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SPOT

Contemporary challenges of spatial planning in tourism destinations

Edited by
Tomasz NAPIERAŁA
Katarzyna LEŚNIEWSKA-NAPIERAŁA
& **Giancarlo COTELLA**



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WYDAWNICTWO
UNIwersytetu
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Contents

Theoretical fundamentals of sustainable spatial planning of European tourism destinations	7
The planning system in Italy and how it addresses tourism-related issues	17
The planning system in Norway with focus on mountain destinations	45
The spatial planning system in Poland. Focus on tourist destinations	61
The planning system in Portugal	91
Spatial planning system in Turkey. Focus on tourism destinations	111
Diverse challenges of tourism spatial planning. Evidence from Italy, Norway, Poland, Portugal and Turkey	141
Authors	155

Theoretical fundamentals of sustainable spatial planning of European tourism destinations

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Introduction

Tourism is a spatial complex of processes that shape the landscape and affect social, economic, cultural, and political relations (Shaw & Williams, 2004). Sustainable tourism, through its cross-sectoral and cross-spatial-scale nature, contributes to economic growth and development, creates jobs, spurs sustainable agriculture, promotes inclusiveness, engages excluded people, promotes investments in clean energy sources, encourages regeneration, preserves cultural and natural heritage, adopts sustainable modes of consumption and production, plays a leading role in the global response to climate change, and fosters multicultural and interfaith tolerance and understanding (UN-WTO, 2019). Unfortunately, the tourism-oriented communes frequently experience problems of mismanagement, including lack of spatial and strategic planning, and excessive and inconsistent investments (Briassoulis, 2002). Therefore, the European idea of sustainable spatial planning of tourism destinations must be engaged with and connected to the goals of a more sustainable development of Europe (European Commission, 2016). This is the goal of the project 'SPOT – Sustainable Spatial Planning of Tourism Destinations', implemented by a research consortium including six educational and scientific institutions representing five different countries.

Aiming to provide a contribution in relation to the above issue, this book compares the different contexts for spatial planning and how they approach tourism-related issues in selected European countries, namely Italy (Cotella, 2022), Norway (Tjørve, 2022), Poland (Leśniewska-Napierała et al., 2022), Portugal (Jorge et al., 2022) and Turkey (Levent et al., 2022). Each chapter starts with a presentation of the overall profile of the investigated country. The chapters then consider the following contexts of spatial planning of tourism destinations: legal regulations of spatial planning, long-term strategy for spatial planning, public participation in spatial planning, and the main challenges of spatial planning of tourism destinations. The book ends with an overarching discussion focusing on the various challenges that affect sustainable spatial planning of tourism destination in the countries under consideration (Cerić & Czapiewski, 2022).

In the remainder of this introductory chapter, we set the context for the book by elaborating on the reasons why spatial and strategic spatial planning activities should include tourism-related issues within their scope. A further focus then concerns the level of decentralisation of the administrative structures of the selected countries, an issue that, embedded as it is in the overall multilevel governance framework for spatial planning in Europe (Hooghe & Marks, 2001; Cotella et al., 2021), inevitably affect how the latter engages with tourism-related issues.

Strategic planning, spatial planning, and tourism development

In the investigated countries, strategic planning was used separately from spatial planning. In particular, whereas the development and consolidation of spatial governance and planning systems in the European countries dates back to the industrial revolution and has been traditionally aimed at ensuring some sort of public control over spatial development (Janin Rivolin, 2012; Berisha et al., 2021), the strategic planning of cities and territories is an activity that has emerged more recently, often in mutual relation with the programming of EU resources (Albrechts, 2004; Cotella & Dabrowski, 2022). Precisely speaking, the 1988 reform of the Structural Funds allowed for reorienting EU regional policy towards a more territorial cohesive and place-based development (Cotella et al., 2021). Since then, as a result of the progressive influence of the EU, strategic and spatial planning activities have gradually become closer and more coherent with each other in various EU member countries, benefitting from multiple attempts aimed at cross-fertilisation and the development of synergies, which led in turn to the

maximisation of the impact of the European Structural and Investments Funds (Cotella, 2020; Jorge et al., 2022).

Despite this phenomenon, serious concerns remain in relation to the progressive deregulation of spatial planning laws in several countries in Europe, for instance in Norway (Tjørve, 2022), as well as the instability of spatial planning regulations, noticeable in the case of Poland (Leśniewska-Napierała et al., 2022). Both examples are the results of the increase of neoliberal development of interests over the environmental and social considerations (Tjørve, 2022). The neoliberal, market-oriented paradigm of development characterises the Turkish context as well. In this country, this approach was officially introduced in 1980 and resulted in incremental privatisation and decentralisation. From that moment on, spatial planning and urban development have been controlled by the municipalities rather than the state, and increasingly influenced by the inclusion of private actors in the decision-making arena (Levent et al., 2022).

Between regionalised and centralised administrative structures

As Cotella (2022) noticed, since mid-1990s Italy has been considered a regionalised country. Whereas regions (NUTS2) are responsible for the promulgation of their own spatial planning laws, the coordination of spatial planning remains in the hands of provinces and metropolitan cities (NUTS3). Urban planning, housing, and the land registry are allocated to local administrative units, i.e. the municipalities. Importantly, according to the Italian national spatial planning legal framework, the so-called Municipal General Regulatory Plan is produced by municipalities to allocate particular uses and characteristics to all areas of land, hence representing the main pivotal tool aimed at the public control of spatial transformation. When it comes to the protection, management and valorisation of tourism destination, regions in Italy have been awarded a couple of decades ago a leading role in landscape planning, as an indirect consequence of the influence of supranational European institutions (Cotella, 2022).

Leśniewska-Napierała et al. (2022) argue that the last three decades of economic transition significantly affected land development in Poland. The following changes should be mentioned: decentralisation, privatisation, adjustment of legal regulations for spatial planning to the EU standards, and access to structural funds and agricultural subsidies from the EU. Spatial planning is coordinated at national, regional (NUTS2), and local levels (LAU2). The concept of spatial development of the country defines the conditions, aims, and directions of spatial planning at the

national level. At the level of Polish administrative regions (voivodeships), spatial development plans translate the arrangements adopted in regional development strategy and specify crucial natural resources and elements of land development. Furthermore, regional landscape audits identify and evaluate landscapes and their features and deliver actionable spatial planning policy recommendations. Finally, the instruments of local spatial planning in Poland should be mentioned: local study of determinants and directions of land development (strategic approach), local spatial development plan (operational approach), and landscape resolution (operational approach as well) (Leśniewska-Napierała et al., 2022).

Tjørve (2022) shows Norway as an interesting example of a country characterised by two opposing tendencies, namely: the centralisation of population and public sectors, and the decentralisation of responsibilities and political power. Rising municipal autonomy is challenged by decreasing efficiency of supplying public services. Spatial planning in Norway is coordinated mainly at the local level. Recently, spatial planning legislation allowed anyone (e.g. destination-management organisation or private developers) to propose private development plans, which the local authorities are obliged to evaluate, in so doing increasing development pressure dramatically, especially in relation to those tourism destination areas that are more prone to the development of second homes (Tjørve, 2022).

Portugal is an interesting example of an economy significantly dependent on tourism, mainly international. Sun and sea tourism, city breaks, golf tourism, rural tourism, nature tourism, cultural and gastronomic tourism, etc., altogether contribute to 17% of the Gross Domestic Product, 19% of employment, and 20% of total exports. Spatial planning of the country significantly dependent on tourism is an issue itself. Especially that implementation of a modern land management system was influenced only in the end of 1980s by the accession of Portugal to the European Economic Community. From 2007 on, decentralisation and deregulation of the spatial planning system in Portugal became a trend. However, spatial planning of specific territories like coastal line and estuaries, protected areas, and water reservoirs is a domain of the state. In general, however, spatial planning responsibilities are allocated within regional, supralocal, and municipal level (Jorge et al., 2022).

The administrative division of Turkey seems to be most complicated, as described by Levent et al. (2022). The three-tier administrative division of Turkey includes provinces (NUTS3 level), sub-provinces and villages. However, it is accompanied by the municipal system which includes metropolitan municipalities for largest cities operating beyond metropolitan district municipalities. There are also provincial municipalities referring to small and medium-sized cities that are over district and town municipalities. Spatial policy is a domain of the municipal system rather than administrative one. Turkish State has control over proposing and elaborating the following types of spatial plans: National Development Plan, Spatial Strategy Plan and, interestingly, Regional Plans. Environmental Master

Plans are set at provincial level. Finally, at local level, two types of spatial plans should be mentioned: Spatial Development Plans and Implementation Plans. Strategic planning of tourism destinations is controlled by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism which acts also as a destination management organisation at the national level. However, no responsibilities related to that field might be identified at the regional or local level. Thus, there have been no successful achievements on sustainable development of the touristic areas in Turkey (Levent et al., 2022).

Spatial planning and landscape protection towards higher tourism attractiveness

The effective spatial distribution of tourism flows became a serious challenge for both strategic and spatial planning. On the one hand, overtourism phenomena vary across time (seasonality) and space (substantial interest of tourists is evidenced in the most renowned coastal and mountain areas, and in the main touristic cities). Both natural and landscape value of most popular areas are endangered by overexploitation. On the other hand, inner peripheries characterised by a large share of natural and landscape resources, but also low level of accessibility, infrastructure, and services require both investments and promotion activities (Cotella, 2022).

In a country witnessing an economic transition such as Poland, the first significant challenge of spatial planning resulted from a common understanding of the meaning of property and individual freedom within the framework of social agreement, including spatial order. Secondly, restoring local and regional governments resulted, among others, in the growing role of citizens and social organisations in spatial planning. However, the needs of host communities are usually marginalised in the process of making spatial decisions, while the needs of tourism industry are usually overvalued. Financial selfishness of tourism enterprises dominates over social, economic, aesthetic, and ethical needs of inhabitants. This is evidenced in Poland (Leśniewska-Napierała et al., 2022), but also in Turkey (Levent et al., 2022).

Mountain areas of Norway are challenged mainly by privatisation triggered by both tourism destination sprawl and development of second-homes agglomerations. Conflicts occurred between tourists, tourism enterprises (also owned by local inhabitants) and second-home dwellers, on the one hand, and local landowners, mainly farmers, on the other. However, in these conflicts, the interests of nature are barely represented. Moreover, spatial and functional changes of central areas of tourism destinations should be mentioned. Due to the development of ski resorts in mountain areas, community centres move to the commercial centres of tourism

destinations. In consequence, commercialisation put tourism as the driving force of spatial development of the areas disconnected from local values (Tjørve, 2022).

Direct linkages between spatial planning and strategic planning of tourism destinations are usually missing. But development of sustainable tourism destinations is targeted by the running Tourism Strategy 2027 introduced by the Portuguese government in 2017. According to the document, Portuguese tourism industry is expected to achieve competitive advantage based on the principles of sustainability. The very first section of the mentioned strategic document is focused on enhancing the territory, and emphasises (however, not literally) the significance of sustainable spatial planning of tourism destinations (Jorge et al., 2022).

Difficulties in accessing both information and knowledge about spatial planning issues should be mentioned in the case of Portugal. The skills and competencies of local stakeholders (mainly inhabitants) to use this information and knowledge are significantly limited. Similar considerations are related to the willingness of locals to participate in the process of spatial planning (Jorge et al., 2022). In Turkey, the situation is much worse, as public participation in this process is completely missing. The negative effects of the lack of social participation in spatial planning of tourism destinations are strengthened by a complex and complicated system, as well as inconsistencies between tourism strategic decisions made on governmental level and spatial planning decisions of local authorities (Levent et al., 2022).

From neoliberal approach towards a more just and greener one

As Blázquez-Salom et al. (2019) suggested, the discussion of future tourism destinations needs to face a paradox of conflicting forms of growth-oriented tourism raised from the hegemony of neoliberal ideology: mass tourism (growth is achieved by increase of occupancy; with all environmental negative consequences resulting from excessive tourism consumption) and elitist tourism (growth relates to increase of prices justified by quality and luxurious character of services; accompanied by all social negative impacts resulting from increase of social inequalities). Therefore, the effectiveness of spatial and strategic tourism planning following the conventional approach to sustainability linked to the economic concept of growth is disputable (Blázquez-Salom et al., 2019). Similar doubts relate to sustainable regional development in general. While the overall objective of regional development is sustainability, regional policies are commonly focused on the neoliberal idea of fostering competitiveness (Weck et al., 2021).

Interdependence of both sustainability and economic growth of tourism destinations is evidenced only when the mediating role of national or international institutions is significant, like EU's financial support (Filipiak et al., 2020). Current discussions of sustainable tourism must lead to solving unequal negative impacts of both mass and elitist tourism, mainly to increase care about local communities and workers, cultural landscape, climate, bio- and geodiversity (Carnicelli & Boluk, 2021). As thus, social participation in spatial planning of future tourism destinations is a must. All stakeholders of tourism development have to cooperate in the preparation of spatial plans, the implementation of spatial policy, as well as in decision-making (Leśniewska-Napierała et al., 2022).

It is expected that future tourism should be both sustainable and egalitarian (Fletcher et al., 2021). Discussion on sustainable and egalitarian destinations must refer to scarce resources for tourism development, activities undertaken by tourism industry trying to optimize the use of limited resources for development, and the significant role of local communities mediating between resource-based and activity-based traditions of sustainability (Saarinen, 2006). This brings us to the question of a shift from neoliberal economy-centric approach to spatial and strategic tourism planning towards more a just and greener world. And the question that should be asked is “how”, rather than “if”.

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The planning system in Italy and how it addresses tourism-related issues

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Country profile

Italy is located in the southern part of Europe, and consists of a peninsula extending into the Mediterranean Sea and delimited on its northern side by the Alpine Arch. The country covers a surface of 301,34 km² and shares land borders (from the western to the eastern side of the Alpine arch) with France, Switzerland, Austria and Slovenia. Moreover, the country includes the two enclaved microstates of Vatican City and San Marino. Due to its peninsular character, Italy has a coastline border of almost 8,000 km on four different seas: the Adriatic on the east, the Ionian on the south and the Tyrrhenian and the Ligurian on the west. It features over 800 islands, among which are Sicily and Sardinia, the two largest islands of the Mediterranean.

The country is characterised by a variety of landscapes that mirror the relationships between man, nature and cultural values, both tangible and intangible. As such, it vaunts the presence of extraordinary landscapes included in UNESCO World Heritage List, and the Italian landscape is protected by the art. 9 of Italian Constitution. More in particular, Italy is the country in the world that includes the higher number of UNESCO sites in the world (58), among them featuring 8 cultural landscape sites: the Amalfi Coast, Portovenere, the Cinque Terre and the islands of Palmaria Tino and Tinetto, the National Park of Cilento and the Vallo di Diano (with the archaeological sites of Paestum, Velia and the Certosa di Padula), the Sacred Mountains of Piedmont and Lombardy, the Val d'Orcia, the 12 Villas and 2 Medici Gardens in Tuscany, the Wine-growing Landscapes of Piedmont: Langhe-Roero and Monferrato, and The Prosecco Hills of Conegliano and Valdobbiadene.

Over 35% of the country's territory is mountainous, featuring the Alps on the northern boundary and the Apennine mountains that run throughout the peninsula backbone. The rivers are numerous due to the relative abundance of rain

(mainly in the north) and the presence of the Alpine snowfields and glaciers. The fundamental watershed follows the ridge of the Alps and the Apennines and delimits four main slopes, corresponding to the seas into which the rivers flow. Most of the rivers drain either into the Adriatic Sea (Po, Piave, Adige, Brenta, Tagliamento, and Reno) or into the Tyrrhenian (Arno, Tiber, and Volturno). The longest river is the Po, which originates in the Western Alps and flows for 652 km, generating a vast valley called the Padan Plain (Pianura Padana), which accounts for over the 70% of the plain areas of the country. Overall, the country hosts over 1000 lakes, mostly of subalpine origin, of which the largest are Garda (370 km²) Maggiore (212.5 km²) and Como (146 km²). Other notable lakes are located throughout the peninsula (Trasimeno, Bolsena, Bracciano, Vico). Because of the longitudinal extension and the mountainous conformation, the climate is heterogeneous. In particular, the climate of the Po valley is mostly continental, while the coastal areas of Liguria, Tuscany and most of the south generally fit the Mediterranean climate stereotype. Conditions in peninsular coastal areas can be very different from the interior's higher ground and valleys, particularly during the winter months.

With over 60 million inhabitants, the country is the third most populous state of the EU (Eurostat, 2021). However, the distribution of the population is uneven. The most densely populated areas are the Po Valley (hosting almost half of the national population) and the metropolitan areas of Rome and Naples, while the Alps and Apennines highlands are sparsely populated. The population of Italy almost doubled during the 20th century, but the pattern of growth was extremely uneven because of large-scale internal migration from the rural south to the industrial north. High birth rates persisted until the 1970s, after which the population rapidly aged; the country currently has the fifth oldest population in the world (median age of 45.8 years) (See Table 1 for additional information).

The north–south divide, which dates back to the country's unification in 1861, is Italy's major socio-economic weakness. The unemployment rate (10.6% in 2018) stands slightly above the eurozone average, but the disaggregated figure is 6.6% in the north and 19.2% in the south. The youth unemployment rate (31.7% in 2018) is extremely high compared to EU standards. After a strong GDP growth of 5–6% per year from the 1950s to the early 1970s, and a progressive slowdown in the 1980–90s, the country virtually stagnated in the 2000s. The political efforts to revive growth with massive government spending eventually produced a severe rise in public debt. Moreover, the country has been severely hit by the 2008 global financial crisis, which exacerbated structural disparities.

Italy's economy ranks as the third largest in the eurozone and the eighth largest in the world. It is the world's sixth largest manufacturing country and is characterised by many dynamic small and medium-sized enterprises, famously clustered in industrial districts, which are the backbone of the Italian economy. The characteristics of its economy are: a large and competitive agricultural sector (with the world's largest wine production), its influential and high-quality

automobile (contributing 8.5% to the Italian GDP), food, design and fashion industries – often focused on the export of niche market and luxury products that is capable of facing the competition from Asian economies. Tourism occupies an important role in the country economy. According to estimates by the Bank of Italy of 2018, the tourism sector directly generates more than 5% of the national GDP (13% considering also the indirectly generated GDP) and represents over 6% of the employed. These data have been largely downsized during the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic, but are increasing again and are expected to return to prepandemic values.

Table 1. General country information

Name of country	Italy
Capital, population of the capital	Rome 2,819,751 (2020 – municipality) 4,353,738 (2020 – metro area)
Surface area	301,340 km ²
Total population	59,433,744 (2011 census) 60,550,075 (2019 estimate)
Population density	201.3 inhabitants/km ²
Population growth rate	–0.13% (2019); –0.08 (2018); 0.02 (2017)
Degree of urbanisation	70.74% (2019); 70.44% (2018); 70.14 (2017)
Human development index	0.883 (2018)
GDP	EUR 1,771.5 billion (2019)
GDP per capita	EUR 29,116 (2019)
GDP growth	–9.6% (2020); 0.1% (2019); 0.9% (2018); 1.5% (2017)
Unemployment rate	12.7% (2020); 10.7% (2019); 10.6% (2018); 11.3% (2017)
Land use (CLC 2018, data concerns 2017)	52.18% forest and scrubland 1.47% inland waters 38.7% agricultural land 7.65% built-up land
Sectoral structure	(2017 estimate) 73.9% services and administration 23.9% industry and construction 2.1% agriculture and forestry

Source: author's own elaboration.

According to the 2001 reform of Article 114 of Title V of the Constitution of the Italian Republic, 'the Republic is composed of the **Municipalities** [*Comuni* – LAU 2], the **Provinces** [*Province* – NUTS 3], the **Metropolitan cities** [*Città*

Metropolitane – NUTS 3], the **Regions** [*Regioni* – NUTS 2] and the **State** [*Stato* – NUTS 1]. Municipalities, provinces, metropolitan cities and regions are recognised as autonomous entities provided with their own statutes, powers and functions in accordance with the principles of the Constitution’ (Figure 1).



* ROMA HAS A SPECIAL STATUS (CAPITAL CITY)

Figure 1. Italy's administrative subdivision into regions, provinces and metropolitan cities
Source: author's own elaboration.

Article 131 of the Constitution identifies 20 **regions**: Piedmont, Valle d'Aosta, Lombardy, Trentino-Alto Adige, Veneto, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Liguria, Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany, Umbria, Marche, Lazio, Abruzzo, Molise, Campania, Apulia, Basilicata, Calabria, Sicily, and Sardinia. The Constitution grants autonomous status to the regions Valle d'Aosta, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Sardinia, Sicily, and Trentino-Alto Adige, granting them additional powers in relation to legislation, administration and finance.

Provinces have existed since the unification of the country, although their power and competences have changed through time. Their number has also varied: it remained between 92 and 95 units between 1927 and 1992, then jumped to 103 as a consequence of a reorganisation of the provincial authorities. Other units were then added in the 2000s, taking the total up to 110. Importantly, the two autonomous provinces of Trentino-Alto Adige (Trento and Bolzano) enjoy stronger autonomy, being *de facto* equivalent to autonomous regions.

Metropolitan cities were instituted only recently with Law no. 56/2014, replacing the ten provinces of Rome, Turin, Milan, Venice, Genova, Bologna, Florence, Bari, Naples, and Reggio Calabria. In the same year, three additional metropolitan cities (Palermo, Catania, and Messina) were instituted through a Sicilian regional law, which also turned its other six provinces into Free Consortiums of Municipalities. In 2016 the Friuli Venezia Giulia region relabelled its four provinces as Regional Decentralised Entities. Finally, in 2017 the Sardinia region turned the province of Cagliari into a metropolitan city, and re-joined four of the remaining seven provinces in the province of South Sardinia. As a result of these changes, the sub-regional level is now composed of 14 metropolitan cities and 93 provinces (of which the six units in Sicily are referred to as the Free Consortium of Municipalities, and the four units in Friuli-Venezia-Giulia are Regional Decentralised Entities).

Table 2. Italian municipalities by population

	Municipality		Population	
	n.	%	inhabitants	%
	1	2	3	4
500,000+ inhab.	6	0.08	7,311,109	12.11
250,000 – 499,999 inhab.	6	0.08	1,920,434	3.18
100,000 – 249,999 inhab.	33	0.42	4,912,857	8.14
60,000 – 99,999 inhab.	61	0.77	4,668,937	7.74
20,000 – 59,999 inhab.	418	5.29	13,637,496	22.59
10,000 – 19,999 inhab.	706	8.93	9,719,812	16.10
5,000 – 9,999 inhab.	1,186	15.01	8,373,668	13.87
3,000 – 4,999 inhab.	1,088	13.77	4,235,557	7.02

Table 2 (cont.)

	1	2	3	4
2,000 – 2,999 inhab.	942	11.92	2,316,015	3.84
1,000 – 1,999 inhab.	1,518	19.21	2,210,349	3.66
500 – 999 inhab.	1,093	13.83	805,606	1.33
< 500 inhab.	847	10.72	247,706	0.41
Total	7,904	100.00	60,359,546	100.00

Source: authors' elaboration of ISTAT data 2019 (available at <http://dati.istat.it/>).

When it comes to **municipalities** the country is characterised by almost 8,000 units, of which 70% are small towns accounting for less than 5,000 inhabitants (Table 2). This number has varied over time, and especially in the last ten years, when the state put in place a number of incentives for municipalities to merge.

In accordance with the Constitution, the Italian Republic is unitary, while recognising the principles of local autonomy and decentralisation. Regions were effectively instituted only in 1970, even though the Italian Constitution mentions them as early as 1948, as the ruling Christian Democracy party did not want the opposition Italian Communist Party to gain power in the regions where it was historically rooted (the red belt of Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany, Umbria, and Marche). As of today, Italy is considered a 'regionalised' country, with regional functions and responsibilities that were broadened especially during the 1990s via the so-called 'Bassanini' laws (in particular Law no. 59/1997), which propelled the modernisation of sub-national institutions and governance. In addition, regional statutory autonomy was enlarged by a constitutional reform in 2001, when a major change modified the division of legislative competences between the state and the regions, by distinguishing between exclusive competences of the state, concurrent competences, and exclusive competences of the regions.

In particular, the Constitution gives the **state** exclusive legislative power in matters of foreign policy and international relations and defence, public order and security, finance and taxation, electoral and administrative legislation, jurisdiction, education and social security, the protection of natural and cultural heritage, and the coordination of state, regional and local statistical data.

Concurrent legislation between the **state and the regions** applies to the following: the international and EU relations of the regions, **land-use planning**, transport (including civil ports, airports and navigation networks), the energy supply, disaster relief, the enhancement of cultural and environmental property, job protection and safety, health and education, supplementary social security, and the coordination of public finances and taxation. In these areas, legislative powers are vested in the regions, except for the fundamental principles laid down in state legislation.

The **regions** then have legislative powers in all matters not expressly covered by state legislation. Moreover, they take part in the preparatory decision-making

processes for EU legislative acts in the areas that fall within their responsibilities, and are also responsible for the implementation of international agreements and European measures within the limits established by the law.

The **provinces** and **metropolitan cities** have regulatory powers for the organisation and implementation of the functions allocated to them. The competences of provinces were reduced by the 2014 administrative reform, which transferred some competences back to the regions. The remaining competences concern the **coordination of spatial planning** as well as environmental protection, transport planning, construction and management within the provincial remit, data gathering and analysis in support of local bodies, employment discrimination and equal opportunities. Alongside the competences of the provinces, the **metropolitan cities** are also responsible for **strategic metropolitan development, general spatial planning** (including communications, services and infrastructure networks), the compatibility and coherence of municipal urban planning at metropolitan level, the promotion and coordination of economic and social development activities in line with the metropolitan plan, the coordination and supervision of municipalities' integrated services management, institutional relations with the EU, the state and other metropolitan cities, as well as the promotion and coordination of digital information systems at metropolitan level.

The administrative functions that are not allocated to the provinces, metropolitan cities and regions or to the state are allocated to the **municipalities**, following the principles of subsidiarity. More specifically, municipalities are responsible for social welfare, primary education, culture and recreation, **urban planning, housing, the land registry**, local transport and roads, local economic development, waste management, and the local police. Municipalities can provide their services alone or in unions of municipalities, as stipulated by National Law no. 267/2000 and subsequently by specific regional laws.

When it comes to finances, the Constitution grants municipalities, provinces, metropolitan cities and regions autonomy in relation to revenue and expenditure, although this is subject to the obligation of a balanced budget and compliance with EU law, as well as in relation to independent financial resources, setting and levying taxes and collecting revenues of their own, in compliance with the Constitution and according to the principles of the coordination of state finances and the tax system, and to share in the tax revenues related to their respective territories. State legislation provides for an equalisation fund for the territories having lower per-capita taxable capacity. Revenues raised from the above-mentioned sources shall enable municipalities, provinces, metropolitan cities and regions to fully finance the public functions allocated to them. The state allocates supplementary resources and adopts special measures in favour of specific municipalities, provinces, metropolitan cities and regions to promote economic development along with social cohesion and solidarity, to reduce economic and social imbalances, to foster the exercise of the rights of the individual or to achieve goals other than those pursued through their ordinary functions.

Legal regulations of spatial planning in Italy

Spatial planning in Italy is based on a traditional urban and physical land use planning approach. The EU Compendium of spatial planning systems and policies lists the Mediterranean states, including Italy, under the so-called ‘urbanism’ approach, characterised by ‘a strong architectural flavour’, ‘urban design, townscape and building control’ and regulation ‘undertaken through rigid zoning and codes’ (CEC, 1997, p. 37). The urban historian Guido Zucconi (1989) describes the origins of Italian spatial planning as the result of a struggle between different disciplines to control urban planning, which architects finally won in the 1930s. It would not be misleading to summarise the evolution of Italian planning culture as a permanent oscillation of planners’ attention between the administrative duty of land use regulation (Campos Venuti, 1967) and the search for a new poetics for urban design (Secchi, 1989). However, as will be further detailed below, the Italian spatial planning system has evolved through time into a fairly complex configuration, characterised by a high regional heterogeneity and by numerous experimental, innovative episodes, often triggered by the influence of the European Union (Janin Rivolin, 2003; Cotella & Janin Rivolin, 2011).

Constitutional and legal framework of spatial planning

The 1948 Constitution identifies spatial planning competences under *urbanistica* as defined in Article 80 of Presidential Decree 616/1977, which concerns the regulation of the use of the territory, including all conceptual, regulatory and management aspects relating to safeguarding and transforming the land as well as protecting the environment. More recently, the 2001 reform of Title V of the Constitution changed the wording from *urbanistica* to *governo del territorio*, indicating a wider approach to spatial dynamics that, broadly speaking, may be translated as ‘territorial governance’ (although the word *governo* has a more hierarchical flavour and is usually translated as ‘government’). According to Article 131 of the Constitution, the latter is a shared competence between the state and the region, whereby regions are entitled to approve their own spatial planning laws within the general framework law defined at the central level.

The Italian planning system is still based on Law no. 1150/1942, which was approved during the Second World War when the country was still a monarchy. At the centre of the system is the **Municipal General Regulatory Plan** (*Piano Regolatore Generale Comunale*, PRGC). According to the law, the PRGC is produced by municipalities (alone or in unions), is based on the concept of zoning and allocates particular uses and characteristics to all areas of land that it covers. It is comprehensive in its proposals and prescriptions. Demands for comprehensive reform of the national framework for spatial planning have been

a recurring leitmotiv since the post-war period. Parametric coefficients for the quantitative determination of public spaces and services (the so-called *standards*) were introduced in 1967 together with further detailing of the zoning procedures in response to the growing threat of speculative processes. At the same time, several proposals were advanced towards a reform of the legal framework for the distribution of building rights (Campos Venuti, 1967; Astengo, 1969). These attempts aimed to introduce principles of equity in economic gains and to reduce backstage pressures in the decision making process concerning the elaboration of land-use plans. Despite these efforts to introduce more equitable practices in the distribution of building rights, either through radical legislative reforms in the 1970s (Campos Venuti & Oliva, 1993) or through articulated legal/economic procedures called *processi perequativi* (equalisation of land transformation gains), this remains a controversial issue (Urbani, 2011), although several pieces of legislation (in particular at regional level) have tried to define operative legal frameworks.

Through time, the national framework law was also enriched with new local planning instruments. First, the recovery plan (*piano di recupero*) was introduced at the end of the 1970s (Law 457/1978), which aimed at addressing the management of the transformation of existing built-up areas, as a reaction against uncontrolled urban growth and change. Then, during the 1990s, the consolidation of the EU sustainable and integrated urban development paradigm (Cotella, 2019) led to additional legislative innovation that brought in new and more effective procedures to enable the renovation of cities and their deprived suburbs. Laws no. 179/1991 and no. 493/1993 introduced integrated programmes (*programmi integrati*) and urban regeneration programmes (*programmi di recupero urbano*) as an attempt to complement rigid zoning and regulations with more flexible tools, building on public-private collaboration.

During the 1980s, and also as a partial consequence of EU influence, the legislative framework was amended with the approval of new laws concerning the environment and landscape. Law no. 431/1985 introduced landscape plans (*piani paesistici*) and Law no. 183/1989 instituted instruments dedicated to the protection and management of water basins (*piani di bacino*). This process eventually led to the introduction (2004) of the 'regional landscape plan' (*Piano Paesaggistico Regionale*), which awarded the regions a leading role in landscape planning. Not all the regions, however, have produced their regional landscape plan yet. Only a number of pioneering regions undertook the task (e.g. Toscana, Sardegna, Piemonte) and were then followed in recent times by others (De Montis, 2016).

Despite the abovementioned innovations and a number of proposals for new spatial planning framework laws, the last of which dates back to the mid-2000s, no comprehensive reform of the national spatial planning framework has hitherto been approved at the central level.

Regionalisation

The Italian spatial planning system has experienced increasing regionalisation since the 1970s, when regions were created and provided with related competences. All regions started to approve their own spatial planning laws, leading to an increasing heterogeneity and divergence of regional spatial planning systems and practices (Vettoretto, 2009, p. 190; Gelli, 2001). More specifically, most of the regional laws on territorial governance that have been adopted in the last 20 years, albeit with different interpretations, have sought to address topical issues such as:

- the normalisation of innovative renewal and regeneration programmes at local level;
- the introduction of communicative and participatory processes in planning;
- the involvement of private stakeholders in territorial transformations and service provision (through a widespread use of contractual approaches and procedures);
- the systematisation of various local *processi perequativi* (equalisation of land transformation gains) at a local and supra-local level;
- the introduction of ex-ante and ex-post evaluation of plans and programmes with various processes, from environmental assessment to integrative approaches, which aim to assess the impact of spatial transformation on the territorial system.

These themes have been relevant to almost all the new regional laws, but the way they are dealt with varies considerably as a consequence of the heterogeneity of norms and spatial planning approaches. Nevertheless, common trends can be highlighted, in particular with regard to two main aspects: (i) a shift from 'urban planning' to 'territorial governance', with the remit of spatial planning expanded from the compliance-oriented control of land uses towards the integration of territorially-relevant policies and the introduction of public-private collaboration; (ii) growing adoption of strategic spatial planning approaches and techniques, in particular in urban planning, leading to the more or less formal subdivision of the PRGC into two different instruments, one of a more strategic nature and the other deputed to regulating land use (*piano strutturale* and *piano operativo*).

Overall, the various regions present significant differences in terms of instruments and their names, procedures, objectives and functions, which also depends on the time when each law was developed and approved. The lack of a coherent national legal framework and the delegation of new planning laws to the regional authorities have led to those reforming trends that have animated the national spatial planning discourse over time impacting the various regions in different ways. The cohabitation of 21 regional spatial planning systems in the country can be seen in the varying timeline of regional legislation in this sphere (Figure 2).

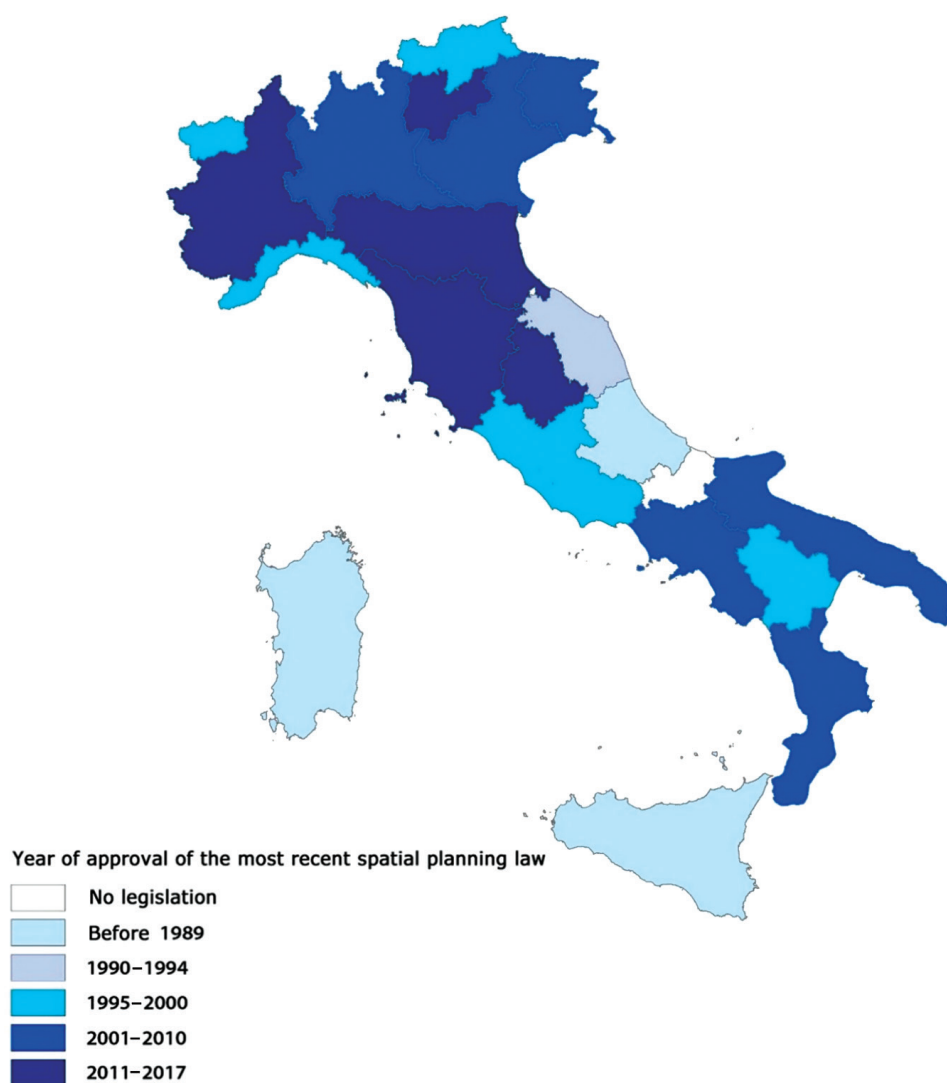


Figure 2. Chronological evolution of regional spatial planning legislation

Source: personal elaboration on INU, 2016.

Subdivision of competences and the main spatial planning instruments

Spatial planning competences are assigned to different levels of government (state, regions, provinces, metropolitan cities and municipalities), which are tasked with defining regulations and instruments, organised in a mostly hierarchical way. The production of spatial planning tools is, however, solely a competence of regions,

provinces and metropolitan cities, which are supposed to define orientations for the territorial transformation of their respective territories, and of the municipalities, which prepare the main spatial planning instrument around which the system pivots – the PRGC (Figure 3).

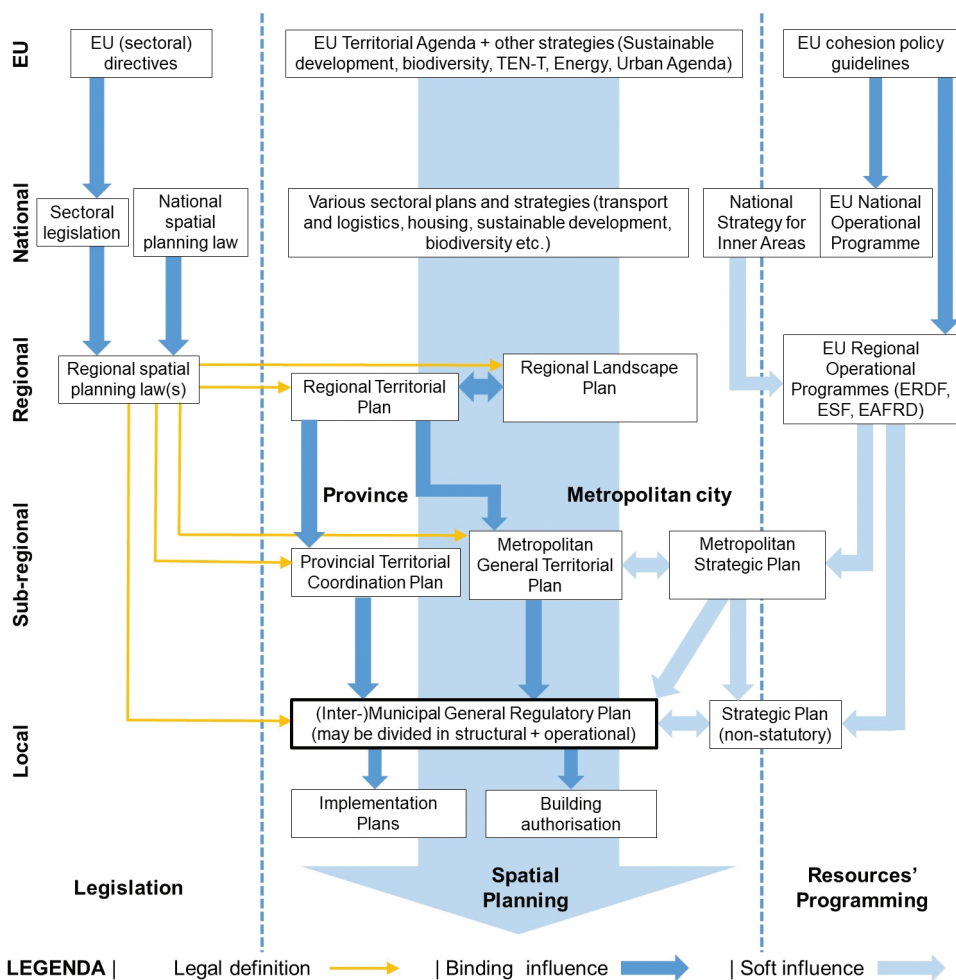


Figure 3. The spatial governance and planning system in Italy. Legislation, plans and programmes
Source: author's own elaboration.

In the light of the shared legislative competences between the state and the regions, the state should define the general guidelines for planning activity and specify land-use guidelines through deliberative acts for which there are no corresponding planning instruments of direct relevance. More specifically, the Ministry of Infrastructures and Transport (*Ministero delle Infrastrutture e dei Trasporti*) owns

the formal national competences for spatial planning. Through time, the ministry has also been responsible for producing a number of sectoral plans, such as the National Housing Plan (*Piano per la Casa*) and the General Plan for Transport and Logistics (*Piano Generale dei Trasporti e della Logistica*). Within this ministry, the National Council of Public Works is a technical advisory body supporting the ministry and the regions concerning all relevant spatial planning matters and especially those related to the provision of public interventions. The Ministry for Southern Italy and Territorial Cohesion (*Ministero per il mezzogiorno e la coesione territoriale*) manages the development funds for the Italian regions, with particular attention to the EU funds and the relations with the sub-national levels (first and foremost regions and metropolitan cities). Within this framework, particularly relevant is the National Strategy for Inner Areas (*Strategia Nazionale per le Aree Interne*), which was introduced in parallel to the 2014–2020 programming period and which is currently being overhauled (more information in the section below) (Cotella & Vitale Brovarone, 2020). Other ministries are responsible for managing sectoral strategies and policies, such as those related to environmental protection, biodiversity, water, energy, etc., which may potentially have a more or less direct impact on spatial planning activities at the lower levels. Importantly, between 1950 and 1992 a special body called *Cassa del Mezzogiorno* was responsible for financing the infrastructural and industrial development of the southern regions of the country (Felice & Lepore, 2017). However, at the central level no comprehensive spatial plan or spatial orientations were ever produced, if one excludes sporadic initiatives throughout the 1970s (the *Progetto '80*. Renzoni & Ruffolo, 2012) and the 2010s (the *Piattaforme Territoriali*) (Fabbro & Mesolella, 2010).

The regions must produce a Regional Territorial Plan (*Piano territoriale regionale*) for their own territory, taking into consideration any relevant state-level guideline. This instrument presents the main orientation for socio-economic and spatial development, addressing the issues of environmental protection and infrastructures. It indicates objectives, methods and norms, which are, however, scarcely prescriptive. However, this plan is legally binding for the sub-regional levels, which themselves have to establish coherent plans. Due to the abovementioned varied evolution of the heterogeneous regional laws, regional territorial plans are nowadays different in form, functions, procedures and even denominations (*Piano urbanistico territoriale* in Umbria, *Piano territoriale regionale generale* in Lazio, *Piano territoriale regionale* in Emilia Romagna, Piedmont, and Veneto, etc.). However, recent reforms have been united in the attempt to overcome the traditional approach to spatial planning through the introduction of more strategic-oriented instruments.

Provinces and metropolitan cities are responsible for the coordination of municipal planning activities, and they pursue this function through the Provincial Territorial Coordination Plan (*Piano territoriale di coordinamento provinciale*) and the Metropolitan General Territorial Plan (*Piano territoriale generale metropolitano*) respectively. This instrument contains prescriptions and indications for land

use, to which local authorities must conform in the exercise of their respective competences. It determines guidelines for the different zonings according to the predominant use, and may also issue prescriptions limiting land consumption on the basis of the existing building density. It also defines the sites for major infrastructure and lines of communication, the areas for erosion prevention and water flow control, and the areas for nature reserves or parks. The plan covers the whole provincial/metropolitan territory and has no time limit. The provinces/metropolitan cities can also issue comments regarding local PRGCs (supervisory competence), which are, however, neither mandatory nor binding. Overall, the procedure for the making and approval of the provincial plan may vary according to the different regional legislative frameworks. In addition to the above, all metropolitan cities must design and implement a Strategic Metropolitan Plan (*Piano strategico metropolitano*, lasting for three years) to coordinate and orient spatial development. In doing so, each metropolitan city is allowed to specify a sub-division of its territory and design a statute in order to organise and specify its competences and spatial tools. Each region can assign other competences to the metropolitan city. Metropolitan Strategic Plans should be consistent with the development vision promoted by the Regional Territorial Plan, and constitute a reference for the plans produced by the municipalities.

Municipalities (alone or joined in unions) are obliged to prepare the (Inter-) Municipal General Regulatory Plan. This instrument defines land use for the whole territory of the municipality(ies) it concerns. While PRGCs are usually provided with one or more implementation tools, they also allow for direct implementation by owners through building permits. It has no time limit and its provisions are in force until they are varied or replaced by a new plan. Monitoring is not formally envisaged, however regional regulations usually require municipalities to submit the plan to periodic reviews. The plan regulates land use and indicates the main communication routes, public areas, areas for public buildings, protection for the environment and landscape, etc., and prescribes, through implementation regulations, the physical and functional status of the individual zones of the territory. The plan-making procedure is determined by regional law and the region (or the province acting on its behalf) traditionally assesses the plan.

The varying regional spatial planning legislation has led to considerable heterogeneity in how the PRGC looks in the different regions. Overall, the main distinction is between the traditional form and a reformed configuration, which divides the instrument into a structural/strategic plan and an operational plan. In terms of the formal orientation of the different regional systems (Properzi, 2003; Janin Rivolin, 2008), at least three planning models can be observed (De Luca & Lingua, 2012):

- a classical compliance-oriented model in regions that have not yet reformed their urban planning laws (Piedmont, Sicily, Sardinia, Marche, Umbria,

Valle d'Aosta) and that are still regulated by National Law no. 1150/1942 and its principles;

- a hybrid model, in which the distinction between the structural and operational levels is part of a hierarchical traditional system (Liguria, Emilia Romagna, Apulia, Veneto, Lazio, Friuli Venetia Giulia, Campania, Basilicata, Abruzzi, Calabria);
- a performance-oriented model, based on non-hierarchical and collaborative planning processes in which each institutional level approves its own instruments after activating contractual processes with the other institutions and stakeholders involved (e.g. Tuscany) and with strong interaction with private stakeholders (e.g. Lombardy).

Long-term strategy for spatial planning

From the *Cassa del Mezzogiorno* to the National Strategy for Inner Areas: A renewed role for the Italian central government

Since the country's unification in 1861, Italy's spatial, economic and social organisation has been characterised by a strong north-south divide. The so-called *questione meridionale* (southern issue) imposed itself on the attention of policy-makers, leading to the introduction of policies explicitly focusing on the development of the southern regions, one of which is the abovementioned *Cassa del Mezzogiorno*, which ran from 1950 to 1992. Despite this attention, regional economic planning was kept separate from spatial planning, and did not produce any impact on the system. Any attempt to establish a closer relation between spatial planning, economic programming and sectoral policies have usually proved unsuccessful. The 1988 reform of the Structural Funds eventually contributed to the termination of the *Cassa* and to a reorientation of the logic of Italian regional policy towards those governance principles and mechanisms that were brought in for the first time by the new cohesion policy. The unconditional, unmonitored distribution of resources to southern regional and local authorities had to come to terms with the exogenous conditions that the European Commission had attached to the distribution and use of the Structural Funds.

In 1996, the Department for Development and Cohesion Policies was created to plan and manage Structural Funds and the new regional policy tools that came with them, a procedure that constituted a radical innovation to Italian custom (Janin Rivolin, 2003). This shift has been further fuelled by the emergence of the

place-based approach at the EU level in the so-called Barca Report (Barca, 2009). The author of the report Fabrizio Barca, a renowned Italian regional economist, was invited to lead the newborn Ministry for Territorial Cohesion. He dedicated the first year of his mandate to conceive a national development strategy that could turn into practice the main concepts that he had detailed in the homonymous report. Launched in 2012, the National Strategy for Inner Areas (SNAI) targets those territories that are at a significant distance from centres with essential service provisions (Barca et al., 2014). Inner areas, typically small and sparsely populated, are affected by severe phenomena of ageing, depopulation and impoverishment. At the same time, they often feature important environmental and cultural resources. The overall objective of the SNAI is to reverse the decline of these areas, triggering a trend reversal of those processes that had led to their socio-economic and structural fragility. In so doing, the SNAI moves away from the traditional north–south dichotomy, acknowledging access to services throughout the country as an essential precondition for development. At the same time, it positions itself as a one-of-a-kind experience in Europe, thanks to the way it details the EU place-based approach into a national regional policy. For the first time, the potentials of the national polycentric settlements structure for fostering development are valorised also in rural and mountain remote areas. To fulfil these objective, the SNAI is grounded on a two-pronged action (Barca et al., 2014):

- improving essential services, to provide inner areas with the ‘prerequisites’ for development, namely, health, education and mobility;
- triggering local development processes, by supporting projects focused on environmental sustainability, promotion of local cultural and natural capital, agro-food systems, renewable energies, craftsmanship and traditional know-how.

According to the principle of concentration which underpins the EU cohesion policy (Barca, 2009), the SNAI does not act on all the municipalities classified as internal, but concentrates on project areas, appropriately selected. The selection of the areas is grounded on a thorough methodology defined by the Technical Committee for Inner Areas (CTAI). As the definition of inner areas applies to those territories that have limited or inadequate access to essential services, the first step was to map the ‘service centres’ on the basis of the presence of: (i) a full range of secondary education; (ii) at least one first-level emergency care hospital; and (iii) at least a medium-capacity railway station. After the service centres were identified, the remaining municipalities were classified in four categories, based on their distance from such centres: (i) outlying areas (less than 20’ away); (ii) intermediate areas (from 20’–40’ away); (iii) peripheral areas (from 40’–75’ away); and (iv) ultra-peripheral areas (more than 75’ away). All municipalities belonging to the last three categories (intermediate, peripheral and ultra-peripheral) were labelled as inner areas. They account for 53 per cent of Italian municipalities, 61 per cent of its territory, and host 23 per cent of the Italian population. To define a list of eligible

areas, the CTAI further investigated these areas through desk and field research. Then, each region was required to formally select the project areas to be involved in the SNAI (Figure 4). Overall, 72 project areas were selected (from two to five areas per region), interesting more than 1,000 municipalities, and accounting for over 2 million inhabitants.

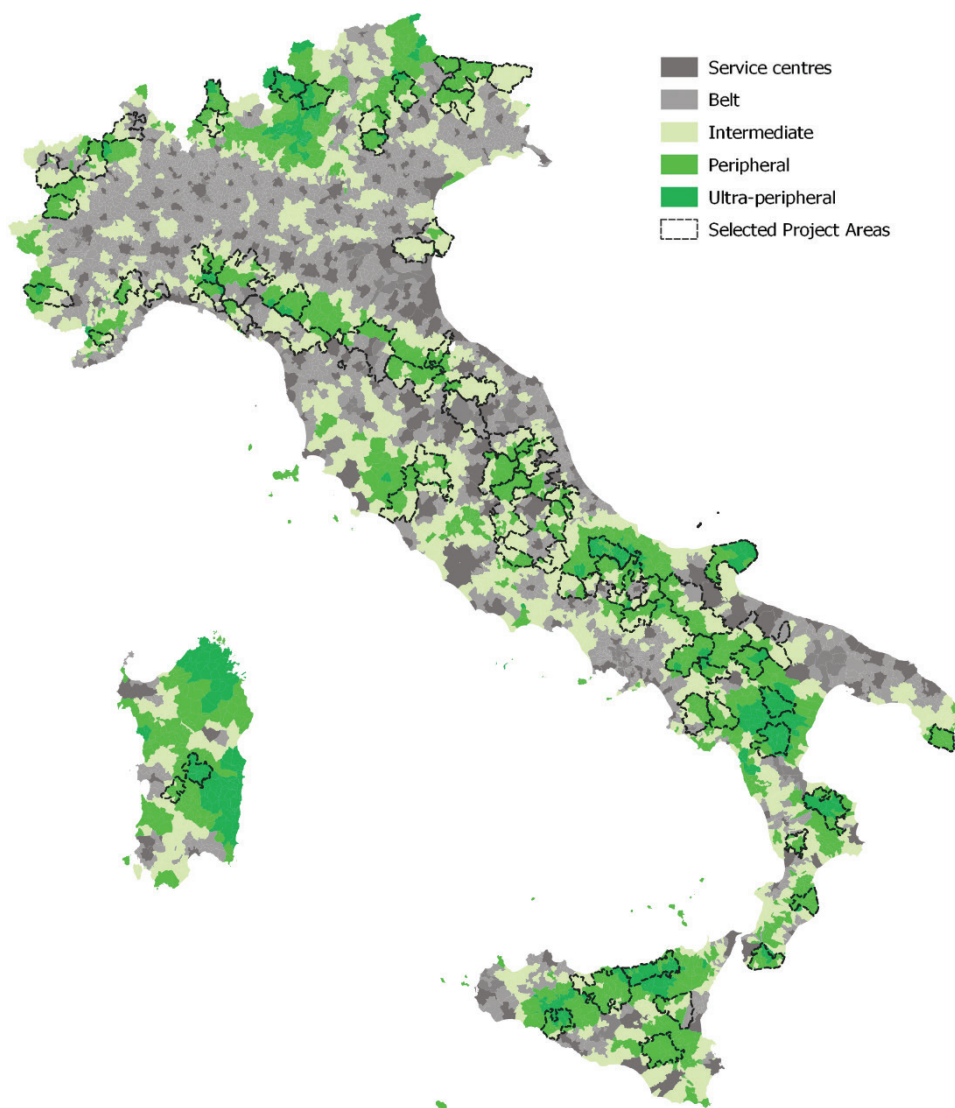


Figure 4. Carachterisation of the Italian Territory through the SNAI methodology
Source: author's own elaboration on Barca et al., 2014.

The rise of strategic planning at the municipal level

Over the last three decades, as a consequence of the above stimuli and without any significant reform of the national legislative framework, dozens of Italian cities of large and medium size (such as Rome, Milan, Turin, Florence, and Genoa, but also La Spezia, Pesaro, Trento), as well as spontaneous aggregations of municipalities have started to adopt strategic plans, adding to or integrating statutory local plans. Strategic spatial planning activity at the (inter-)municipal level is not regulated by any specific law. Strategic plans are based on a voluntary cooperation process among various public and private subjects that together decide on a shared development trajectory, define some strategic objectives and engage in the realisation of a certain number of actions. In this way, local actors seek to address the problem of coordination between different public institutions and the need to integrate and reconcile economic interests, social and cultural representative organisations. The role of private subjects is crucial, not only for financial issues but even more for the knowledge and consensus needed to realise effective interventions requiring a high coordination capacity.

These experiences are interesting for two main reasons. The first concerns the rise of a so-called 'cities protagonism' (Bagnasco & Le Galès, 2000) deriving from the economic and political changes brought about by globalisation. In this context, many Italian cities adopted strategic planning as a tool to address the challenges of the crisis of the Fordist industrialisation model and to support the local economy and employment in the face of growing international competition. The second reason is a reaction to the (at least) partial erosion of the sovereignty of the nation state (Sassen, 1996) and to its reduced redistributive capacity, with cities that had to learn how to coordinate public and private 'actors, social groups and institutions in order to reach objectives which have been collectively discussed and defined in fragmented, even nebulous environments' (Bagnasco & Le Galès, 2000, p. 26).

Public participation in spatial planning

The EU's key principles (subsidiarity, integration, partnership, sustainability, etc.) contributed to producing a remarkable impact on the technical and administrative culture of regional and local authorities, especially throughout the 1990s and 2000s. The Italian municipalities started to experiment with the EU URBAN programmes (Urban Pilot Projects, URBAN Community Initiative) and those regeneration programmes and instruments that have been introduced through

time by the Italian government in response (Janin Rivolin, 2003). This led to an increasingly fertile dissemination of good practices and to triggering additional innovation through emulation and dispersion. A growing and spreading awareness of the territorial governance possibilities offered by the EU has given a great impetus to the increasing sophistication of Italian spatial planning systems, with some regions (Piedmont, Tuscany, Puglia, Sicily, etc.) gradually introducing their own programmes and mechanisms for urban regeneration.

As a result, the sectoral and hierarchical orientation that traditionally characterised public policies was put into question through new forms of cooperation, collaborative and negotiated activities between the various sectors and levels of the public administration. In particular, the involvement and participation of voluntary committees, associations and citizens in the development of action programmes, allowing fuller use of the social resources available for urban policies and a strengthening of the legitimacy and effectiveness of the actions taken, has had significant implications. Furthermore, the urban programmes introduced by the EU in the 1990s have triggered a large set of innovative practices. For example, the emphasis on distinct areas of a city/territory (run-down neighbourhoods, deprived urban areas, places of excellence, etc.) progressively deconstructed monolithic concepts like 'urban system' or 'city planning' (Cremaschi, 2002). Other innovations concern the promotion of thematic networks and programmes, which has facilitated an increase in the number of actors involved in urban policies, with a strengthening of their capabilities of self-organisation into aggregations that are adaptable according to specific issues or situations.

Through time, new institutional and non-institutional actors and practices have come to populate Italian spatial planning and, although the termination of the URBAN Community Initiative seems to have reduced the national momentum, its legacy remains. The relation between the new instruments and the traditional ones in terms of timing and character remains rather problematic. As things are, the risk of confusion and distortion is counterbalanced by the chance for genuine product and process innovation in the methods and styles of urban and territorial governance. In this perspective, urban planners started to be progressively involved in the design and implementation of innovative 'plans', not only in the sense of a new interpretation of the urban planner's traditional work (Laino, 2002).

The above changes are recognised and generally welcome within the country's spatial planning debate. The new principles are seen, at least in general terms, as a redesign of the relationships between the state, the local authorities and civil society. Whereas the relevance of these changes varies from region to region and between local contexts, there is no doubt that some innovations have been introduced, which seem to recognise and validate the role of actors and resources traditionally excluded from decision-making processes, and resulting in an overall redefinition of political and administrative action. This is confirmed by the centrality

assumed by local authorities in a very wide range of policies and by the confirmation and consolidation of a number of regulatory institutions that are intended to simplify and streamline the work shared by public authorities at various levels and, eventually, to define a contractual model for interaction between public and private actors (Governa & Salone, 2005).

This occurred through a number of legislative changes throughout the 1990s, which redefined competences among central and local levels, and brought about cooperative modes among public subjects (vertically and horizontally) and between public administrations and private subjects. More specifically, these reforms introduced a number of institutional tools to carry out vertical and horizontal governance:

- the *Accordo di programma* (Programme Agreement; Law no. 142/1990, Art. 8), an instrument for coordinating inter-institutional partnerships, which was already used during the 1980s as an extraordinary measure to implement public works for which particularly rapid procedures were necessary and to enable automatic variation of the urban planning instruments in force;
- the *Conferenza dei servizi* (Conference of Services; Law no. 241/1990, Art. 14), a contractual procedure for coordinating public actors at various levels but which, in contrast to the *Accordo di programma*, binds the contracting administration only to a particular intervention;
- the *Intesa istituzionale di programma* (Programme Institutional Agreement; Law no. 662/1996, Art. 203), which involves negotiations to coordinate actions taken by administrations or agencies;
- the *Accordo di programma quadro* (Framework Programming Agreement; Law no. 662/1996, Art. 203), which is a contractual model for public-private partnerships.

Overall, the adopted provisions are an attempt to alter the institutional system, reforming the monitoring process and the division of competences and powers between the state, the regions and local authorities in pursuit of a simplification of administrative action and of higher levels of efficiency in public administration (Governa & Salone, 2005).

Main challenges of spatial planning of tourism destinations

Italy boasts a long tradition in relation to Tourism, that dates back to the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries Grand Tours. Mass tourism in the country rose rapidly after WWII, following up an increasing trend that had characterised the XIX Century and that

has only been interrupted by the Economic crisis of the 1930s and the gloomy period under the Fascist Regime. The Italian economic miracle, raising living standards and media products as the movie *La Dolce Vita* helped raise Italy's international profile. Similarly, internal tourism was boosted by the higher incomes. Coastline resorts saw a soar in visitors and, since the late-1960s also mountain holidays and skiing chiefted mass-popularity, especially in the Alpine Area. Overall, with 94 million tourists per year (2018), Italy is the third most visited country in international tourism arrivals, with 217.7 million foreign visitors nights spent and a total of 432.6 million visitors (ISTAT, 2018). According to estimates by the Bank of Italy of 2018, the tourism sector directly generates more than 5% of the national GDP (13% considering also the indirectly generated GDP) and represents over 6% of the employed (Bank of Italy, 2019). People mainly visit Italy for its rich culture, cuisine, history, fashion and art, its coastline and beaches, its mountains, and priceless ancient monuments. Italy also contains more World Heritage Sites than any other country in the world. As of 2018, the Italian places of culture (which include museums, attractions, parks, archives and libraries) amounted to 6,610. Active hotel businesses are 33,000, while non-hotel businesses are 183,000. The tourist flow in the coastal resorts is 53%. Italy overall had 420.63 million visitor nights in 2017, of which 210.66 million were of foreign guests (50.08 percent) (Bank of Italy, 2019).

Due to the heterogeneous nature of tourism activities in the country, the challenges that spatial planning of tourism destinations has to face are various and multifaceted. Among them, it is worth listing:

- promotion of tourism-related development in the inner area of the country, characterised by a large share of natural and landscape resources but often featuring low level of accessibility and services and scarce institutional capacity due to their reduced size;
- overtourism phenomena in the most renowned coastal and mountain areas in the peak tourism period, that due to their seasonality do not justify the increase of basic services and their maintenance all-year-around. At the same time, they also endanger the natural and landscape value of these areas due to overexploitation;
- overtourism phenomena in the main touristic cities, that generates challenges in relation to services as well as to the emergence of short-term rental activities to the detriment of long-term rentals (and a rise in their prices). In addition, it also put at risk the preservation of cultural heritage.

Overall, traditional spatial planning activities appears ill-equipped to deal with these challenges. The land-use regulation approach that has characterised the country through time has mostly focused on the provision of increasing land-use and development rights, but does not seem able neither to promote tourism in those inner area that would benefit from increasing tourism dynamics as an engine for development, nor to strategically re-orient tourism activities in those areas that are interested by overtourism.

A number of activities exists that constitute a partial exception to this picture:

- **Landscape planning.** The country has a long tradition in landscape planning, that dates back to the 1940s and has been reinforced by the so-called Legge Galasso in 1985 (Law no. 431/1985). Since 2004, Italian regions are responsible for producing Regional Landscape Plans, introduced by national law to adapt to the European Landscape Convention (COE, 2000). Since 2004, Landscape planning became the essential compulsory step for the conservation, planning and management of the regional landscape, with its extension to the whole regional territory, with the provision of different degrees of protection in relation to the recognition of landscape values and the consequent assignment of landscape quality objectives, as well as recovery interventions in degraded areas, in obedience to the indications emerging from the European Landscape Convention. These objectives imply that the protection of the landscape should not be restricted to mere conservation and preservation, but should extend to the regulation of all human intervention intended to affect the landscape. In this perspective, the main instrument with which every intervention is correctly oriented with respect to landscape profiles is planning, which constitutes a direct instrument with which, consciously, the modalities through which certain modifications of the landscape must take place are prescribed. Landscape plans cover the entire regional territory and have two main purposes: (i) a cognitive purpose, focusing on the analysis of regional landscape features (natural, cultural, property) and transformation dynamics in order to identify the risk factors and vulnerabilities of the landscape, and to address other acts of programming, planning and land protection; (ii) a directive purpose with legally binding measures (*prescrizioni*), requirements for adaptation measures (*direttive*) and simple recommendations (*indirizzi*) for sub-regional plans and sectoral plans. Finally, regions play a supervisory role consisting of regulating and controlling sub-regional spatial planning activities (provinces, metropolitan city and municipalities).
- **The National Strategy for Inner Areas.** As already introduced above, the SNAI lays at the intersection between top-down and bottom-up logics, acknowledging the national level as the most suitable for the provision of prerequisites for development, and the local level as the best standpoint to identify the potentials for local development. In this light, the provision of prerequisites for development, in terms of education, health and mobility, is funded with national funds. Examples of such interventions are: the reorganisation of educational facilities with the creation of new facilities in barycentric positions within the areas, replacing inefficient facilities spread over the territory; the reorganisation of health provision to provide better access to diagnosis and emergency services; and the adjustment and improvement of transport services, including flexible solutions and

better access to rail networks (Barca et al., 2014). At the same time, local development projects are defined by local actors and funded with European funds. The regions play a key role in this respect, since they manage both the Regional Operational Programmes (ROP) and the Rural Development Programmes (RDP) and they decide on the amount of ESIF to be devoted to the SNAI through such programmes. Furthermore, the regions flag up the strategic objectives, the time-frames and the financial resources set aside, setting percentages, axis, etc. In this light, the regional level acts as the hinge of connection and mediation between the central level and the local actors, and the latter are responsible for defining development goals and directions according to each place's specificities. The methodology of the strategy foresees focus groups and meetings to involve all relevant stakeholders. The process of implementation of the SNAI begins with the definition of a draft strategy by all involved actors, which identifies the guiding principles for development. Then, the strategy is fine-tuned, translating ideas into targets, actions and procedural frameworks. In the selected areas, the SNAI acts as a coordination platform between domestic (mostly national and regional) and European resources. National programming funds (defined by the Italian Stability Law) are combined with all the European Structural and Investment funds (ESIF): European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), European Social Fund (ESF), European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD), European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (EMFF). When it comes to its governance, the SNAI brings local actors (public administrations, third sector and private actors) at the core of the process. The association of local actors is a prerequisite for project areas to be selected. More precisely, local authorities are asked to be organised in formal supralocal associated entities (i.e. for the management of services), as, for instance, Union of Municipalities. At the same time, the SNAI acknowledges the need for regional and national action, with actors at these levels that should play coordination and steering roles. This makes the SNAI a multilevel, multi-actor and multi-fund process.

- **Local strategic planning.** The central element of Italian strategic planning consists of a document with a vision for the city and its surrounding territory, pivoted around a number of strategic topic areas, that are then articulated into several thematic threads and projects. Strategic areas identified obviously vary in each situation, but some of the most common and recurrent fields are international and European integration, institutional cooperation, urban quality, local welfare, technological innovation, culture and tourism. The temporal horizon they consider is usually around 10–15 years. This is made potentially possible because strategic plans are not the product of a specific administration (bound to a 4 or 8 years life span) but of a city as a whole (which in principle,

remains). Despite not having any legal value, these instruments are in most case the product of a long process of interaction and concertation among all relevant stakeholders in the city territory, and the result is a vision that is shared among them. This guarantee a certain commitment to the vision from the actors that contributed to conceive it and, in turn, the fact that their action will follow suit. The first instrument of this kind has been introduced in Torino in 2000. A recent example in this concern is the Strategic Plan for Tourism in Rome 2019–2025 (Municipality of Rome, 2018). Interestingly, these types of strategies have been also used to catalyse the political action of public and private actors on joint vision with a specific goal, as for instance the presentation of the candidature of the Langhe-Roero and Monferrato wine area to UNESCO Landscape Heritage Site (World Heritage Committee, 2014).

Summary

Summarizing, the main challenges of spatial planning for tourism destinations in Italy concerns:

- The fact that traditional land-use planning is ill-equipped to deal with the issue, as it is mostly conceived as an activity that provides (or deny) land-use rights.
- The fact that the challenges related to tourism are highly heterogeneous, ranging from the need to promote tourism activity in scarcely accessible inne areas to the mitigation of the negative externalities of overtourism in the main tourism destination, to the specific challenges of mountain and coastal areas.

At the same time, a number of oportunties seems to exists.

- The existence of a consolidated landscape planning system attached to spatial planning, that guarantee some sort of prescriptive power to the regions over landscape issues.
- The recent introduction of a regional development strategy that specifically focusing on valorising the specific development potentials of inner areas from a place based perspective.
- The progressive consolidation of a strategic planning activity that, albeit non-statutory, allows the development of virtuous public-private partnership as well ad virtuous multi-level governance dynamics, aiming at the production of joint development visions and at their implementation.

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The planning system in Norway with focus on mountain destinations

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Country profile

Norway, named officially the Kingdom of Norway, is located in northern Europe and it is one of the Scandinavian counties. The area of the country is 385,207 km². With a population of 5.4 million, it is one of the most sparsely populated countries in Europe with less than 13 people per km². The largest immigrant group is the Polish, with more than 100.000 polish-born immigrants. Norway is long and narrow with a coastline of more than 100,000 km. It is a mountainous country and according to Nordregio (2004) 91.84% of the total country is defined as “mountain municipalities”. In 1972 Norway had 20 counties and in 2018 it had 19 counties. From 1. January 2020 more counties merged, so that Norway is now divided into eleven counties.

After a “municipality reform” with the mergers of some municipalities, the number of municipalities has been reduced from 428 (before June 2014) to currently 368. During this process 119 of the municipalities have become 47 new ones. The purpose was to attain a) good and equal services across the whole country, b) a consistent and sustainable business development, c) sustainable and economically robust municipalities, and d) a strengthened local democracy. Now, 106 urban areas in Norway have attained the status of “cities”. The largest city in Norway is Oslo (the capital) with more than 700 000 inhabitants (and over 1 million in the metropolitan area) and the smallest with city status is Kolvereid with about 1 700 inhabitants. (In comparison, Asker municipality has close to 100 000 inhabitants but no urbanisation with city status.) The centralization and urbanisation of Norway has been slower than in comparable countries but has accelerated recently. Today about 85% of the population live in urban areas. Also, the public sector has gone through a centralisation process, both regionally and nationally, especially over the last two decades. This has had a negative effect on the rural areas, and the mountain regions in particular (Langørgen, 2007). The objective of the centralisation in the public sector is claimed to be increased quality and efficiency (Direktoratet for forvaltning og ikt, 2018).

At the same time as population and public sectors undergo centralization, a decentralization of responsibilities and political power has taken place, from central to local governments. This has also been part of the restructuring and merging process of municipalities. The argument forwarded has been that it will strengthen local democracy, self-rule (autonomy), and efficiency. However, the validity of the connection between municipality autonomy and efficiency in supplying services for people has been challenged (see e.g. Rømming, 1999). Moreover, also the municipality as the most efficient level to implement the policies of the central government has also been questioned (Rattsø & Sørensen, 1997).

Very little of Norway is agricultural land (3.5%), and the proportion of employment in the primary sector is very low (under 0.8%) (Nordregio, 2004). The tertiary sector accounts for almost three quarters (74.1%) of the national employment. It is noteworthy that the proportion of employment in the tertiary sector is higher (78.2%) in the mountain areas than in the lowlands, illustrating the lack of “export industries” other than primary industries and tourism in most mountain municipalities. A further summary of general information about Norway is provided in Table 1. Figure 1 illustrates how the built-up land (urban areas), which constitute a very small proportion of Norway’s surface area (0.88%), is highly concentrated to the lowlands, coasts, and valleys, with a very small population in the mountain regions.

Table 1. General country information

Name of country	Norway
Capital, population of the capital	Oslo 707,531 (3 rd quarter of 2022 – municipality) 1,050,000 (estimate 2022 – metro area)
Surface area	323,810 km ² (mainland Norway only)
Total population	5,475,240 (3 rd quarter of 2022)
Population density	16.9 inhabitants/km ²
Population growth rate	0.44% (2021); 0.74% (2020); 0.62% (2019)
Degree of urbanisation	82.67% (2022); 81.41% (2021)
Human development index	0.961 (2021) HDI rank = 2
GDP	EUR 435.5 billion (2021)
GDP per capita	EUR 83,863 (2021)
GDP growth	4.2% (2021); -2.5% (2020)
Unemployment rate	4.4% (2021); 4.6% (2020); 3.7% (2019)
Land use (NIBIO, 2022)	22.74% productive forest 10.32% unproductive forest 6.10% inland waters 3.5% agricultural land 0.88% built-up land

Table 1 (cont.)

Sectoral structure	(2021 estimate) 58.4% services and administration 39.9% industry (whereof 14% oil and gas) 1.6% agriculture, forestry, and aquaculture
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Source: author’s own elaboration based on statistics from “Statistics Norway” (SSB) and “Norwegian Institute of Bioeconomy Research” (NIBIO).

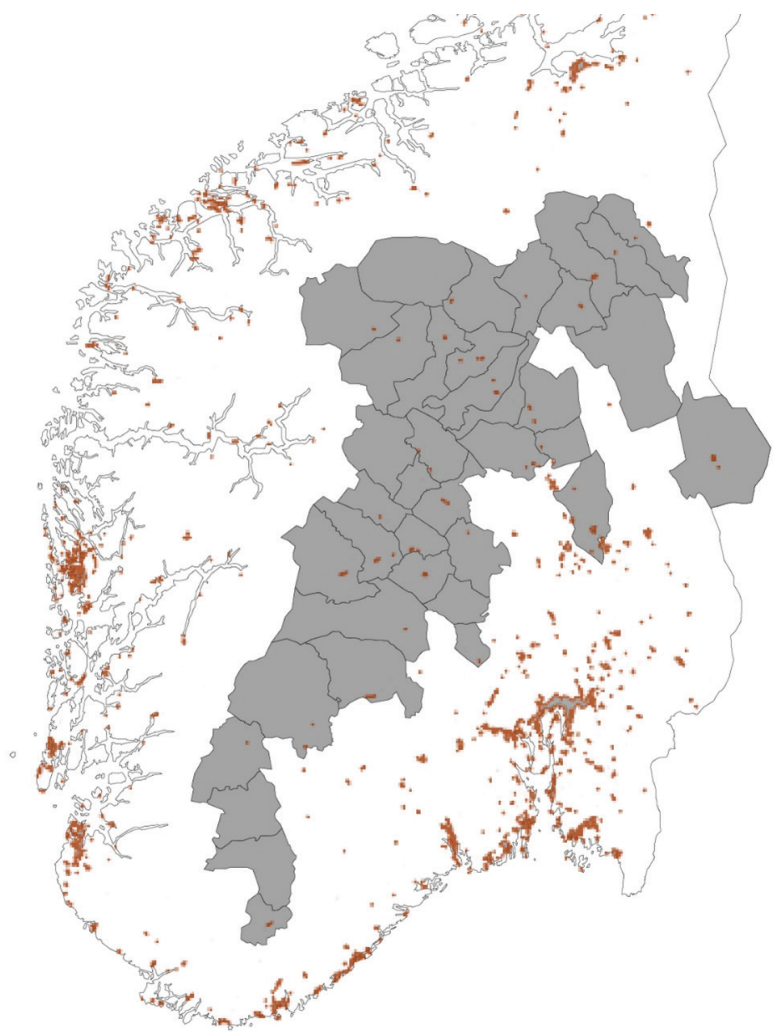


Figure 1. Southern Norway with the 39 municipalities (shown in grey) comprising the main mountain region of south-eastern Norway, as defined by Flognfeldt and Tjørve (2013). Built-up land (urban areas) is shown in brown (with gray cores for the largest cities)

Source: author’s own elaboration with data from Statistisk Sentralbyrå, SSB (Statistics Norway).

The central government has recently tabled a separate strategy for the development of mountain- and inland regions, including energy, bio-economy, food production, and tourism (Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet, 2021). Here, the government promises to improve the conditions for a “greener, smarter and more including tourism industry”, in order to create a sustainable sector that is able to compete. Second homes are also an important part of the local tourism industry, and the government wishes to map the plans and potential for second-home developments and to forward an updated guidance for the planning process of such developments. Moreover, the government sees that there will be growing competition between stakeholders, also other stakeholders than the actors within the tourism industry. Stakeholders such as agriculture, reindeer husbandry, nature conservation, and renewable energy are mentioned.

Control and the administration of land use is a central element in spatial planning (Buitelaar et al., 2011). In Norway, the municipalities and their local governments are the most important planning authorities which are responsible for the development of the local community. Therefore, they have been given wide concessions through the legal regulations of spatial planning. However, the central government (Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet, 2021) notes in their new mountain-strategy document that provisions have been made for the central government to better be able to raise objections to specific plans when needed, in particular in regard to national and regional considerations.

Legal regulations of spatial planning in Norway

This text focuses more on the reality of spatial planning in Norway, or beyond what is expressed as political goals and governmental strategies. The latter are often less reflected in the actual planning, which has taken place, and it has less bearing on the real sustainability of the direction taken. The legal regulations of spatial planning in Norway is mainly comprised of the Nature-Diversity Act (NDA), the Mineral Act (MA), and the Plan- and Building Act (PBA). These also represent the legal measures to attain sustainability.

Protected land, such as national parks, nature reserves, and landscape-protection areas, are managed under the *Naturmangfoldloven* (“Nature-Diversity Act”), previously referred to as “*Naturvernloven*”, and the county is the managing authority. The remainder of the areas are managed by the local government, meaning the municipality council and its administration, but with the regional authorities, meaning the county governments as advisors and with the right to object to plans that are presented. Some have asserted that it is unfortunate that

the mountain areas are managed by two different authorities and at two different governmental levels (Skjeggedal et al., 2011).

In Norway, most of the spatial planning takes place in the municipalities, which is the lowest level of public administration in Norway. These local governments are not only responsible for the permissions to build, but also to regulate other types of land use and concessions in areas that are not protected (and thus managed by a higher authority). The present Norwegian planning laws are considered to fall into the group referred to as the “Scandinavian Family” of planning laws, which are characterized by being flexible with a relatively high degree of independence at the local level (Newman & Thornley, 1996, p. 39). However, compared to that of other Scandinavian countries, the Norwegian legislation differs somewhat in that it is more discretionair, meaning that the planning authority is less bound by legal restrictions and can rely more on own assessment when making planning decisions (Holsen, 2017). Moreover, the Norwegian legislation opens for anybody to propose private development plans, which the local authorities are obliged to evaluate (Røsnes, 2005, p. 38). In the case of mountain destinations such private plans may be in the form of a master plan developed by the destination-management organisation (DMO) or a plan from a private developer for the building of new second-homes on a property. With a more neoliberal planning culture, the market has taken over most of the actual planning process, and voluntary planning agreements entered as instruments for the implementation of development plans. Initially, these agreements were not regulated by law, and act partly as a substitute and partly as a supplement to the plan- and building act, but from the turn of the millennium, such agreements have become more binding for the developer (Rasmussen, 2007, p. 334).

In addition, destination-management organizations (DMOs) have often developed their own spatial development plans, typically a mountain destination centered around a ski area with ski lifts. Such masterplans have no legal basis but have often been followed up in sub-plans to the spatial plan for the municipality. In the last couple of decades DMO master plans have become less common, as the DMOs have started to hold a weaker position in the planning and management of mountain destinations i Norway. Corporatisation of destination ownership also has resultet in the dismantling of DMOs.

The first laws for building and physcal planning, such as that of 1924, only applied to urban areas. The first law that applied not only to built-up areas but to the whole country, even the mountains, came in 1965. After that, all buildings and other developments had to get permission from the building authorities in the municipality, and the municipality was instructed to work out a spatial plan for the whole municipality, though the plan had to be approved by the regional and national authorities. The munipality was also asked to fund a planning board. Thus, this was the first planning law to introduce a national system for physical planning. The plan- and building act of 1965 brought along the need for skilled

physical planners in Norway's then 451 municipalities, and the first professorial chair of spatial planning was established in 1967, with the first training course the same year (Edvardsen, 2017).

With the new plan and building act of 1985, spatial planning became increasingly important. Several parts of the protocol for spatial planning was revised, but the major change was that municipalities now got the manage to approve the spatial plans themselves. The county and national level instead got the right to object, and the national government has the last word, if no agreement is reached. Thus, a municipality cannot approve a development or land use that the national government has opposed (Bugge, 2011).

There was still a strong belief in a national control with spatial planning locally and regionally. This was an expressed goal of coordination between national, regional (county) and local (municipality) plans, to balance and resolve the conflict between the demand for areas to develop and the increased need to protect the environment and secure natural resources (Holsen, 2017).

The newest planning- and building law from 2008 has an even greater focus on the spatial planning of rural and urban areas, mirroring the increased interest in developing these areas for production and recreation (Rønningen & Flemsaeter, 2016). With the new plan- and building act of 2008, which is still the one in use, the county councils were given a particular responsibility for guiding the municipalities in their planning through dedicated planning fora, though the organization and functioning of these has varied considerably (Langseth & Nilsen, 2015).

Long-term strategy for spatial planning (in the mountains)

The plan- and building act is today the main tool for physical planning in the mountain regions. Until 1965, there had been no building- or spatial planning law in Norway for rural areas. After the Second World War the building of cabins in the mountains increased rapidly. Erecting a building in the mountains was solely a matter between the landowner and the one who wanted to build, for example a cabin. Consequently, the cabins spread out over the mountains without plans or any control. In this period about 10 000 cabins or second homes were erected every year, which is double that being built now. Soon, the maps of mountain areas, showing cabins, began to look like somebody had shot at them from a distance with a shotgun. It was obvious that this would soon have severe consequences both for the nature and for leisure- and tourism activities in the Norwegian mountains. Therefore, with the 1960s also came a growing interest in

land use and the planning of the building activity in the mountains. Leading up to the new building- and planning act of 1965, the central government established Fjellteamet (the “Mountain Team”), a team of experts and researchers, with the task to develop models for building and developments in the mountains. Their contribution was published in the form of a book edited by Sømme and colleagues (1965) and it forwarded several models for spatial planning in the mountains. It was the increased development of cabins and tourist destinations that had created a push for nature protection and regulation of developments in the mountains. The “Mountain Team” saw the need to encourage leisure and the tourism industry in the mountain regions, but not without taking nature and landscape into consideration. Firstly, they wanted to curb the unrestrained building, puncturing every undisturbed expanse of mountain nature. One important object was to prevent much building of cabins above the tree line. The alpine zones (above the tree line) are especially attractive for hiking and skiing, and built-up structures are particularly visible having a negative affect on the experience. The Mountain Team also emphasized the importance of setting aside recreational areas and open spaces, even within a cabin- or second-home development.

The plan- and building act of 1985 continued the belief of a strong national control with the regional and local governments, for a sustainable, long term management of natural resources (see e.g. Holsen, 2017). The objective was therefore to be able to control and coordinate the spatial planning between the national, regional, and local levels (see e.g. Kleven, 2011). However, this political view changes gradually, and later strategy documents commissioned or prepared by the central government have, to a lesser degree, promoted sustainable principles for the building of second homes and tourism infrastructure in the mountains and they convey no clear direction for spatial planning in the mountain region (Skjeggedal et al., 2011). Skjeggedal et al. (2011) note that in later years the focus has mainly been to accommodate the leisure and vacation needs of the urban population. Accordingly, the government’s guide to the spatial planning of second-home developments provides no advice or directions to how these should be planned and developed to best contribute to the local community (Miljøverndepartementet, 2005). The government commissioned a report to identify status and challenges as a basis for a revision of the planning guide for second homes in the mountain regions. The report (Norsk Turistutvikling & Rambøll, 2018) was published three years ago, but a revision of the planning guide is still wanting. Here, new themes for the new guide are suggested, whereof one is sustainable development.

In 2003 the Storting (the “Norwegian Parliament”) forwarded a proposition (St. prp. nr. 65 2002–2003) referred to as Fjellteksten (the “Mountain Text”), which emphasizes a sustainable use of the mountain areas, especially for tourism. The plan and building act of 1965 had reflected a strong faith in strict governmental control with the physical as well as economic development of Norway, in order

to build the country in the aftermath of World War II (Holsen, 2000; Kleven, 2011). The direction in the Mountain Text, however, forebodes a movement in policies towards a deregulation or a more liberal use of the mountains, which becomes evident in the new plan- and building act of 2008. The plan- and building act of 1965 had had very little focus on the environment, neither had the law of 1985. With the law of 2008, sustainable development becomes the new mantra. It is said that this law is to promote a sustainable development for the good of everyone, the community, and future generations. However, there are very few references to environmental issues or instructions regarding such to be found in the new law.

Moreover, in the 1970s and 80s the locals were much more sceptical, or even hostile, towards developments in the mountains, especially second homes, but this attitude has gradually weakened or even changed to a positive one. The more positive outlook on the new planning of developments in the mountains has also contributed to the changes in the spatial-planning regime in rural municipalities (Ellingsen & Arnesen, 2018). One has, on the other hand, in the last two decades seen a considerable increase in land protection in the mountains, in the form of new or extended national parks and landscape-protection areas. These types of land-protection areas, however, are planned, established, and managed by the regional and central governments.

Public participation in spatial planning

The development of neoliberalism in strategic planning is seen in Norway as well as in other countries (Olesen, 2014; Davoudi, 2017). Though this was first described as a change in the urban planning process, it seems to hold also in rural and mountain regions. We see that private developers forward their own plans for second-home developments and ski slopes, for the local governments to decide on, with the municipality being willing to make concessions to attract investments.

We see a distinct shift towards more a private initiative in spatial planning in Norway. This is a consequence of the decentralization of power to the local level combined with a shared responsibility between public actors and private actors, as well as a more liberal planning processes, also seen in other countries, where private planning has gained wide acceptance in mountain regions and especially at mountain resorts (Lasanta et al., 2021). It has caused a trend towards deregulation, also in Norway, where the developing interest more often wins over the environmental considerations. Moreover, in this neoliberal planning culture,

the planning process has occurred piece-by-piece; the view of the greater whole is lost (Saglie & Harvold, 2010).

The plan- and building acts have mainly been designed for the implementation of public planning, and less for the later practice where the planning process has been left to the market, and where the market in reality carries out most of the planning process, also in detail (Fimreite et al., 2005). One may question if the current plan- and building act is suited for this new situation, where private planning has gained wide acceptance, and whether it provides the necessary instruments for governing today's setting. The old system of legally binding spatial plans has been replaced by new types of plans adjusted to a market-driven planning system, but which do not function as a strategic tool for managing land use and development (see also Mäntysalo et al., 2015; Lasanta et al., 2021). Consequently, long term planning, both urban and rural, has crumbled and is replaced by piece-by-piece decisions resulting from private plans and a belief in a free market. Holsen (2017) notes that the new market-driven planning has resulted in a planning system outside the planning legislation. The present planning legislation is well suited for strategic planning but is less suited for coordinating a plethora of smaller privately initiated plans and developments (Holsen, 2017).

Also, with increased interest for development in the mountain region the last couple of decades has seen new actor groups arrive on the planning scene, making the old conflict of interest between production and recreational use of the countryside even more visible (Teigen & Skjeggedal, 2015).

Main challenges of spatial planning of tourism destinations

The larger tourist destinations in the mountains of Norway are mainly situated within two-and-a-half hours drive from the main population centra; the Oslo (or Oslo-Fjord), Bergen, and Trondheim areas. A travel distance of three hours is considered the outer limit for weekend travel (see e.g. Arnesen et al., 2002, 2018). Most of the mountains in southern Norway lie within three hours drive or 200 km in air route (Figure 2) from one of the major urban areas. However, the preferred travel distance is decreasing, and many of the municipalities further away do not have the same opportunities to develop traditional and second-home tourism. This is reflected in the estimated number of new second homes to be built, where we see that the mountains nearest to the large population centra are expected to have the greatest number of second homes, which often outnumbers the number of permanent homes (Figure 3).

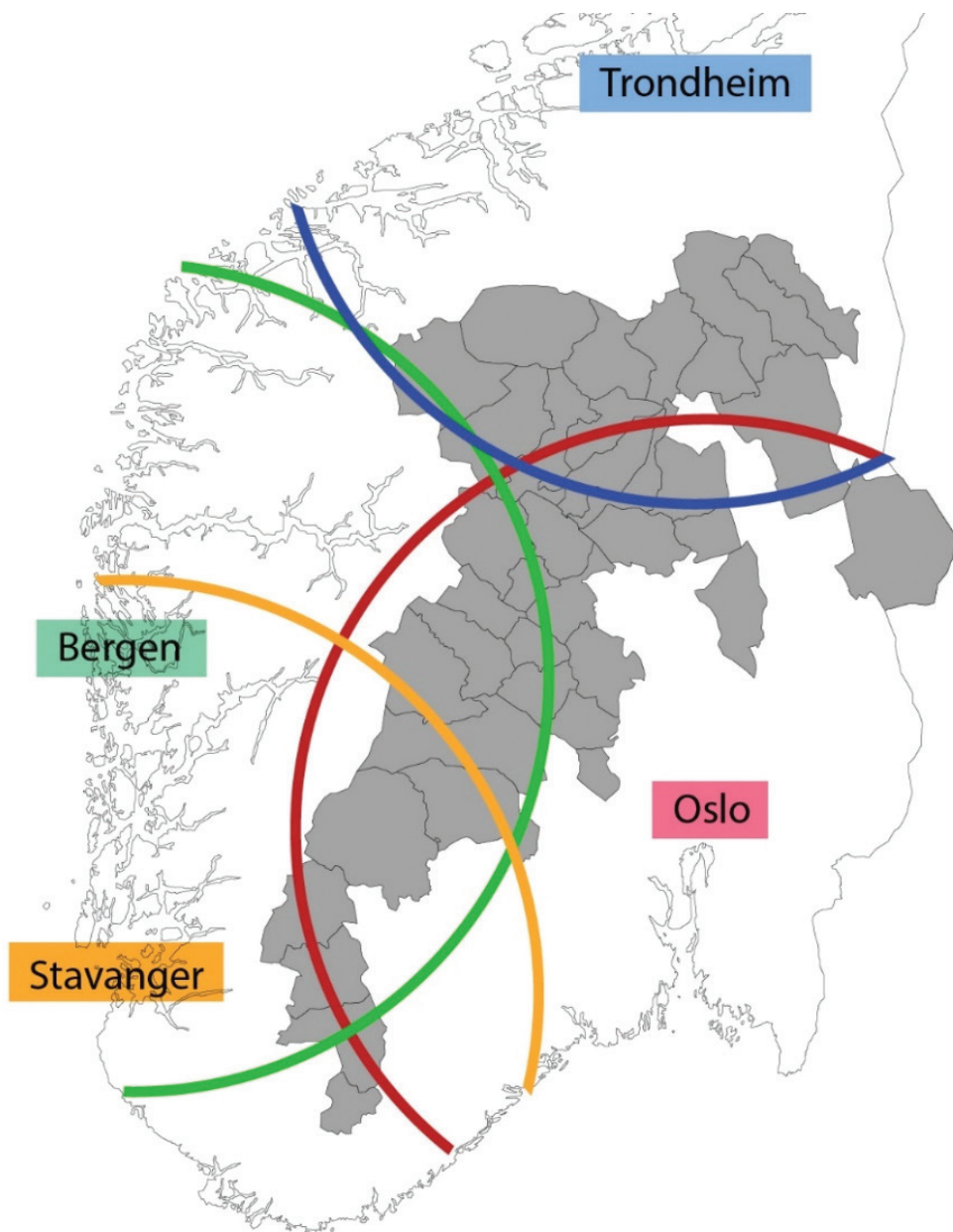


Figure 2. All municipalities in the main mountain region of south-eastern Norway (Flognfeldt & Tjørve, 2013), lie within 200 km (air route) from four main cities in Norway: Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim, and Stavanger, meaning that all mountain destinations in this region are within the weekend distance from the major urban areas in southern Norway
Source: author's own elaboration.

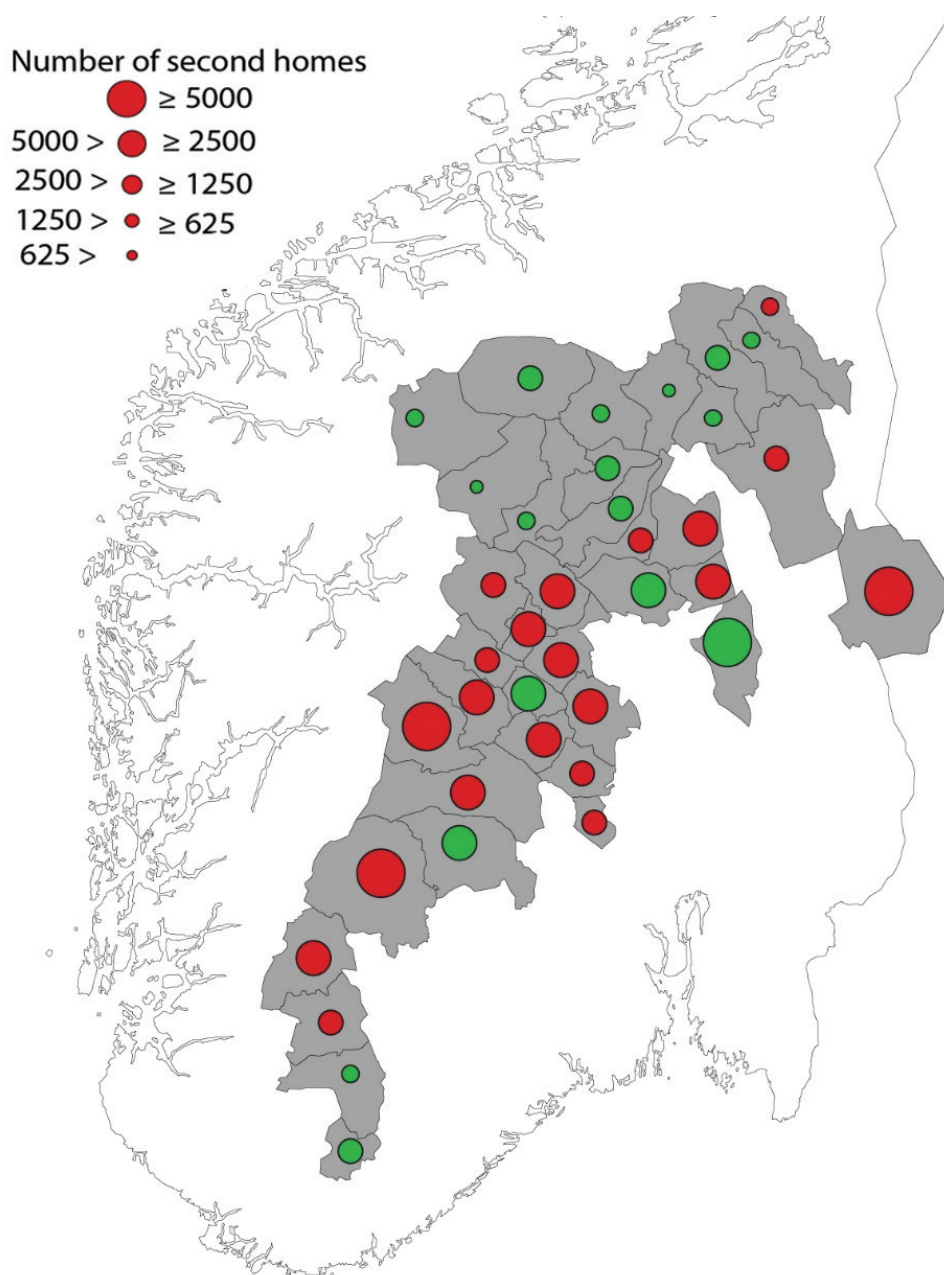


Figure 3. The 39 municipalities of the mountain region of south-eastern Norway has more than 100 000 second homes, mostly centred around mountain destinations and ski resorts. The red circles are for municipalities where there are more second homes than permanent homes and green circles are for municipalities where there are fewer second homes than permanent homes
Source: author's own elaboration data from SSB (Statistics Norway).

In addition to the issues raised above, as the old conflict between production and nature values, a number of new challenges have arisen in the spatial planning of mountain areas, and mainly those of tourist destinations and second-home developments. Historically there has been a conflict of interest between production and recreation in the mountains. Mountain tourism has in many ways stood on both sides of this conflict. On the one hand, second-home- and destination development demands the consumption of new areas, and on the other hand, the attraction “sold” to the tourists is recreation in unspoiled nature.

One obvious challenge is that of increased privatisation of the mountains. The expanding destination sprawl and second-home agglomerations represent a de facto privatisation of wilderness or nature (Ellingsen & Arnesen, 2018). In most second-home developments, it is only offered fixed point ground leases. This means that the property not only has a lease with a yearly rent, but also that the second-home owner does not have exclusive rights to the plot. The farmers still have the right to pasture, and the area still has the status as outlying land, retaining *Allemansretten* (the traditional Norwegian right of way), meaning that anybody can move freely between the second homes. In reality, however, people will not do so, meaning that the area in the development is lost as nature for recreation or tourism. Moreover, in areas with second homes, conflicts often develop between the second-home dwellers and owners of pasturing animals, typically cattle, sheep, or reindeer, or other agricultural- and logging interests (see e.g. Arnesen et al., 2012). This type of conflict has been increasing rapidly in many parts of the mountains, between the recreation tourists from urban areas and locals, who use the mountain areas as part of the resources for their farming. The conflict from pasturing of farm animals within the destination or between the cabins in developments is especially severe where second-home developments have grown into big sprawls covering the old summer-farm landscape and far beyond.

Another challenge is the puncturing of continuous wilderness or natural areas. In the discussion of where to place second-home developments, an important argument has been a just distribution of developments between landowners, who mostly are farmers who have use for extra incomes. Consequently, the municipality has allowed the planning of new developments according to who owns the land, rather than environmental or other arguments. The result has been a large number of developments, spread out to puncture large expanses of undisturbed wilderness. The guide of 2005 for the planning of second homes, however, calls attention to a sustainable use of areas rather than a “just” distribution between landowners (Miljøverndepartementet, 2005). This is primarily a conflict between the private developers (which may very well be locals) and the tourists and second-home dwellers who stand to lose the nature where they recreate.

However, this is not only a conflict about unspoiled areas and the protection of nature- and biodiversity. The big mountain destinations or second-home agglomerations also require water, which can result in proposals to expropriate

lakes or other water resources to secure the supply. Not only housing, but also snow production requires large quantities of water. This may cause conflicts with landowners, those with fishing rights or others who use waterways for recreation.

The consumption of other resources such as electricity, fossil fuels, and building materials, as well as the emission of greenhouse gases, are other issues. The mountain resorts and ski destinations require large quantities of energy. Moreover, the huge number of second homes also requires large power supplies, rendering it impossible for local communities to develop more environmentally friendly energy policies (Taugbøl et al., 2000). Facing increasing climate change and global warming, the production of artificial snow may cause ski resorts and mountain destinations to become even greater energy sinks.

The relocation of infrastructure and development may also arise as challenges. Climate change may cause changes in the location ski lifts and alpine areas, because of warmer climate and shorter winter seasons in lower altitudes. Another example of relocation issues is the centralising trend in mountain destinations which may cause commerce (trade and services) to move the community centre upwards in the direction of the tourist destination, causing a community centre shift (Ellingsen & Arnesen, 2018).

There is a host of other challenges that deserve attention, all of which affect the ecological, economic, and/or sociocultural sustainability. The purpose of the current project is to identify, shed light on and discuss how to resolve sustainability issues. The list of such is undoubtedly much longer than the issues mentioned here.

Summary

Summarizing, the biggest challenges of spatial planning for tourism destinations and second-home developments in the mountain regions in south-eastern Norway are the:

- conflict between production and protection of nature;
- private planning replacing public planning;
- lack of competence and capacity for planning at the municipality level;
- the present plan- and building act being partly outdated and unable to function as a regulatory tool in a planning regime increasingly handed over to the private and market forces, causing a piece-by-piece development of mountain areas with no totallity in the planning;
- two regimes for planning and management, one for protected land (where the county is the authority) and for other land areas (where the municipality is the authority);

- more private planning combined with lack of competence and capacity at the municipality level has fueled a neoliberal planning culture where the role of local and regional governments has gone from governance to governmental assistance to stimulate development (Fimreite et al., 2005);
- lack of planning at the local level prevents the development of strategies adapted to the location and conditions for tourism development in the municipality (for example, taking considerations such as distance to markets and the location and extent of commerce and services in the local community). This seems to affect the market for second homes in particular (see Figure 2 & 3).

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The spatial planning system in Poland. Focus on tourist destinations

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Country profile

Poland, officially named the Republic of Poland, is a country located in Central-Eastern Europe. The surface area of the country is about 312,705 km² (Table 1). With a population of 38 million people in 2021, Poland is the 5th most populated member of the European Union (EU). The capital and largest city is Warsaw, with a population of about 1.8 million people. Poland borders Lithuania and Russia (Kaliningrad Oblast) to the northeast, Belarus and Ukraine to the east, Slovakia and the Czechia to the south, and Germany to the west. Poland also has access to the Baltic Sea to the north.

Table 1. General country information

Name of country	Poland
Capital, population of the capital	Warsaw 1,863,056 (2020 – municipality) 3,095,025 (2021 – metro area)
Surface area	312,705 km ²
Total population	38,036,118 (2021 census)
Population density	121.64 inhabitants/km ²

Table 1 (cont.)

Population growth rate	-0.3% (2021); -0.2% (2020); 0% (2019)
Unemployment rate	5.8% (2021); 6.3% (2020); 5.2% (2019); 5.8% (2018)
Degree of urbanisation	60% (2021)
Human development index	0.876 (2021)
GDP	mln USD 674,048.27 (2021)
GDP per capita	USD 17,840.9 (2021)
GDP growth	5.7% (2021); -2.5% (2020); 4.7% (2019); 5.4% (2018)
Travel and tourism contribution to GDP	4.8% (2021); 2.6% (2020); 2.8% (2019)

Source: own elaboration based on: Statistics Poland, Eurostat, World Bank Data, World Travel & Tourism Council.

The three-tier administrative (territorial) division of Poland was introduced on 1 January 1999 and divided the territory of Poland into regions – voivodeships (*pol. województwo*), then into counties including communes that are cities with county status (*pol. powiat*) and communes (*pol. gmina*). In 2021, the administrative division of Poland included 16 voivodeships, 314 counties, 66 cities with county status, and 2477 communes (including 302 urban, 652 urban-rural and 1523 rural communes).

When trying to characterise and interpret the contemporary spatial dimension of some social and economic phenomena in Poland, it is necessary to emphasise the political changes that took place after 1989. That period has brought a radical transformation of many elements of Polish social and economic life (Bański, 2007). Since 1989, we may talk about the political transformation and transition from centrally-planned economy to market economy, which relates to an entirely new approach to land development. The most important changes after 1989 directly affecting land development in Poland included: a) the decentralisation of political authority and the rebirth of self-governance, b) the privatisation and decentralisation of the economy, c) the adjustment of legal regulations for spatial planning to the EU standards, d) obtaining access to structural funds and agricultural subsidies from the EU (Węclawowicz et al., 2006). The second half of the 1990s also marks the beginning of activities aimed at decentralising public administration. Consequently, at the beginning of 1999, the 49 existing voivodeships were replaced by 16 bigger ones divided into counties and communes. The reform was meant to introduce a transparent division of tasks of public and self-governance administration (Wendt, 2001, 2007).

The decentralisation process in Poland has made local government responsible for providing the inhabitants of each commune with services and goods that are directly related to their daily needs (Górecki & Kukołowicz, 2018). Communes became responsible for many tasks, including: a) spatial order, land use and

environmental protection, b) local organisation of traffic and local transport, c) water supply, sewage, waste removal, supply of electricity and heating, d) health care, e) public welfare, f) municipal housing, g) primary schools, kindergartens and other educational institutions, h) culture, i) recreational areas and sports facilities, j) open-air and indoor markets, k) green spaces and wooded areas, l) municipal cemeteries, and m) public order and fire departments (Regulski, 2003; Nam & Parsche, 2001).

Poland is a part of the EU tourism market with a constantly increasing number of visitors. In 2019, there were 19.2 thousand accommodation facilities in Poland, 41% of them with less than 10 beds. In 2019, 88.5 million foreigners came to Poland, including 21.2 million tourists and 67.4 million so-called one-day visitors. In total, 19 million overnight stays were provided to foreign tourists in 2019 (Statistical analysis: Tourism..., 2020).

The indicators most useful in assessing the actual interest of tourists in Polish regions are Defert and Charvat (Napierała et al., 2021). The highest density of tourist traffic in 2019 was recorded in the largest Polish metropolises: Kraków (9.1 thous.), Warsaw (9 thous.), Tricity (Gdańsk, Gdynia, Sopot – 6 thous.) and Wrocław (5.3 thous.). The most intensive tourist traffic was recorded in the most popular regions for leisure tourism – the western part of the Baltic coast (Figure 1).

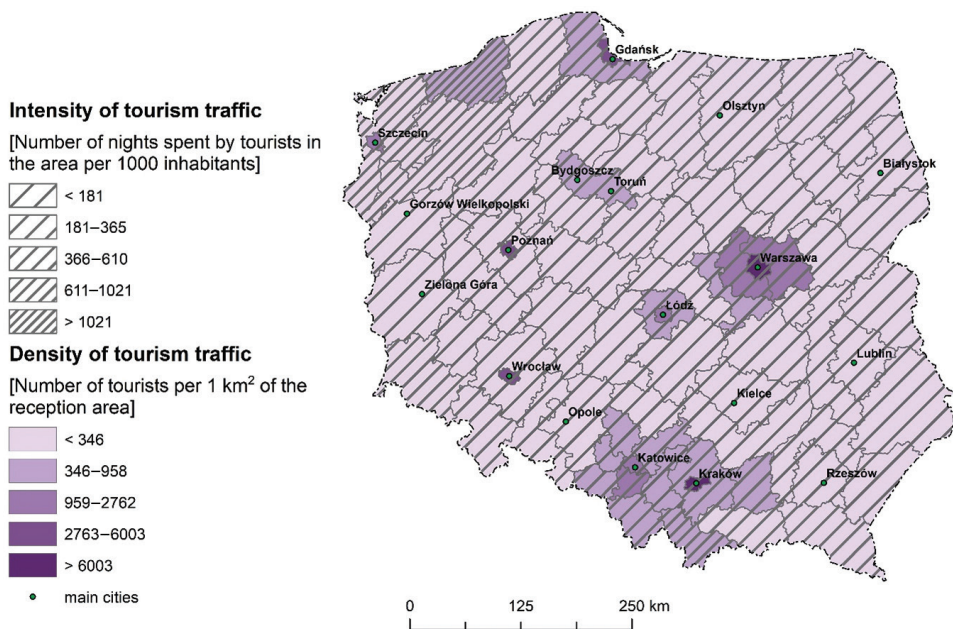


Figure 1. Tourism intensity and density in Poland in 2019
Source: own elaboration based on Statistics Poland data.

From the perspective of tourist service providers, especially accommodation facilities, longer stays of tourists are highly desirable. The interest in this type of tourism in Poland in 2019 was extremely varied in terms of space. Longer stays are favoured primarily by such forms of tourism as leisure or health tourism. Thus, some of the regions with the highest intensity of tourist traffic are also those with the longest stays (Napierała et al., 2021).

Legal regulations of spatial planning

The structure and condition of land development, and consequently, its value for tourism, depend on possibilities and limitations that a spatial planning system imposes on entities that have the power to create, use and transform natural and cultural resources. Now, Polish spatial planning system is undergoing a transformation, however, it is still legally framed by the *Act on spatial planning and development* (Dz.U. 2003, nr 80, poz. 717) that was passed in 2003. Although most of the original document remains in force, it was amended a few times, including the change in 2020, due to which it lost some of its crucial provisions. A new act on spatial development is to be introduced. Activities to establish such a document are underway at the ministerial level. Not much is known about the content of the act, with only occasional “leaks” making their way to the public.

To make this intricate situation of the planning system clearer, let us start with an outline of what happened from the 1990s to the moment of passing the act of 2003, and present some later pivotal changes against this backdrop. Along with a transformation of the country's socialist political and economic systems which began in the 1990s, there appeared a need to adapt the spatial planning system to the new reality. On the one hand, this new reality meant switching to political pluralism, empowerment of local communities and the restoration of democratic principles, while on the other, introducing market economy (Kolipiński, 2014), altered patterns of land use and increasing investment pressures. The first attempt to adjust planning took a form of a legal act passed in 1994 (Dz.U. 1994, nr 89, poz. 414 & 415). It was supposed to break with hierarchical planning and introduce new solutions and instruments, which among others, would strengthen the rights of property owners. However, there was another important issue, which was later considered disastrous for the whole land management. The act of 1994 invalidated communal general plans which had been drawn up before 1995, leaving local authorities with a 5-year period to create new local plans of spatial development. Initially intended as an impulse to update plans and adjust them to new circumstances, this proved to be a mistake in a long-term perspective.

Five years wasn't nearly enough to prepare new planning documents for the whole country. So, finally, 2003 saw a huge reform of spatial planning, which ultimately made the "old" plans expire, leaving spaces for development with insufficient planning control (Kolipiński, 2014).

The act of 2003 introduced a three-tier spatial planning system in Poland that consisted of national, regional, and local levels. They were supposed to complement one another, forming a compatible land management system (Table 2). The first two tiers were aimed at establishing the guidelines for land development patterns, as well as to secure implementation of national and regional sectoral policies. Communes, which remain the basic units in Polish territorial-administrative division, were tasked with shaping and conducting detailed spatial policies at the local level.

The major objective of spatial planning is to achieve a state of "spatial order", which the legislator defines as 'such an arrangement of space that creates a harmonious whole and takes into account all functional, socio-economic, environmental, cultural and aesthetic conditions, as well as requirements in orderly relations' (Dz.U. 2003, nr 80, poz. 717, 2nd article, 1st point).

The act of 2003 specified a few basic elements that had to be considered in the planning process. According to the 1st article and 2nd point of this document, those were the requirements of: (1) spatial order, including town planning and architecture; (2) architectural and landscape values; (3) environmental protection, including water, forest and agricultural land; (4) protection of cultural heritage, monuments and contemporary cultural goods; (5) protection of people's health and safety, as well as the safety of their properties, also the needs of people with disabilities; (6) economic values of space and (7) ownership; (8) the needs of state defence and security; and, finally, (9) the needs of public interest.

Later amendments to the act also added to this list such issues as: (10) the needs for the development of technical infrastructure (broadband networks in particular); (11) ensuring public participation in a planning processes regarding key documents mentioned in table 2, this requirement addressed electronic forms of communication in particular; (12) maintaining the receptiveness and transparency of planning procedures; and (13) the need to ensure adequate quantity and quality of water for the population. Moreover, there was a change in naming regarding point 5 – instead of 'people with disabilities', 'people with special needs' were addressed.

According to the Act of 2003, it was the Centre for Strategic Studies that was obliged to prepare the outline for spatial development of the state, called the concept of spatial development of the country (CSDC). Before it was closed (in 2006), the Centre had been a state organisational unit that assisted the Council of Ministers in such fields as: forecasting, strategic programming, socio-economic and spatial development at the national level. The document which used to frame spatial planning at lower levels of territorial governance is more widely discussed in the following section of this document (Long-term strategy for spatial planning).

Table 2. Spatial planning system in Poland and its evolution between March 2003 and May 2021

Feature	Level		
	national	regional	local
Administrative unit	country	Voivodeship	commune
1	2	3	4
Key planning and analytic documents and their short description	<ul style="list-style-type: none">the concept of spatial development of the country (CSDC): defines conditions, aims and directions of sustainable development of the country, as well as actions which are necessary to achieve them	<ul style="list-style-type: none">regional (voivodeship) spatial development plan: translates the arrangements adopted in regional development strategy and specifies crucial natural resources and elements of land development in the region;<u>regional landscape audit: identifies landscapes within the voivodeship, determines their distinctive features, evaluates them and recommends actions</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">the study of determinants and directions of land development: defines principles of communal spatial policy, including specification of local zoning rules;local spatial development plan: determines land use structure and possibilities for land development, including detailed parameters for buildings;<u>landscape resolution: establishes the rules and conditions for location of small architecture objects, billboards and other advertising devices, and fences; clarifies their parameters, quality standards and types of building materials from which they can be made</u>

Table 2 (cont.)

1	2	3	4
Responsible legislative bodies and their main tasks regarding planning	Parliament (Sejm and Senat): enacts legal acts; controls and appoints constitutional organs of the state and influences EU legislation; minister responsible for construction, spatial and housing management: coordinates compliance of regional plans with the CSDC; prepares periodic reports on the state spatial development; conducts cooperation on spatial development regarding cross-border areas; Government Centre for Strategic Studies: prepares CSDC	regional assembly (sejmik województwa): initiates and adopts regional spatial development plan and <u>landscape audit for the voivodeship</u> ; acknowledges annual reports on changes in regional land development as well as on the assessment of the implementation of public purpose investments of supralocal importance	communal council: initiates and adopts the study of determinants and directions of land development, local spatial development plans, as well as <u>landscape resolutions</u>
Responsible executive body and its main tasks for planning	minister responsible for construction, spatial and housing management: coordinates the compliance of regional land development plans with the concept of spatial development of the country; conducts cross-border cooperation in the field of spatial development (in cooperation with the President of government Centre for Strategic Studies); prepares periodic reports on the state of spatial development in the country	voivodeship marshal: prepares regional spatial development plan <u>and landscape audit</u> ; conducts studies and analyses, as well as develops concepts and programmes which relate to areas and problems of spatial development	commune head, mayor or president (according to the population of a commune): announces the initiation of above-mentioned resolution processes; informs the relevant authorities (institutions); prepares drafts, obtains opinions and makes other necessary arrangements in this respect; makes the documents available for public inspection; consults the compliance of the documents with other regulations with the regional administrative authority

Key: elements added by amendments between 2003 and 2020; elements removed by the amendment of 2020
Source: elaboration based on *Ustawa z dnia 27 marca...* and its further amendments (Dz.U. 2003, nr 80, poz. 717).

At the regional level, spatial planning is based on *spatial development plans* – one for each of 16 Polish voivodeships. Plans are approved by self-governing regional assembly, but it is the marshal's responsibility to initiate and organise the drafting of such a document. The marshal is the head executive body of the regional government and the chairman of the voivodeship board. On the other hand, there is also a voivode (*pol. wojewoda*) who represents the central government in the region and performs various control functions, including the one referring to spatial planning.

In its original form (valid before the amendment of 2020), the *regional spatial development plan* took into account both *regional development strategies* and the *concept of spatial development of the country*. It consisted of a descriptive and graphic parts. In its main core, basic elements of regional land development are specified (settlement system, metropolitan areas and key infrastructural networks, environmental protection areas, as well as crucial cultural heritage objects, public purpose investments and those of supra-local importance, in particular prohibited areas, areas requiring support and experiencing problems, and exposed to flooding). The preparation of *the plan* is accompanied by the development of an environmental impact forecast, as well as wide-ranging consultations with a variety of administrative bodies and the public.

An important extension of the scope of spatial planning at the regional level of territorial administration was introduced in 2015. Long-awaited instruments allowing for more effective protection (on a voluntary basis) of the quality of Polish landscape were legally sanctioned then. The Parliament approved a new document, which altered provisions of other legal acts. Customarily called 'the landscape act', it was aimed at taming the progressing visual disorder, and outdoor advertising in particular (Dz.U. 2015, poz. 774). Local governments were offered more effective ways for setting the rules and technical parameters for locating advertising media, fences and other small architectural objects. Furthermore, new financial burdens remain now at the disposition of the authorities, which may support preventing public space from being "flooded" by uncontrolled advertising. So far, few local governments have fully succeeded in creating local advertising codes, as their resolutions were often appealed against and, finally, repealed due to restricting the freedom of economic activity, including retrospective or ambiguous provisions that enabled free interpretation, violating the competences of other administrative entities, etc. (Masierek & Pieleśiak, 2018).

In the landscape act, another set of crucial provisions was incorporated to reinforce protective actions, this time focussing on regional landscape. At least once every twenty years, regional self-governing authorities are to prepare a *landscape audit*. On the one hand, such an audit is supposed to identify distinctively attractive areas, for which particular attention should be paid. On the other, it concerns threats to their authenticity and integrity, along with offering recommendations on indispensable protective actions. According to the Council of Ministers' regulation of 2019 (Dz.U. 2019, poz. 394), the landscape audit consists of three parts (paragraph 4, point 1):

1. descriptive and tabular section, including general information about the region, identification and classification of landscapes, their characteristics and evaluation; a list of priority landscapes (supplemented by a catalogue of local architectural forms of buildings), key protected areas, threats and recommendations;
2. a graphic part with maps illustrating the spatial distribution of landscapes mentioned above;
3. additional documentation concerning methodology, source materials, report on public consultations and survey results (if applicable), as well as digitised spatial data.

The legislator urged regional authorities to prepare audits within 3 years after the implementation of the landscape act. However, this deadline was impossible to meet due to longer than expected waiting period for executive regulations. At the moment, substantial work is carried all around the country in order to evaluate landscapes and prepare audits.

The change that occurred in 2015 also applied to metropolitan planning. Before, in *The act on spatial planning and development*, there was only a vague mention that metropolitan areas (defined as areas with their functional hinterlands, specified in the concept of spatial development of the country) should adopt spatial development plans, that would remain parts of *The regional spatial development plan*. That issue, however, wasn't sufficiently specified by provisions in other documents, which made such a planning dimension insignificant in practice. For a few years of waiting for *The Concept of Spatial Development of the Country*, it has been discussed how metropolitan cores ought to be identified and their hinterland delimited, what their scope of tasks should be, including those related to spatial planning etc. According to the Act of 2014 which amended the rules for development policy (Dz.U. 2014, poz. 379) more attention was paid to urban functional areas, which were defined as the areas 'of a special phenomenon in the field of spatial management or the occurrence of spatial conflicts, constituting a compact spatial arrangement consisting of functionally related areas. Characterised by common conditions and planned uniform development goals' (2nd article, point 6a). Furthermore, from that time on, instead of 'metropolitan areas', the term 'urban functional areas of voivodeship centres' was to be used. It was *The act of 2015 on metropolitan unions* (Dz.U. 2015, poz. 1777) that was perceived as 'a breakthrough', at least temporarily, because it introduced a new planning tool – a *Framework study of conditions for the directions of spatial development of a metropolitan union* (Mikuła, 2019). Metropolitan unions were completely new organisational forms in spatial division of the country. In fact, it was not a true breakthrough, as there was only one 'metropolitan union' formally established (in Upper Silesia) instead of several that should have been created. Finally, provisions on metropolitan planning were altered by the amendment of the *Act on the principles of development policy* of 2020. The framework document (metropolitan study) no longer exists in the legal system and planning practice.

In a four-year perspective, supra-local planning will be transformed even more, according to what the government has recently announced. Regional spatial planning is supposed to be utterly combined with socio-economic programming, which on the other hand will be adjusted to the distribution of EU funds. *Regional spatial development plans* will expire, being replaced by regional development strategies in which spatial aspect are to be developed substantially, at least at the declarative level.

Nonetheless, extremely important documents for the contemporary spatial planning system in Poland are elaborated at the local level. Those are: *the study of determinants and directions of land development* and *the local spatial development plan*. Both are prepared by communal executive authorities and approved by the communal council. First, however, draft documents are consulted with administrative organs and other crucial entities (neighbouring communes, environmental and heritage protection, military, mining, healthcare organs etc.), as well as local communities. There is an obligation to make such a document publicly available, enabling submitting concerns and motions for change before the final resolution is made.

The study is an obligatory document, which regards the whole area of each commune. The act on spatial planning clearly states that it is not an act of law, which means that administrative decisions, such as building permissions may not be issued directly based on its provisions. However, those provisions are binding for developing *local spatial development plans*, which, on the other hand, are acts of local law. Both kinds of mentioned documents, after their approval, are obligatorily made accessible to the public. Both consist of descriptive and cartographic parts, too.

In the diagnostic part, which must be included in *the study*, there are conditions and possibilities for the development of each commune, resulting from current state and the need to protect its underground water, mineral resources, and other resources of the natural environment; cultural heritage and landscape; agricultural and forestry space, and spatial order in general. As far as social issues are concerned, the law obliges planners to analyse demographic trends, the quality of life, as well as safety of people and their properties. That point regards in particular threats of flooding, those of geologic origin and related to the extraction of raw materials (areas of mining damage). Furthermore, communal financial capabilities, land use and land development (including infrastructural networks and possibilities for their development, as well as estimated absorbency of the area for development) are taken into consideration. All this is supplemented with the examination of land ownership structure. In the part which delineates new directions of development, particular attention is paid to widely understood protected areas, as well as to the areas intended to become building lands. For the latter category, defining precise indicators for land use and building objects is indispensable. Notably, this refers to areas where commercial facilities with sales area exceeding 2,000 square meters are to be located. Apart from the issues already mentioned, identification and delimitation of degraded areas, and those

in need of ‘transformation, rehabilitation, reclamation or remediation’ are no less important elements of *the study*.

The second key planning tool for the communal level is the *local spatial development plan*. Contrary to the *study*, this document is made on voluntary basis. It may, but doesn't have to cover the whole area of a territorial unit. There are some obligations, e.g. such a plan must be prepared for a cultural park (which is a form of protecting cultural heritage), however, in other cases local authorities may pass a resolution regarding single plots only.

The plan is the most detailed document, as the scale for its cartographic elaboration is 1:1000 (1:500 or 1:2000 in exceptional cases). It contains information on intended land use with lines delimiting different use and precise development principles for each area, including land development indicators, and other characteristics (min-max development intensity; share of biologically active areas; max building height, wall and roofing colours; location of construction objects in relation to roads and boundaries of adjacent real estate; min vehicle parking space, etc.). Furthermore, there are rules for consolidation and division of real estate, minimum area of newly separated building plots, as well as restrictions on land use, such as prohibitions for buildings. For areas in temporary use, the extent and end-date of such use are clarified. The document also specifies all kinds of protected areas, as well as the rules of their use. Another important element regards the principles for constructing or modernising technical infrastructure. As for other obligations worth emphasising, *the local spatial development plan* indicates areas for rehabilitation/reclamation, and areas requiring amalgamations or divisions of real estate, as well as locations of big commercial facilities and public purpose investments.

Even though *the local spatial development plan* is a crucial tool for taming the implementation of investments and land use forms that are inconsistent with contemporary planning principles and misuse local conditions, only 1/3 of the country is covered by such documents. In 2019, the most advanced planning outcomes in this respect were observed in the South-Western part of the country (regions of Dolny and Górny Śląsk, as well as Małopolska). On the other hand, in kujawsko-pomorskie, lubuskie and podkarpackie voivodeships, the share of areas covered by plans didn't exceed 10% (Table 3).

Table 3. Shares of the area [%] covered by the valid local spatial development plans in the total voivodeship area between 2010 and 2019

Voivodeship	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Dolnośląskie	53.5	55.4	56.9	58.9	59.2	60.3	62.1	63.3	64.5	64.8
Kujawsko-pomorskie	3.8	4.6	4.9	5.2	5.4	5.9	6.3	6.6	7.1	7.3
Lubelskie	56.2	57.0	58.0	57.9	57.6	57.7	57.1	56.4	56.5	56.7

Table 3 (cont.)

Voivodeship	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Lubuskie	6.3	7.0	7,4	8.1	8.3	8.4	8.9	9.3	9.3	9.5
Łódzkie	29.0	28.8	29.0	30.9	31.7	32.0	32.4	32.7	32.8	33.0
Małopolskie	61.8	64.5	65.5	66.1	66.3	66.4	66.4	66.9	67.7	68.0
Mazowieckie	28.9	29.2	29.5	29.9	31.0	31.3	31.6	32.2	32.5	33.4
Opolskie	36.3	35.5	37.4	39.0	40.0	39.9	40.5	41.3	40.5	41.4
Podkarpackie	7.0	7.8	7.9	8.1	8.5	8.7	8.7	8.9	9.1	9.1
Podlaskie	14.3	14.5	14.9	16.5	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.8	16.2	16.3
Pomorskie	14.7	15.6	16,9	17.8	19.0	19.9	20.2	20.5	20.7	21.0
Śląskie	61.7	63.5	63.4	65.3	65.7	66.4	68.5	69.4	71.2	71.5
Świętokrzyskie	21.1	21.7	24.8	27.1	28.2	29.8	30.7	30.8	31.1	31.1
Warmińsko-mazurskie	11.5	11.8	12.2	11.9	12.1	12.5	12.9	13.1	13.4	14.6
Wielkopolskie	16.1	16.8	17.3	17.8	18.3	19.1	20.0	20.4	20.8	21.1
Zachodniopomorskie	15.6	16.4	17.6	18.1	18.4	19.0	19.1	19.3	20.2	20.7

Source: Statistics Poland, Local Data Bank.

If there is no valid *local spatial development plan*, Polish planning system provides that conditions for and forms of land development are determined by: (1) *a decision on the location of a public purpose investment*, or (2) *a decision on development conditions*. The latter of those procedures is often discussed within the planning community, as it gives considerable freedom in developing land.

According to the ministerial orders (Dz.U. 2003, nr 164, poz. 1588, paragraphs 3–4), when valid *spatial development plan* isn't available, to establish the requirements for any new development, a locally competent authority (commune head, mayor or city president) must designate the area surrounding the plot, within which functions and features of land development must be analysed. This area should be delimited in a distance of at least 3 times the width of the plot, but no less than 50 metres. Except for what such an analysis of the surrounding development may alter, new buildings are generally allowed to be located in accordance with the longitudinal line of development of adjacent plots. Analogously, the building intensity index, roof geometry, height of the upper edge and width of front elevation are determined, however a tolerance for the latter parameter of 20% is acceptable. Finally, an investor receives an official document which, again, consists of descriptive and graphic parts. If its provisions are in accordance with the construction project, one may apply for a building permit to a competent authority, which in this case is a county governor. County (powiat) is an administrative unit consolidating a few communities. At the moment, except for issuing building permits, it has no relevance for the Polish planning system.

Some spatial planning activities in communes are realised by strategic documents at a local level. The commune development strategy is one of the key documents that every local government unit should have. It defines the directions of the commune's development for the next few years. The document should indicate the directions of social, economic and spatial development. It also plays the role of involving the local community in the commune's affairs, for example through the consultation process or evaluation of the activities of local government officials (Kłodziński, 2009).

Apart from generally applicable law on spatial planning, which was outlined above, there is another crucial legislative document that has a potential to introduce spatial order in society, economy and land development, namely the *Act on revitalisation* (Dz.U. 2015, poz. 1890). Since approving this document in 2015, the rules, as well as the mode, implementation and evaluation of revitalisation activities have been somewhat standardised and attributed to communal authorities. The legislator states that 'revitalisation is a process of recovering degraded areas from a state of crisis, and it's carried out in a comprehensive manner, through integrated activities for the local community, space and economy'. Those activities are 'territorially concentrated' and 'carried out by revitalisation stakeholders based on the communal revitalisation programme' (article 2, point 1). The delimitation of degraded areas and preparation of the revitalisation programme are voluntary, as first they require the adoption of relevant resolutions by the communal council (on its own initiative or at the request of commune head, mayor or city president). The communal revitalisation programme is prepared by executive authorities and, once it has been passed, becomes the act of local law. Among the requirements for the content of this document, there are: a detailed diagnosis of the area to be regenerated and its crisis state; description of links to planning and strategic documents; post-regeneration 'vision'; as well as revitalisation aims and scope, along with a list of projects to be implemented. Furthermore, management, financing, monitoring and evaluation are listed as obligatory components. And, finally, a requirement for linking implementation of the plan with changes in local spatial planning was expressed.

To make communal regeneration efforts more fruitful and 'in line' with contemporarily preferred renewal approach, in 2015–2019 the Ministry of Investment and Development launched a grant support system. Almost 130 million PLN (29 million EUR at the current rate) were spent on subsidising preparation of regeneration programmes, pilot projects and model implementation. Those funds were to a large extent co-financed by the EU Cohesion Fund. Communal budgets are not capable enough for such capital-intensive processes and rely heavily on EU funding (Masierek, 2021). This factor, along with a great demand for revitalisation activities due to many years of investment failures, result in insufficient regeneration pace and effects.

Revitalisation as a process of recovering an area from a crisis state can be implemented by all communes in Poland. In 2017, the interest in revitalisation programmes was strongly diversified between voivodeships (Figure 2). The largest percentage of communes was involved in revitalisation processes in Świętokrzyskie voivodeship, where as many as 81% of communes had an independent revitalisation program. Over 70% of communes had such a document in the Małopolskie, Kujawsko-Pomorskie and Dolnośląskie voivodeships. In 2017, the smallest share of communes (24%) participated in the revitalisation processes in the Pomorskie voivodeship (Statistical data..., 2018).

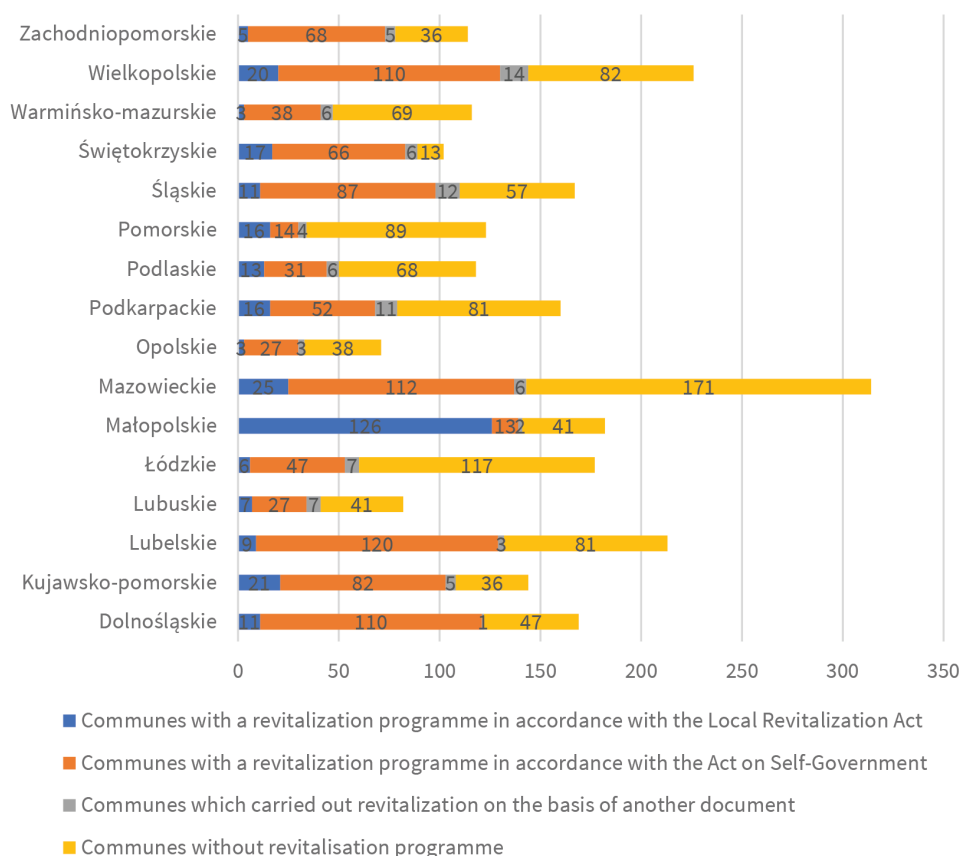


Figure 2. Number of communes implementing the revitalisation programme by voivodeship in Poland in 2017

Source: own elaboration based on Statistics Poland, Local Data Bank.

Long-term strategy for spatial planning

Until the amendment of 2020, the concept of spatial development of the country was the major strategic document in the field of planning. The last document of this type (*Koncepcja Przestrzennego Zagospodarowania...*, 2011) was passed in 2011. It was supposed to set the framework for spatial development in a twenty-year perspective – until 2030. Its major premise was to implement more cohesive integrated planning to bind both spatial and socio-economic planning objectives. The novelty of this approach was more evident focus on territorial integration, not only within the country, but also external cohesion on basis of cross-border areas. Polish spatial policy was meant to gain substantial coordinating power against sectoral policies across the country, as well as become more ‘European’ in terms of planning. Another crucial feature was the inclusion in *The Concept of Spatial Development of the Country 2030* of investment priorities, and designating entities responsible for their implementation.

As for the objectives formulated in the document, there were six of them:

1. increasing the competitiveness of major cities (urban centres), which meant maintaining the contemporary polycentric structure of Polish settlement system while strengthening its functional integration;
2. improving internal cohesion of the country and balancing its development; that was to be achieved by supporting the aforementioned functional integration, creating opportunities for spreading development factors, multifunctional rural development, as well as effective use of the potential hidden within each territory across the country;
3. providing higher accessibility within the country due to new infrastructural investments in transport and telecommunications; it was stated in the document that increased accessibility applied to different territorial scales;
4. shaping spatial structures in a way that allows for maintaining high-quality natural environment, which also applied to landscape values;
5. increasing the durability of spatial structures within the country; this objective applied to the preparedness for natural hazards, providing energy security, and supporting state defence capabilities;
6. restoration and consolidation of the spatial order.

The last objective mentioned above requires particular attention, as achieving spatial order has so far remained the main objective for all levels and dimensions of planning in Poland. Among the major negative phenomena to be tackled in this field, the document mentioned segregation-related social problems, dispersion of land development (suburban development, and development along the roads in particular, resulting in increasing economic costs of infrastructural maintenance and inadequate provision of services), as well as high security risk within floodplains. There were also other issues mentioned, such as the

fragmentation of ecological systems, low quality of public space and architectural objects, and the overall landscape degradation.

As for the reasons for those unfavourable phenomena and processes manifested across Poland, CSDC identified (pp. 160–165):

1. a failure of the management system, which was attributed to: insufficient control; defective division of power in creating local acts of law; incoherent spatial and socio-economic planning, as well as regional authorities' insufficient competences regarding protection of public interest of supra-local importance;
2. institutional disintegration of the spatial planning system – institutions were dispersed, staff flows hindered stable planning; there was no effective multi-faceted coordination and monitoring; law execution was weak, and on the top of that, public entities and private investors usually couldn't find solutions that would suit all partners;
3. gaps in the system of planning acts, which mainly meant the lack of coordination between planning documents and development strategies; furthermore, deficiencies in planning hierarchisation, as well as in the coverage with planning documents, were criticised.

Polish planning system was constructed in a way that ensured compatibility of provisions in planning acts established at regional and local levels with provisions in key documents of the higher level of administration. Therefore, for a few years, *The Concept of Spatial Planning of the Country 2030* set the rules and directions for both, regional and local planning. However, it had lost this over in 2020, as the amendment of the *Act on the principles of development policy* (Dz.U. 2020, poz. 1378) came into force. A rationale for this change was a need to move from long-term to medium-term planning and introduce a new system of strategic documents. According to the announcement of the Ministry of Funds and Regional Policy that was aimed at preparing the Polish legal system for the forthcoming distribution of EU funds. The official narrative perceived this act also as a way to strengthen the position of local self-governments, as well as more effectively linking spatial planning with socio-economic planning and integrative planning in general. The amendment introduced *The Concept of Country Development* to the planning system (but it has yet to be elaborated on) to replace former key strategic documents. Those were *The Long-Term National Development Strategy* (focused on society and economy, and spatial development of the country), and *The Concept of Spatial Development of the Country 2030*. In fact, this change in the policy has temporarily (it's not obvious for how long) created a gap at a national level of spatial planning.

In 2020 another alteration was announced. The authorities that issue planning documents were tasked with creating digital planning data according to further specifications. Not only does this responsibility apply to new plans, but also to those already existing.

Responsibility for tourism at governmental level has been changing since 1989 when the economic transition processes formally started. Tourism has never been a responsibility of a separate ministry of Polish Government. The Department of Tourism was affiliated with ministries related to national economy, development or sport. Since October 7, 2020, the Department of Tourism has operated within the structure of Ministry of Economic Development, Labour and Technology. Decisions and initiatives of this ministry are consulted with the Tourism Experts Council, established on January 28, 2021. The main responsibility of the Council is to consult governmental systemic solutions and strategic decisions or initiatives related to tourism, including sustainable development, achieving competitive advantage by Poland as a tourism destination on the international market, and creating innovative tourism products. Moreover, the council indirectly supports the Polish Parliament by issuing opinions and presenting proposals of legislative initiatives in the field of tourism.

Promoting Poland as a tourism destination is the main responsibility of one of governmental agencies, the Polish Tourism Organisation, established on June 25, 1999. This governmental agency has foreign branches in 14 countries all over the world, namely Austria, Belgium, China, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, and United States of America. The agency cooperates with independent, regional and local destination management organisations in Poland. The Polish Tourism Organisation operates the following departments: Poland Convention Bureau, Department of Strategy and Marketing, Department of National Tourism Promotion, Department of Internet Communication.

It should be emphasised, that the authorities of every Polish administrative region (voivodeship) have their own regional tourism organisations. At the local level, communes are involved in tourism in various ways. The most common form of such involvement in tourism development is the operation and support for local tourism organisations, usually within the Polish Tourist Information System, supported by the Polish Tourism Organisation at the national level. Apart from these, there are also positions or departments responsible for tourism and promotion in the structures of Polish communal offices. Moreover, many rural tourism development goals are in the field of interest of Local Action Groups created and supported by LEADER, and LEADER+ programme.

It must be emphasised that there is no binding tourism development strategy at the national level. However, tourism planning currently appears in 2 types of documents: strategic – established at the national level (Strategy for Responsible Development 2020 (with a perspective until 2030), and The Concept of Spatial Development of the Country 2030), operational – established at the regional level, consulted at the national level, and negotiated at the European level (so-called Regional Operational Programmes). However, some operational goals were defined in 2015 in the Programme for Tourism Development until

2020. The main goal of this programme was to identify, build and market leading offers from outstanding Polish tourism brands. Additionally, four operational objectives have been formulated, 1) development of innovation, attractiveness and quality of tourist services and products as a factor of competitive economy; 2) strengthening social activity and entrepreneurship in the tourism sector, and increasing the competences of human resources; 3) promotion of priority areas of tourism products of the country and regions, as well as economic specialisations based on tourism; 4) development and modernisation of space for the development of tourism and tourist infrastructure, while maintaining the principles of sustainable development and environmental protection regulations.

Polish government launched the Strategy for Responsible Development 2020 (with a perspective until 2030) in 2017. The strategy is targeting Poland as an attractive, safe, accessible and open tourism destination utilising both its cultural and natural resources sustainably. One of the strategic projects proposed in the document is the House of Polish Tourism Territorial Brands. The project is implemented to coordinate tourism policies and actions: creating systematic and comprehensive solutions related to tourism, and providing organisational, financial and legal tools for the integration, coordination, commercialisation and internationalisation of Polish tourism products. The goals of the project are integrated with the general concepts of development of the country, including non-verbalised spatial justice and focusing on rural areas, where tourism is identified as a pro-development, non-agricultural function. In particular, the development of links between tourism and health care systems is suggested in the Strategy for Responsible Development 2020. Thus, medical, SPA and wellness tourism is considered a competitive tourism product of Polish economy.

It must be emphasised that the Concept of Spatial Development of the Country 2030 is a core strategy for spatial planning policy in Poland at the national level, and for regulating the regional ones. The strategy addresses tourism as one of the metropolitan functions (meetings, incentives, congresses and events). Tourism has also been identified as a pro-development, non-agricultural function in rural areas. Interestingly, tourism is targeted by the Concept of Spatial Development of the Country 2030 as a social phenomenon focussed on local and regional culture and tradition, stimulating national and regional identity of both inhabitants and migrants. On the other hand, potential conflicts between tourism development and cultural and environmental protection are considered in the Concept of Spatial Development of the Country 2030, which mentions, among others, the inequalities in access to tourism services and attractions, or the progressive fragmentation of natural space.

Regional Operational Programmes are the main tool addressing regional development (including tourism) in Poland, similar to other member countries in the European Union. Regional Operational Programmes are granted mainly by

the European Fund for Regional Development (EFRD), the European Social Fund (ESF), and state funds. It must be emphasised that approximately one fourth of European financial support for Poland was allocated to ROPs.

Tourism development is the object of European Union policy and financial support. It should be emphasised that a total of 4,128 projects related to tourism, lodging and F&B services were supported by European grants in Poland in the years 2014–2020. The total value of these projects equals EUR 2,799,569,493.06 and includes EUR 1,611,616,427.59 of European financial support.

Public participation in spatial planning

Social participation in spatial planning means a process in which both the authorities and the inhabitants cooperate in the preparation of plans, the implementation of specific policies, as well as in decision-making. In the case of spatial planning, the applicable legal provisions (including the Act on spatial planning and development) ensure public participation in the process of drawing up individual planning documents, mainly by imposing the obligation to open them for public consultation on the authorities drawing up these documents. The legally established obligation to organise consultations, as well as their statutory forms and scope, however, will not serve their purpose if they are not carried out in an appropriate manner. In the broadly understood investment process, social participation at the stage of preparing a local study/plan is a significant opportunity for direct contact between local government authorities and the public (Dobosz-Mucha et al., 2018).

In Polish law, provisions relating to social participation are included in the Act on spatial development planning (Dz.U. 2003, nr 80, poz. 717). Although this term does not appear in the act itself, it defines activities related to social participation in the field of planning procedures. These procedures concern the preparation of a draft study of the conditions and directions for the development of the commune and the local spatial development plan (Table 4). Unfortunately, the regulations were not precisely defined, so they may be easily circumvented. Critical assessment should be made of the lack of clear regulations as to the manner of settling applications, especially comments, notifying interested parties about it. Moreover, the opportunity to learn about the assumptions of draft planning acts and to submit one's own proposals for spatial solutions increases the effectiveness of the spatial management method chosen by public administration bodies. The lack of information on the content of the study and the local plan fosters distrust for planning plans.

Table 4. Main public participation tools used in spatial planning in Poland

Type of spatial planning document	Law procedures	Public participation tools
Study of the conditions and directions of spatial development	The planning procedure begins with the acceptance by the communal council resolution to start the preparation of a study. Then, the mayor announces that the communal council has adopted such a resolution, at the same time informing about the form, place and deadline for submitting requests for study. After obtaining the agreements and opinions, the second obligatory stage of involving the public in the preparation of the study follows. The commune administrator announces that the study project has been presented for public inspection. The study is adopted by the communal council.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> collecting comments in paper or electronic form (obligatory), public discussion as a form of consultation (obligatory),
Local spatial development plan	The head of the commune announces that the council has adopted a resolution to start the preparation of a plan, informing at the same time about the form, place and date of submitting applications regarding the local plan in question. The commune administrator examines the submitted applications and prepares a draft local plan, along with a forecast of environmental impact and financial effects. The next stage of the procedure is the introduction of changes to the project arising from the opinion or coordination and announcement about making the draft local plan available to the public, along with the environmental impact assessment. During this time, a public discussion on the project should be organised.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> collecting comments in paper or electronic form (obligatory), public discussion as a form of consultation (obligatory),
Revitalisation programme	The procedure for drawing up a revitalisation plan is the same as the procedure for drawing up a local spatial development plan. Any activities undertaken by local government units should result in statements from all stakeholders. The opinion of the inhabitants and business entities operating in the area covered by a revitalisation programme is particularly important.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> collecting comments in paper or electronic form (obligatory), meetings, debates, workshops, study walks, questionnaires, interviews, the use of representative groups or collecting oral comments (obligatory min. 2 different forms)

Source: own elaboration based on: Act on spatial development planning (Dz.U. 2003, nr 80, poz. 717), Act on revitalisation (Dz.U. 2015, poz. 1777).

According to the Act on revitalisation of 2015 (Dz.U. 2015, poz. 1777), the revitalisation process should be conducted with regard in particular to the residents and businesses of the area, as well as non-governmental organisations and informal groups. Within the meaning of the Act, social participation includes the involvement of revitalisation stakeholders in the process of its preparation, implementation and evaluation. This participation should be ensured through social consultations and involvement in the Revitalisation Committee.

The process of participation (both in the form of consultation and co-decision) can be carried out using different techniques and forms. A study walk is an outdoor meeting with stakeholders conducted according to a prepared scenario, allowing for mapping specific places and elements requiring intervention, exploring the feelings and needs of respondents regarding various aspects of space. The main purpose of using this technique is for the users and stakeholders of a potential project to assess the space or collect ideas for new solutions in the way of space development. A walk allows users to be included and allows various spatial solutions to be assessed in the actual situation of their use. Recommendations from such consultations may, for example, be used by communal institutions in designing new or improving existing solutions for the development of city space.

Another tool used in spatial planning in Poland is a participatory budget (PB), also called a civic budget, which became an innovative policymaking mechanism through the involvement of inhabitants directly in the spatial decision-making process. The PB is a process in which residents decide to allocate specific funds from the unit's general budget. Citizens can help by submitting creative solutions to the local government (Kębłowski, 2013; Wampler, 2000). Contemporary politics should be based on transparency, accessibility and consultation approaches, therefore the PB became a tool for enhancing the quality of democracy (Bernaciak et al., 2017). In Poland, the PB tool has been used since 2011, when Sopot introduced it for the first time. PB allowed city residents to indicate the most socially needed investments in the commune (Bernaciak et al., 2017; Kozak, 2016). As part of this initiative in Poland, projects that fall within the range of the commune's own tasks can be financed, such as public education, health care, social assistance, public roads, culture, physical culture and environmental protection. Since 2019, the civic budget has been mandatory in communes, which are cities with county rights (Leśniewska-Napierała & Napierała, 2020).

Main challenges of spatial planning of tourism destinations

“The limits of my language mean the limits of my world.” (5.6;TL-P)

The final part of the considerations on the national level is to discuss the main challenges of spatial planning, which are important for tourism areas. In research studies, one of the key requirements should include the scope of the study being prepared, followed by the concepts and methods used. Therefore, the language used has a significant impact on the cognitive effects achieved. First, the meaning of the word *challenge* should be defined. Usually, the concept of a challenge is a categorical message addressed to someone, by a person, institution, organization. In this popular linguistic term, we can see the static and one-off nature of the challenge. However, in determining the word challenge, the research perspective should be changed. A challenge requires a dynamic approach. Therefore, it is proposed to treat the challenge as a process, i.e. as variable, purposeful, step-by-step activities. The variety of the word challenge allows to consider the different substantive meanings of the spatial planning challenge process for tourism areas. If we treat challenges as a process, then one can distinguish its following phases: 1) invitation to a game, 2) facts to be checked, 3) doubts for consideration, 4) problems to be solved, 5) tasks to be performed, 6) stimulation to action (Figure 3).

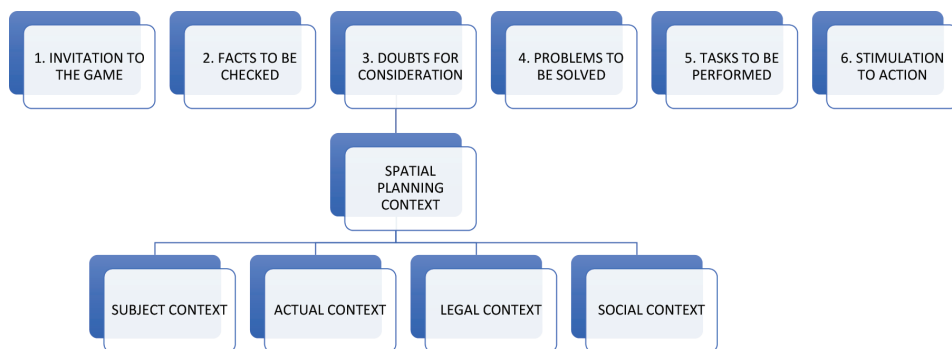


Figure 3. The phases of prediction thinking process

Source: own elaboration.

Due to the adopted assumptions of the presented stage of the SPOT development, the most important issue seems to be the 3rd stage, i.e. DOUBTS FOR CONSIDERATION. The first phase of the presented theoretical scheme of the study “Main challenges of spatial planning of tourism destinations”, i.e. INVITATION TO

THE GAME, raises no doubts. One should actively participate in the global game for the conscious, thoughtful and valuable development of tourism. Leaving the modern world to extreme, greedy neoliberalism will lead to a catastrophe. Pandemic experiences are a good example of the ecological nonchalance of modern man. An invitation to the game of creating “meaningful tourism” should be treated as a challenge and a responsibility for researchers. In turn, FACTS TO CHECK are discussed in the following parts: Legal regulations of spatial planning, Long-term strategy for spatial planning, Public Participation in spatial planning. Therefore, we are faced with the need to rethink the basic legal and organisational principles of spatial planning.

Since the task of researchers is to challenge existing arguments, the course of thinking will take the form of doubts discussed in turn, exposed in the following spatial planning contexts: A. SUBJECT B. ACTUAL C. LEGAL D. SOCIAL. Further considerations will follow the contexts above. The most important doubts will be indicated, which are the result of the analysis of observations of the applicable legal acts.

A. SUBJECT CONTEXT, meaning the contents of the plan. Doubts concern the Act on spatial planning and development discussed earlier. All planning intentions should describe the purpose they are to serve. It is obvious that the basic assumption is to improve the quality of life in the area in question. The development of standard of life should be achieved by shaping the spatial order. The act defines spatial order as: “such an arrangement of space that creates a harmonious whole and takes into account all functional, socio-economic, environmental, cultural and aesthetic conditions, as well as requirements in orderly relations.” The indicated process of achieving a harmonious spatial arrangement in a given area may be called a synergistic approach or a compromise of selfishness in favour of common harmony. This process is nothing more than composing a harmonious whole from different elements. It is because an agreement on compositional rules and planning parameters is one of the canons of spatial planning. Without establishing procedures for organising space, chaos may occur rather than the suggested order. In a research doubt, it is worth to consider whether the statutory content of the plan allows for an effect of synergy in spatial planning. If we assume that the purpose of spatial planning is to shape a person’s home and ennoble their life, will we obtain information in legal provisions about the values influencing this process? There are several doubts on this point. Let us refer to the statements of specialists in the field of spatial composition: “*The space creating conditions that sustain the life of a citizen is the key value for them, because it makes their life possible, and life is priceless for each of us. Rhythms, cycles, repetitions, continuums are the basis for the existence of processes that create and sustain life. Accidents are disturbances that modify stable cycles. They can mark the beginning of both a new and better organisation, and of entropy. The opposites of organisation and entropy from the human perspective are the same as the opposites of good and evil. Both nature and culture sustain human life*” (Budzyński, 2010, p. 416). Therefore, human life and the values that define it

should occupy a central place in spatial planning. After all, human development has axiological dimensions. Without hope, faith, love, justice, spatial planning will be an empty, pointless activity. In spatial planning, the need to use the moral aspects of space increases: *“moral geographies need to be regarded as a turning point in the story of the development of geographical thought. Socioeconomic geography makes the possession, gaining or loss of material goods in a defined geographical environment as the leading subject of analyses. In contrast, in the moral geographies, the research perspective is designated by goodness. It is relational in nature and at the same time has spatial implications”* (Kaczmarek & Kaczmarek, 2011, p. 148). These moral categories are ignored in spatial planning. There is also a lack of appropriate measures relating to the valuation of the world of human life. The lack of adequate measurement may cause an incorrect assessment of the analysed situations (Kaczmarek & Dąbrowski, 2021). In the face of the pandemic experience of the past months, questions about values should become key in spatial planning. Yet there is no value in terms of spatial planning. This condition should be considered a disadvantage.

B. ACTUAL CONTEXT, meaning objects and their relations. In spatial planning, we deal first with single objects. These include land properties, buildings and structures and their complexes. Landscape is the overarching and synergistic category. Single objects should be considered in two ways. On the one hand, they are a space of life within defined boundaries. They are geodetic contours or walls defining functional separateness. Their exterior is the other side of the material context under consideration. Due to the location of the building materials used in the geographical environment, the architectural form is connected with the surroundings. Considering external relations in spatial planning allows to work out a way to shape the aforementioned spatial order. Unfortunately, landscape analyses of designed areas are exceptional. Rather, we encounter chance and arbitrariness in the emerging external relations between individual objects. The functions of landscape architects and artists come down to a game of appearances. Despite the legislation in the field of landscape aesthetics, we are constantly moving towards the entropy of beauty. There are also many doubts in this material context. The weakness of relational compositions in spatial planning is manifested, inter alia, in the scourge of covering the public spaces with concrete. Most likely, due to the current legal regulations of spatial planning and the principles of investment performance, the use of concrete to cover public spaces will become a standard in the development of tourist areas.

C. LEGAL CONTEXT, meaning the regulations of forms of ownership. Sorting out the property ownership issues significantly influences the plan and morphology of the studied areas. Thus, we are dealing with a horizontal arrangement, which determines the future vertical shape of spatial wholes. It is impossible to plan a good life, it will not be possible to achieve spatial order without consistent regulations of property ownership. The preparation of good spatial regulations requires understanding the meaning of property and

individual freedom within the framework of social agreement. This is where the dysfunctions of efficient spatial planning lie.

Let us again refer to the statements of practicing architects: *“In the last twenty years, property has not acquired the status of a cultural and civilisational concept in Poland, we have not established by legislation that the market begins with property, because where there is no property – there is no market, where there is no property – no money, of course. Property has not acquired this status, it has not been (as psychologists say) externalised, internationalised in social life, like money or other categories of civilisation in which we live. Individuals and groups have not acquired the understanding that even a public entity (such as a University or a Ministry) has private or corporate property, that it is property with all its consequences. (...) The restoration of property after communism seems extremely complex. It is no coincidence that Poland is the only country where re-privatisation has not been carried out. Thus, property as a certain cultural concept – something for which one is responsible, which also has its own aesthetic, human identity – has disappeared in Poland”* (Bielecki, 2010, p. 258). Legal problems with real estate ownership continue. The promised transformation of perpetual usufruct of land has not been implemented efficiently. Without absolute property regulation, we will not have a rational and effective approach to spatial planning. I have the impression that lawmakers do not understand the mechanisms and sense of achieving spatial order.

D. SOCIAL CONTEXT, meaning the achievement of a compliance of needs. In 1990, local government was restored in Poland. Pursuant to the Act on commune self-government (Journal of Laws of 1990, No. 16, item 95): *“The inhabitants of a commune form a self-governing community by law”* (Art. 1). After the period of centralised economy, hopes for autonomous decisions about the process of shaping the spatial arrangements have returned. The inhabitants of a commune became free and responsible for the local affairs entrusted to them. Social consultations are among the instruments used by local government economy. The participation of residents in managing the commune’s area has become a promise of shaping and creating the environment in which one lives. The role of citizens and social organisations was taken into account in spatial planning. The position of local self-governments was also appreciated. The development of space should express the needs and creativity of citizens. Accurate and convincing legislative provisions collided with political reality. The problem of Polish self-government is the term of office, connected with the domination of political parties. The exercise of power by choice often falls short of the expectations of the inhabitants. The professionalism of the clerical cadres has replaced party interest and nepotism. Public consultations resemble façade activities. The effects of consultation meetings are of very little importance in making planning decisions. Housing communities, an important actor in spatial planning, are marginalised in the process of making spatial decisions. Ignoring public opinions shows the lack of understanding for spatial order. Greedy

financial selfishness dominates aesthetic and ethical values. Without a return to real social participation, tourist space cannot be reasonably managed.

The remaining phases of the “challenges as a process in tourism area planning”, i.e. PROBLEMS TO BE SOLVED, TASKS TO BE DONE, ACTIVATION FOR ACTION, will be presented later in the project. The remarks made so far allow us to assume that spatial planning of tourist areas can be defined as the art of managing the future of tourist places. The shortcomings of spatial planning presented above do not lead to the rejection of planning procedures. From the time when humans ceased to be guided solely by instinct, since they no longer act only affectively, planning has become a rational way of thinking about the surrounding world. Logic has replaced fear and the mythical perception of reality. In spatial planning, a value-based approach that considers the subjectivity of the inhabitants is most desired. Otherwise, noble legislative intentions will serve political anarchy and the greedy selfishness of local government institutions. Tourist areas will fall into chaos rather than achieve spatial order.

To sum up, the challenges for spatial planning in Poland in a context of tourism destinations include:

- the instability of legal regulations at the national level;
- the investment downtime related to EU funding;
- missing tourism development strategy, and lack of leaders or organisations understanding the need for long-term planned tourism development in Poland;
- transferring responsibilities related to tourism development between different ministries;
- low awareness of the benefits of sustainable tourism.

Summary

This report offers insight into contemporary problems that space planning and sustainable tourism development are faced with in case of Poland, a CEE country with a turbulent history of socio-economic and political changes that have taken place over the last few decades. Key challenges that are being observed range from legal and organisational issues to those related to social change and economic efficiency. Furthermore, transport accessibility has increased to an unprecedented degree, and new technologies have been adopted in daily life on a massive scale. Therefore, the need for innovative approach ought to be recognised and properly addressed.

One of the main problems is the lack of planning integration relating to the different aspects of development, namely socioeconomic planning, spatial planning, tourism planning, and planning for natural environment and cultural landscape. Moreover, institutional obstacles have further restricted the effectiveness of modern spatial

planning in Poland. That is, among others, rigid (inflexible) administrative division of the country. It is highly unlikely that this one will be reformed, at least in a medium-term perspective. Hence, its impact should be considered a permanent challenge. When it comes to issues of social and economic nature, it is worth emphasising that those are often common in countries other as Poland. That includes the tendency to seek new spaces for exploration, as tourism often becomes the primary source of income for people inhabiting places that traditionally were considered unattractive. The same refers to increasing the competitiveness of small and medium-sized enterprises, which remain the basis for the functioning of the tourism sector. Among other factors changing the conditions for tourism, while remaining key phenomena for spatial planning, there are new consumer habits and the shortening of the geographic distance. Both require strong focus on developing innovation and digitisation.

The last challenge to be mentioned, however, and an extremely important one from the point of view of the objectives of the SPOT project, is the diversification of the tourist offer as opposed to the development of mass tourism observed so far. The impact of the latter is completely divergent from the principles of sustainable development, while in case of diversification, new opportunities appear that may become a solution for at least some of contemporary ethical dilemmas.

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The planning system in Portugal


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Country profile

Portugal, officially the Portuguese Republic, is a State in Southern Europe, founded in 1143, occupying a total area of 92,212 km². The mainland is in the extreme southwest of the Iberian Peninsula, bordering on the north and east with Spain, and on the west and south with the Atlantic Ocean (Figure 1). The Portuguese territory also includes two autonomous regions: the archipelagos of Madeira and the Azores, located in the Atlantic Ocean. The Madeira archipelago is made up of the islands of Madeira, Porto Santo, Desertas and Selvagens, and the Azores archipelago is made up of nine islands and some islets: Santa Maria, São Miguel, Terceira, Graciosa, São Jorge, Pico, Faial, Flores, and Corvo.

It is a country with about 10.34 million inhabitants (2021) and a population density of 112.2 inhabitants/km², with a higher population concentration along the coastal strip.

One of the assets of the Portuguese territory is the extension of its coastline, as well as the multiple uses and opportunities it offers. On the mainland, the coast extends along about 950 km, concentrates about 75% of the national population and is responsible for

generating 85% of the gross domestic product. It is a dynamic and complex area that has high environmental sensitivity, a large concentration of habitats, natural resources of high productivity and important geological and biological diversity (PNPOT, 2018).

The Portuguese economy has gone through several and profound transformations over the last few decades. During the 1990s Portugal followed an economic policy determined by the convergence criteria of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), with integration into the Euro Zone since its creation, in January 1999. This implied compliance with a set of quantitative criteria associated with the pursuit of a rigorous and credible macroeconomic policy.

Since then, in terms of the structure of the economy, there has been a growing dominance of the services sector, similarly, in fact, to other European partners. In 2018, the primary sector represented only 2.7% of GVA and 5.8% of employment; while secondary education corresponded to 21.9% of GVA and 24.1% of employment. In that year, services contributed 75.3% to the GVA and represented 70.1% of employment (INE, 2020). In addition to a greater incidence of services in economic activity, in recent decades there has been a significant change in the pattern of specialization of the manufacturing industry in Portugal, with its modernization mainly in the automotive and components, electronics, energy sectors, pharmaceutical and new information and communication technologies (see Table 1 for additional information).

Table 1. General country information

Name of country	Portugal
Capital, population of the capital	Lisbon 802,230 (2021 – municipality) 2,870,208 (2021 – metro area)
Surface area	92,212 km ²
Total population	10,343,066 (2021 census)
Population density	112.2 inhabitants/km ²
Population growth rate	0.485 (2001); 0.197 (2011); –0.209 (2021)
Degree of urbanisation	54.1% (2020)
Human development index	0.864 (2019)
GDP	EUR 214.470,7 million (2021)
GDP per capita	EUR 20,698.1 (2021)
GDP growth	4.9% (2021); –8.4% (2020); 2.7% (2019); 2.8% (2018); 3.5% (2017)
Unemployment rate	6.6% (2021); 7.0% (2020); 6.6% (2019); 7.2% (2018)

Table 1 (cont.)

Land use (LCLUStats, data concerns 2018)	51.2% forest and scrubland 2.7% inland waters 40.8% agricultural land 5.2% built-up land
Sectoral structure	(2021, by employed population) 72.7% services and administration 24.6% industry and construction 2.7% agriculture and forestry

Source: author's own elaboration.

With regard to services, it is important to note that the geographical position of Portugal, benefiting from a Mediterranean climate moderated by the influence of the Atlantic, as well as the extensive coastal strip (943 km long in the continental sector and 667 km in the islands of Madeira and Azores), allies to history and culture, foster a relevant and growing tourist activity.

The tourism sector is a fundamental economic activity for the generation of wealth and employment in Portugal, contributing to the growth and development of many territories, either on the coast, associated with sun and sea tourism, citybreaks and golf tourism, or in the related interior with nature tourism, cultural and gastronomic tourism.

This sector is responsible for 17% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), 19% of employment and 20% of total exports. Over the last 9 years, the country has registered an average annual growth rate of 7.2% in overnight stays, which translates into an increase from 37 million overnight stays in 2010 to 70 million overnight stays in 2019, the highest value on record. An average annual rate of change of 10.3% was also observed in tourist receipts, over the last 9 years, which allowed an increase from 7.6 billion in 2010 to 18.4 billion in 2019 (INE, 2020).

In 2020, as an effect of the COVID-19 pandemic, Portugal recorded a sharp drop in tourist demand with values of 25.9 million overnight stays (–63.0%) in tourist accommodation compared to 2019. There was also a sharp decrease in international demand, with 12.3 million overnight stays from foreigners (–74.9%), as a result of restrictions imposed on cross-border travel for most of 2020. Even the domestic market registered 13.6 million overnight stays (–35.4%) compared to the year 2019. In revenue, the decrease (–57.6%) compared to 2019 meant a loss of 10 billion euros for the economy in 2020 (INE, 2020).

Despite the crisis caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus pandemic, macroeconomic forecasts point to the recovery of the national economy, which should reach the pre-pandemic output level after the 3rd quarter of 2022, according to OECD data.

Thus, in a logic of sustainability and competitiveness, the planning of tourist activity is a fundamental activity for destinations, as a way of managing the product (for tourists), but also for local development (for residents and local companies).

The contribution of planning to the sustainability of tourist territories is explained insofar as it involves reflection on the use of spaces and local dynamics, which results in more harmonious environments, which allow an optimized articulation of socio-economic, environmental and political factors and cultural.

Tourism also has an enormous potential for modernizing the territory, influencing the increase of territorial cohesion and the ability to settle and integrate populations, namely through job creation. Tourism, in its multiple dimensions, appears as an opportunity for the development of different territories in Portugal, both those that make up the urban space and those of rural space.

Rural spaces in Portugal are characterized by a low population density – equal to or less than 100 inhabitants/km², according to the 2014 Urban Areas Typology (INE, 2020), by the dispersed nature of the predominant functions there, by urban centers with mass not significant population criticism, as no place has more than 2000 inhabitants. Therefore, they present a set of weaknesses and particularities, whose main threat to their survival is linked to depopulation and population aging, with a strong connection between the rural population and agricultural activity. Thus, if, on the one hand, it is necessary to diversify the respective base of economic activity, closely associated with the tertiary sector, to secure and attract population, together with the creation of attractive social conditions and infrastructure, it is at the same time essential to promote agricultural activity, not only as an economic activity with competitive capacity, but also because it contributes to economic, social and territorial cohesion.

On the other hand, diversification into activities associated with agricultural activity, such as rural tourism (eg agritourism, wine tourism and geotourism), is a way of valuing endogenous resources, such as the landscape, cultural identity and agricultural products themselves, often differentiated and of quality (as PDO – Protected Designation of Origin – certification and others), associated with the brand of a territory.

In turn, urban spaces in Portugal correspond to 5.1% of the continental territory, occupying about half a million hectares, and reflect a high ratio of urbanized, built-up and infrastructured land per inhabitant. To this end, the structure and form patterns of urbanization in Portugal contribute significantly, as only 24% of the artificialized territory presents characteristics of a continuous urban fabric, while 42% of the total is affected by discontinuous urban fabrics. Industry, commerce and general equipment occupy 14% of the artificialized territory and road and railway infrastructure and associated spaces around 8%, with 10% of the total being allocated to other occupations.

At level of the Portuguese urban system, this is mostly constituted by cities with low population density, included in the classification of medium city, that is, whose “regional importance” and “contribution to the organization of regional urban systems” are decisive (Costa, 2002, p. 108), that is, cities that play a fundamental role in the fixation of the population outside the two large metropolitan areas (Lisbon

and Porto) and that act as dynamizing centers for an entire regional system. It is in this sense that a city with only 20,000 inhabitants can be an absolutely crucial center for the functioning of a region, especially in the interior of the country where small and medium-sized cities play a fundamental role in providing jobs and services to the closest places and make an important contribution to population fixation (Soares, 2019).

The two metropolitan areas (Lisbon and Porto) showed a strong dynamism, exhibiting a large national dimension (population, economic and functional) that contrasts with a still fragile international projection. Between Viana do Castelo and Setúbal, there is an extensive coastal area of diffuse urbanization, where polynucleated urban structures emerge, polarized by larger and more dynamic urban centers (medium-sized cities), although with a size smaller than European standards. Along the Algarve coast there is a linear urbanization, built around a polynucleated urban network drawn along the coast. Low density appears in a vast area of the Alentejo Region and the North and Center interior, supported by a network of small urban centers and medium-sized cities, configuring multipolar urban axes and subsystems, fundamental in the functional organization of the respective regions. On the islands, the dynamics of Funchal and Ponta Delgada stand out.

Legal regulations of spatial planning in Portugal

Planning is preparing for the future by following the path of development, generally seen as a process aimed at the common good. However, the notion of development has undergone significant changes over time and continues to be at the center of debate, both scientifically and politically. In current societies, in which Portugal is inserted, one of the great challenges is to direct the development process towards the common good, towards the quality of life of the populations and towards greater sustainability, which implies a strong commitment to the planning and ordering of the territory, a task in which the State assumes a decisive role, but which implies considering and involving all stakeholders and, among them, in particular the community and the productive sector (Silva, 2017).

It can be said that it was in the second half of the 19th century that the state developed the first initiatives aimed at regulating and organizing the occupation of Portuguese territory, mainly aimed at the agroforestry space. The phase corresponding to the real beginning of urban planning began in the 30s of the 20th century, with the implementation of some urbanization control instruments for the city of Lisbon (Campos & Ferrão, 2016)

Over the decades, Portugal has witnessed the lack of a territorial and planning policy, which, associated with a weak civic culture, gave rise to quite disastrous consequences, both in terms of the disarticulation of the urban space and of the environmental impacts.

It was only in the 1980s that a modern land management system began to be implemented. The accession of Portugal, in 1986, to the European Economic Community, required actions related to the spatial planning and planning policy, fundamental for the application of the Structural Cohesion Funds and for implementing a set of operational programs aimed at promoting regional development (Silva, 2017). The territorial management system is a structuring piece of the spatial planning policy.

One of the major milestones in the organization of the planning system in Portugal was the General Basic Law for Spatial Planning and Urbanism Policy, of 1998, and the Legal Regime of Territorial Management Instruments, of 1999. These diplomas enshrined the building legal system of territorial management, establishing the typification of planning instruments, the rules for articulation between entities and between planning instruments, the monitoring and evaluation system and the tools for programming and executing the plans.

This legal framework was changed with the entry into force of the General Basic Law for Public Policy on Soil, Spatial Planning and Urban Planning (LBGPPSOTU) in 2014 and the new Legal Regime for Territorial Management Instruments (RJIGT) in 2015, diplomas that came to integrate the principles and instruments of land policy and land use and urban planning policy in the same legal structure.

Within the scope of the territorial management system, there are currently about 150 central, peripheral and decentralized administration entities with different competences and responsibilities, in addition to the 308 municipalities responsible for municipal and inter-municipal planning.

Currently, the Portuguese territorial management system is based on three legal diplomas duly articulated:

- General Basic Law for Public Policy on Soil, Spatial Planning and Urban Planning (LBGPPSOTU), Law n° 31/2014, of 30 May;
- Legal Regime of Territorial Management Instruments (RJIT), Decree-Law No. 80/2015, of 14 May;
- Legal Regime for Urbanization and Building (RJUE), Decree-Law No. 136/2014, of 9 September.

The new legal framework of LBGPPSOTU and RJIGT, of 2014 and 2015, brought changes to the current system, some in form and others in content, of which the differentiation introduced between territorial programs and plans stands out. Thus, the land, land use and urban planning policy is developed through two types of territorial management instruments, the Programs and the Plans. Programs “that establish the strategic framework for territorial development and its programmatic guidelines or define the spatial incidence of national policies to be considered at each level of planning” and plans, which “establish concrete options and actions

in terms of planning and organization of the territory as well as define land use". A differentiation that is important for various purposes, the most relevant being the legal effectiveness of these instruments: while programs only bind public entities, plans bind public entities and also, directly and immediately, private individuals (46, nos. 1 and 2 of the Basic Law).

The territorial management system is organized and structured into four levels of territorial incidence, duly interconnected, as shown below in Table 2.

Table 2. Types of Territorial Management Instruments

Territorial Scale	Instruments for Spacial Planning
National	PNPOT – National Spatial Planning Policy Program PS – Sectoral Program PEOT – Special Spatial Planning Program
Regional	PROT – Regional Spatial Planning Program, for each NUT II
Intermunicipal/ Municipal	PDM – Municipal Master Plan PU – Urbanization Plan PP – Detail Plan

Source: author's own elaboration.

A) National Scale

On a national scale, the strategic framework for the planning of the national space, integrated in the European Union, is defined, being structured in three types of instruments, the National Spatial Planning Policy, the Sectoral Plans and the Special Plans.

▪ National Spatial Planning Policy Program (PNPOT)

National Program for Spatial Planning Policy is the top instrument of the territorial management system, defines objectives and strategic options for territorial development and establishes the model for organizing the national territory. The PNPOT is the frame of reference for the other programs and territorial plans and as a guiding instrument for strategies with territorial impact.

The figure of the PNPOT was created by the Basic Law of Land Use and Urban Planning Policy of 1998, with the objective of providing the country with a competent instrument for defining a prospective, complete and integrated vision of the organization and development of the territory and by promoting the coordination and articulation of public policies on a territorialized basis.

The first PNPOT was approved by the Assembly of the Republic, through Law No. 58/2007, of September 4, in the culmination of a broad debate on the key issues of the country's territorial organization and development and constituted a milestone in the country's spatial planning policy, for its content and innovation introduced in territorial approaches.

Subsequently, in 2007, within the scope of a legislative and administrative simplification program, the territorial management system was subject to a significant change, aimed at simplifying and streamlining the training procedures and dynamics of territorial plans. Among the changes introduced, measures of decentralization and deconcentration of competences, reinforcement of the concertation of public and private interests and the reduction and concentration of administrative procedures were highlighted.

The results of the change introduced in 2007 were evaluated in 2010, with some system functionality failures that are still valid today, despite the time elapsed, the legislative improvement measures introduced and the progress of knowledge and support technology: information management and communication. It should be noted that the service conferences, as a modality of integrated pronouncement of the administration entities, did not take place in a satisfactory manner, due to the lack of attendance of entities and due to organizational and administrative difficulties that would allow the issuance of opinions outside the traditional model (PNPOT, 2018).

▪ **Sectorial Programs (PS)**

Sectoral Programs are the responsibility of the State and define the public policies of the various sectors of the State's central administration, such as: transport, education, health, defense, tourism, surface and underground water resources, nature conservation, danger and risks, agriculture, forest, infrastructure, housing, these instruments presenting different configurations and territorial incidences.

It appears, however, that the conduct of sectoral policies does not use these planning instruments as often as expected, opting for sectoral policy measures outside the territorial management system. This reality entails some interaction difficulties, since the insertion of sectoral programs in the territorial management system is an important condition for the articulation of the various types of planning instruments to be effective and for the articulation of policies to become clearer and easier on a territorial basis.

▪ **Special Spatial Planning Programs (PEOT)**

Special Spatial Planning Programs have the function of safeguarding existing resources in some specific territories on a national scale.

The recognition of the weaknesses and threats to natural resources and values of the coastline, protected areas, public water reservoirs, lagoons and estuaries, led to the establishment of Special Plans, as regimes for safeguarding natural resources and values.

Thus in Portugal there are the Coastal Zone Programs (POC), the Protected Areas Programs (PAP), the Public Water Reservoirs Programs (PAAP) and the Estuaries Program.

These plans form the basis of management and support a set of intervention projects, aimed at reducing hazards and vulnerabilities, recovering values and natural resources or at the environmental, landscape and socioeconomic enhancement.

In this way, the Coastal Zone Programs are instruments that frame the planning and management of the resources present on the coast, having as concern the protection and biophysical integrity of the space, the conservation of environmental and landscape values and the balanced development compatible with natural values, social, cultural and economic.

These plans and programs define:

- i. safeguard and protection regime for the coastline, identifying the permitted, conditioned or prohibited actions in the immersed area and in the immersed area, depending on the defined protection levels;
- ii. Measures for the protection, conservation and enhancement of the coastline, with an impact on the land and sea protection zones and associated ecosystems;
- iii. The management norms of beaches with bathing suitability, fishing centers, and associated water domain areas;
- iv. Intervention proposals regarding coastal defense solutions, sediment transposition and dune cord reinforcement;
- v. Proposals and technical specifications of possible actions and emergency measures for vulnerable and risk areas (APAMBIENTE, 2021).

The Protected Areas Programs establish the safeguard and conservation policy that is intended to be instituted in each of the protected areas of the National Network of Protected Areas (RNAP), subject to a planning process, through the establishment of regimes to safeguard resources and values management regime compatible with the sustainable use of the territory, which translates into different protection regimes and their zoning (Uses and activities to be interdicted, conditional and promoted, by protection regime), as well as a set of Specific Intervention Areas (ICNF, 2021).

The Public Water Reservoirs Programs establish the appropriate measures for the protection and valorization of water resources in the area to which they apply, in order to ensure their sustainable use, binding the public administration and private individuals.

These instruments have as objectives the definition of safeguard, protection and management regimes, establishing preferential, conditioned and prohibited uses of the water plan and of the terrestrial protection zone, as well as the articulation with other instruments of territorial management and water planning.

In turn, the Estuaries Programs aim to protect their waters, beds and banks and the ecosystems that inhabit them, as well as the environmental, social, economic and cultural enhancement of the surrounding land border and the entire intervention area of the plan.

B) Regional Scale

At a regional scale, there are Regional Spatial Planning Programs, which are the responsibility of the State and are based on the strategies and objectives defined in the PNPT, specifying them and establishing the structural intervention lines to promote regional and local development. Thus, they integrate the options established at the national level and considering the sub-regional and municipal strategies for local development, constituting the frame of reference for the elaboration of programs and inter-municipal plans and municipal plans (Decree-Law No. 80/2015).

Regional spatial planning programs have the following essential objectives:

- a) Develop, at the regional level, the options contained in the national program of land use policy, sectoral programs and special programs;
- b) Translate, in spatial terms, the major objectives of sustainable economic and social development on a regional scale;
- c) Equate measures aimed at attenuating intra-regional development asymmetries;
- d) Serve as a basis for the formulation of the national strategy for territorial planning and as a reference framework for the elaboration of programs and inter-municipal plans and municipal plans;
- e) Establish, at regional level, the major options for public investment, with a significant territorial impact, their priorities and respective programming, in conjunction with the strategies defined for the application of community and national funds (Decree-Law no. 80 /2015).

Although foreseen with the configuration of instruments of a strategic and programmatic nature and not binding on private individuals since 1999, the elaboration of these regional planning instruments has taken a long time and there is still no complete territorial coverage of the country. The inexistence of approved PROT in all regions is a failure of the territorial management system, since it is based on a logic of articulation of planning and programming instruments. The matter of spatial planning is a competence shared between the State and local authorities, with the PROT being fundamental instruments to densify the territorial strategy of the PNPT and define the reference framework for regional planning and development to be considered by the PDMs (PNPT, 2018).

C) Intermunicipal/Municipal Scale

At the inter-municipal scale, there is the Inter-municipal Spatial Planning Program, which is an instrument that ensures the articulation between the regional program and municipal plans, in the case of territorial areas that, due to structural or functional interdependence or the existence of homogeneous risk areas, need of an integrated planning action.

The inter-municipal program is optional and may cover one of the following areas:

- i. The geographical area that covers the entirety of an inter-municipal entity;
- ii. The geographical area of two or more territorially contiguous municipalities integrated in the same inter-municipal entity, except in exceptional situations, authorized by the member of the Government responsible for the area of spatial planning, after the opinion of the regional coordination and development committees (Decree-Law no. 80 /2015).

It is important to mention that in the inter-municipal scope, there is the possibility for municipalities to associate to develop instruments of strategic and programmatic articulation, namely at the level of infrastructure and equipment networks, but also with the objectives of rationalization of population, nature conservation and environmental qualification.

At the municipal level, the plans reflect the guidelines established at a regional level and, with their own options for local strategic development, establish the land use regime and its respective execution. The land use regime determines the basic destination of land, based on the fundamental distinction between urban land and rustic land, considering how:

- i. Urban land, which is totally or partially urbanized or built up and, as such, affects the urbanization or building on a territorial level;
- ii. Rustic soil, that which, due to its recognized aptitude, is intended, in particular, for agricultural, livestock, forestry, conservation, valorization and exploitation of natural resources, geological resources or energy resources, as well as what is intended to natural, cultural, tourism, recreation and leisure spaces or protection from risks, even if it is occupied by infrastructure, and those that are not classified as urban.

Thus, the management instruments at the municipal scale are: the Municipal Master Plan, the Urbanization Plan and the Detailed Plan.

The Municipal Master Plans are mandatory for the municipal councils to draw up and establish, in particular, the municipal territorial development strategy, the municipal territorial model, the options for the location and management of equipment for collective use and the interdependence relations with the municipalities neighbors.

The Urbanization Plan develops and implements the municipal master plan and structures the occupation of land and its use, defining the location of infrastructure and main collective equipment.

Finally, the Detailed Plan develops and implements the municipal master plan, defining the implantation and volumetry of the buildings, the form and organization of spaces for collective use and the layout of the infrastructures.

Long-term strategy for spatial planning

In fact, as far as long-term strategy for spatial planning is concerned, the programs that make up the National System of Territorial Management Instruments – and which are described above – assume this assumption, in particular the PNPOT for the country and the PROT for the NUT II regions. Then there are also the Special Programmes (PEOT).

The PNPOT programming and implementation principles state that the “preparation of strategies for territorial programmes and plans or with territorial incidence is conditioned by the reference framework of the PNPOT, namely the principles of territorial cohesion and external competitiveness, the challenges and strategic options and the territorial model contained in the report as well as the policy measures, commitments and guidelines contained in the action programme” (Law no. 99/2019, article 2, no. 1 – programming and implementation principles).

In turn, the PNPOT must be “articulated with the National Investment Plan (PNI), the Programme for the Enhancement of the Interior (PVI) and the Maritime Area Management Plan (POEM), but it is functionally and structurally independent and constitutes the guiding territorial reference in the definition of the Portugal 2030 Strategy and for the preparation of the National Investment Programme 2030, under which the structuring projects that serve as the basis for the strategic options and territorial model of PNPOT will be implemented and the operational programming of the investments to be made will be detailed” (Law no. 99/2019, art. 2, no. 3 – principles of programming and implementation).

In addition, the PNPOT should be strategically articulated with a vast set of plans, programmes, legislation and other national strategic references as well as with a series of strategic references and policy instruments of the European Union (Neto, 2019). This is the challenging context for the elaboration of PNPOT.

In its 2019 alteration, as pointed out by Medeiros (2019), the PNPOT has revealed some weaknesses regarding the elaboration of a territorial strategy focused on the ‘maritime territory’ and the areas of ‘transnational cooperation’. Similarly, central themes for the country associated with the potential to use solar and wind energy and the polycentrism index (one of the objectives for the development of the territory is the promotion of a polycentric urban system) weren’t properly developed. Also, in relation to polycentrism, despite the importance attributed to it, no concrete measure to achieve it is expressed, and neither were the areas identified as having agricultural exploration potential to mitigate Portugal’s external dependence in the production of some strategic food products (Medeiros, 2019). In turn, according to Ferrão (2019), the effectiveness and efficiency of the PNPOT comes from the existence of Regional Spatial Planning Programmes for all regions of Portugal, imposing an urgency in its review and approval.

Strategic Planning regarding Tourism

Due to the nature of this study, it is also important to mention an instrument of great importance in terms of tourism activity and strategic planning also – the **Tourism Strategy 2027** (Turismo de Portugal, 2021).

In April 2017, the Government presented the Tourism Strategy 2027, the benchmark for the development of public policies and business strategies in the tourism sector. The vision that was defined in this context is very clear and involves “affirming tourism as a hub for economic, social and environmental development throughout the territory, positioning Portugal as one of the most competitive and sustainable tourist destinations in the world”. It is defended that Portugal should base its competitive advantage on the principles of sustainability, on a diversified offer and on valuing its distinctive and innovative characteristics, placing people at the center of its strategy.

The Tourism 2027 Strategy is based on a participatory, broad and creative process with contributions from different angles of society in its various aspects. Thus, it embodies a long-term vision, combined with action in the short term, allowing us to act with a greater strategic sense in the present and frame the future community support framework 2021–2027. The strategy is materialized in action plans, programs and implementation projects, combining a long-range vision with short-term actions.

Thus, this referential is embodied in five strategic axes, each containing a set of lines of action, to be operationalized through concrete actions, oriented towards the short/medium term, containing types of priority projects. The Tourism 2027 Strategy thus establishes priorities, identified in five strategic axes, as outlined in Table 3.

Table 3. Tourism 2027 strategic axes

Enhancing the territory	Allowing the enjoyment of the historical and cultural heritage and preserving its authenticity; urban regeneration; the economic enhancement of the natural and rural heritage, the affirmation of tourism in the economy of the sea, the structuring of the tourist offer to better respond to demand.
Boosting the economy	Which concerns the competitiveness of companies; the simplification, reduction of bureaucracy and reduction of context costs; attracting investment; the qualification of the offer; the circular economy; to entrepreneurship and innovation.
Enhancing knowledge	Which includes the enhancement of tourism professions; the training of human resources; continuous training for entrepreneurs and managers; the dissemination of knowledge and information; the affirmation of Portugal as a smart destination.
Generating networks and connectivity	Through the reinforcement of air routes throughout the year and mobility in the territory; promoting “tourism for all”, from an inclusive perspective; the involvement of society in the tourist development and co-creation process; networking and joint promotion between the various sectors.

Table 3 (cont.)

Projecting Portugal	Increasing Portugal's notoriety in international markets as a destination for visiting, investing, living and studying and for major events, and positioning domestic tourism as a factor of competitiveness and a lever for the national economy.
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Source: author's own elaboration.

The strategic objectives are presented within the scope of energy efficiency, rational management of water resources and efficient waste management in the tourism sector, showing a growing commitment to the sustainability of tourism.

The Tourism Strategy 2027 strategy focuses on aspects that aim at the sustainability and competitiveness of the destination Portugal.

Concrete goals were defined in each of the three sustainability pillars.

In economic terms, the aim is to reach 80 million overnight stays in 2027, increasing tourism demand in the country and in the various regions, while at the same time intending to grow in value and double tourist revenues in that period.

In the social aspect, the objectives are to expand tourist activity throughout the year, reducing the seasonality index from 37.5% to 33.5%. Also in social matters, the aim is to double the level of qualifications in secondary and post-secondary education in tourism and ensure that 90% of the population residing in tourist areas considers the impact of tourism in their territory to be positive. Finally, on the environmental front, the objectives are to ensure that 9 out of 10 companies in the country adopt efficient energy, water and waste management measures.

The implementation of the action plan to achieve these goals will be accompanied by a redoubled effort in terms of monitoring the sustainability of destinations, allowing for the assessment of policies and providing the private sector with instruments for decision-making. To this end, Turismo de Portugal regularly conducts surveys on this topic and the Sustainability Report for Tourism in Portugal will be published, as an instrument for reporting the sector's performance in this field.

Public participation in spatial planning

The word participation, which etymologically and conceptually means “to take part in”, “to share”, “to be associated by feeling or thought” (Avelar, 2004). For Sanchez (1980) and Duarte (1996), participating means intervening in any decision-making process, and according to Partidário & Jesus (2003), participation is an essential

element of democratic societies, constituting an instrument to ensure that voters' concerns are considered on concrete issues and not just on electoral programs.

More recently, Ferrão (2013) interprets it as an involvement process in which interested agents seek to interact, learn, understand, and at the same time provide relevant information, collaborating towards obtaining a representative and fair decision.

In a study by the European Institute for Public Participation (EIPP, 2009), it is defined as a deliberative process, in which interested or affected citizens, civil society organizations, and government actors are involved in policy making prior to respective decision-making takes place; understanding that deliberation means a process of thoughtful discussion based on a give and take of reasons for the choices to be made.

The law enshrines the general principle of citizen participation in public policies and administrative actions in matters of land, spatial planning and urbanism, in order to promote and strengthen access to information and the possibility of intervention in the preparation and execution procedures, evaluation and review of territorial programs and plans, that is, at all stages of the planning cycle. This principle is implemented through mandatory periods of public discussion on the proposals of programs and plans (prepared, revised or amended), and in the case of the PDM and intermunicipal programs and plans, the participation of citizens is recommended throughout of the elaboration/amendment/revision and evaluation of these instruments (PNPOT, 2018).

It can be said that in Portugal there is a deficit of “a civic culture that values spatial planning”, despite the progress made in the availability of information, integration of spatial planning in curricular matters and scientific research projects, and promotion of various initiatives information and awareness-raising in these matters.

The practice of participatory mechanisms promoted in the context of the dynamics of territorial management instruments and the attitude of citizens towards these processes continues to show a predominance of a traditional view of spatial planning, more like an exercise in decision-making by the public administration than a collective construction of the territory.

There is currently an instrument called the National Strategy for Environmental Education (ENEA, 2020), which intends to contribute to mobilizing resources, projects, activities and partnerships that help to overcome this recognized deficit in participation. The main challenge of this Strategy lies in the ability to place a very wide range of actors in the exercise of its sectorial public policies, namely the services of the Ministry of Environment, schools, local authorities, non-governmental organizations and citizens' movements – converging its efforts in a common direction: bringing more and better information to citizens, inviting them to take a more active role both in decision-making by public authorities and in their daily consumption and lifestyle choices, with a view to model of civilization that can be fairer and happier with fewer

resources. In this sense, it is desirable to bring environmental and territorial education campaigns and actions closer to the citizens (PNPOT, 2018).

Since July 2015, the Participa portal (<https://participa.pt>) supports the dissemination and promotion of participation mechanisms promoted by any public entity (central or local administration), being the official portal where public consultation processes are made available by the Ministry of the Environment, providing functionalities that support the dissemination of documents, the collection of contributions, the dissemination of events and the dissemination of results of consultation and public participation processes (PARTICIPA, 2021).

Main challenges of spatial planning in Portugal

The territorial management system established in 1999, was never fully operationalized in all its components, due to difficulties in the preparation and approval of the PROTs and the PNPOT itself, which was only completed in 2007, due to difficulties in the formation of sectoral policy decisions territorialized within the framework of sectoral plans, it is more common to resort to the preparation of strategies and programs and decision-making outside the territorial management system and, equally, due to difficulties in the dynamics of municipal planning, with the consequent failures of current legal and normative, given the law and other plans and programs entered into force and current material failures, given the evolution of socio-economic conditions in the territory. The part of the RJIGT related to programming the execution of municipal plans was always far from the regime's objectives, among other reasons for the lack of capacity of the municipalities to intervene in the land market and in the formation and distribution of capital gains from urbanization and construction.

The monitoring and evaluation of the territorial management system and of each of the territorial management instruments also did not merit the expected implementation, with the existence of an evaluation deficit being widely recognized, despite the very significant progress made in the production, systematization and availability of information in the domain of the territorial management system and the existence of consolidated monitoring practices in some municipalities.

The transition of the legal framework and the operationalization of the new principles and determinations is underway and poses great challenges to the central and local administration, due to the impact it had and is having on the plans in force. The new legal framework has forced a generalized action to return the plans under the government's competence to the figure of programs and the transposition, in a short period of time, of the PEOT norms in force, identified as

interfering with the land use regime, in the PDM, which implied a concentrated effort by the administration and turned out to be a task that was too complex and time-consuming to be carried out as planned.

Municipalities were also faced with the challenge that, by 2020, all PDMs would have to be changed or revised in order to incorporate the new rules for classification and reclassification of the soil, under penalty of suspension of the rules that should have been changed and the imposition of sanctions access to national and community financial support. The concentration of these planning dynamics over time requires preparation by the central and local administration and the planning teams, since, despite the simplification of procedures and the innovations that have occurred in terms of dematerialization, past experiences tell us that the exercise planning will require human and financial resources and high organizational and governance capacity, so that it is possible to respond, simultaneously and in time, to such a large number of procedures.

It also identifies the need to debate and deepen the key issues of the operationalization of the economic and financial regime, in order to give greater support to its definition at the municipal level. This theme is crucial for the continuation of the execution and for the effective functioning of the territorial management system.

The planning system in general, and the plans that comprise it, have been the target of criticism, calling into question the lack of dynamics, the slowness of the plans' formation procedures, the complexity and rigidity of their contents, the difficulty in anticipating the challenges of the future, plus failures in articulation between competent entities and between planning instruments of different natures, scopes and objectives. The successive alteration of applicable or influential legal regimes in the field of spatial planning and urbanism contributes greatly to this situation, whose entry into force has implications for the work of drawing up plans in progress, aggravating the lengthy process that already suffered from too long elaboration times.

Although there has been great progress in the production of knowledge and information on the territory, there are still deficits, both in terms of specific thematic information and in terms of cadastral and basic cartographic information. There are also difficulties in accessing information that deserve the reinforcement of policies to promote open and shared data.

The existence of plans in force for more than 20 years and revision times that, in some cases, significantly exceed a decade, allows us to foresee the existence of problems that need to be corrected in the context of the adoption of administrative practices more in line with the dynamics of society and from the consideration of more current and adaptive planning concepts, more rigorous in the principles and assumptions and more flexible in the solutions.

The reinforcement of the recognition of the territory's values and the promotion of a culture of territorial planning that brings institutions and citizens closer to

territorial management instruments is essential for the planning and management dynamics to be more effective. To this end, the importance of programs and plans for territorial development and for the quality of life of citizens should be highlighted.

Summary

Summarizing, territorial planning in Portugal it is important to retain:

- One of the great challenges is to direct the development process towards the common good, towards the quality of life of the populations and towards greater sustainability;
- It is the State that has a decisive role in terms of planning and ordering, and within the scope of the territorial management system, various entities of the central administration intervene, as well as municipalities;
- It was only in the 1980s that a modern land management system began to be implemented;
- One of the major milestones in the organization of the planning system in Portugal was the General Basic Law for Spatial Planning and Urban Planning, of 1998, and the Legal Regime of Territorial Management Instruments, of 1999.
- Currently, the most important legal framework concerns the General Basic Law for Public Policy on Soil, Spatial Planning and Urban Planning (LBGPPSOTU) in 2014 and the new Legal Regime for Territorial Management Instruments (RJIGT) in 2015;
- Territorial management system comprises 4 scales of analysis – national, regional, inter-municipal and municipal, covered by a variety of Programs and Plans;
- At the level of Tourism, there is an instrument – Tourism Strategy 2027 – which is the reference for the development of public policies and business strategies in the tourism sector;
- Despite the law enshrining the general principle of citizen participation in the planning process, in Portugal there is still a weak adhesion, in the different phases in which they can participate;
- Territorial management system established in 1999 was never fully operationalized in all its components;
- In order for planning and management to be more effective, it means recognizing the values of the territory, as well as promoting a culture of spatial planning that brings institutions and citizens closer to territorial management instruments.

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Spatial planning system in Turkey

Focus on tourism destinations


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Country profile

Turkey, officially the Republic of Turkey, is a transcontinental country located in Europe and Asia. It is surrounded by eight countries and three seas. It has borders with Greece and Bulgaria to the northwest; Georgia to the northeast; Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Iran to the east; Iraq to the southeast; and Syria to the south. There is the Black Sea in the north; the Aegean Sea to the west; and the Mediterranean Sea to the south. Its size is 783,562 km². With this size, it is the 36th biggest country in the world. Its population is 84.7 million people¹ which makes Turkey the 18th most populated country in the year 2021 (World Population Review, 2022). Ankara is the capital city with a provincial population of approximately 5.7 million people. However, the economic centre of the country is İstanbul with a population of approximately 15.8 million people (TURKSTAT, 2022a).

1 Turkey hosts approximately 5.5 million immigrants, the largest group of which is the Syrians under temporary protection with a population of 3,561,833 people (08.12.2022) (PoMM, 2022).

Table 1. General country information

Name of country	Republic of Turkey
Capital, population of the capital (TURKSTAT, 2022a)	Ankara
	4,853,936 (2021 – metropolitan area)
	5,747,325 (2021 – province)
Surface area	783,562 km ²
Total population (TURKSTAT, 2022a)	84,680,273 (2021 address-based population registration system)
Population density	110 inhabitants/km ² (2021)
Population growth rate	1.27% (2021); 0.55% (2020); 1.39% (2019); 1.47% (2018)
Degree of urbanisation* (TURKSTAT, 2022a)	93.2% (2021); 93.0% (2020)
Human development index (UNDP, 2022)	0.838 (2021)
GDP (The World Bank, 2022a)	815,27 billion USD (2021)
GDP per capita (The World Bank, 2022b)	9,586.6 USD (2021)
GDP growth (The World Bank, 2022c)	11.0% (2021); 1.8% (2020); 0.9% (2019); 7.5% (2018)
Unemployment rate (The World Bank, 2022d)	13.4% (2021); 13.1% (2020); 13.7% (2019); 10.9% (2018)
Land use (ESA, 2021)	71.52% forests, scrublands, grasslands, wetlands
	25.18% agricultural land
	1.68% inland waters
	1.62% built-up land
Sectoral structure (TURKSTAT, 2022b)	55.3% services and administration (2021)
	27.5% industry and construction (2021)
	17.2% agriculture (2021)

* Villages within the boundaries of metropolitan municipalities are officially categorized as rural neighbourhoods. Although these villages are functionally rural settlements, their populations are considered within the urban populations. Therefore, the degree of urbanisation in Turkey seems quite high.

Source: own elaboration based on data from given references.

“The organization and functions of the administration are based on the principles of centralization and decentralization” (Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, article 123). There is a three-tier administrative division in Turkey: provinces, sub-provinces, and villages. It has 81 provinces, 922 sub-provinces,

and 18,288 villages by the year 2022 (MoIA, 2022). These administrative units are "...de-concentrated but centrally appointed (by the central government) branches disseminated on the territory" (CoR, n.d.).

Along with these administrative units, there is a municipal system based on elections. Municipalities are mainly responsible for managing urban development and providing their residents with statutory basic services such as provision of social services and technical infrastructure, management of urban transportation, and public health. The municipal organization has two levels based on urban population. The first level is the metropolitan municipalities of larger cities where the urban population is higher than 750,000 people. The second level covers provincial municipalities for small and midsize cities. Having the same responsibilities assigned, the basic difference is on their responsibility boundaries. The purview of metropolitan municipalities covers the whole province, whereas provincial municipalities have territorial control only in municipal boundaries. Since the territorial control of provincial municipalities does not cover the whole province, there are also special provincial administrations directed by the governorship in such provinces. These administrations are mainly responsible for technical infrastructure and transportation investments in rural areas outside the territorial control of municipalities. In the year 2022, there are 30 metropolitan municipalities (Figure 1), under these, 519 metropolitan district municipalities. There are 51 provincial municipalities, and under these, 403 district municipalities and 388 small-scale town municipalities (MoIA, 2022).

Turkey is one of the members of the Group of Twenty (G20) countries (G20, n.d.). Despite the gradual decrease since 2013, Turkey has a relatively high gross domestic product (GDP) (The World Bank, 2021). The considerable increase in GDP has started in the year 1980, where there was a paradigm change for industrialization, growth, and development policies. Instead of import substitution, export promotion was chosen as the main policy for economic growth and development (Karluk & Küçüksakarya, 2016). It is the result of the Stabilization Decisions of January 24th, 1980, which was a political declaration of the apparent intention for the neoliberal transformation of the Turkish economy (Kolsuz & Yeldan, 2014). The major goals of these measures were to integrate the Turkish economy with the global economy, reduce state intervention in the economy, follow the rules of market economy, and validate pricing methods. Between the years 1980–1998, the main economic sector was the industry, especially the textile industry, while agriculture has been losing its importance in the macroeconomic dimension (Yılmaz et al., 2007). There have been numerous public investments in communication, transportation, and energy (Aktan, 1999 cited in Erdoğan, 2017) all of which were considered as key factors to increase the production capacity and the export levels in industry. After the year 1998, service and construction activities have become more important than the industry. Tourism has considered as one of the most important service activities in this period. The infrastructure investments during this period, especially the transportation investments, were mainly for increasing the accessibility of tourism destinations.

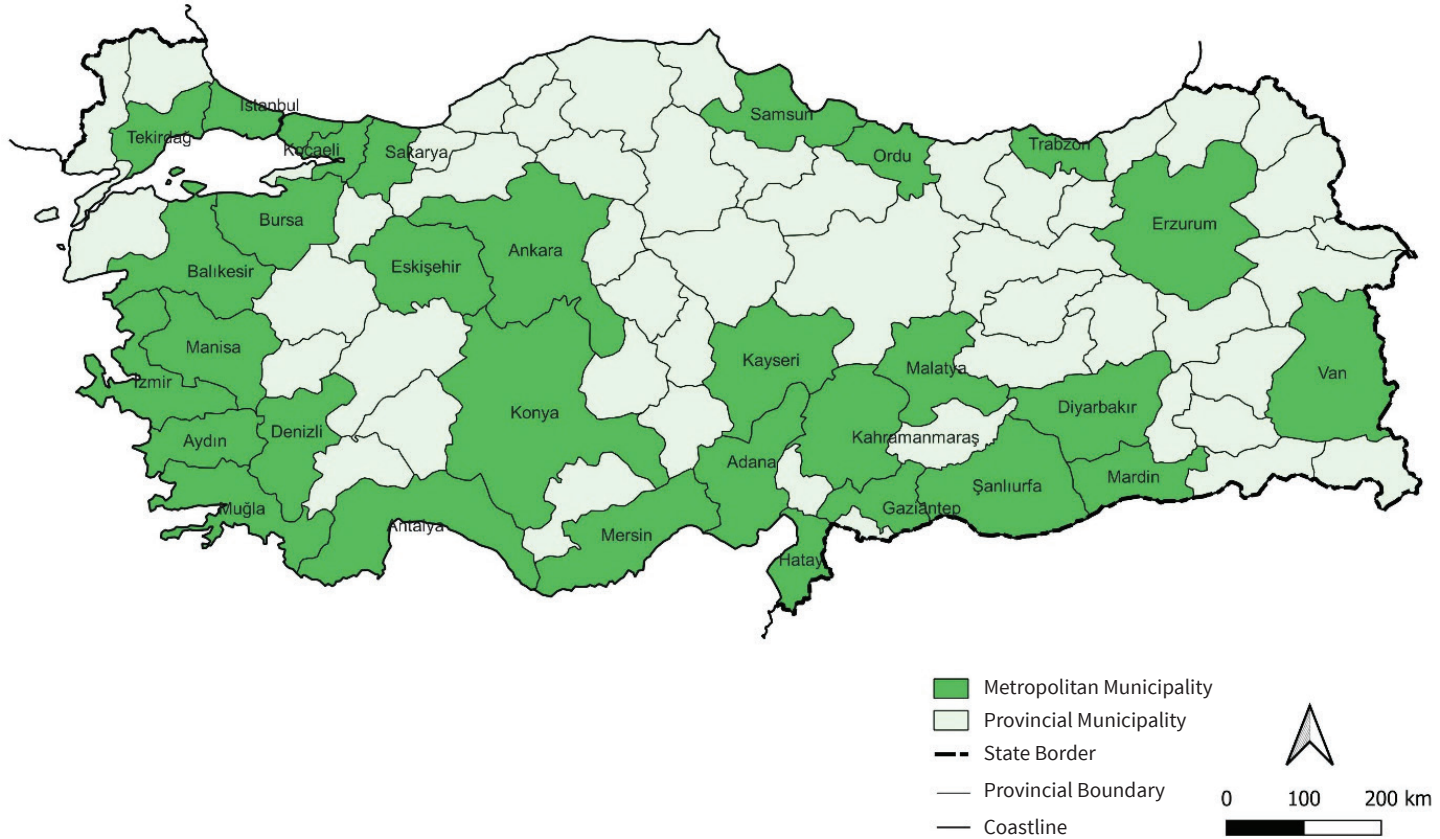


Figure 1. Provincial administrative division of Turkey and the distribution of metropolitan municipalities, 2022

Source: own elaboration based on data from MoIA, 2022.

Such substantial changes in macroeconomic structure must be accompanied by political and legislative transformations, as they appear to be essential for preparing the spatial context of the new economic order and enabling it to function at all spatial scales. The most critical dimension of the political transformation was the decentralization of the public authority, from central level to local level (Eroğlu & Tunç, 2018). Based on subsidiarity idea, it increased the municipal control on land and resulted in a new kind of spatial development in Turkey. Additionally, privatization has resulted in shrinkage of central functions which is quite logical while the nation-state had been losing its financial resources (Yayman, 2000). The legislative transformation has been applied on two dimensions. In the first dimension, there were Law no. 3194 on Spatial Development and Law no. 2981 on Planning Amnesty directly organizing urban development mainly under the control of municipalities. On the other dimension, there were laws such as Law no. 3621 on Coastal Zones, the Law no. on Forest Areas, and Law no. 2634 on Tourism Incentives proposing new ways of spatial development outside the urban areas. With reference to these laws, not only ports, industrial parks, university campuses, mine sites but also tourism investments along the coastal lines and in the forest areas became easily possible.

Turkey was relatively late to develop its tourism industry compared to other destinations in the Mediterranean region. There were minor initiatives mostly envisaged by the public sector as early as the 1960s to benefit from the economic, social, and cultural impact of tourism, yet systematic attempts were conducted to enhance the tourism industry by the enforcement of Law no. 2634 on Tourism Incentives in 1982. The private sector investments were brought to the fore with incentives provided by this Law such as allocation of public lands for private tourism investors, short-, medium-, and long-term supports for construction and operation, and provision of technical infrastructure by the State (Demir, 2004).

Tourism has become a major economic activity for Turkey by the early 1990s, during which more than 5 million tourists have visited Turkey (Yozcu & Gurel, 2019). After the 2000s, the emphasis on diversification of tourism supply and increasing the quality issues has become increasingly apparent. Total number of tourists has increased ten-fold in almost thirty years and reached 52 million visitors in 2019 (TURKSTAT, 2022c). According to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) tourism is one of the most dynamic and fastest growing economic sectors in Turkey (OECD, 2020). Indicated in OECD Tourism Trends and Policies 2020 Report, in the year 2018;

- the number of employment in tourism was 2.2 million people, which was 7.7 % of total employment;
- total tourism income represented 3.8 % of GDP;
- Turkey attracted 45.6 million foreign visitors, mostly from Russia, Germany, Bulgaria, United Kingdom and Georgia as top markets for inbound tourism;
- domestic tourism was 126.4 million trips (OECD, 2020).

Turkey was the 6th most visited country in the world in 2019 (UNWTO, 2020) and obtained 38.9 billion dollars from the tourists who have visited the

country (TURKSTAT, 2022c). Although these numbers seem quite high and there observed an increase on annual base, it is difficult to claim that there has been a steady increase in tourism numbers (Table 2). Due to the vulnerability of tourism sector to political issues, significant fluctuations between the years 2015 and 2018 have been observed, and a sharp decrease in 2020 was inevitable due to Covid-19 pandemic restrictions.

Table 2. Annual tourism income, number of tourists, and average expenditure per capita

Year	Annual Tourism Income (1,000 \$)	Annual Number of Tourists	Average Expenditure per Capita (\$)
2012	29,689,249	36,463,921	814
2013	33,073,502	39,226,226	843
2014	35,137,949	41,415,070	848
2015	32,494,212	41,617,530	781
2016	22,839,468	31,365,330	728
2017	27,044,542	38,620,346	700
2018	30,545,924	45,628,673	669
2019	38,930,474	51,860,042	751
2020	14,817,273	15,826,266	936
2021	30,173,587	29,357,463	1,028

Source: own elaboration based on data from TURKSTAT, 2022c.

This tremendous growth in the visitor numbers and income on annual basis has caused major problems, especially in specific tourism destinations, resulting in heavy traffic problems, air and noise pollution, aggressive construction investments, and incompatible land uses (İçöz et al., 2009). Some of the most populated tourism destinations in Turkey are highlighted in Figure 2. Antalya, Muğla and Nevşehir have the highest tourist densities regarding the provincial population. In 2018, there were approximately 11.2 million tourists visited Antalya compared to the provincial population of 2.4 million people; approximately 2.2 million visitors to Muğla, compared to its slightly less than 1 million people as the provincial population; and approximately 615 thousand tourists visited Nevşehir compared to the provincial population of almost 300 thousands people.

Current trends indicate that Turkey's tourism industry will continue to expand in the near future. However, the Covid-19 pandemic changed all the previous predictions dramatically. Even though the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) has foreseen a very strong growth in the global tourism market and expected the international travel to reach a record number of 1.8 billion people by the year 2030 (UN, 2017), it would be extremely difficult to regain the previous high levels of international travels, which would also affect the number of visitors to Turkey.

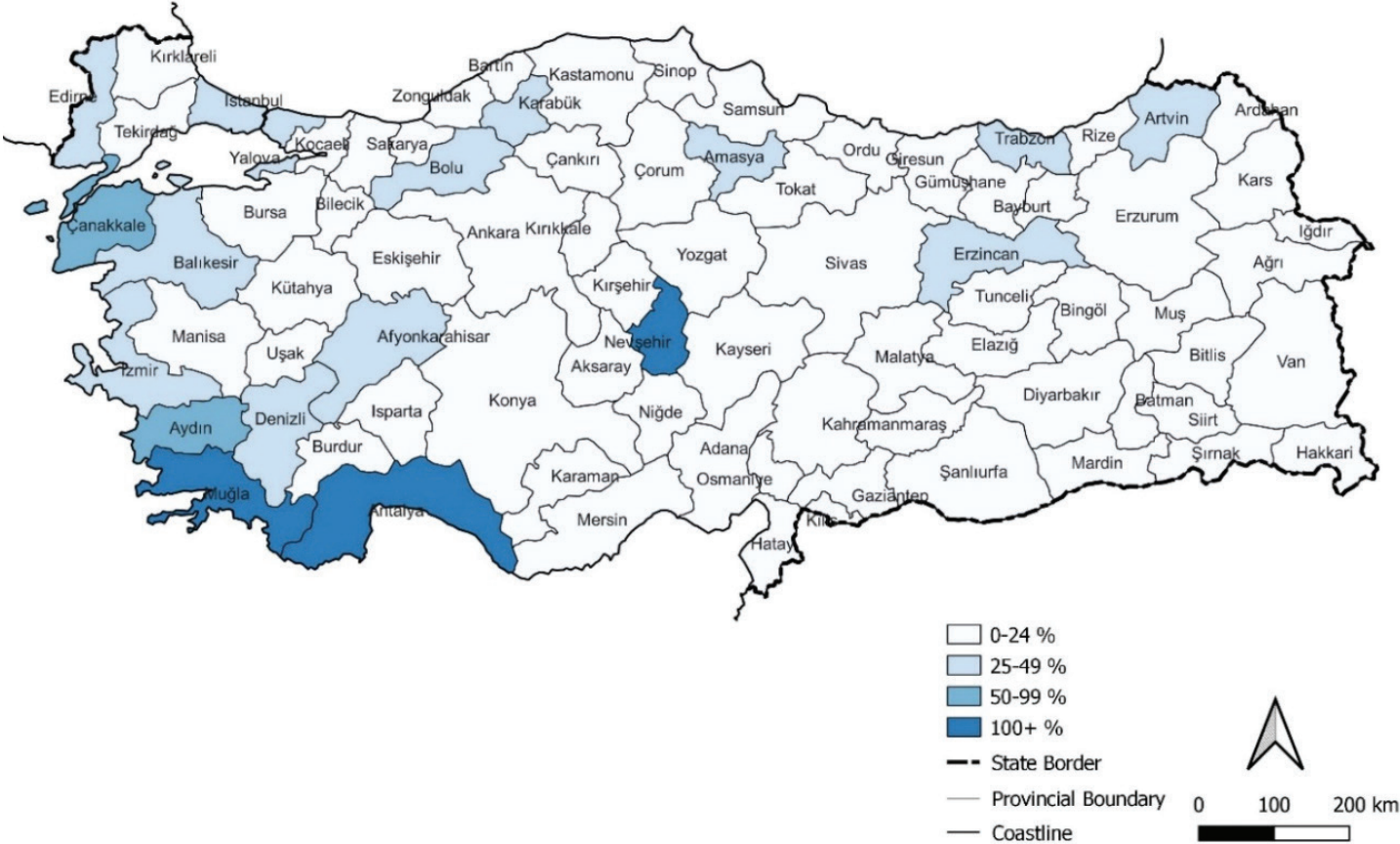


Figure 2. The total number of tourists per provincial population, 2018
Source: own elaboration based on data from Thoooth-1, Thoooth-2, and TURKSTAT, 2019.

Turkey would like to increase its share from global tourism income by offering diverse opportunities to international markets alongside the sea, sun and sand. Consequently, Turkey has taken significant steps toward alternative tourism investments, including health tourism, religious tourism, cultural tourism, sports tourism, and congress tourism.

Being the crossroad of civilizations and hosting the traces of more than 3,000 ancient cities makes Turkey one of the most desired destinations to visit for all the travellers. The exploration of *Göbeklitepe* for example, which is widely regarded as the zero-point of history by the scholars, has triggered a very strong touristic demand to the South-eastern Anatolia and stimulated new tourism investments in the region. In fact, the growth of the tourism industry in Turkey has been resulted in rapid development of tourism infrastructure including thousands of hotels in the country. The tourism infrastructure in Turkey is relatively developed (Table 3). Total touristic hotel bed capacity, which was 250,000 in 1990 all over the country, has reached to more than 1.8 million in 2021 (MoCT, 2021a; MoCT, 2021b).

Table 3. Ministry and municipality licenced tourism accommodation establishments in Turkey, 2021

		Number of Facilities	Number of Rooms	Number of Beds
Ministry Licenced Tourism Establishments	Operation Licence	4,801	508,511	1,065,537
	Investment Licence	585	64,002	139,703
Municipality Licenced Tourism Establishments		9,445	276,150	620,349
TOTAL		14,831	848,663	1,825,589

Source: own elaboration based on data from MoCT, 2021a and MoCT, 2021b.

Legal regulations of spatial planning

Spatial Planning System in Turkey

The Turkish planning hierarchy consists of six basic spatial plan categories for different scales (Figure 3). On top of the hierarchy, there are national development plans prepared by the Presidency of Strategy and Budget of the Presidency of the Turkish Republic, through coordination with other ministries. These plans depend on the Law no. 3067 on the Enforcement of the National Development Plans and

the Preservation of their Integrity. National development plans are prepared over a period of five years. The basic aim of these plans is to achieve a long term growth and development concerning the basic dimensions of the society such as economy, health, education, transportation, social security, and justice. These plans analyse existing situations, determine development targets and contain all the principles and tools in order to reach these targets (Büyüksalvarcı et al., 2016). By referring to all these components of the planning process, they set the priorities for the public policy. Moreover, they have strong influences on the private sector as they determine economic sectors to be supported by subsidies and to be developed in the future (Takım, 2011). Although they have emphasis on public and private sectors, they do not propose any location for the development, which makes the spatial dimension of these plans relatively limited.

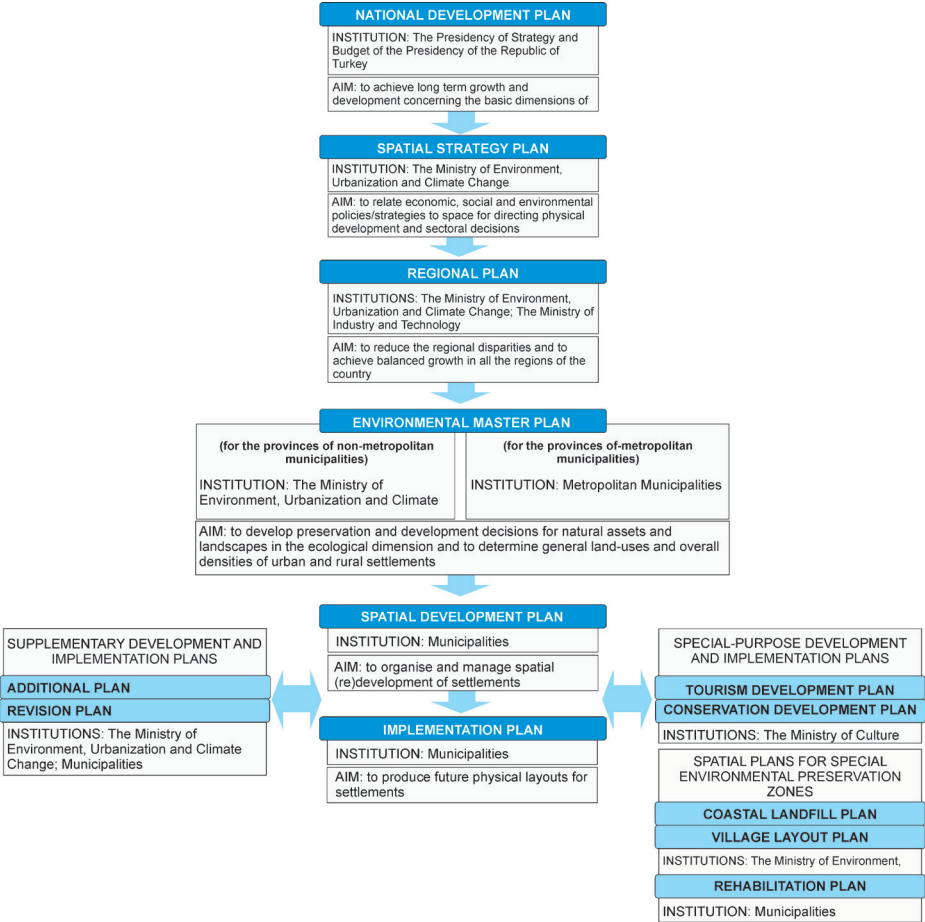


Figure 3. Spatial planning system in Turkey
Source: own elaboration.

The national development plan in effect is the Eleventh Development Plan (2019–2023) which was prepared in a context where international collaboration and cooperation is developed and the level of uncertainty is increased. The two basic strategic targets of the Eleventh Development Plan are to develop human capital through the improvements in education and to increase innovation capacity through the national technological improvements (PoSB, 2019). These strategic targets are considered as the key factors of the main course of the action for the long term national development.

The main focus of the Eleventh Development Plan is to increase the competitive advantages and the level of efficiency in most of the economic sectors, but mainly manufacturing industry, agriculture, tourism, and defence industry (PoSB, 2019). The quantitative growth in the tourism industry has been one of the basic priorities of the central governments within the last decades. Concurrently, the Eleventh Development Plan intends to increase the share of the tourism industry in the national economy (PoSB, 2019). The strategic aims within this context are the introduction of new tourism types and the increase in the quality of tourism services, which could have positive impacts on the number of high-income visitors, the duration of their visits, and non-accommodational expenditures (PoSB, 2019).

Spatial strategy plans, that were introduced by the Presidential Decree no. 644 enacted in 2011, are in the second rank of the planning hierarchy following the national development plans (MoEUCC, n.d.). Spatial strategy plans are prepared by the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization, and Climate Change to relate economic, social and environmental policies/strategies of the national development plans with the space so that they could direct physical development and sectoral decisions all over the country or in certain regions where there appears a necessity (Taşmektepligil & Polat, 2021). These plans are abstract and schematic; yet their reports include detailed descriptions of national strategies of spatial development.

Defined by the Law no. 3194 on of Spatial Development, regional plans follow both the national development plans and the spatial strategy plans in the planning hierarchy. Regional plans stand at the intermediary level between social/economic and physical/spatial plans. There are two responsible public institutions preparing/proposing regional plans: the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change and the Ministry of Industry and Technology. Despite the unclear division of labour between these two ministries, they are expected to produce regional plans in coordination and cooperation. The basic aims of these plans are to reduce the regional disparities and to achieve a balanced growth in all regions of the country (Tutar & Öztürk, 2003). They mainly translate national policies, plans, and strategies to local demands and actions on a spatial basis to create a local capacity where local resources and the potentials could be used in a sustainable way. In other words, they reconsider the economic/sectoral decisions of the national development plans within a regional spatial organization. Regional plans do not only concentrate on the determination of the optimum location of public

or private investments through a scenario, but also consider direct and indirect socio-spatial impacts of these investments.

Regional plans propose various strategic aims some of which are understanding socio-economic and physical conditions of regions, evaluating local dynamics and internal potentials, increasing participation and collaboration, promoting local development, rehabilitating the quality of life conditions, integrating development plans and environmental master plans in a coherent way, developing a collective regional vision, providing suitable conditions for raising competitive advantages of the region, and guiding the actors and stakeholders by reaching the future targets (Law no. 3194, article 8).

As the fourth category in the planning hierarchy, environmental master plans are upper scale spatial plans prepared in 1:50,000 and 1:100,000 scales depending on the size of the planning boundary. These plans have to follow the policies, strategies, and planning decisions already proposed by the national development plans, spatial strategy plans and regional plans; yet, they should also consider the local/regional dynamics within the framework of sustainable development (Law no. 3194, article 5). There are two institutions having the right to produce environmental master plans: the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change, and the metropolitan municipalities. The environmental master plans in regional scale and/or for non-metropolitan cities are produced by the Ministry, whereas for metropolitan cities, the plan is produced by metropolitan municipalities by considering the provincial boundaries (Presidential Decree no. 1, article 102).

There are two basic dimensions of environmental master plans: the ecological and the economic dimensions. In the ecological dimension, these plans develop preservation and development decisions for natural assets and landscapes such as forests, agricultural lands, water resources, and coastal zones, which might be critical for the continuation of ecological balance and the ecosystem permanence. The preventive strategies and policies for different types of pollution should also be considered in this dimension. In the economic dimension, the main decisions are the general land-uses and the overall densities for single cities or a group of cities by concerning also their rural surroundings. With the general land-use and transportation decisions represented by a schematic/conceptual graphic language, they guide the spatial development plans and implementation plans in lower scales (Regulation on the Preparation of Spatial Plans, articles 19–21).

The next plan category in the Turkish planning hierarchy includes the spatial development plans defined in the Law no. 3194 on Spatial Development. These plans are mainly produced to organize and manage the spatial (re)development of the cities. They decide the direction and the size of urban growth along with the future land-uses, densities, transportation and infrastructures (Law no. 3194, article 5). The planning process of spatial development plans is under the control of municipalities. Therefore, they could be considered as local level spatial plans.

The implementation plans as the last category in the planning hierarchy could also be considered as local level spatial plans prepared by the municipalities. Similar to the spatial development plans, the content of these plans is defined by Law no. 3194 on Spatial Development. Following the strategic and spatial planning decisions of spatial development plans, they tend to produce concrete and detailed spatial decisions for the future physical layouts for the settlements. These plans are produced at 1:1,000 scale. In relation to their scale, the decisions of these plans are mainly on urban blocks, their densities and configurations, and the street network. They also present the implementation stages as the basis of development programs for implementation (Regulation on the Preparation of Spatial Plans, section 7).

Besides these basic types of plans, there are two sets of spatial plans in relation to spatial development and implementation plans. The first set of spatial plans includes supplementary development and implementation plans, namely additional plans and revision plans (Regulation on the Preparation of Spatial Plans, articles 25–26). Additional plans are proposed when the existing spatial plans become insufficient to contain new developments. They extend the planning boundaries of existing plans harmoniously. As the name implies, revision plans focus on the modification of the existing planning decisions. The second set contains special-purpose spatial plans for specific contents or settlements either urban or rural. Two of these special-purpose plans, namely tourism development plans and conservation development plans, are under the control and guidance of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Tourism development plans are spatial plans for both culture and tourism conservation and development zones and tourism centres (Regulation on the Planning and Implementation of Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Zones and Tourism Centres, article 4) and conservation development plans are prepared for designated cultural and natural heritage areas (Regulation on the Preparation of Spatial Plans, article 25). Additionally, there are three types of special-purpose spatial plans under the control and guidance of the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change. Spatial plans for special environmental preservation zones are prepared for ecologically sensitive areas (Statutory Decree no. 648). Coastal landfill plans develop planning decisions for coastal landfill areas as interfaces between urban settlements and seas (Official Statement, 2011). Village layout plans aim to organize spatial development in villages (Regulation on the Implementations in Village Settlement Area, article 5). Lastly, rehabilitation plans are prepared for informal built-up areas such as squatter areas and/or the areas developed with shared title deeds (Law no. 2981).

Tourism Planning in Turkey

Tourism planning has a long history in Turkey. Since the 1960s, the country has been trying to develop its suitable destinations as hot tourism spots. At the centre of these efforts, there is the Ministry of Culture and Tourism as the public authority in charge

of tourism and travel activities and responsible for scrutinizing the effectiveness of private sector. The Ministry is appointed the role of a higher supervisory body that sets out, plans and coordinates standards applicable to local and professional organizations, devised with a sound mechanism of inspection and supervision. Aiming to increase the rate of involvement and functionalities, local governments are strengthened in their current structures as project operator. All spatial plans, strategies and actions that are related to the tourism industry are governed by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The Ministry determines, declares and plans tourism areas at urban and regional levels.

Historically tourism planning activities started during the 1960s when Turkey has initiated a planning era for regulating economic life in 1963 (Yolal, 2016). Tourism was considered as a subsector in the national development plans with objectives to utilize tourism potentials to obtain tourism income, to provide tourism infrastructure for visitors and to maintain a balance between preservation and development in and around tourism destinations (Tarhan, 1999). In this period, the tourism policy was designed to promote an efficient tourism sector with a high international competitive advantage for fulfilling the expectations of domestic and international tourists, to obtain a balanced economic and spatial development considering the preservation of natural and cultural assets, and to invest and improve spatial and social tourism infrastructure for local communities (Tavmergen & Oral, 1999). Aiming to realize these tourism policies, mass tourism and coastal tourism activities were promoted through large-scale investments in tourism regions. In 1960, the Council of Ministers has identified ten tourism regions, which was reduced to eight in 1973. The main criterion for establishing tourism regions is the potential to attract maximum numbers of tourists for higher sectoral income (Tosun & Jenkins, 1996). Based on the Law no. 2634 on Tourism Incentives, 'tourism zones' and 'tourism centres' were identified. Tourism zones are appointed as the places with high priority for tourism development in tourism regions, whereas tourism centres are defined as specific locations in or out of tourism regions and zones. Tourism centres having the highest priority in terms of tourism development are supposed to be kept strictly under control. Tourism centres and zones were determined by the Council of Ministers by considering suggestions of the Ministry of Tourism and Culture. Later in 2003, tourism regions were revoked, and together with tourism zones, these areas are renamed as culture and tourism conservation and development zones by the amendment in Law no. 2634. The responsibility of preparing spatial plans for these culture and tourism conservation and development zones and tourism centres is appointed to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. By the year 2022, there are 60 culture and tourism conservation and development zones and 173 tourism centres identified and approved by the Ministry in compliance with the Law no. 2634 (MoCT, 2022).

The Ministry has been tasked with the protection, perseverance and promotion of Turkish culture and tourism, the establishment of related policies and the

administration of all tourism related activities in Turkey. For Turkey as a destination, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism acts as the Destination Management Organisation with its legal regulations and applications. The Ministry is actively participating in almost all the international tourism fairs in the most important markets for Turkey including Germany, the United Kingdom, Russia, the Netherlands, Poland, Austria, Iran, and Ukraine. The Ministry acts as the sole controller of the hotels and similar accommodation facilities and closely monitor them to ensure service quality. And recently, during the Covid-19 pandemic, the Ministry acted as the major entity to organise and control safety measures of the accommodation facilities.

As an effort aiming to provide extensions to management and implementation of strategic planning efforts and to boost the cooperation between public and private sectors of tourism with reference to the principle of governance, “Tourism Strategy of Turkey – 2023 and Activity Plan for Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2007–2013” has been put into force after its publication in the Official Gazette no. 26450 dated on 02.03.2007 (MoCT, 2007). Aiming to coordinate the tourism activities and to guide the tourism and travel industry at production, management and implementation phases, the Ministry acted as the coordinator among all the stakeholders with a participatory planning perspective. The Tourism Strategy Plan was prepared in line with the objectives of the Ninth Development Plan (2007–2013) which has indicated that a tourism industry master plan shall be drafted down to ensure sustainable and healthy development of the tourism industry (SPO, 2006).

The vision of the Tourism Strategy Plan is set as “with the adaptation of sustainable tourism approach tourism and industry will be brought to a leading position for leveraging rates of employment and regional development and it will be ensured that Turkey becomes a world brand in tourism and a major destination in the list of the top five countries receiving the highest number of tourist and highest tourism revenues by 2023” (MoCT, 2007, p. 4). Key actions to realize the vision are listed as (MoCT, 2007, pp. 5–6);

- eliminating the interregional differences;
- increasing the competitiveness through creating regional tourism brands;
- reconsidering and planning the existing tourism sites with sustainability perspective;
- supporting tourism development with sustainable environmental policies;
- strengthening international cooperation;
- extending the season throughout the year by diversifying tourism products;
- promoting tourism and raising awareness in public, private companies and NGOs especially on ecotourism, mountain and agricultural tourism;
- making both domestic and international promotions and marketing efforts effective;
- ensuring integration of various tourism types specific to region or locality;

- using tourism as an effective tool for fostering social and economic development;
- ensuring coordination between central and local governments;
- ensuring governance mechanism in which central and local governments and civil actors can collaborate and cooperate in decision-making processes;
- enhancing labour quality;
- focusing on infrastructure related or environmental problems occurring at locations where tourism activities get denser.

Other than internationally recognized coastal tourism infrastructure and capacity, Turkey has several unique opportunities for different types of tourism compiled under the category of alternative tourism which includes health and thermal tourism, sports tourism, adventure tourism, mountain tourism, ecotourism, conference and expo tourism, cruise tourism and yachting, golf tourism. Recognizing that the actual potential of alternative tourism has been underused, the Tourism Strategy Plan collectively targets wiser use of natural, cultural, historical and geographical assets of Turkey with a balanced perspective addressing both conservation and utilization in an equitable sense and hence leveraging the share of the country from global tourism industry (MoCT, 2007).

The Tourism Strategy Plan indicates specific locations as tourism corridors, cities and ecotourism areas alongside the development corridors rather than planning them on a plot scale, and promotes these assets and determines the criteria applicable to their utilization. Besides, the Tourism Strategy Plan proposes specific policies for the rehabilitation of regions which have been inversely affected by previous particularistic approaches promoted mass tourism applications resulted in specific problems, such as mass tourism concentration along Mediterranean and Aegean Coastlines, distorted urban development and construction activities in back-shore and adjacent areas, and deficient infrastructure and environmental problems (MoCT, 2007). Aiming to convert this adverse structure into a positive, sustainable one, an integrated policy and strategy has been set within the scope of the Tourism Strategy Plan that proposes a variety of long term strategies in the realms of planning, investment, organization, research and development, education promotion, branding, and marketing in order to strengthen transportation and infrastructure, diversify tourism products, and reorganise existing tourism areas and develop the destinations.

The Tourism Strategy Plan developed objectives for different tourism types, namely health and thermal tourism, winter tourism, golf tourism, sea tourism, ecotourism, congress and expo tourism. The Plan also sets strategies and objectives for regions which require rehabilitation efforts from negative impacts of mass tourism, especially in the coastal regions of Antalya, Muğla and Aydın provinces where mass tourism has reached a saturation level. The Plan proposes tourism development zones and thematic regional destinations, along predetermined development axes as listed in Table 4.

Table 4. Main strategies and tourism types in the Tourism Strategy of Turkey – 2023

Strategy	Tourism Type	Location
1	2	3
To manage branding of cities rich of cultural and natural heritage and thereby convert them into a point of attraction for travellers	City tourism	Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir, Antalya
	Culture tourism	Adıyaman, Amasya, Bursa, Edirne, Gaziantep, Hatay, Konya, Kütahya, Manisa, Nevşehir, Kars, Mardin, Sivas, Şanlıurfa, Trabzon
To develop means for alternative tourism types led particularly by health, thermal, winter, golf, sea tourism, ecotourism and plateau tourism, conference and expo tourism activities.	Health tourism and thermal tourism	Balıkesir, Çanakkale, Yalova, Aydın, Denizli, Manisa, İzmir, Afyonkarahisar, Ankara, Uşak, Eskişehir, Kütahya, Aksaray, Kırşehir, Niğde, Nevşehir, Yozgat
	Winter tourism	–
	Golf tourism	–
	Sea tourism	Trabzon, Kuşadası, Samsun, İzmir, Antalya, Mersin, İstanbul
	Ecotourism	–
	Conference and expo tourism	İstanbul, Ankara, Antalya, İzmir, Konya, Bursa, Mersin, Adana, Gaziantep, Trabzon
To use tourism as a key tool for local and regional development in tourism development areas encompassing more than one cities to be transformed into destinations <i>9 Tourism Development Zones</i>	PHRYG Culture and Thermal Tourism Zone	Eskişehir, Afyonkarahisar, Kütahya, Uşak
	TROY Culture and Thermal Tourism Development Zone	Çanakkale, Balıkesir
	APHRODISIA Culture and Thermal Tourism Development Zone	Aydın, Denizli
	SÖĞÜT Culture Tourism Development Zone	Bursa, İznik, Bilecik
	CAPPADOCIA Culture Tourism Development Zone	Aksaray, Kayseri, Kırşehir, Nevşehir
	TERRA MERE Ecotourism Development Zone	Konya, Isparta, Ayfon, Burdur
	HITTITE Culture Tourism Development Zone	Çorum, Yozgat
	URARTU Culture Tourism Development Zone	Van, Bitlis
	GAP Culture Tourism Development Zone	Adıyaman, Batman, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Kilis, Mardin, Siirt, Şanlıurfa, Şırnak

Table 4 (cont.)

1	2	3
To develop a certain route for tourism on definite themes, by rehabilitating historical and natural texture <i>7 Tourism Development Corridors</i>	Olive Corridor of South Marmara – health and gastronomy tourism	Gemlik and Mudanya Districts (Bursa), Gönen, Bandırma and Erdek Districts (Balıkesir), Coastline towards Ezine District (Çanakkale), Kapıdağ Peninsula, Dardanelles and Avşa, Paşalimanı and Ekinli Isles and Marmara Isle
	Winter Corridor – winter tourism	Erzincan, Erzurum, Ağrı, Kars, Ardahan
	Faith tourism Corridor – culture tourism	Starting by Tarsus District (Mersin) towards South-eastern Anatolia including Hatay, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Mardin
	Silk Road tourism Corridor – nature tourism and ecotourism, culture tourism	Ayaş-Sapanca Segmental Corridor reaching European Continent through İstanbul, and Adapazarı, Bolu, Ankara
	Black Sea Coastal Corridor – culture, coastal and nature tourism	Black Sea coastline starting from Şile District (İstanbul) to Sinop with an approximately length of 500 km
	Mountain Corridor – plateau and nature tourism	Northern Black Sea Region from Samsun to Hopa District (Artvin)
	Thrace Culture Corridor – culture tourism and ecotourism	Edirne, Kırklareli, Tekirdağ
To plan tourism settlements capable of competing the world examples by becoming a global brand <i>10 new tourism cities</i>	İğneada-Kıyıköy Ecotourism City	
	Kilyos Tourism City	
	Kapıdağ Peninsula, Avşa and Marmara Isles Tourism City	
	Datça Ecotourism City	
	Kaş-Finike Tourism City	
	Anamur Coastline Tourism City	
	Samandağ Tourism City	
	Maka Tourism City	
	Kahta Tourism City	

Table 4 (cont.)

1	2	3
To develop nature tourism with reference to development plans <i>Ecotourism Zones</i>	Ecotourism	Black Sea Region including Bolu, Zonguldak, Bartın, Kastamonu, Sinop
		Taurus Mountains – inlands of East Antalya towards Mersin
		GAP Ecotourism Corridor intersection with Winter Corridor

Source: own elaboration based on information from MoCT, 2007.

One of the most important responsibilities of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism is the work related to ensure the protection and sustainability of tourism destinations as indicated in the Tourism Strategy Plan. The spatial and temporal concentration of tourism demand and spatial concentration of tourism supply create major problems related to crowds, congestion in traffic, environmental damage and pressure on the infrastructure (İçöz et al., 2009). Unfortunately, the current conditions do not show an acceptable achievement on protecting and keeping the tourist destinations in a sustainable way. Almost all the destinations are heavily/negatively impacted from incompatible land uses, high density accommodation and related urban development. These incompatible land uses in the tourism destinations are largely due to wrong political decisions, and in the short run, it is not easy to reverse these applications unless the political decision makers take a strong stand against unacceptable applications and decide to protect the natural and cultural assets at the touristic destinations (Tosun & Timothy, 2001; Hatipoğlu et al., 2016).

Long-term strategy for spatial planning

In Turkey, long-term strategy for spatial planning depends on the National Strategy for Regional Development (MoD, 2014). The document was prepared by the Ministry of Development for the period between the years 2014 and 2023. The main statement declared in this strategy is “the total and more balanced development” for Turkey. This Strategy was produced with a participatory approach. Different actors and stakeholders such as public institutions, development agencies, NGOs, and the representatives of the private sector took part in the participatory practices of this strategy, so that the Strategy became multi-sectoral and proposed well-formulated policies.

In this Strategy, regional development is conceptualized as a process where the regional and urban resources and internal potentials are considered as the key factors for development. By using these resources/potentials, the main policy for regional development depends on a balance between decreasing the regional disparities and increasing the competitiveness of the regions. Within this balance, each settlement – from rural settlements to metropolitan cities- is considered with their unique features (MoD, 2014; Peker, 2015).

The major specific spatial aim of this Strategy is to achieve a balanced settlement system by developing the cities located in relatively-underdeveloped eastern part of Turkey (Figure 4). With this aim, not only the emergence of the additional problems related to the urban agglomeration in the metropolitan cities of the north-western part of Turkey, but also the ones related to the regional disparities in the cities of the eastern part of Turkey could be prevented. According to the Strategy, these cities should serve high quality workplaces and residential areas in order to pull qualified labour force which is vital for competitive production. Such development has a potential to reduce the regional disparities (MoD, 2014).

The Strategy is constructed based on an understanding in which the cities are not considered as isolated entities, but as relational phenomena on networks. This understanding assumes strong relationships among urban and rural settlements. To understand the settlements, it firstly classifies them. There are six groups of settlements, four of which focus on urban settlements; one of which focuses on provinces; and the last one on rural areas. The first group includes the **metropolitan cities**. They are considered as the main centres for competitive advantages at the global level by having infrastructure for human and social capital. The second group of cities are the **growth poles** with the basic functions to distribute development in a more balanced way and to use the internal potential in a more efficient way. The third group of cities are the **regional attraction centres**. These cities are determined mainly in underdeveloped regions of the country to attract economic investments and skilled labour for development. As the fourth group, there are the **cities of structural transformation** in the regions developed moderately. The main strategy for these cities is to support the existing production capacities and service provisions. The fifth group includes the **provinces with development priority** consisting both urban and rural settlements concurrently. The major goal in these provinces is to achieve a multi-sectoral development as a tool to improve quality of life conditions. This multi-sectoral development includes not only the financial support and subsidies to sectors such as industry, construction, and tourism in the urban centres; but also the improvements of the production in agriculture and husbandry in rural parts of these provinces. The last group focuses solely on **rural areas**. This group considers rural settlements with reference to their locational characteristics under two subgroups as the rural settlement in the close vicinity of urban fringes and the distant rural settlements. For both of these subgroups, the development of the rural economy is the priority (MoD, 2014).

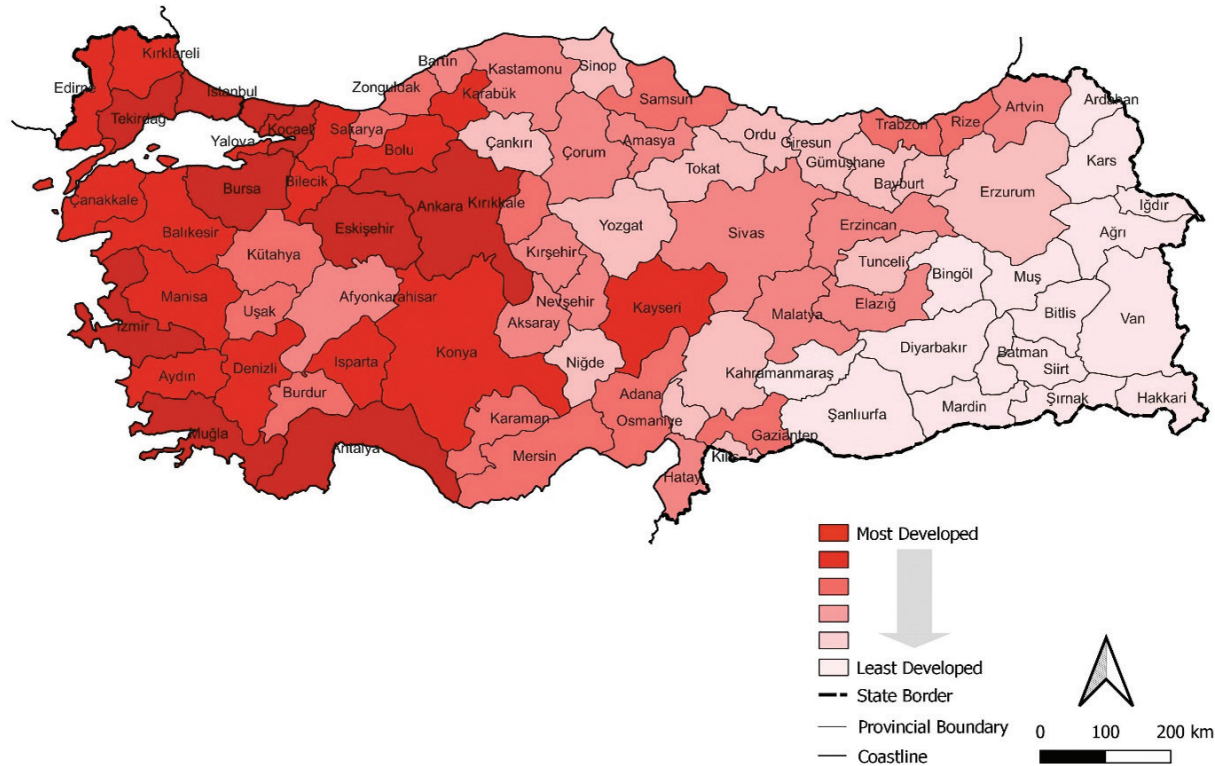


Figure 4. Regional disparities in Turkey based on SEGE-2017² indicators

Source: own elaboration based on data from MoIT, 2019.

² SEGE-2017 study ranks provinces and regions with reference to their development levels by examining demographic, employment, education, health, financial, innovation, accessibility and quality of life variables (MoIT, 2019).

Public participation in spatial planning

In the last decades, spatial planning in Turkey has started to change structurally under the influence of globalization and neoliberal policies. One of the basic dimensions of this shift is the private sector which has gradually involved into planning processes and determined these processes with reference to its own interests and expectations. Accordingly, it is not possible to argue that the demands and expectations of different social groups and individuals are met within the planning process. The gap between planning decisions and the demands and expectations of social groups and individuals produces a resistance towards spatial planning and its implementation. At this point, public participation becomes increasingly important and necessary. However, there are no legal regulations obliging active participation in the preparation and/or implementation processes of spatial plans in Turkey. Participatory practices have been mostly carried out depending on the institutional attitudes of the ministries and municipalities.

Public participation in spatial planning processes is often achieved through city councils and municipal councils. Although the discussions about spatial plans are open to the public on these platforms, the level of participation is controversial because participation processes are conducted and directed by ministries and municipalities. Since the bureaucrats/managers of these institutions think that the opportunity of participation (given to relevant stakeholders) always lead to a kind of taking advantage of this opportunity by fulfilling their expectations and maximizing their private interests (Tekeli, 2017), the demands and expectations declared during the participatory processes do not find response in the planning decisions in many cases. Within this framework, participatory practices do not have positive/constructive impacts on planning decisions and are based on the application to judicial processes so that the social groups and individuals who have suffered by the decisions of spatial plans might have a chance to protect their personal/public interests. Therefore, it is possible to claim that there is a negative participation in Turkey rather than a positive/constructive participation (Keleş, 2015).

Public participation has accelerated in Turkey since the execution of the “Local Agenda 21” documents and processes in the year 1996. With the Local Agenda 21, principles such as citizen participation, governance and transparency have been tried to be activated in urban planning and management. The city councils established in this process took a legal form with the Law no. 5393 on Municipality (Dolu, 2014; Keleş & Mengi, 2017); yet, these councils depending on multi-actor relations in their structure and undertaking the task of coordination have been inactive except for a few examples. They have generally conducted inadequate, routine, and ineffective studies in the name of participation.

Having not achieved/experienced at expected levels, participation has been set as a legal principle in the development plans (Esengil, 2010). Since the 2000s, all

the national plans have included statements promoting public participation by the preparation of the spatial development plans. Yet, their impacts are limited since democracy/participation is an individual culture and necessitates time to change spatial planning and urban management (Tekeli, 2017).

In the existing Turkish practice, there is no legal regulation preventing public participation in spatial planning. On the other hand, there is also no legal regulation that directly/clearly makes the participation process obligatory. There are only a limited number of legal regulations mentioning public participation as an intention or principle; such as Law no. 5393 on Municipality, Law no. 4982 on the Right to Obtain Information, Law no. 5302 on the Special Provincial Administration, and Law no. 5216 on Metropolitan Municipality (Ruge et al., 2014). In this context, it is convenient to claim that public participation is legally and formally possible, yet it is not an obligatory process and its realization strictly depends on the comprehensive attitudes of the ministries and municipalities (Keleş, 2015).

The general reasons for the failures in the participatory processes in Turkey can be listed as follows (Tekeli, 2017);

- the consideration of the participatory practices as if they are legal obligations which produces the perception of “compulsory ceremony” for public participation;
- the inability to adjust the budgeting and timing of the participatory processes which makes them meaningless and boring activities for the participants;
- the widespread public acceptance that participation could not produce successful results;
- the disappointment of the spatial planners when participatory processes fail;
- the treatment of participation as an aim rather than a tool;
- the failure of public participation due to the dominance of conflicting societal relations in the public realm;
- the lack of local platforms that foster participatory governance through NGOs.

Main challenges of spatial planning of tourism destinations

Turkey is one of the most important tourism destinations in the world. Due to its great geographical, cultural and natural attractions and its numerous historical and archaeological sites, Turkey has a rich blend of less discovered, diverse and unique natural and cultural assets (Yolal, 2016). As stated in the Tourism Strategy Plan, there are challenges to diversify tourism activities and increase tourism income

by activating underused tourism potentials of the country to be explored by the globalized tourist markets. The main challenges of the spatial planning of tourism destinations in Turkey could be categorized under four headings.

The first challenge is related to **the spatial planning system**. The spatial planning system in Turkey is very complex and complicated. Different public institutions have the authority to produce spatial plans for the same spatial setting. However, the fact that the plans produced by different institutions have different priorities prevents the integration of these fragmented spatial plans. The lack of integration results in the deterioration of public continuities, the disappearance of the coherency in land use decisions, and the weakening of spatial structures. The coexistence of these fragmented spatial plans for the same setting transforms spatial planning into a technical collage producing urban patchworks, undermines the autonomy of planning system, and creates a pressure on spatial planning directed by different actors and stakeholders.

Similar problems also appear within the spatial planning processes of tourism destinations. Sometimes inconsistencies arise between the spatial plans commissioned by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the spatial development plans under the control of municipalities. These inconsistencies are especially observable for planning decisions supporting mass tourism that do not create a value added for local communities, adversely impact existing agricultural areas/production, and directly or indirectly damage cultural and natural assets.

The second challenge is related to **the ambiguity of legal frameworks** regulating the spatial planning practices. The judicial boundaries of these legal frameworks are not very clear and they sometimes delegate/distribute the planning authority to different institutions, which creates a confusion of powers. Additionally, the purviews of these legal frameworks are vague and ambiguous which eliminates the standardization of planning practices and the establishment of precedents. There is an apparent need for a new planning legislation that should reorganize the planning processes/practices. The ambiguity of legal framework could also result in administrative problems due to overlapping responsibility areas of different public institutions. Those overlapping responsibilities could cause conflicting situations between public institutions or lack of authority when the institutions are unwilling to cooperate or take the responsibility.

The lack of public participation is the third challenge. Public participation allows spatial planning to be defined as an interactive decision-making process (Gedikli, 2004). With this quality, it is a concept embraced by the majority of urban and regional planners. However, the implementation of public participation in Turkey is problematic to some extent. It is possible to examine these problematic dimensions under four subcategories.

The first subcategory is *the uncertainty and ambiguity by determining the spatial planning processes to participate in*. The fact that different public institutions have the authority to make spatial plans and produce spatial plans/plan amendments

brings up the idea that multiple plans simultaneously exist within the same spatial settings. It is not realistic to expect proper public participation in these conditions even where urban and regional planners have difficulties to follow these planning processes. The second subcategory that makes participation difficult is *the scale*. As the scale of and content of spatial plans increase, participation levels decrease (Tekeli, 2007) due to the fact that private interests cannot be met in upper scale plans. The third subcategory is *the inconvenience of public participation for every spatial planning decision*. Within the domain of spatial planning, there are three areas where decisions must be taken within instrumental rationality based on scientific knowledge (Tekeli, 2007). The first of these areas is natural and cultural heritage areas that cannot be left to the private interests of the people. The second area includes large-scale urban infrastructure systems that require huge financial investments and must be based on scientific predictions and technical reasoning. The third area contains the necessary spatial arrangements for the continuation of the spatial systems (Tekeli, 2007). The fourth subcategory that complicates public participation is *the lack of autonomy of the spatial planning function*. In such circumstances, spatial planning is less likely to distribute urban services in a just way, because those who do not want to share these urban services with other social/interest groups may attempt to suppress or prevent public participation mechanisms.

The fourth challenge is directly related to **the qualities of tourism destinations**, which can be examined into two dimensions. In the first dimension, there is *excessive concentration/agglomeration of tourism infrastructure* in certain regions – especially in Antalya, Muğla and Aydın provinces due to mass tourism activities as mentioned in the Tourism Strategy Plan (MoCT, 2007). For this situation, which is especially valid for Southwest Anatolia, it can be said that the agglomeration economy associated with this mass tourism creates negative externalities and they adversely affect the optimum use of the existing tourism potential. In the second dimension, there is *the under-use of tourism potential* due to the lack of physical, human, and social capital. Physical capital refers to tourism infrastructure such as hotels and other accommodation facilities. Human capital refers to tourism professionals; while social capital means supplementary and complementary relations among stakeholders enhancing the quality of tourism services. Due to a lack of physical, human, and social capitals, Turkey is unable to offer the richness of its cultural and natural resources to the tourism industry.

Summary

As to summarize, the major challenges of the spatial planning of tourism destinations in Turkey are:

- the complex and complicated character of the planning system that causes fragmentation and might create spatial incoherency and functional inconvenience for the same spatial settings;
- the ambiguity of legal frameworks regulating the spatial planning practices that creates a confusion of powers within the domain of spatial planning and eliminates the standardization of planning practices and the establishment of precedents;
- the lack of public participation;
- the over- and under-use of tourism potentials both of which creates negative externalities for their regions.

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Diverse challenges of tourism spatial planning. Evidence from Italy, Norway, Poland, Portugal, and Turkey

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Introduction

Tourism is recognised as a contributor to job creation, a wealth of people, economic growth, environmental protection, poverty alleviation, natural and cultural heritage assets upon which it depends, empower host communities, generate trade opportunities, and fosters peace and intercultural understanding (UNWTO & UNDP, 2017, p. 10). However, tourism contributes to greenhouse gas emissions and economic leakages; it pressures landscape, environment, resource management and impacts local residents and cultural assets. In theory, the mitigation of these adverse effects can be executed by employing sustainability principles involving environmental, economic and social aspects (Krippendorf, 1987; Cater & Goodall, 1992; France, 1997; Swarbrooke, 1999; Johnson, 2002; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2020). Sustainability nowadays embraces other dimensions going beyond the threefold configuration, thus including the technological, cultural and political aspects (see Mondini, 2019).

As in many other sectors, spatial planning is an essential tool for achieving sustainability in tourism, so spatial planning concepts are increasingly prominent in discussions and strategies focused on regional and tourism development. Even though spatial planning and the tourism sector are two separate concepts, they are, in fact, closely interlinked. Namely, tourist activity takes place in a particular area and therefore has a spatial character. Also, tourism is of crucial economic importance for many localities, regions and even entire countries worldwide.

Spatial planning is an essential tool for organising tourism activities to facilitate the integration of this sector with other sectors in a given area.

These two dimensions – tourism and spatial planning – form the theoretical framework of this article. Its primary objective is to examine how the challenges of spatial planning in tourism destinations are addressed in the strategic documents of five selected European countries – Italy, Norway, Poland Portugal, and Turkey. The paper presents the outcome of the Erasmus+ Programme project “SPOT. Sustainable Spatial Planning of Tourism Destinations” regarding tourism governance development in those five different countries. These countries are characterised both by their very different location within the continent, the different importance of tourism in creating national income, the different nature of this tourism and, above all, the different ways in which tourism is managed and planned. Therefore, a comparison of such different countries can make an important contribution to discussions on addressing tourism spatial planning challenges in strategic documents prepared by central and sub-central governments. The effect is to help the whole spectrum of final users to implement time-oriented strategies at the local level which can allow to practice sustainability, resilience and circularity paradigms with reference to tourism spatial planning.

Challenges of spatial planning in tourism

When it comes to the general benefits, tourism planning has the potential to minimise negative impacts, maximise destination economic return, and build positive attitudes toward tourism in the host community (Hall & Lew, 2009). Williams and Lew (2015) argue that in spatial units excluded from effective tourism planning, there is a risk of unregulated, formless or random, and inefficient tourism development that can directly lead to a number of negative economic, social and environmental consequences. Spatial tourism planning provides a primary mechanism through which government policies in tourism can be implemented (Hall, 2000) and has an important role to play in ensuring orderly and appropriate patterns of development and resolving many conflicts that such development can produce (Gunn, 1994; Inskeep, 1991).

Spatial planning is an essential mechanism for structuring and ordering tourist space, and the way planning is applied to tourism varies in space and between different locations, creating different tourist places and experiences (Williams & Lew, 2015). Tourism planning can operate at different geographical levels such as destination, region within a country, country and several countries. The way it is applied, and its effects vary from country to country depending on several

geographical, socio-economic and cultural factors (Lugonja et al., 2017). The important role of spatial planning in the conditions surrounding the development of tourism after the Covid-19 pandemic should also be recognised (Cooke & Nunes, 2021; Collins-Kreiner & Ram, 2020).

The fact that spatial planning is subject to constant adaptation pressure is most likely its main challenge. In the course of ever-changing social and spatial challenges, it has to continually reposition itself, proving its social value and long-term capacity to function and solve problems (Reimer et al., 2014). When tourism, as a dynamic sector both in general and in particular destinations, is added to the spatial planning, challenges of adaptations definitely raise. Spatial planning systems are not exclusively dependent on the legal-administrative systems but also on the different socio-economic, political and cultural structures and dynamics prevailing in each country (Stead & Nadin, 2009), and therefore these are the areas where challenges should be searched. Comparative approaches in the research of planning systems have a long history (see Newman & Thornley, 1996; CEC, 1997; Booth et al., 2007; Nadin & Stead, 2008), but the complexity of comparative approaches to such broad topics across many countries at a time do not allow to establish a framework and common methodology for comparative analysis of spatial planning, and to pinpoint its challenges (see Reimer et al., 2014). A little has changed since Getimis a decade ago (2012, p. 26) argued that comparative studies emphasise different aspects of the institutional, legal and administrative contexts at one scale of analysis, mainly the national level, during a specific period keeping the studies on spatial planning systems static, non-allowing an understanding of the ongoing transformations of planning systems and the important role that actor constellations play in dynamic terms.

The challenges of spatial planning in tourism also come from the tourism industry itself, which is inherently fragmented due to its multiplicity of providers and tourist segments (Williams & Lew, 2015). Different elements, such as accommodation, attractions, transportation, marketing, and a range of human resources, are often required to come together within a tourism plan. This diversity makes tourism planning difficult due to diverse and sometimes conflicting interests. However, even in mixed patterns of ownership and control over tourism elements in most destinations, a planning system that provides both integration and structure to these disparate elements is clearly of value for tourism to achieve its potential (Inskeep, 1991). The system approach recognises interconnections between elements within the system such that a change in one factor will produce significant and predictable changes elsewhere within the system. The comprehensive, flexible, integrative and realistic systems approach to planning can be implemented in a range of geographic scales.

The challenges of the geographical scale of spatial planning in tourism are great, given that these scales are interconnected and not separate spheres of development, as they are often presented in plans where the neat hierarchical arrangements between geographical scales are rarely found (Williams & Lew, 2015). Looking

hierarchically, national policies set a broad development plan that directly shapes agendas at the regional level, and these, in turn, form the framework for local/municipal implementation plans. Of course, descending to a lower geographical and administrative level, the level of detail in the plans also increases, while the general objectives remain complementary and consistent at all levels (Figure 1).

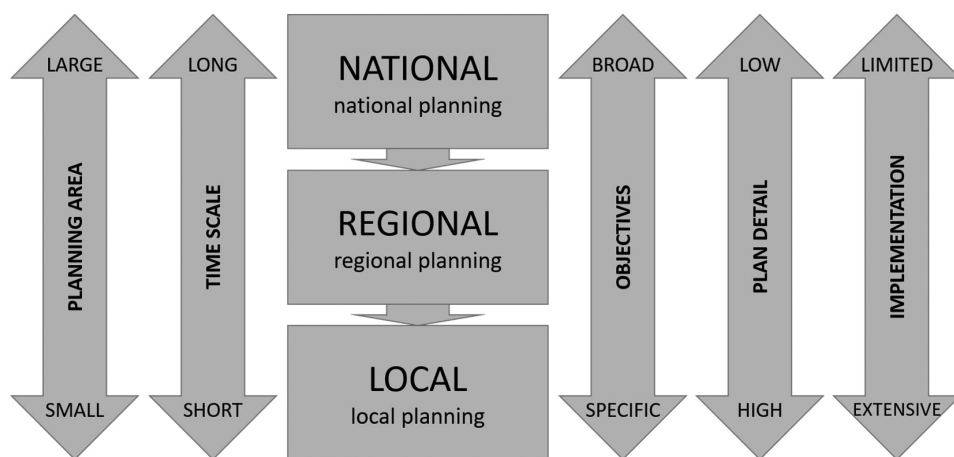


Figure 1. A geographic scale of spatial planning

Source: Williams & Lew, 2015 (adapted by authors).

Formulation of the relevant policy and implementation of the plan depends on the geographical level of tourism planning. International or transnational interventions and recommendations generally have limited implementation at the local level (Williams & Lew, 2015). However, international planning efforts, which include recommendations from umbrella organisations such as the UNWTO – World Tourism Organization and various international governmental associations of countries in the field of spatial planning, such as, for example, VASAB – Vision and Strategies around the Baltic Sea – all can have a significant impact on tourism planning at lower levels – country, regional and local. Probably the best example of this is the employment of sustainable tourism development in tourism spatial planning.

In the end, economic considerations are one element that may provide a focus of interest at all three geographical scales, as are concerns for infrastructure improvements such as transportation and public utilities (Williams & Lew, 2015). When it comes to practice, the absence of clear policies at the national level can be observed in many countries, while at the regional level, the absence of legal authority for implementing plans can be observed (see Baidal, 2004; Hall & Lew, 2009; Kun et al., 2006; Pigram, 1993; Reimer et al., 2014). Baidal (2004) also argues that the strong national policies have been criticised for concealing or failing to

address regional disparities in some situations. At the local level, where the tourism planning is focused on the physical organisation of tourism facilities, physical development, reducing development conflicts, and harmonising tourism activities with others that use the same spaces and resources, the highest engagement in tourism planning processes has been recognised (see Murphy, 1985; Pearce, 1987; Inskeep, 1991; Church, 2004; Lew, 2007; Hall & Lew, 2009).

Recently, various spatial decision support systems – SDSS have been involved in spatial planning at the local level. For example, Brandt et al. (2022) argue that SDSSs can create sustainable tourist destinations by identifying mobility gaps in the transportation system which occur in areas with a relatively high aggregated demand for transport at specific points in time, but where there are very few available transport solutions. Policymakers could identify the mobility gaps in their respective local areas and solve the spatial challenges if the SDSS use data from many resources (Camarero & Oliva, 2019). However, understanding both the supply and the demand of transportation, in this case, is necessary to be able to identify mobility gaps (Hörcher & Tirachini, 2021; Wang et al., 2022). However, publicly available data and its quality should be improved to take the full opportunity of the SDSSs (Brandt et al., 2022).

Therefore, the challenges of spatial planning in tourism are highly variable, reflecting the diversity of countries, regions and local situations in which tourism takes place.

Methods and Materials

This research was carried out as a desk study research. The empirical layer is based on peer-reviewed theoretical and case study reports on spatial planning systems, concepts and tourism developments in five different countries: Italy, Norway, Poland, Portugal, and Turkey. These reports were developed within the Erasmus+ project SPOT. Sustainable Spatial Planning of Tourism Destinations (2019–2021) by project beneficiaries of different backgrounds in tourism and planning sciences from the Polytechnic of Torino, Italy (Cotella, 2021), Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences, Norway (Tjørve, 2021), University of Lodz, Poland (Leśniewska-Napierała et al., 2021), Polytechnic of Leiria, Portugal (Jorge et al., 2021), and Mersin University, Turkey (Levent et al., 2021). Despite various backgrounds, all authors are grounded in academic teaching, experience in tourism planning issues, and all followed the given structure and depths of the project outputs discussing, among other, challenges of spatial planning in tourism, what was the added value of this cooperation and networking. This approach allowed this paper's authors to compare the challenges across five different countries on all geographical levels: national, regional and local.

The heart of the paper is a content analysis which aims to identify the challenges for spatial planning in observed countries based on the SPOT project's reports. Authors in the paper summarise and underline the common challenges and those specific to a particular area.

Diverse challenges of spatial planning of tourism destinations – the evidence

SPOT project partners carried out a detailed analysis of the spatial planning system at the national level for five countries: Italy (Cotella, 2021), Norway (Tjørve, 2021), Poland (Leśniewska-Napierała et al., 2021), Portugal (Jorge et al., 2021), and Turkey (Levent et al., 2021). Each report has the same structure and a similar level of detail about the phenomena described. Therefore, based on this material, it was possible to attempt to draw a synthesis of the most critical challenges of tourism spatial planning.

It should be stressed at the outset that the overall level of development of the tourism function in a country determines the length of the planning tradition at the national level in this field. Italy has by far the most extended history of spatial planning (Cotella, 2021) and Portugal slightly shorter (Jorge et al., 2021). In both countries, tourism is an important component of national income; they have unique attractions on a global scale and have had a relatively stable political situation for a long time. For this reason, tourism issues have long been given a prominent place in strategic documents. Norway (Tjørve, 2021) and Turkey (Levent et al., 2021) also have a pretty long tradition in this field, several decades-long, although they stand out with significant differences between them. Norway is characterised by a very high level of local autonomy in planning, and tourism challenges are primarily internal. On the other hand, Turkey is characterised by a high hierarchy of top-down planning and a focus on external challenges. Planning in this country broadly began when tourism was massified. Poland has by far the shortest history of spatial planning in relation to tourism (Leśniewska-Napierała et al., 2021). This is mainly due to the fact that the democratic system has only been in place for just over 30 years. Therefore, a characteristic of the spatial planning system in Poland is a very high variability of laws and applied development paradigms. This can be associated with attempts to adapt legislation to changing external conditions. A characteristic feature of this state is also the fact of low integration of various aspects of development planning, e.g. socio-economic planning, spatial planning, tourism planning and planning for nature and landscape protection.

The common feature of tourism spatial planning in all five countries is of course its regulatory layer. Laws and related statutes are created in order to organise the system and give directions for development. In this case, however, it is primarily linked to the desire to ensure the highest possible level of sustainability. In Italy, for example, problems have been identified with a high tourist load in a number of globally known cities and fewer tourists in other destinations. Hence, a unique programme for the development of peripheral areas was created to direct more tourism to these areas (Cotella, 2021). Similarly, Turkey struggles with a very high concentration of tourism in 2–3 regions (especially Antalya). Almost all the touristic areas are heavily/negatively impacted by incompatible land uses, high-density accommodation and related urban development. Therefore, regional development plans indicate the importance of developing tourism based on health and thermal tourism, winter sports, mountain climbing, adventure trips, ecotourism, conference and expo tourism, cruise tourism, yachting, and golf tourism in other regions of the country (Levent et al., 2021). Portugal's policy documents explicitly indicate the need to reduce the seasonality index from 37.5% to 33.5% (Jorge et al., 2021). In Norway, on the other hand, the role of the national regulator in nature conservation is very strong. While several provisions related to planning remain the responsibility of local government, those concerning areas of particular natural value remain the responsibility of central authorities – Nature-Diversity Act “Naturmangfoldloven” (Tjørve, 2021). Polish jurisdiction is very detailed in this respect, and in a number of documents, the environmental elements to be protected are listed in great detail. For example, the study of determinants and directions of land development lists the elements to be protected, such as underground water, mineral resources, and other resources of the natural environment; cultural heritage and landscape; agricultural and forestry space, and spatial order in general (Leśniewska-Napierała et al., 2021). Thus, the national regulations applied are primarily aimed at trying to shape tourism and trying to protect valuable natural elements of the environment – control with and the administration of land use is a central element in spatial planning (Buitelaar et al., 2011).

Another common element in tourism spatial planning is the desire to respond as quickly as possible in the regulatory layer to the challenges of socio-economic development processes. These challenges are of a diverse nature resulting from the specifics of tourism in individual countries, but a common feature is the desire of central authorities to provide a desirable response from the broad perspective of the common interest of the country. A simple example can be pointed out from Poland. As already indicated, the national regulation tries to keep up with the dynamically changing reality, thus, a high variability of legislation is noticeable. In order to ensure the appropriate level of competence and qualification of officials, special training and adaptation programmes are offered (Leśniewska-Napierała et al., 2021). However, the most notable example can be identified in Norway. Due to the increasing development of second homes in mountain areas, the central

government in 2021 introduced a separate strategy for the development of mountain- and inland regions, including energy, bio-economy, food production, and tourism. It is intended to prevent uncontrolled settlement development, especially in parts above the upper forest limit (Tjørve, 2021). In Portugal, this phenomenon is very aptly seen in market terms – the structuring of the tourist offer should have better responded to demand (Jorge et al., 2021). On the other hand, in Turkey and Italy, it is planned to diversify the destinations chosen by tourists as much as possible. There are challenges to diversify tourism activities and increase tourism income by activating the underused tourism potentials of those countries to be explored by the globalised tourist markets (Cotella, 2021; Levent et al., 2021). In conclusion, tourism is resented as one of the main functions of metropolitan development (meetings, incentives, congresses and events), but at the same time, it can lead to an excessive concentration of tourists in small areas. Most countries are therefore promoting solutions to enable a greater diversification of tourist destinations.

An atypical area of challenges related to the social dimension was highlighted by the authors of reports from Poland, Portugal and Turkey. Polish strategic documents draw attention to the inequalities associated to access to tourism services and attractions resulting from accessibility issues, chargeability, and physical difficulties (Leśniewska-Napierała et al., 2021). In turn, the Portuguese legislation highlights the need to improve the qualifications of those responsible for tourism services. In order to improve the quality of services offered and propose new destinations, adequate human and social capital is necessary (Jorge et al., 2021). And it is its lack that is considered one of the main obstacles to the implementation of greater diversification in terms of tourism offer in Turkey (Levent et al., 2021).

Due to the heterogeneous nature of tourism activities in the analysed five countries, the challenges that spatial planning of tourism destinations has to face are various and multifaceted. Among them, it is worth listing (most of them are common for all countries):

- the state has a decisive role in terms of planning and ordering, and within the scope of the territorial management system, various entities of the central administration intervene, as well as municipalities;
- the complex and complicated character of the planning system that causes fragmentation and might create spatial incoherency and functional inconvenience for the same spatial setting;
- the ambiguity of legal frameworks regulating the spatial planning practices that creates a confusion of powers within the domain of spatial planning and eliminates the standardisation of planning practices and the establishment of precedents;
- territorial management system comprises different spatial scales of analysis – usually national, regional and municipal, covered by a variety of programs and strategies;

- despite the law enshrining the general principle of citizen participation in the planning process, in most of the analysed countries there is still a weak adhesion, in the different phases in which they can participate;
- overtourism phenomena in the most renowned coastal and mountain areas in the peak tourism period, that due to their seasonality do not justify the increase of basic services and their maintenance all-year-around;
- overtourism phenomena in the main touristic cities, that generate challenges in relation to services as well as to the emergence of short-term rental activities to the detriment of long-term rentals (and a rise in their prices);
- conflict between production and protection of nature;
- one of the great challenges is to direct the development process toward the common good, towards the quality of life of the populations and towards greater sustainability;
- promotion of tourism-related development in the inner area of the countries, characterised by a large share of natural and landscape resources but often featuring a low level of accessibility and services and scarce institutional capacity due to their reduced size;
- the issue of the multiplicity of actors who perceive the development of individual territories differently. Often private investors take advantage of legal loopholes or the weakness of local authorities and try to use the existing conditions to push through their ideas. Local authorities, in turn, are faced with the dilemma of whether to pursue the economic development of their territory or contribute to ensuring the overriding value of a pristine environment;
- a consistent challenge of most reports was the issue of low quality of human capital in institutions responsible for the development of spatial planning and tourism, especially on local levels. This is very often an obstacle to the creation of interesting and sustainable tourism ideas and solutions, and is sometimes used by external investors to force through their own investments.

Conclusions

In the introduction to this article it was pointed out that tourism planning has the potential to minimise negative impacts (Hall & Lew, 2009). Actually, tourism planning could prevent exhausting the resources, ensure sustainability, involvement of locals etc. – generally empower the existing values of a given area, both tangible and intangible. A search of reports on spatial planning in tourism destinations showed that all five countries understand the role of their

documents in this way. One of their main roles is to try to prevent spontaneous market processes associated with uncontrolled tourism development. First of all, tourism is a branch of the economy, so it is ultimately about profit for tourism operators. Secondly, tourists going on trips or residents choosing their place for recreation (e.g. building their second homes) are guided by their individual interests. Therefore, the role of regulator in this area is ceded to public institutions. More or less consciously applied provisions influence the greater sustainability of tourism development.

As aptly noted by Williams & Lew (2015) cited in the introduction, unregulated, formless or random, and inefficient tourism development can directly lead to a number of negative economic, social and environmental consequences. It is therefore extremely valuable that this problem is fully recognised in all the countries analysed. However, it should be pointed out that the level of response to these threats and the speed of adjustment of regulations to the changing situation largely depends on the importance of tourism in individual countries. In countries with a long tradition of planning and high importance of tourism as a sector of the economy, spatial planning in this area has a long tradition and is characterised by a high level of institutional sustainability. In countries that are just building their legislative structures, on the other hand, a high variability of regulations and attempts to anticipate the reality only a few years ahead is observed. Therefore, one may be tempted to theorise that areas characterised by long persistence in tourism spatial planning are less resilient to the risks identified by Williams & Lew (2015).

The analysis carried out fully confirmed the theses of Lugonja et al. (2017) that tourism planning on different geographical levels vary from country to country depending on a number of geographical, socio-economic and cultural factors. In addition to the factors indicated above related to the establishment of a tradition of spatial planning, other elements can also be pointed out in this regard. First of all, the division of competences between the different administrative levels is important. Secondly, institutions creating strategic documents must subject them to public consultation. This process takes on very different dimensions depending on the cases analysed – from full participation of diverse social groups, through the activity (lobbying?) of only selected stakeholders (e.g. business or environmentalists), to a complete lack of involvement of anyone in the planning process. Finally, as the last factor, one can indicate the quality of human capital, the level of qualifications and competencies of people preparing strategic documents. These four variables significantly differentiate the level and quality of documents prepared in the field of spatial planning in tourism destinations.

At this point, it is also necessary to take up a polemic with the thesis of Williams & Lew (2015), saying that international interventions generally have limited implementation at the local level. First of all, it should be pointed out that spatial planning at lower levels is usually subordinated to provisions from

higher hierarchical levels. Despite some observed differences across the five countries analysed in the autonomy of local planning, the vector of top-down dependencies is clear. Second, the global factors affecting planning at the lowest level cannot be abstracted from. Municipal or sub-regional governments have to deal with their strategies and plans with external influences on the entity. And while they usually have limited influence on changing these global trends, the impact is more noticeable in the other direction. Therefore, following the analyses carried out, the thesis is that planning systems of equal spatial levels are more dependent, making the local level the most sensitive in this respect.

Finally, it is still necessary to refer to the statements made in the theoretical review on international comparative approaches (Reimer et al., 2014). Clearly, the complexity of such a wide range of topics across many countries poses significant methodological challenges. It is also impossible to compare the legal regulations and planning solutions created to the same extent, as each country is characterised by certain nuances in the regulations applied. However, the formula adopted in the Erasmus+ SPOT project made this task much easier. The reports prepared according to a uniform model by experts from individual countries, containing a critical review of applied legislative solutions, made it possible to undertake this attempt at synthesising the provisions contained therein. An attempt was made to present only the challenges common for the studied countries to identify those factors that have the features of universality and thus should be especially taken into account in the spatial planning of tourism destinations.

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