated only 10km from the border with BIH and 38 km from the border with Montenegro. Beside the borders, the edge between those cities is defined by the contacts that cities established over the time. Having that in mind, Dubrovnik is more oriented towards Western tourist markets due to the fact that Croatia is in EU while the Montenegro is more oriented towards attracting Eastern European, Russian and former Soviet tourist and developers. The research from three meetings and conferences held in Dubrovnik and sponsored by The EastWest Institute through 44 respondents from business enterprises, Government, NGO's-Associations, and Tourist Boards of Croatia and Montenegro revealed the skepticism about establishing deeper relations between two countries

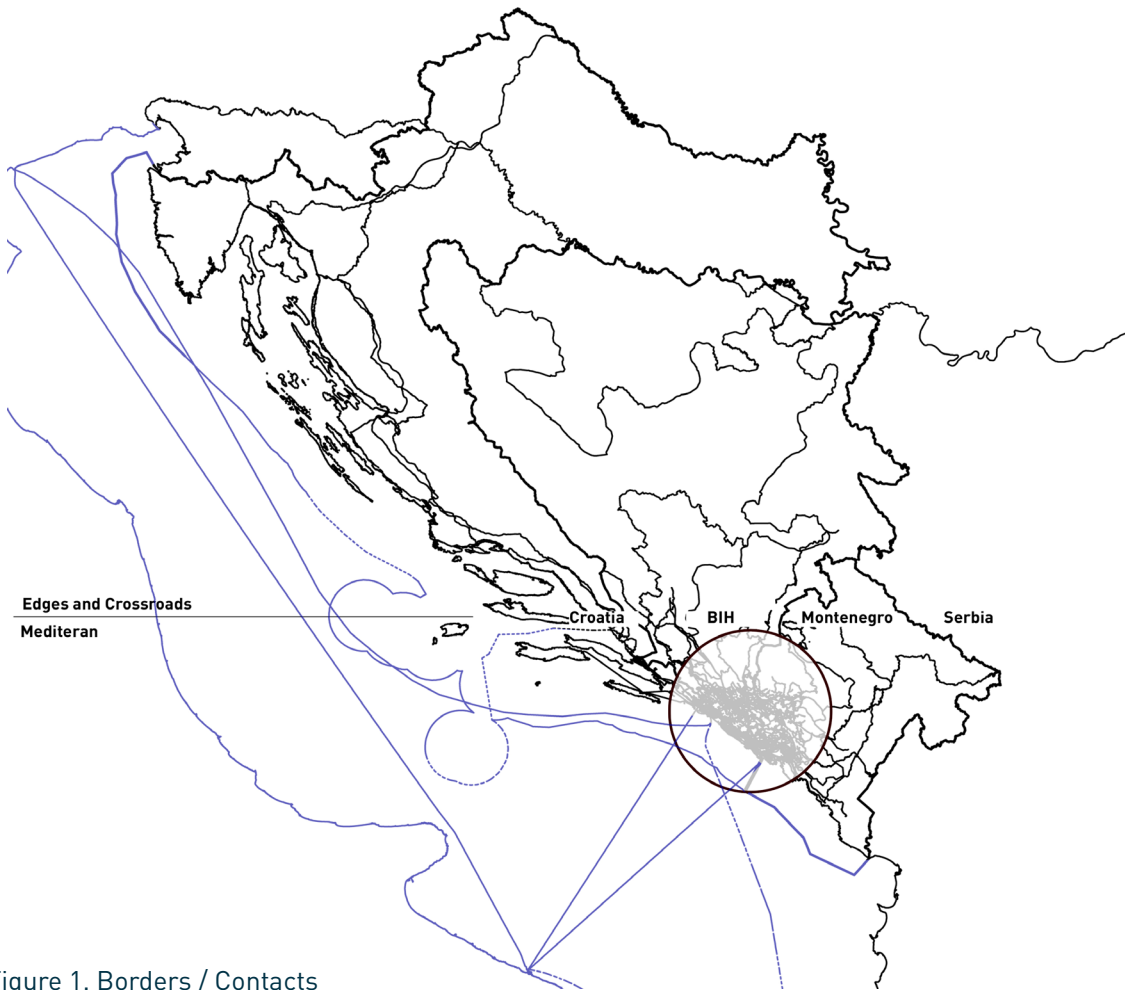


Figure 1. Borders / Contacts

and developing cross-border organization due to the lack of financial support, distrust as a result of the war, and bureaucracy (Lagiewski & Revelas, 2004).

Natural Landscapes / Cultural Landscapes

Matvejevic explains that Mediterranean borders are not defined by geography, are not historical, not national, not carved in space or time as much as they are constantly being identified and erased, expanded or reduced. (Matvejevic, 2006). Due to this circumstances, landscapes, both natural and cultural remained an unifying factor of this region.

Connections / Networks

The abolition of railway traffic in 1976 in Dubrovnik area, along with the great distance from the regional centers influences the state where a lot of the

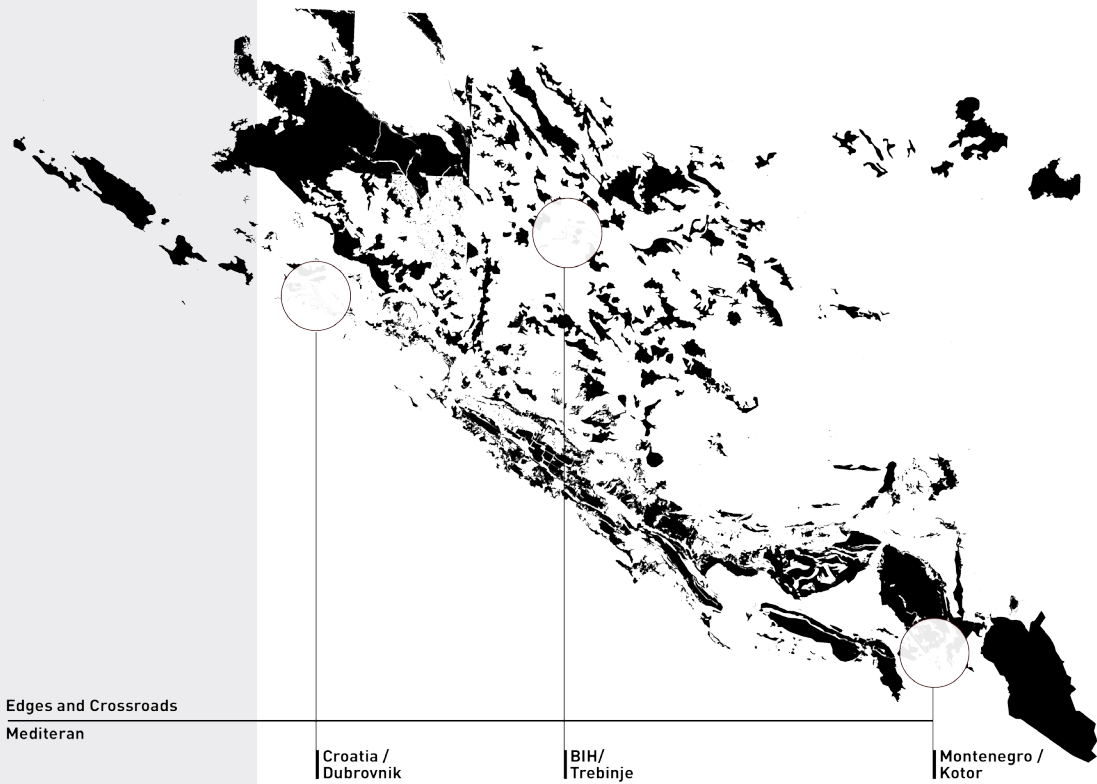


Figure 2. Natural Landscapes / Cultural Landscapes

connection are accomplished by cruisers (Magaš, 2014). The distance between Dubrovnik and Trebinje is 32km, while the distance between Dubrovnik and Kotor is 91 km. Additionally, Trebinje is 81 km away from Kotor. Even though, the spatial proximity creates preconditions for functional and spatial connections and networks to be developed, they are still underdeveloped. Additionally, the insufficient capacity of borders control and visa regime complicates the development of physical connections. On the other hand, as previously mentioned, the historical instability and distrust affect the speed and diversity of functional networks.

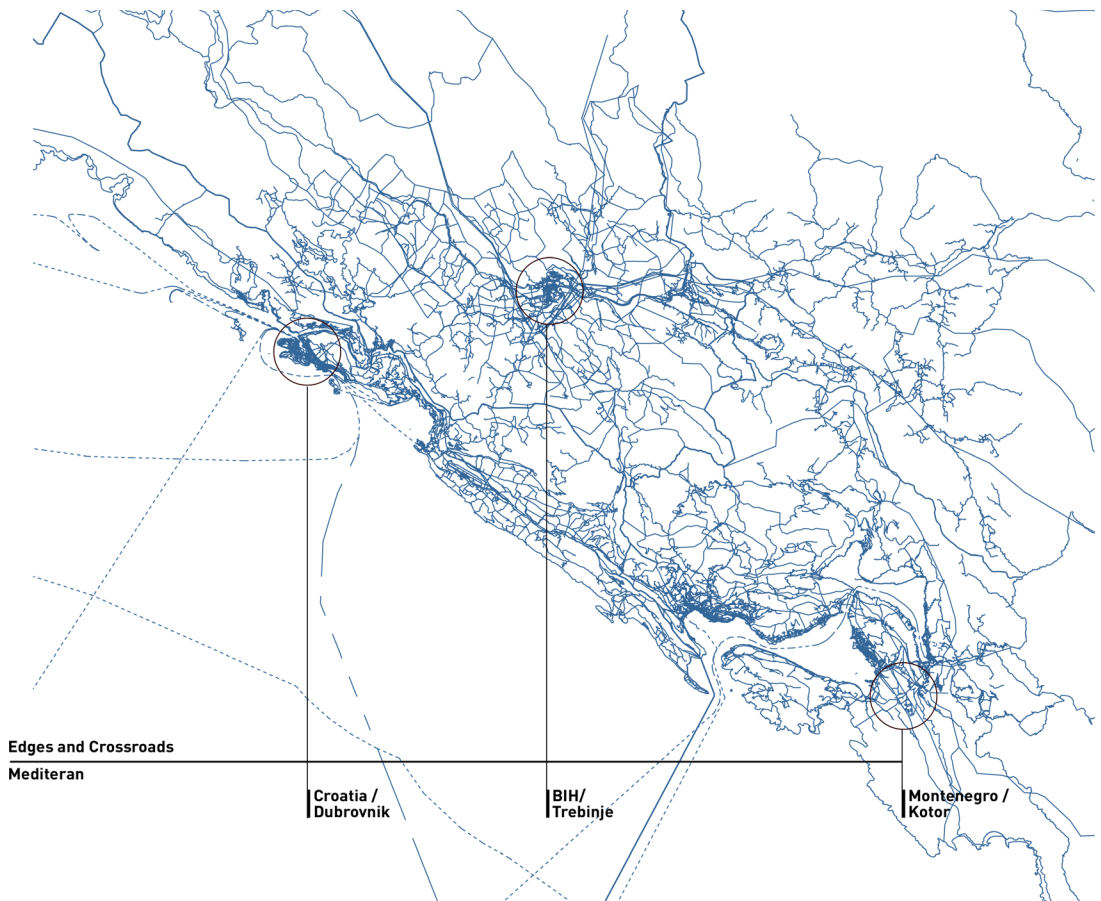


Figure 3. Connections / Networks

3. SUBJECT DESCRIPTION

The notion of a cultural landscape which at the same time could present significant material evidence of place evolution over time, a proof of human activity in the natural environment or a testimony of religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural elements (UNESCO, 2019) has been recognized as one of the central topics in the planning. As such it became an essential aspect of the integrated approach to the urban development that has been globally accepted. Additionally, the globalization fostered the need for tangible and intangible values revealing relations between man and the environment to be preserved. More importantly, these relations and cultural landscape has a great importance

for the inhabitants on the site. According to Stephenson, Bauchop and Petchey, this significance does not only comes from the physical environment, but also reveals the culture, practices, traditions, the narratives and connections between man and land (Stephenson, Bauchop, & Petchey, 2004). The rules and norms, both formal and informal are fundamentally related to history, tradition, lifestyles, values, culture, global trends and as such create a unique set of preconditions for shaping and reshaping of landscape. Following the system of rules, a homogeneous group within a localized area usually produces a distinctive cultural landscape (Rapoport, 1992).

The subject area, characterized by the political instability and constant changes of borders in past, has become more exposed to the market-oriented development and uncontrolled changes both in city form and city life due to the increase of tourists inflow, globalization. Thus, the places with specific values that are recognized as a cultural landscape are at the constant risk of uncontrolled urbanization, unplanned development, and market pressures.

By observing cities of Dubrovnik, Trebinje and Kotor, the most evident changes can be perceived through city form, city land uses/economy and city life. Firstly, the city form in relation to cultural landscapes is concerned with city expansions, disposition of new investment zones, insertion of new buildings into the historical city cores and individual treatment during restoration and reconstruction. Secondly city land uses and economy deals with the constant changes of the uses in fortified city cores, changes in land value and living costs. Thirdly, city life is observed through the change of the population number and structure, employment trajectories, daily commuting between cross border cities and introduction of cruiser tourism along with all opportunities and threats.

4. RESEARCH

Kotor - Changes in city form, city economy and city life

The natural and cultural-historical area of Kotor is located in the Bay of Kotor, a part of the Montenegrin Adriatic coast and as such is listed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. The protection includes the most preserved part of the bay, consisting of its inner part with an area of approximately 12,000 ha, while its broader (buffer) zone has been identified in 2011 and it encompasses the entire Bay of Kotor Bay. The analysis presented in figure 4 reveals that the most intense changes of urban structure in the last three decades emerge in the bay of Kotor, especially in the western coastline and at the outskirts of the fortified city. Even though this transformation affects the narrow line of the coast due to morphological and topographical limitation, the change of landscape is more than evident. This change has been identified and addressed both by local association (Expedio) and International (UNESCO, 2014). The UNESCO and ICOMOS Advisory Mission of 2013 identified the weak links between spatial planning and conservation policies, toleration and certain encouraging of urban plans towards intensified urbanization thus leading to the endangerment of the exceptional universal value and attributes of the cultural landscape of the Area (Expedio, 2018). The official UNESCO report states that if the explained practice of urban development continues to take place, The city of Kotor will be removed from the list of World Heritage. The Kotor is also exposed to the expansion of tourists coming by cruisers. The number of Kotor visitors coming from the sea, by cruisers and yachts, is 316,674 (2014) out of a about 550,000 tourists that visit the city per year (Pasinovic, 2015).

Dubrovnik - Changes in city form, city economy and city life

Regarding city economy and city life, Dubrovnik has completely changed the way how city works. As explained by Đukić and Jerković, from 1953 to 2001 the historic core changed its function from an administrative political centre to a tourist district (Đukić & Jerković, 2008). Those changes created the state where cca 55% of economic activities and 63% of accommodation buildings are located in the historic core (ibid).

Increase of tourism activities produced a situation where there are around twice as many working position that citizens (Đukić & Jerković, 2008), and thus attracted the workers from Bosnia and Hercegovina, especially Trebinje. The change of urban structure on Dubrovnik appears to be more concentrated in the western area along the coast and the bay (Figure 5). The inner area is faced with the process of identification and urban infills. The tourist coming with cruisers make 57% of all tourists that visit Dubrovnik.

Figure 4.
Kotor 1990-2018

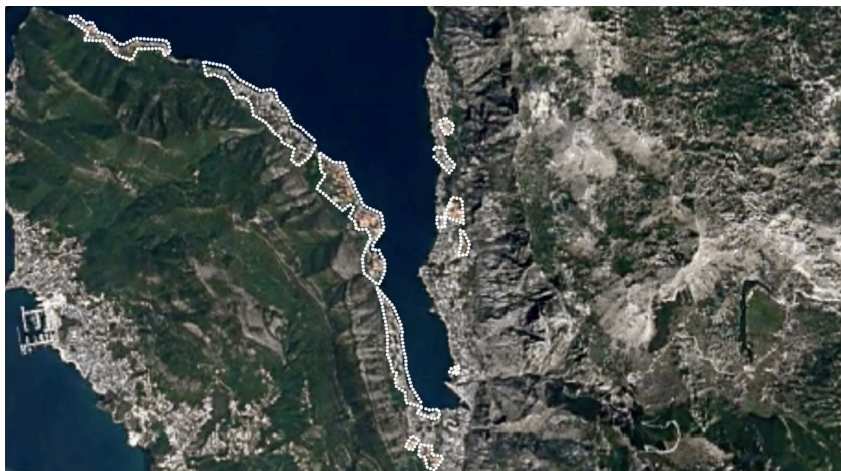


Figure 5.
Dubrovnik 1990-2018



Figure 6.
Trebinje 1990-2018



Trebinje - Changes in city form, city economy and city life

After the 1992 war, Trebinje population increase had an impact for the construction to occur in the southwestern and western part of the urban area thus violating the historical protection of the agricultural area near the city (Milojević, 2013). Extra profits draw workers who daily travel on the Trebinje-Dubrovnik route, because they have the opportunity to earn twice as high salaries than in Trebinje. Additionally, living costs in Republika Srpska is about 1,800 KM, while in Croatia it is significantly higher, while according to estimates, around 10% of inhabitants of Trebinje already work in the Dubrovnik area (Hercegovinapromo, 2019).

Tracing impacts on urban form, city economy and city life

It is evident the spatial dynamics in fortified former Yugoslavian Mediterranean cities has to be observed in synergy with other factors such as sociological, tourist and economic ones. The research of selected case studies points to several short, medium and long term impacts that can be observed in city life and city form.

Short term impacts

Positive:

- The increase of touristic flow positively affects both city and republic budget
- Inner core regeneration and beautification of facades
- Investments in façades refurbishment

Negative:

- Disruptions in the built environment caused by the lack of understanding of tradition and historical underpins, market orientation and violation of public interest
- Land appropriation and uncontrolled development along the coastline

Medium-term impacts

Positive:

- The development of activities from small producers and craftsmen
- The emergence of new jobs in the service sector
- Fostering communication, exchange of ideas and information, stimulating cultural horizon broadening.

Negative:

- Gradual landscape and built environment degradation
- Transforming a fortified city core to a showcase due to the domination of service and touristic services and a large number of tourists
- Increasing pressures for local residents to leave the city

Long term impacts**Positive:**

- Increase of property values in the city core and servicing areas
- Increase of tourist inflow in bordering areas
- Increasing site popularity and changing the negative perception of the Balkan region

Negative:

- The uncontrolled development without a broader urban development vision
- Devastation of the cultural landscape.
- Changes in consuming habits
- Increase of prices and living costs
- Underdevelopment of the rest of the sectors apart tourism

Many of the abovementioned impacts on urban form, city economy and city life can be traced to most of the Mediterranean cities, as well. The problem of “overtourism” that changes the cultural landscape of cities in Mediterranean region is even highly perceivable in cities such as Barcelona – Spain (2.68 millions of tourist per year), Civitavecchi in Italy (2.34), Venice – Italy (1.6), Marseille – France (1.59), Naples in Italy (1.31), Piraeus (Greece) (Smith 2018). The historical values of the site and the coastal position are not the only preconditions for a city to be exposed to the variety of impacts that have been highlighted in this research. As witnessed by economic sources, Naples doesn’t have nor problems nor benefits from a Mediterranean

closeness due to the low level of self-promotion, bad waste management, lack of sightseeing amenities, crime rate, social standard of citizens, interregional differences and infrastructural problems (Schmalbruch 2015).

5. CONCLUSION

The research is based on the understanding that comprehensive planning has been replaced by flexible development strategies due to path-dependant transition processes that have been taking place around the world. The main objective of this research proposal is to look into the processes of urban transformations in different institutional and cultural contexts.

The research reveals that it is not sufficient to sample different types of hybrid urban formations and models of development, but to look into different typologies of urban change in relation to the transitional social, political and economic processes that are taking part across these territories. Each typology is expected to provide different features of locally-translated socio-economic trends (depending on the pre-existing situation, specific local processes, actors, values, etc.), while simultaneously exhibiting some general features of social, political and economic restructuring that is taking place across three cities that are analysed. This research views urban planning and development as politically and economically contested processes that are dramatically transforming the physical nature of cities and the social and political relations among its residents.

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