Planning, Conservation and Tourism:
A comparison of capacity analysis in Edinburgh and Prague

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ABBREVIATIONS

CEC  Commission of the European Communities
CEE  Central and Eastern Europe
DoE  Department of the Environment
EDC  Edinburgh District Council
EIA  Environmental Impact Assessment
EOTRT Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust
EOTCCR Edinburgh Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal
ETIP Edinburgh Tourism Initiative Partnership
EU   European Union
HA   Housing Association
HS   Historic Scotland
IPS  International Passenger Survey
IRS  Institute for Retail Studies
LEEL Lothian and Edinburgh Enterprise Ltd.
LRC  Lothian Regional Council
NGO  Non Governmental Organisation
NPPG National Planning Policy Guideline
PAN  Planning Advice Note
PUPP Pražský Ústav Památkové Péce
      (Institute of Historic Monuments - Prague Branch)
QUANGO Quasi-autonomous non governmental organisation
SDA  Scottish Development Agency
SE   Scottish Enterprise
SURPMO Státní Ústav Pro Rekonstrukce Památkových Měst a Objektu v Praže
      (Czech State Institute for the Reconstruction of Historic Towns and
      Monuments)
SUPP Státní Ústav Památkové Péce
      (Czech State Institute of Historic Monuments)
SH   Scottish Homes
STB  Scottish Tourist Board
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Abstract

The thesis examines the relationship between tourism, conservation and town planning in the contemporary European historic city. A literature review demonstrates the importance of historic cities in Europe, and discusses the development of conservation policies, and the complex meanings which historic cities carry. In the 1990's such cities are increasingly competing to attract tourists. Tourism has both positive and negative effects, raising the question of whether the growth of tourism in historic cities is sustainable. To address this question a comparative study is undertaken of the Old Towns of Edinburgh and Prague.

The development of tourism and conservation is reviewed in each city, noting the role played by the planning system in each case. In Edinburgh, there have been major plans affecting the Old Town since the 1930's, and active public interest in its conservation, notably expressed through the Cockburn Association, the city's leading amenity organisation. Nevertheless the area declined as slum clearance whittled the population and relocations and closures altered the employment base. Since the early 1980's conservation in the Old Town has been bolstered within a planning system which has itself been considerably changed, becoming both more aware of issues of sustainability but also more alert to the nature of market-led change and the need for public-private partnerships. The Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust has played a particularly important role, co-ordinating the public, private and voluntary sectors, and acting as a catalyst for implementation.

In Prague the research shows that conservation under Communism was centralised and concentrated on major buildings, neglecting a substantial stock of lesser properties. In addition the state’s ideology of progress was contradictory to the retention of relics of previous eras, though the historic fabric was not threatened by a market-based development industry. Since 1989 restitution of properties to former owners has complicated the process of conservation, while office rents have increased sharply and there has been a massive influx of tourists. Planning legislation has been reformed but the development control process remains complex and bureaucratic.

Urban capacity analysis is reviewed as a methodology and then used to compare the tourist impacts in Edinburgh and Prague. Technical studies of townscape, traffic, retailing etc. were undertaken in both cities. In addition questionnaire-based studies were undertaken of the perceptions of two distinct groups in each city - tourists and Old Town residents. These revealed that there was a significant qualitative dimension to any assessment of capacity. In general residents were more sensitive to the negative impacts of things like advertisements than were the visitors, though the research also revealed that the Prague residents were more critical of the situation than those who lived in Edinburgh, yet were also more reluctant to see stronger planning controls as a solution.
The empirical research confirmed the view that it is misleading to think in terms of whether or not an area is at capacity. Rather capacity analysis should be used to discern whether a place is moving towards or away from a sustainable relationship with tourism. Therefore the capacity analysis was used as a basis for writing five alternative scenarios for each city, ranging from minimal change, through major change to managed reduction in tourism.

The thesis concludes that Prague and Edinburgh share many problems, though Prague is closer to capacity due to tourist impact. There is scope for transfer of ideas, with the Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust being a model of how an institution can help to secure integration of conservation and tourism aims at a local level. Likewise there is scope for planning in Prague to move towards the enabling role played by the planners in Edinburgh. Conclusions are also drawn about urban capacity analysis, in particular stressing the value of perception studies and the benefits of using the method in a comparative way. Finally, it is argued that east-west planning comparisons remain problematic but valuable. Problems about language and data availability are still severe, and it is still necessary to understand the history of state socialism to appreciate issues and practices in the late 1990's. Recommendations are made for further research following from the conclusions.
Chapter 1
Chapter 1
Study Background

1.1 Introduction: Aims and Objectives of the Study

"Historic centres are being turned into monofunctional areas as a result of the proliferation of hotels, the rise in property values, the disappearance of corner shops, overcrowding, and the relocation of small firms, including craft businesses. This transformation, disrupting the fragile equilibrium of the urban environment, is bound to affect the overall dynamics of historical centres, since an excessive concentration of visitors may result in the degradation of the heritage itself." (CEC, 1990, p.44)

Urban areas throughout Europe are facing new issues in the post industrial era. As outlined in the above quote, some of the changes to the urban sphere of Europe also are occurring as a result of the specific qualities which define the city as "historic" in the first place. This statement underlines the need to consider the problems and impact of changes in the historic city, and is linked to the mediating role of the planning system within this context. Many of the threats and opportunities which are now influencing the historic city are shared across Europe, as a result of global restructuring. In turn, however, changes to historic cities are also influenced by the specific features of local circumstances and contexts. As a result, the local aspect of planning and policy in the historic city is important in discussing European wide trends.

The thesis analyses the relationship between tourism and conservation in the contemporary European historic city, through a comparative study of Edinburgh and Prague. Through focusing on the comparison of east-west case studies, the research assumes a European and a local perspective. This relates to a growing area of area of current planning research, as highlighted by Davies who states that "...there should also be a need for a greater awareness and understanding of planning in other countries, if planners are to play a significant part in the development of a European strategy within their local authority or provide advice about the operation and priorities of the Commission and planning in other countries." (Davies 1994, p.68)
The tourist industry is market driven, responsive to tourist demand. Yet at the European level such market exposure has been uneven, in particular some of Europe's outstanding historic cities were not exposed to mass tourism until 1989. In investigating the role of tourism in the contemporary European historic city, the research therefore gains an added dimension through comparing a city in the transition from communism to one in an established market context. Furthermore, the quote from the European Green Paper at the outset of the chapter implies that there is a set limit at which the capacity of historic areas can be exceeded, beyond which degradation and loss of original attractive qualities can occur. As a result, the question of how this capacity can be evaluated in the case of the historic city is addressed by the study, through the application of the principles of urban capacity analysis to the two case study areas.

Urban and regional change in Europe is being emphasised within the context of increasing European integration. The “Europe’s Environment 1990-93: the Dobris Assessment”, a comprehensive analysis of the key urban and environmental issues, states:

“Important changes in the quality of the urban environment have occurred in Europe in the last few decades. Despite the progress achieved in controlling local air and water pollution, urban areas show increasing signs of environmental stress. Major concerns for European cities are the quality of air, noise and traffic congestion. Open spaces and green areas are under continuous threat due to the more competitive uses of limited land resources. The quality of life in cities is also affected by the deterioration of buildings and infrastructure and the degradation of the urban landscape.” (CEC, 1994, p.103)

Furthermore, the European aspect of urban and regional change has gained a further dimension since the collapse of Soviet power, as countries in central and eastern Europe look towards membership of the European Union. “Europe 2000+”, which outlines the European Commission’s commitment to an integrated approach to territorial development, highlights the importance of the region, stating:

“The process of reform which has spread through Central and Eastern Europe over the past few years presents both opportunities and challenges for the Union. The opening up of markets could provide a powerful stimulus to economic growth throughout Europe. On the other hand, the problems of transition from centrally planned to market economies, coupled with the legacy of decades of neglect of the environment, infrastructure and competitiveness pose formidable obstacles to development.” (CEC, 1994, p.232)
Cities on a global scale have new roles in the post-industrial age, and trends in the tourist industry are refashioning the historic cities of Europe. Europe is currently in a state of transition, partly brought about by the coming together of countries already within the European Community through the Single European Act. In many ways this is leading to the greater homogeneity of European states and regions, whilst there is a concurrent need for the reinforcing of the separate identities of those same countries (Jensen-Butler, 1992). The trend of increasing unification within Europe, also indicates a need to maintain a cross European stance in conducting research. The European Community's Green Paper on the Urban Environment forms an important foundation for this thesis, underpinning the research with the integrated vision of the urban environment which it advocates. Apart from recommending greater exchange of information on the subject between European Regions, it also describes the role of city planning and urban design as being one where the city has reached a point where it must reassess its identity. The Green Paper also defines tourism as being one of the main contemporary threats to the quality of the built fabric and urban environment in historic cores of European Cities.

As a result of the increasing importance of the European aspect of planning, Thornley points out that the RTPI research agenda for Europe states:

"One of the most pressing research needs relates to the fast moving trends towards greater European integration and the effects that this will have on our planning system through legislative and institutional changes" (Thornley, 1992, p.13).

To date there has been general agreement that a harmonised single planning system being imposed on the diverse member nations would be inappropriate, with the subsidiarity principle being maintained by the EU in addressing planning issues. The Town and Country Planning Association, for instance, is of the view that the adoption of a standardised cross European approach to planning would threaten the individuality of member states (and the regions and localities within them), a feature which currently enriches the culture of the EU (CEC, 1994, p.27). Davies agrees with this view, stating:

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1 The "subsidiarity principle" is a term assumed by the EC when seeking to maintain jurisdiction at the lowest possible level of control - planning legislation remains in the control of the respective member states on an individual basis.
"The future for planning in Europe would not seem to lie in a harmonised planning system operating in every country within the European Union. Rather, it lies in the growth of mutual learning and co-operation at the regional and local levels of government out of which will come a gradual convergence of planning policies and practices." (Davies, 1994, p.69)

The EU itself raises a further question that "...in a European Union which is moving towards harmonisation through social and economic policies, is it conceivable to harmonize urban environmental policy? This is an issue which should be addressed when examining future problems and possible directives aimed at providing solutions. It is essential to preserve the multifunctional nature of cities while examining urban areas as part of an overall vision." (CEC, 1994, p.29)

Whilst the comparative research is within the context European issues, the continuing diversity and heterogenic nature of planning in the New Europe will be analysed. Harmonisation and diversity are compounded by investigation of a historic city in a post socialist central European country, considering the additional dimension of urban issues in the CEE countries since the transition from communism. The issue of the harmonisation is further complicated by the restructuring of central and eastern Europe since 1989. This development will have a profound effect on the future of the whole of Europe, as Merritt (1991) states:

"If it goes well, the effect could be to create a political and economic framework in such a scale as to redress Europe's declining weight in the world. If it goes wrong, the whole of Europe may begin to revert to the fragmentation and instability that blighted the first half of the twentieth century and caused two world wars." (p.14)

The transition of the Czech Republic from Communist to capitalist society, and its impact on urban development and planning in cities such as Prague characterises the reshaping of planning practice in the region. Tourist development has emerged as one of the clearest indicators of the shift towards a market-led economy:

"Underscored by the problem of often fragile cultural and physical environments, the question of the future speed, shape and quality of international tourist development in Eastern Europe will be one of the more intriguing elements in the region's increasingly complex and precarious post-socialist pathway." (Hall, 1990, p.351)
1.2 Overview of Research Structure and Objectives

Thornley, in relating the RTPI Panel report on the Research Agenda for Europe in 1992 stated:

"... there are the former Eastern European countries who are also interested in forging closer links with the EC and who have their own particular needs as they seek to set up new market economies and related planning regimes. Changes in these countries and the restructuring of the former USSR generate so many issues that they could provide the basis for a whole research agenda of their own." (Thornley, 1992, p.12)

The combination of harmonisation within the EU, with the new issues brought about by the prospect of closer co-operation with central and eastern Europe, underline the need to assume a cross European approach to research which has been taken up in the comparative planning literature:

"The integration of the European Community and the developing links with eastern Europe makes studies across national boundaries an imperative." (Booth, 1993, p.217)

The relative strengths and weaknesses of comparative planning have been well debated (see for example Masser 1984; Masser & Williams 1986; Booth 1983; Dierkes et al 1987; Faludi & Hamnett 1975), with its implementation as a research methodology becoming increasingly popular. This thesis compares two cities, each with an extensive and relatively intact historical centre, as a means of discussing wider issues for the European historic city. Whilst the case study cities share common threats and opportunities, they exist within historically diverse states of market dominance reflecting either end of the spectrum of political economy experienced by cities across the new Europe. As with the rest of the UK, planning in Edinburgh experienced a degree of restructuring during the 1980's when the Thatcher government promoted the market and instigated moves towards deregulation. Since 1989, the Czech Republic has moved from totalitarian state control, to the market and democracy. The research will therefore aim to highlight the influence of the market context of each city on the role of tourism.

As a comparative study, the following research questions and their respective methodological elements, form the structure of the research:
In expanding the relationship between the aims and methods as summarised in Figure 1.1, the following section outlines the reasons for using a cross national comparison. The comparative planning literature will be reviewed to identify lessons for the methodology. The discussion will then highlight the secondary methodology used in applying urban capacity analysis to each case study area in order to ensure as systematic a comparison as possible.
1.3 Reasons for Conducting Comparative Planning Research

The RTPI Planning Research Guidelines (1990), included comparative research, both between cities and internationally, in its recommended themes for research. Furthermore, the panel recommends research into:

* "The scope and ideology of planning and its relationship to the market;"
* "Comparison and evaluation of different forms of planning processes, procedures, processes of implementation and practice within Britain and abroad;"
* "Future scenarios and their implications for cities and the countryside, including the impact of technological, socio-economic and institutional changes."

(RTPI, 1990, p.xi)

Although addressing all three of these aspects, the study will carry out analysis of the planning processes and implementation and evaluate the role of planning in relationship to the market in each case study area, through primarily focusing on past experiences and future scenarios for tourism and planning in each historic area. Examples of good practice in other countries have often been drawn from in establishing or improving our own UK system. Rydin, for instance points out how Prussian land use policy and urban design influenced the early development of UK planning, and the transfer of practice from other countries has since continued to form an important contribution to improvement of policy, with further examples including the National Park Movement and Environmental Impact Assessment coming from the United States. (Rydin, 1993, p.4)

Comparative planning research can be used to compare planning at all scales from the national level in cross national research, through urban areas or regions within countries, down to different areas within a single urban area. At the same time, the comparison of the same area at different times adds a further dimension to a geographically designed comparison. Buissink (in Faludi and Hamnett, 1975) outlined three key reasons for undertaking cross national research:

1. to advance planning theory
2. to improve planning practice
3. to bring about a unification of the field of planning
As Wang and Hague (1989) pointed out, the third option brings a particularly European aspect to the field of comparative research, with its backdrop the future "harmonisation" of planning systems within Europe. Despite this, such a proposal is inherently problematic in that it is based on the assumption that planning is in fact a unifiable field and that secondly it "risks inappropriate transfer of ideas and the imposition of one particular cultural, historical and political view of planning on a quite different culture with different histories and politics." (Wang and Hague, 1989, p.4) As a result, it is suggested that the third aspect should be discussed with caution.

Nevertheless comparative planning can highlight lessons which are transferable between countries, as well as creating a better understanding of a researcher's own system. Outwith comparative planning, the assessment of the effectiveness of planning and the impact of its characteristics on the environment is often confined to retrospective evaluation, given that the city is not a place for experimentation. Comparative research allows for the comparison of currently operative systems and their impacts on the environment, upon which advancement of planning policy in the compared countries can be based.

Problems of comparative research include methodological applicability and theoretical justification. Antal, Dierkes and Weiler (1987) summarise these and others.

Figure 1.2

FOUR ISSUES BEHIND THE PROBLEMS OF COMPARATIVE PLANNING RESEARCH

1. THEORETICAL ISSUES
   * policy relevance at the expense of theoretical vigour
   * to what extent is it possible to generalise / call findings contradictory

2. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES
   * cross national / cultural validity of survey research

3. ORGANISATIONAL ISSUES
   * linking up projects
   * pragmatic / current focus as opposed to fuller consideration of theoretical reflective insights

4. ISSUES RELATING TO POLICY RELEVANCE
   * transferability of results
   * high level of abstraction is required to bridge settings

Source: Berthoin Antal, Dierkes and Weiler (1987)
This study addresses these issues through the nature of the research undertaken in a number of ways. The methodological issue of cultural validity of survey research is investigated through the urban capacity analysis carried out in each city which includes a number of directly comparable surveys, which have been systematically carried out and which include the opinions of tourists of a number of different nationalities. This aspect will consequently form part of the later discussion as to the validity of such an approach and the influence of cultural and national characteristics in gauging perceptions.

Secondly, in terms of the organisation of the project and its theoretical / pragmatic balance, a key aim has been to link the case study comparison with the wider literature relating to practice and development in the European historic city, conservation ideology and implementation, and the trends within the tourism industry as well as its impacts. Thirdly, issues relating to policy relevance are addressed through discussion of the social and political backgrounds of each of the planning systems, with cognisance also being taken of the cultural role of conservation in each area. Although not necessarily concluding in solutions which can be directly transferred between the cities, the study seeks to discern between issues which are common to all European historic cities, and those which arise as a result of local circumstances, and the resulting extent to which planning can learn from the comparison.

White (1978) identified some further difficulties of carrying out comparative research, including disparity over the definition of the term "planning", incomparability of contrasting cultural political systems, inapplicability of planning concepts of one country to another, lack of comparable data, and problems of language. This emphasises the difficulty of doing comparative research and highlights the need for a coherent and well planned research methodology in order to deal effectively with the issues, particularly in terms of the question of the viability of transfer from one culture to another.

As summarised by Wang and Hague (1989, p.6), comparative planning research has been seen as being conducted through four different categories:

* **System oriented:** concerned with comparing the institutional, administrative and legislative frameworks for carrying out the planning function;
* **Process oriented:** concerned with the planning and/or development process between countries;

* **Problem oriented:** looking at planning measures designed to eradicate a particular problem;

* **Policy oriented:** concern with comparing the evolution and implementation of a particular policy in different contexts.

In practice, this thesis combines several, if not all of these orientations. Despite this, the consideration of the typology as defined above could be viewed as useful in analysing the methodology to ensure as systematic an approach as possible. Amongst the above categories, White (1978) advocates a problem orientated approach to comparative research which examines planning action taken to counter specific problems. In accordance with this, the problem of the impact of the growth of tourism and related development within the historic centres of cities forms the basis of this thesis.

Adding a further dimension to research design, in assessing the comparability of planning in different countries, Sharpe (1975) devised a law stating that minimising variables to be compared through studying similar countries, improved the focus of the research on the actual planning system of a country. He defined this as (a) attaining **maximum similarity** between the countries and / or (b) ensuring **maximum discreetness of focus** of the research. Alexander (undated) took Sharpe's theory a step further, suggesting a number of countries which should be grouped according to comparability, on the grounds of their sharing Sharpe's Laws of Maximum Similarity (of a variety of features constituting together the political, cultural and historical background of each country) and Maximum Discreteness of Focus aimed at improving transferability through narrowing of the study's focus.

The similarity of Edinburgh and Prague in physical and spatial terms allows for **maximum discreetness of focus** in terms of the geographical aspect. The evaluation of the relationship of the planning system to market forces and economic demands, is assessed in a geographically focused way through concentrating on the process within the historic core of each city. The choice of case studies is, however, a departure from Sharpe's other rule of "maximum
similarity”. However, Sharpe’s laws have been challenged by theorists such as Schaffer as referred to by Faludi and Hamnett (1975), who stated:

"Professor Schaffer showed in his subsequent paper there may be advantages in disregarding Sharpe’s first “law” and studying narrowly circumscribed aspects of societies which are otherwise dissimilar.” (Faludi and Hamnett, 1975, p. 33)

Wang also argues,

"By tightly limiting comparison we risk narrowing experience, and are operating within cultural blinkers.” (1991, p.4)

The case studies do not feature in Alexander’s clusters of countries, indeed Scotland was not included as a separate entity from the UK, and the Czech Republic did not exist as a nation at the time the paper was written. Nevertheless, it is important to note that when considered on Sharpe and Alexanders’ terms, the case studies have fundamental differences, most notably the communist legacy. Despite this different context, some shared features do exist. Both countries are amongst the smallest in Europe, which share a strong awareness of their history, have experienced both a stifling of their national identity and political disempowerment (to varying degrees), and have shared some developmental experiences - for example in the nature of their industrial past. Furthermore, the study focuses at the urban level in comparing the historic areas of Edinburgh and Prague. As defined in the literature review (Chapter Two) historic cities across Europe share common threats and opportunities.

Whilst the comparison may appear incongruous on first examination, therefore, some of the specific features of the chosen case studies improve comparability. Ease of comparison is not, however, a primary aim of the study, with interest in evaluating the differences adding further dimensions to the study not least through focusing on the east-west comparative dimension. Since Sharpe devised his laws, social scientific research has become more sensitive to differing traditions, with a growing emphasis on uniqueness, cultural difference and the limits of generalisation. This in turn has influenced and improved the field of comparative planning research. Booth, for example, is one researcher who stresses the importance of the cultural aspect of cross national planning research:
"...the planning process is not only a technical one but one in which cultural values may be of greater significance... the way forward must be to consider planning as a culturally determined process in which the interaction of decision-makers and the meaning they assign to the instruments they use will effect the outcome. A deep understanding of culture therefore becomes an essential prerequisite of cross national research." (Booth 1993, p.227)

Booth asserts that a one way study as opposed to comparison can be more rewarding and overcomes transferability problems. Stoker and Mossberger also agree that research must be "cleansed of ethnocentric assumptions". However, they in turn suggested that this difficult hurdle can, to a certain extent, be overcome through a more systematic approach to research design:

"Prior cross national research has expanded the scope of urban studies, but more conceptual and theoretical rigour is necessary if comparison is to advance beyond description of 'unique' cases and into the realm of explanation." (Stoker and Mossberger, 1994, p.196)

In terms of addressing these methodological concerns, therefore, the role of the historic city and the constant nature of the impact of tourism on the historic city across Europe, as well as the uniformly applied methodology of capacity analysis, all serve as a framework within which the research is conducted, with the background being explicitly noted as being highly diverse from the outset. This follows Booth's comment:

"In cross national research the constants of culture, administration and statute do not apply. It therefore becomes vital to find other points of reference that are constants in the countries to be studied. Such points of reference are unlikely to be general ones: they are much more likely to be specific to the subject area studied." (Booth, 1983, p.2)

Masser and Williams (1986) also underline the need for the identification of constant features in order for comparison to be effective. Through comparison of the results found through the application of a standardised methodological approach, the thesis seeks to fully explain the processes involved in each city which have resulted in the evaluated impact. The context of each city will be explored, with explicit linkage of their features to attitudes towards the historic city and the related role of tourism.
In addition to general problems of comparative planning, the literature has also addressed the
problems which are peculiar to the comparison of countries in east and west Europe. In the
time up to and immediately following the transition period in Europe, studies mainly focused on
the systems of central and eastern European countries themselves "rather than involving a
systematic and focused comparison in some depth with an equivalent western country"
(Wang and Hague, 1989, p.2). Since that time examples of more systematic comparisons have
arisen (for example, Hague and Prior, 1991), and cross European co-operative initiatives have
been undertaken in an effort to ease the transition process, as well as for the western countries
to take an opportunity to explore planning systems in detail which had not necessary been
previously open to scrutiny. This aspect of cross national research raises both opportunities
and problems for the researcher as outlined by Deutsch:

"...at least two social orders have arisen among the more highly industrialised states,
communism and capitalism, and by now also among states in developing countries, such as
China, Cuba, or Vietnam on the one hand, and the many market-oriented developing
countries on the other. All these developments offered greatly increased opportunities for
comparative research but multiplied its difficulties by vastly increasing complexity."
(Deutsch, in Dierkes, 1987, p.7)

Cross European research will increasingly be required to focus on the hitherto marginally
researched aspect of planning in central and eastern Europe, in order to take account of the
implications of wider European restructuring. Comparative planning methodological debates
will increasingly have to consider the inherent problems of conducting research between
countries in east and west Europe, which persist despite the transition in the east since 1989.
The intrinsic cultural, political, institutional and social characteristics have changed, but the
distinctive legacy of the communist past introduces a wide range of issues which planners now
have to deal with. This characteristic and its accompanying cultural inheritance, form crucial
components for exploration even today in times of greater convergence of countries in the new
Europe.

Cherry (1984) identified the further dimension added by an east-west comparison in
highlighting our own system:

"The researcher is almost put in the position of describing two different systems, west and
east. Cross-national work becomes a matter of comparing the incomparable. Comparisons
can rarely be "theory generating"; they are more likely to be "theory testing": But this is not a negative judgement. East European planning may be different, but it is an instruction to planning in the west. Research of this kind leads to lessons about ourselves, as much as about the east. Cross national research has the effect of holding up a mirror to our own system and highlights both its strengths and weaknesses." (p. 63)

Much of the critique of east-west comparison has been overtaken by the 1989 revolution which brought about the converse effect of requiring more comparisons than ever in order that the emerging new capitalist societies can learn from west. As a result, comparisons using Central and East European (CEE) countries and their western counterparts could now be considered one of the most relevant and useful examples of the benefits of cross national research which exists today.

Cherry also outlined the practical obstacles to cross national research which specifically characterise an east-west study, including language, access to data and up to date mapping, difficulties in establishing and comparing precisely defined roles of government agencies and departments and distinguishing the finer points of where powers lie. Many of these problems continue to exist despite the transition, as the legacy of communist rule continues to influence the situation today.

Dierkes et al (1987) argue that focusing on subsystems within east-west comparisons limits the inherent difficulties caused by the diversity of experiences. These additional complications of conducting an east-west comparison, emphasise the need to design comparative research so it is as structured and systematic as possible, and asks the same questions of the different structures. This limits descriptiveness and allows for original findings to be made as a basis for more effective analysis.

In devising a systematic means of comparison, this research draws from an amalgam of elements of both the foreign culture and cross national models of cross national research, as outlined by Masser (Maser and Williams, 1986, p.16/18) and illustrated in Figures 1.2 and 1.3. Following this, Figure 1.4 highlights the importance of the literature as a means of guiding the process undertaken by the study.
Figure 1.3 The cross national research process

![Diagram of the cross national research process]

Source: Masser (1986)

Figure 1.4 The foreign culture model

![Diagram of the foreign culture model]

Source: Masser (1986)
Figure 1.5 Study Structure: Systematic comparison of problem oriented research design

Prior knowledge of Edinburgh
(prior to commencement of study)

Initial investigation of Prague
(prior to commencement of study)

Initial literature review
(Autumn 1993)

Identification of shared features of tourist impact
(Autumn 1993)

Further literature review leading to identification of common methodological framework and criteria for assessment
(Spring / Summer 1994)

Detailed investigation of planning system in Edinburgh
(Winter 1994 / Spring 1995)

Analysis of capacity and scenario discussions for Edinburgh
(Summer 1995)

Combined evaluation of system with standard results
(Winter 1995)

Comparison of results to highlight effects of separate systems and external factors specific to each case on standardised results
(Spring 1996 onwards)

Conclusions of study
(Autumn 1996)
1.4 Systematic comparison within a problem orientated research design - the resulting study methodology

This research analyses the impact of tourism on the historic city as an urban planning issue. It highlights the disparate features of planning systems which result from national characteristics. It recognises the importance of the local level within European planning. As defined by comparative planning literature, the thesis adopts a problem orientated approach, with the problem itself being the focus of the research as a means of highlighting the differences in the wider features of each city and the resulting impact this has on the effectiveness of the planning system.

The research methodology aspires to a comprehensive approach to assessing tourist impact in each city. Initially, literature relating to tourist impact assessment etc. as traditionally undertaken in the field of tourism planning was considered. Given the urban emphasis of the research and the need for a systematic process of data collection to facilitate the direct comparison of the case studies, the literature relating to urban capacity analysis was then considered. As documented in Chapter 5, tourism has been an important field in the development of urban capacity analysis - with both methodological backgrounds centring on the concept of set "capacity" limits. As a result, the implementation of urban capacity analysis is considered an appropriate framework for data collection and analysis, with its systematic nature increasing Sharpe's Law of "discreteness of focus".

Whilst sharing common themes, the impact of tourism in the historic city is inherently place specific. As a result, comparisons of national systems, examinations of average data relating national trends or other such data would do little to clarify the central concern of the research - a comparison of case studies has therefore been adopted. However, case studies are well documented in the literature as being inherently problematic. The comparability and availability of data is widely recognised by theorists as a problem common to all comparative research - Masser for instance, stated that:

"The essential problem in cross national studies is that the task of replication of case study material is extremely demanding both in conceptual terms and also in terms of its practical execution." (Masser, 1986, p.19)
Despite this, Masser (1986) also related the flexibility of using a case study approach as a tool for comparison as outlined by Yin (1981):

"Yin sees the case study as a research strategy which can be likened to an experiment, a history or a simulation. He points out that it does not imply the use of any particular type of evidence or data collection technique. It can draw on both qualitative and on quantitative evidence to make use of field work techniques, verbal reports and observations, either separately or collectively."

The use of a clearly defined framework in applying urban capacity analysis overcomes to a certain degree the traditional criticism of case studies as unrepresentative and overly descriptive, whilst retaining their strengths such as the ability to focus on the fine grain of process in a locality. The emphasis of the research is on original data collated through surveys in perceptions of tourism in the historic city and technical studies of impacts which together form the basis of the capacity analysis. This avoids over reliance on official data which limits problems outlined in the comparative planning literature of consistency which are particularly valid in the case of former communist countries such as the Czech Republic.

1.5 Methodology

The methodology draws from a contemporary exercise in urban capacity analysis which was devised by Ove Arup Consultants, and implemented by Building Design Partnership in 1994, on behalf of Cheshire County Council and Chester City Council. The study remains, at the time of writing, at the forefront of urban capacity analysis in the UK, and has formed the basis of a good practice guide published recently by Arup Economics and Planning and Building Design Partnership (1995). The study has acted as a catalyst for instigating debates about the concept in UK planning at least, and its methodology forms a comprehensive basis which links with many of the issues addressed by this thesis. The thesis draws on a number of aspects of the Chester study, but differs through the narrowing of the research in sectoral terms to focus on tourist capacity. The Chester study proved relatively inconclusive in its coverage of this issue, indicating a need for further investigation of its role within urban capacity analysis methodology. This is discussed more fully in Chapter 5.

In addition, a different geographical emphasis is taken by this study through its focus on the historic core of each city as opposed to the city as a whole in the case of Chester. In terms of
the initial requirement of this methodology to identify a case study area within each city, the geographically and culturally defined case study areas of both cities depart from the fundamental view of the city as a complete organism as utilised by the Chester study. The disadvantages of narrowing the focus have been considered, but the use of more limited case study areas is not only a more practical option, but is also logical when combined with the narrowing in sectoral focus to cover tourism alone.

In identifying an appropriate case study area within each city, the scale of tourist activity in each city as a whole, and the distribution of focal points of visitor activity have been taken into account. The degree of social and physical coherence within the case study area was also considered, so that the aim was ultimately to identify a relatively contained and naturally defined area which represents adequately the historic core and related issues in each city. The selection of the areas sought to provide a balanced case study on these terms, but physical manageability in practical terms was also a consideration. As a result, the focusing of the research on the Josefov, Malá Strana Hradčany and Staré Město areas of central Prague to be compared with the Old Town of Edinburgh was considered appropriate.

The scale of the Prague case study area, in terms of ground coverage of approximately 900 hectares within the Protected Area, and a population of 65,000 (6% of the city as a whole) (Plicka, 1993, p.18) is significantly greater than the Old Town of Edinburgh’s area of 1.1 square kilometres and population of around 7,000 (EOTRT, 1995). However, the cultural, historical and architectural significance of the areas in terms of their role as a component of the city as a whole could be considered directly comparable. Arguably, the inclusion of all four of Prague’s historic “towns” could be considered necessary to encapsulate the essence of the “historic” attraction of the city. The exclusion of Nové Město in Prague and the New Town of Edinburgh can be justified, as although both central areas are of relative antiquity and tourist interest, they are similarly peripheral to what might be described as the core of the city’s history. Both of the latter areas do, however, accommodate a significant proportion of tourist activity within each city, and as far as possible this will be taken into account but not as the prime concern of the research. This exclusion allows for a narrowed focus for the study, and so more detailed examination of the “fine grain” of development, a central theme of the research.

Given the comparative nature of this study, assembling contextual data on each case study is explored in more detail than might have been required by a single case study. As a result, the institutional, political, historical an legislative background of development in each city is
discussed in Chapters Three and Four, as well as an evaluation and comparison of the respective planning frameworks of each city. In addition, some description is provided of prevailing development trends in each city to provide further clarification without which a comparative study can become misinformed and/or culturally biased.

Following from this, more detailed data has been compiled to ascertain similarities and differences which will influence the experiences of each city and resulting levels of capacity which will be assessed later. The references to tourism related data have also been expanded from those considered in the case of Chester, in order to account for the sectoral emphasis of the study. This expanded data collection has sought to address the inherent difficulties of comparative research as outlined by the literature.

Further difficulties in data collection were encountered, with the differing criteria and methods of data collection used by each country resulting in inconsistencies which have had to be taken into account as fully as possible. Gaining access to information in Prague has proved particularly difficult. In particular, availability of up to date documentary and background material was limited (particularly in English language). As a result, some of the work carried out in Prague draws from the "Prague Post" (the city's English language weekly newspaper) in adding a further dimension to the original data collection which was completed in 1995, a factor to remember given the volatile nature of the transition. The difficulties in making significant use of a newspaper are acknowledged and have been taken into account within the Prague research. However, the Prague Post could now be considered a well established publication, and has been respected, reliable and an important source of 'inside' information for westerners since the earliest days following the 1989 revolution.

Despite these difficulties, the resulting accounts of background information relating to the analysis in Chapters 6 and 7, and brought together for further comparison in Chapter 8, provide a useful base for evaluating comparative capacities and wider planning issues, in a way which is sensitive to cultural differences. Difficulties, dissimilarities and omissions are explicitly noted within the evaluation process to limit this problem.

To take the background information a step further to address the fine grain of development and planning activity, the essence of each city, or the "Critical Environmental Capital and Constant Assets" as referred to by the Chester study are defined. This includes the detailed investigation of the urban morphology, and discussions of the nature of the built fabric of each, including
topography, key views and vistas, landmarks, important buildings and areas of townscape value.

Following this, **overall trends in the development process**, the spatial dynamics of the market within each case study area and their relationship with other city parts have been examined. This exercise goes some way towards addressing the difficulties of comparing two unique entities as defined in cross national comparative literature above. Much of this examination was included in a discussion about current planning issues in each city, acting as qualitative supplementary data on each city. Definition of key tourist attractions and areas of tourist activity were also drawn from. Previous experiences of planning in Edinburgh and the pilot study carried out in Prague identified the salient issues which were explored more fully later in order to define areas to be covered by the perception and technical studies. This aspect also links with the issues defined in the literature review as being shared by historic cities across Europe. Each city has proved to be concerned with its own topical problems relating to tourism, much of the information about which was identified through first hand observation, a desk top appraisal of current planning issues and through discussions with key players in the development process in each city.

Following from this, as discussed more fully in Chapter 5, **perception studies** and **technical assessments** form the basis of the original data collection for the analysis. The technical studies aim to identify key threats and opportunities through gathering quantitative evidence in a relatively precise manner. Issues covered include the aesthetic quality of the environment, transport, pedestrian congestion, guided tours, coach parking, retail activity and the re-use of historic buildings. Perception studies were closely linked to these areas of consideration, seeking to assess and compare the views of residents and visitors in each city. The study then drew together the results of the technical and perception studies, in order to evaluate the impact of tourism, both actual and perceived, in each city for comparison in the next stage of the analysis.

In drawing together the overall conclusions on capacity, the full range of issues identified in the previous stage of the research are considered in terms of the degree to which they fall short of, or have exceeded their capacity levels. Critical points in the urban fabric are identified as well as opportunities for growth within the urban capacity. This is established as a result of an amalgamation of tourist use of the historic area of each city with the apparent physical
constraints, the needs of the population and other users and its economic, cultural and other functions as largely defined by the market analysis.

In broadening the discussion arising from these findings, the Chester study outlined three main features which also require consideration - potentially developable land, scope for redevelopment and scope for increased floorspace through redevelopment. This section of the research draws from both field work including comprehensive land use studies of each area, with the identification of derelict sites and buildings with development potential. In addition, current redevelopment activity in each area has been noted and sources including reviews conducted by estate agents of land process and the property market in Prague, and the Edinburgh Old Town Action Plan which identifies opportunities for redevelopment, will also be drawn from in compiling a full overview of the land capacity of each area. The compared current land prices of each city in terms of the overall European market provides a further cross European dimension to this part of the research. This is important given the international nature of property markets in the 1990's.

In incorporating this information and adding a further dimension to the conclusions of the data analysis in each case study area, options based on different future role for the cities will follow the model set out by Chester, whilst being confined to the role of tourism only as opposed to a comparison between different sectoral emphases. The options discuss the future scenarios of minimal, trend, maximum, selective and managed reduction change in each city. The parameters for each of these options will be discussed for each city in turn. The Chester study quantified these options in a relatively precise manner. However, given the diffuse nature of tourism and the comparative nature of the study, the scenarios discussed in this study are based on more qualitative forecasts, ensuring the cultural social and wider aspects of planning in each case are accounted for adequately. The limitations of scenario writing have been noted and each option is not intended as a prediction, but merely as a basis for discussion.

1.6 Structure of the study

The study consists of nine chapters. The introduction (Chapter 1) has sought to summarise the study's background, methodology and the relevant comparative planning literature. Chapter 2 examines the definition and role of the historic city in Europe as documented in the literature. The diverse approaches in east and west European cities to conservation are discussed, and this is related to the more theoretical discussions in literature relating to the values attached to
conservation and the various 'meanings' of historic built environment to different groups of its users. The literature documenting the future threats and opportunities in the European historic city is then outlined prior to more detailed discussion of tourism as the focus of the research. The literature review provides the context for the data collection, and introduces the methodological discussions relating to tourist impact / capacity analysis in Chapter 5. Chapters 3 and 4 introduce planning in Edinburgh and Prague respectively. The planning history of each city and the influence of conservation is initially discussed, followed by an appraisal of important opportunities and threats for each city at present. The current structure of each planning system is then detailed within its political and institutional framework and an outline of participants in the development process is discussed and compared. The more specific nature of tourism and its relationship with each of the city's contexts is then put forward, prior to the Chapters' conclusions, which highlight key issues for the capacity analysis to focus on.

Chapter 5 explores the links between traditional methods of tourism impact assessment and urban capacity analysis. The methodology of the study is discussed in greater detail and its elements are related to the current debate about the notion of capacity. The role of technical studies and validity of indicators, and the use of perceptions studies will be discussed. The amendments to the methodology and departures from the Chester study will be explained more fully. Chapters 6 and 7 then provide a detailed assessment of current and future tourism capacity of each case study. The findings related in both the earlier literature review and methodological discussions both add a wider dimension to the localised and pragmatic focus of the data collected.

Chapter 8 explores the compared findings of the capacity analysis in each city, and examines the extent to which comparative planning research can contribute to the effectiveness of the current use of urban capacity analysis. The degree to which the historic fabric of each city has been detracted from and / or complemented by tourism related development and activity, and the influence of the compared planning backgrounds as previously discussed will be evaluated. The reasons behind differences in experiences between the case studies will be suggested.

Finally, the wider implications of the research, in terms of the east-west comparative dimension of the study, are put forward in Chapter 9. The possibility of the future convergence of issues in diverse European historic cities owing to their common role as tourist destinations, is
discussed. On this basis subsequent prospects for the future harmonisation of European urban policy in the context of the future expanded Europe will also be reviewed on the basis of the study findings.

1.7 Contribution of the Thesis

It is anticipated that an original contribution to research in this field will be made in a number of ways. Literature relating to the carrying out of east-west comparative planning research remains limited to date. It is anticipated that the study will form an addition to this aspect of comparative planning literature, through considering a relatively little explored aspect of East European planning in the years since the transition and through assuming a semi- normative as opposed to entirely descriptive approach. The nature of the research involves the gathering of extensive data which crosses over European cultures, both through interviewing tourists of different nationalities and in conducting questionnaires in a country foreign to the researcher. The distinctive issues of access to information as a cultural aspect of the new democracies in east central Europe is, for instance, an interesting aspect of this area of interest which is discussed more fully. The research seeks to confront cultural differences within Europe and national identity (as manifested in the built environment) as part of the wider debates relating to planning at the European level.

The comparative element of the methodology aside, the thesis contributes to the debate about the methodology of urban capacity analysis. This field remains relatively unexplored, apart from the most recent debates arising in the UK. The approach taken tests some aspects of this concept which have not as yet been systematically addressed, not least the idea of comparative analysis as a dimension which can potentially strengthen conclusions and future scenario discussions.

Overall, the study brings together original data on the relationship between planning, conservation and tourism in Prague and Edinburgh in the mid 1990's, forming a further exploration of the established field of research relating to this subject at the local level.

1.8 Conclusions

This thesis in short seeks to discuss the role of the contemporary European historic city as a tourist destination, through undertaking a cross national comparison of Edinburgh and Prague.
It addresses the problems of cross national comparative research as documented in the literature through three characteristics of the research design. Firstly, it assumes a problem orientated approach in focusing on the role of tourism as a function of the contemporary European historic city. Secondly, further focus is provided in the limited geographical areas being compared, both in terms of their size, and in their shared historical characteristics. Thirdly, the study undertakes data collection on the basis of a standardised framework of urban capacity analysis. As outlined above, Chapter Two will now review the literature relating to conservation and tourism in the contemporary European historic city, in order to set a theoretical frame of reference for the urban capacity analysis carries out in the case study areas.
Chapter 2
Chapter 2
Historic Cities in Contemporary Europe

2.1 Introduction

As outlined in Chapter One, since the transition of the central and eastern European countries from Soviet control at the end of the 1980's, a new research agenda has emerged linked to the relationship between east and west Europe. Urban planning is one aspect of research which is directly influenced by the changes. Within this context, the thesis is based on an examination of the effects of the transition at the urban level within Europe as a whole. To focus the research, Edinburgh in western Europe and Prague in the former “Eastern Bloc” have been identified as comparable case studies. Consideration of the future role of these cities in the “New Europe” provokes a number of interesting questions. As outlined in Chapter 1, the thesis is therefore based on a problem orientated approach to cross national comparative research. The problem which acts as a further focus of the study is the impact of tourism on the historic city in Europe.

This Chapter reviews the literature on the European historic city and the relationship between conserving the city and its role as a tourist destination. The historic city’s meanings to society, and the essence of what differentiates it from other cities will set a basis for the discussion. The review will also seek to identify the different attitudes which have characterised planning for historic cities in east and west Europe in the past. The manifestation of political, cultural, social, economic and institutional characteristics of the historic city in east and west will be considered. The chapter will then link this history to the development of the ideology of historic conservation. Changing attitudes to the past and in particular the historic fabric will be discussed, with distinctions between cities in east and west Europe being highlighted. The ideological debates about value-laden selective conservation and the incongruity of meaning of the past for different sectors of society will be explored.

As a result of this review, the chapter will end with an analysis of where the historic city stands in contemporary Europe, and what its future is likely to be. An overview of the range of issues of concern and opportunity for the historic city is put forward, prior to a discussion about the role of the historic city as a tourist destination.
2.2 Definitions of the European Historic City - compared approaches in capitalist and socialist societies

Urban theorists have long recognised the role of the city as an important feature of European life. Hall (1993) outlines the fundamental role of historic cities within Europe, as highlighted for instance in cross Atlantic comparisons, with perspectives of European regional planning continuing to be inherently tied into historic urban regions. Europe is an urban based society, with 89% of the European population expected to live in urban areas over the next 30 years (European Briefing 1993). Europe's urban hierarchy is, according to Hall (1993) long established, going back two thousand years when the major cities including London, Paris, Rome, Milan, Marseille, Cologne etc. were already important. These cities remain Europe's "great cities", with additional industrial centres (Birmingham for example) having also assumed important roles in the twentieth century. Alongside these cities, a further role has been established for the "historic city" in Europe.

The emphasis on the urban life is underlined by the European Green Paper on the Urban Environment (1990) which played an important part in the 1990's moves favouring the renaissance in city living. The Council of Europe launched a Campaign for Urban Renaissance in London during 1980, in response to the decline in urban areas which had been occurring throughout the 1970's. The Green Paper emphasised the significance of the cities to Europe as a whole:

"...the past decades have seen a rediscovery of the value of urban living and a growing appreciation of the importance of quality of life in the cities of Europe...It is Europe's prosperity and Europe's economic failures which put pressure on these cities. Similarly, it is Europe as whole which benefits from the economic efficiency, social stability and beauty of successful cities." (CEC, 1990, pp.19/20)

The historic city allows society to maintain links with its past and so understand itself better. Patrick Geddes (1915) (in Boardman, 1978), for example, referred to the manifestation of history in the built environment as being an important past of providing the "immortality of the social soul". More recently, "This Common Inheritance" stated:

"Buildings, towns, monuments and other historic cities give us a sense of place. They remind us of our past, of how our forebears lived, and how our culture and society have developed."
They tell us what earlier generations aspired to and achieved. They provide the context for new buildings, and for changes in our way of life. They teach us lessons for the future." (HM Government, 1990, paragraph 2.2)

This role has been even more important within the recently converging Europe, where the threat of homogeneity has fostered efforts to reassert national and regional identity through cities. Describing the continuing growth in importance in the role of the historic city in Europe, the EU states:

"It is becoming increasingly evident that the urban exodus is slowing down throughout Europe. Places with their own identity and a history offer an image with which people feel they can identify. This process is giving birth to a new type of urban environment which is at once traditional and innovative." (CEC, 1994, p.41)

The city in Europe, however, has not enjoyed a consistent past, despite its ancient origins as the main catalyst for the development of civilised society. During the industrial revolution, centres of cities throughout Europe became overcrowded with slums, which were later cleared, causing depopulation which in turn caused problems for the continuing quality of living the city centre. The exodus from the city began during Victorian times when the railways improved accessibility to new housing on the edges of the city. The central city never really recovered from this, right up until the 1960's when the rising influence of the private car and its relationship with land use further questioned the role of the central city as a place to live and work.

Laborde (1994) outlines the fundamental changes which urban areas underwent in Europe through the period of rapid population growth between 1950 and 1975. The immediate post war period in the west of Europe differed from the east even in the earliest years, through its response to issues such as population growth, housing shortages and new industry etc. High development rates were stimulated by these changes to society, as well as in more physical terms due to the bombins which left considerable areas of urban Europe devastated. The period was characterised by underlying support for change fostering urban renewal which had hitherto occurred at a more gradual rate through natural urban change. More recently, Deben et al (1992) outline the urban crisis encountered in the 1970's, when urban decline followed the earlier dynamism of post war development.
Kain (1981) outlines the rise in concern for conservation in Europe. In Britain, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), founded by William Morris in 1877, was considered one of the earliest moves towards establishing a legal framework for conserving buildings. Similar moves took place throughout Europe, often earlier as in the case of France, where the first example of listing buildings of historical value can be traced. (Kain, 1981) Greater public awareness arose in the twentieth century, often as the result of environmental pressure groups which took up the gauntlet against the sweeping changes of widespread industrialisation. Kain describes this:

"Part of the reason for the growing number of environmental groups lies in the increasing pressures which the twentieth century has brought on all fragile environments. The historic cores of cities in industrialised European countries are paying now for the neglect of the physical fabric of buildings in the nineteenth century and the twin assaults of the motorcar and the property speculator." (1981, p.7)

After world war two therefore, support for conservation was already well established but gained political support within the UK, as in many other European countries and in the United States, as a result of a new recognition of the value of the historic environment which had been threatened in many places by the destruction of the war. As Baker states in the case of the UK:

"Many historic towns had been damaged by bombing and rebuilding would follow. Increasingly in the post war years, preservation was on the agenda for both major political parties. The heritage created by unequal distribution of wealth in society became more acceptable to the Left as the bitter memories of the past receded in time. The Right had always favoured attractive buildings and places and became more accustomed to the idea that the state should intervene in private property, providing the level of public expenditure was not too high." (1983, p.43)

This new widespread acceptance of the conservation ideal was increasingly reflected in the literature and legislative reforms following World War Two. A number of seminal works were published at this time, (e.g. Jacobs (1961); Alexander (1965) etc.), which took the conservation movement beyond concern with aesthetic and architectural values, and highlighted the importance of growth, social and community values, and land use / function amongst other less traditionally integrated values. By the end of the 1960's, listed building provisions were being extended to conservation of wider areas in a more comprehensive sense in the UK and other
west European countries, as a result of the period which Tiesdell et al (1996) describe as the second wave of conservation. Larkham has outlined the continuing popularity of the "conserved city" ideal which has characterised planning literature since the beginning of the 1970's, and which has significantly altered many historic towns:

"The pervasiveness of this ideal is shown in practice by the spread of identical features throughout many diverse towns: identical design solutions, architectural details, cast-iron street furniture from the same specialist supplier, and so on. In the name of conservation, places run the risk of becoming placeless, losing their uniqueness." (Larkham, 1992, p.106)

The conservation literature relates the benefits and disbenefits of conservation in terms of its role in reinforcing the identity of a place. As Larkham highlights, whilst it can ensure the continuing historic significance of a place, if insensitively administered the effects can bypass the true meaning of a place. This argument has been picked up on more recently within the growing area of literature which has developed a critique of the conservation movement. However, in more popular terms over the past two decades, the most recent cycle in favour of conservation has occurred to a large extent as the result of the public reaction to the insensitive and highly destructive comprehensive redevelopment projects of the 1960's/early 1970's. As Tiesdell et al state:

"By the 1960's, the value of traditional environments was increasingly being recognised in contrast to - and as a reaction against - Modernist environments." (1996, p.53)

The calls for stricter control over new development, particularly in historic areas, as well as greater regard for the retention of the old has grown within the planning literature throughout Europe in the years since. Planning law in most European countries has reflected this to a greater or lesser degree, though a lack of finance to implement the legislative context has been and continues to be common. The rising importance of the conservation movement and increasing role within mainstream planning through the 1970's culminated in a more integrated approach to urban renewal and conservation from the early 1980's onwards. A UNESCO Report in 1980, for instance, noted the integration of urban change with attention to the past:

"It is now realised that whilst it is necessary to pursue the aims of conservation they must not stand in the way of sensible urban development. To try and preserve part of town as a kind
of museum, more or less arresting its development is considered to be just as harmful as its total commercialisation or deterioration." (UNESCO, 1980, p.14)

With the 1990's changes in Europe, the historic city has taken on a new significance. Hall notes the continuing success of national and regional capital cities in Europe after restructuring which at the same time adversely affected cities (usually not historic cities) with traditional industrial economies:

"The key seems to be the lack of a residual declining heavy-industrial base, and a generally positive image based on a well preserved historical heritage." (Hall, 1993, p.896)

As a result of its continuing strength of position in competing with other cities, the historic city has continued to be a relatively successful aspect of European life. The EU has documented its current importance, and the significance of their destruction in terms of the European population:

"Thanks to their monuments and architectural heritage cities are the repositories of the history and collective memory passed on by successive generation. The physical degradation of cities robs the inhabitants of their cultural roots." (CEC, 1994, p.26)

The competitive edge enjoyed by historic cities is especially significant for those from the former eastern Europe. Under the communist regime, economic and industrial activity was highly centralised and concentrated in heavy industrial sectors which cannot compete in open markets. This leaves the historic cities in an even more important position as marketable assets of the CEE countries. Hall predicts the future "Recovery of Berlin, Vienna and perhaps some of the other east-central European capitals as major nodal centres;" (1993, p.897)

The nature of the historic city as an asset in European competition has emerged as a result of both intra western and eastern European restructuring. The role which the historic city has played to date in western Europe differs from that of the east as a direct result of the different characteristics of the regions in the post war period. As a result, the differing approaches to conservation in east and west Europe and their respective impacts on the urban fabric should be reviewed, prior to considering the historic city in the new Europe.
Despite the continuing importance of the historic city to countries throughout the New Europe, prior to the collapse of Soviet control of central and eastern Europe, east and west had associated fundamentally different values with the historic city in the post war period, and this is reflected in the literature. The historic city in central and eastern Europe has undergone a much less simple history owing to the dominance of the communist state. This is reflected in the different approach to the subject taken by literature in this region. As documented in the literature (Gutnov et al, 1968; Bater, 1980; Shaw, 1991) the principles of urbanization applied in the central and eastern European countries followed those already established in the Soviet models of city planning. The city played a fundamental role in facilitating the manifestation of socialist ideals. In essence:

"The transformation of the values of society through the conscious manipulation of the urban-industrialization process is an integral part of Marxist Leninist thinking." (Bater, 1980, p. 1)

Gutnov (et al., 1968) outline the main ideals behind the Soviet dominated communist city, upon which the planning of central and east European cities including Prague, was radically reshaped from the 1960's onward. The emphasis in communist attitudes towards the city, at least in wording, tended to be on the social, as opposed to physical elements of the city, with social harmony and unity being the declared aims. Bater summarises the approach as "directed urbanization and the planned development of cities according to principles of equality and hygiene rather than ability to pay." (1980, p.5)

The planning and "conservation" of the cities under socialism was not the only factor which shaped development. Marxist ideology includes a number of principles (as outlined, for instance, by Pallot & Shaw, 1981; and Bater, 1980;) which are fundamentally different from the ethos of planning in the west and which were applied to urban areas through the regime. For example, all resources under communism were nationalised, including land and buildings. This had the effect of limiting commercial activity in the historic city. Land use was planned as opposed to defined by the market, effectively stagnating the growth and change in the city from the second world war onwards. With "the substitution of collectivism for privatism" (Bater, p.5) public transport became the dominant means of transportation in the city. Thus while rapidly increasing levels of car ownership were to leave their mark throughout historic cities in the west (to varying extents due to the local nature of planning controls), this was less the case in the historic cities of the east. Furthermore, collectivism and restrictions of individual
mobility ensured that patterns of residential segregation have not manifested themselves in eastern cities unlike their western counterparts where gentrification is an important trend. Retail functions, a further aspect of the city centre (often historic) in the west were limited and actively dispersed during communist times.

The implementation of these principles in planning the city are discussed more fully in the case of Prague in Chapter 4. The key point is that 'actually existing Socialism' required a constant litany in which scientific and technical advance achieved improvements in the quality of life. The inheritance of a historic environment, full of relics of past capitalist activity, monuments to national identity and religious symbolism, was profoundly at odds with the need to assert the communist doctrine as a pervading, superior way of life. Gutnov et al (1968) reveal Soviet attitudes to the historic built environment in stating that "our urban planning, however, has not yet been able wholly to overcome the accidental character of city growth" (p.6). The "natural" growth of the city, seen by many conservationists in the west as one of the vital features which should be conserved and respected through compatible future development, was viewed critically in the east.

Land use planning under these socialist principles, although seemingly not specifically addressing the historic built environment, was of a nature which nevertheless had important consequences for historic city centres. One of the most obvious effects of the economic / industrial emphasis of planning under socialism was the lack of an environmental dimension. This in turn had specific implications for maintaining the historic built environment. Industry was often located according to political reasoning, as opposed to even sound economic based decision making and even less as a result of environmental concerns. The nature of industrial growth and location in Bohemia during the communist regime led to considerable damage of the historic fabric through pollution. Thus, whilst pollution in the city centre might have been a less serious threat than in west European historic cities due to the relative lack of private car ownership, problems resulting from pollution nevertheless did arise as a result of the dominance of the political agenda on land use planning and decision making.

A further issue which arose in the historic city in central and eastern Europe which was a direct result of the conditions imposed by socialism and the wider political issues which shaped land use planning included the gentrification of central historic areas. Historic centres and older properties within them were often used as an instrument of the Party for rewarding professional
citizens, key workers etc., thus creating a degree of social segregation which may not otherwise have been anticipated within a ‘classless’ system. In Cracow, for instance:

"Meanwhile the process of social segregation is probably being further encouraged by more recent developments. In Cracow’s central area, for example, renovation is having the effect of moving out the old population and after renovation is complete the new property is often being passed over to senior members of the technical and professional strata, who……can be expected to look after it better." (Hamnett, 1982, p.80)

Therefore whilst there would at first appear to have been a lack of policy and therefore no significant change in the historic city during the regime, issues which were not dissimilar from those occurring in western Europe were continuing to affect the central and east European historic city centre. Furthermore, in terms of the incongruity of planning under socialism and the nature of the historic city, not only was the built environment the output of a set of repressive class relations, but its lack of organisation was wholly at odds with communist aspirations to order and control.

"With capitalism in the era of free competition, the dominance of economic relationships (i.e. the pursuit of immediate private profit and the intensive development of marketing) became the principle cause for the spontaneous, malignant growth of the industrial city." (Gutnov et al, 1968, p.21)

In contrast to the diverse inheritance of history manifested in the unsystematic pattern of the built environment, so often treasured in the west, it was felt that:

"anyone living in a true communist society should enjoy equally with all others living anywhere in it conditions conducive to self-development and similar creative activity." (Gutnov et al, 1968, p.26)

and that...

"The emergence of rationally planned areas many miles in dimension indicates that we have moved into a new stage of conscious urban development ultimately aimed at uniting the planet into a single system corresponding to a new kind of social organisation and to the growing potential of modern technology." (Gutnov et al 1968, p.105)
Communist city planning sought to ensure primarily social and economic rather than physical harmonisation. The negative side of equality and progress - the loss of diversity and severance from the past appears to have been invisible to those looking through this ideology. The use of “standardised residential units” (p.152), the rejection of chaos associated with the capitalist society, and the overall view of construction as a "field for fascinating experiments" all set the overall surreal tone of the "Ideal Communist City" which was imposed throughout the central and eastern European satellite states.

"That Soviet central cities do differ in several ways from say cities of Western Europe or North America is evident on first setting foot in one..." (Bater 1980, p.122)

The national aspect of historic identity led to ambiguity in the Soviet approach to conservation and planning of historic city centres in the satellite states. Whilst the evolution of historic cities represents profoundly bourgeois values, at the same time the national identity as manifested in such an environment could not be eradicated. Dobby highlights this:

"An outstanding paradox of conservation is the refusal of European Communist states, which arose quite recently by war and revolution, to make a clean sweep of the monuments that were erected in the pre revolutionary era. One might expect that since such monuments were the products of exploitation they would be neglected or even erased for symbolising a contemptible ideology. This is far from the case. In fact historical monuments in the east are highly regarded in their own right and especially as symbols of national and culture and history. They therefore generally receive better material and financial treatment than those of the west. A contributory reason for this is the great amount of destruction which took place in Eastern Europe in the second world war" (1978, p.85).

The literature on Soviet planning and its influence in the city in central and eastern Europe comprises two main strands. The first strand, written prior to the transition and often in the earliest days of communism in these countries, confidently expressed and applied Marxist principles to the city through economically and scientifically based planning approaches. The literature of this time documents the sweeping aside of symbols of non socialist principles, for example. The second strand assumes a more retrospective perspective in highlighting the shortfalls of the political dominated agenda for the city under communism. Most significantly in terms of this study, the criticism includes the view that Soviet led planning did not address
the needs of the historic city during this time or what Shaw terms as "...a failure to conserve historic monuments and cities..." (Shaw, 1991, p.130).

The lack of clarity in the legitimacy of conservation during communist times is perhaps an indication of the different agendas of people involved in the process. French and Hamilton also highlight the different aspects which conservation assumed under the State:

"The initial challenge facing government and planners, therefore, was how to compromise satisfactorily between revolutionizing the feudal or capitalistic society fossilized in stone while sustaining pride in national heritage and devoting the utmost resources to ambitious plans for economic development and 'socialist transformation' " (1979, p.6).

So whilst nationally and even supranationally defined principles of urban development were seen to shape urban development, a further layer of conservationist principles continued to exist throughout the regime. In the Czechoslovakian case for instance, a national body was set up (SURPMO) to target conservation strategies and co-ordinate investment in the historic built environment with skills and workers trained to implement crafts and technical expertise in the field. The effectiveness of such bodies during the regime, owing to the lack of wider commitment and resources, was, however, clearly limited to more technically justified and highly prioritised successes and show piece projects, whilst the rest of the built environment was left to deteriorate.

The historic city in western Europe also suffered negative change during the same period, although the source of the problems were very different. The impact of the market and the decline of historic cities prior to renewed interest is well documented. As a result, whilst historic cities across the new Europe share problems and issues of concern and opportunity following the transition, local regional and national approaches in dealing with them remain closely tied in with the characteristics of each of the countries.

Skea (1993) categorised conservation related policy experienced within Europe as the Priority/Centralised and Pragmatic/Localised approaches. Both approaches differ in their methods as well as their outcomes. Whilst the Priority approach relies on top down allocation of resources, and definition of buildings and areas for conservation primarily at the national scale, the pragmatic approach allows for devolved powers allocated to the local level, at which each authority decides how best to distribute its share of resources.
The priority approach, such as that adopted by the Netherlands and France, holds an advantage in that the safeguarding of monuments, technically in order of merit, is ensured. This allows for sustained financial allocations to be made through detailed plans and projects, which are not at the mercy of the notoriously subjective opinions of local politicians. However, the degree of comprehensiveness is limited as the financial and other resources tend to be concentrated on a few major projects. The top-down approach may also engender local level resentment for non inclusion in the decision making process - this has resulted in local politicians virtually stopping progress altogether in both these countries.

The pragmatic/localised approach accepts local variations and devolved decision making powers. This has been the approach in both the UK and Germany. However it has its own disadvantages, including the lack of consistency between regions, and the tendency for localities to value heritage at a subjective and local level, as opposed to viewing the greater whole. The result has been that too many areas have competed for already scarce national resources, as opposed to a more strategically prioritised method.

Skea says that the countries of the former eastern bloc have exercised an exaggerated form of the priority/centralised system found in western European countries. This has resulted in similar problems of over prioritisation in eastern countries though the local political conflict was not an issue due to the dominance of the centralised state. However, the typical result of this approach in the west has been magnified considerably when compared with central and eastern European countries such as the Czech Republic. As a result, few areas have actually been conserved to a high standard, with stark imbalances between central towns and peripheral regions in the quality of their built heritage today. Inflexibility and delays were also a feature of the inefficient and cumbersome bureaucracy which pervaded every feature of the development industry.

Fielden (1985) outlined some of the main challenges being faced in urban conservation in the UK, including the lack of an integrated approach to the issues by government, lack of recognition of the skills required to carry out conservation and a shortage of craftsmen and materials, inconsistency between the organisation of the modern building industry and the needs of the historic built environment, and difficulties encountered in quantifying the benefits of conservation. The latter problem is one which is relevant to the historic city throughout Europe.
Across Europe, advocates of both extremes in approaches to conservation as outlined by Skea, are recognising the limitations which are common to diverse national systems, and whilst the centralised countries are seeking to incorporate a more significant local element to the conservation of the built heritage, so the localised countries are conversely attempting to incorporate a more strategically-led designation and protection system. This has been illustrated, for instance, in the greater role of central conservation agencies such as English Heritage and Historic Scotland in the UK.

In short, the historic city in Europe has had a different history in east as compared to west Europe. Wider political principles and other differences between socialist and capitalist societies have characterised the meaning of the historic city in each case, which has in turn directly influenced conservation. The following section outlines key aspects of this literature, and highlights in particular the recent rise in criticism of conservation and the potential influence this may have on the European historic city of the future.

2.3 Values, Meanings and Criticisms of Traditional Attitudes to Conservation

Chapters 3 and 4 describe the development of conservation as a planning concern in Edinburgh and Prague. Initially however, this review of the wider literature aims to bring together the various strands of conservation theory and attitudes to the historic city which now have relevance for the development of future practice across Europe. In drawing together the arguments for and against conservation of historic cities, the literature covers a wide ranging and varied field encompassing the full range of priorities for the city as a whole. As Kain (1981) points out, responses to the term “conservation” and its requirements deviate in terms of emphasis on preservation or development:

"The amount of change that can be accepted also varies; the spectrum ranges from out-and-out preservation, associated particularly with those concerned with caring for the more fragile niches of the natural environment, to an acceptance, particularly in the management of historic centres, that policies of preservation and restoration must be accompanied by selective demolition to create open space and to allow the introduction of some new buildings and appropriate economic activities" (p.2).

Along with the continuous growth in the popularity of the conservation movement, there has been a concurrent growth in the recognition of the necessity for the development of new and
exciting architectural change not being stifled by an over-bearing effort to preserve the past. The growth in market led planning which occurred during the 1980's in the west, and later in the east following the transition takes this stance. Many planners and conservationists alike are coming to accept that old and new can complement one another without necessarily relying on imitation to ensure compatibility. Despite the tendency to create a museum based environment, often on the part of entrepreneurs keen to exploit its historic features, many theorists including Fielden see the historic centre of a city as a living organism with dynamic growth forces which must be identified and encouraged and directed by minimum intervention at key points:

"These life forces are like a river which can be controlled by small alterations which cause the desired changes further downstream, the current of the river being the time factor in this metaphor." (Fielden, 1985, p.210)

The changing view of conservation as not necessarily precluding growth is also related to the notion within the wider sustainability debate that development and environmental futurity can be compatible. Indeed, the recognition of inevitable change is being seen by conservationists as an effective compromise:

"A town is a living organism, always changing. Its buildings, the cells of its structure, need constant repair and replacement if they are to meet changing needs and standards. Whilst they must respect its traditions and well-loved landmarks, they should accept that the most pervasive tradition in towns is change itself. Today's towns must represent their day as those we now preserve reflect the architecture and civic design of times past .... The past can survive only as a contribution to the present; the present is but a stepping stone to the future, and it is in the future that we will live." (Dix and Nelson Tarn, 1985)

Despite the different experiences in the past in east and west in terms of the role of the historic city as related above, in more theoretical terms, as outlined most recently in the Washington Charter (1987), the conservation movement as a whole has moved from away from preservationist attitudes, particularly since the 1960's with popular support for progress and modernity, to take on board the requirements of change and development pressures. The recognition that a progressive approach to conservation and recognition of the need for continuing development, can become compatible with the notion of futurity is also a fundamental purpose of the sustainability agenda. However, criticisms of, as well as support
for, conservation per se are reflected in the wider literature relating not only to the role of the historic city, but also considering attitudes to the past, history, and heritage.

The concept of heritage in the wider sense than that limited to the conservation of historic buildings or even the built fabric as a whole, has increasingly been the subject of a great deal of debate. Hewison's (1987) polemic set the tone by savaging the artificial aims of the British "heritage industry". Hewison argues that whilst in the immediate post war period the optimism of the time fostered the advancement of forward looking modernist architecture, in the more troubled times of decline since, the British popular tendency has been to cling to the past as a means of reassurance. Referring to post modernism as "modernism with the optimism taken out", (p.132), Hewison, drawing from other theorists including M.J. Wiener, is particularly critical of the tendency to romanticise the recent industrial past within the UK. This particular aspect of heritage has been a subject of much discussion particularly relating to the post modern context of the argument, with theorists including, Falk (1988), Lowenthal (1985) Wright (1985), Larkham (1993) and Thomas (1995), who stated:

"Essentially historic conservation is a culturally defined movement which expresses profound doubts about the future even to the point of rejection." (Thomas, 1995, p.207)

This questioning of conservation principles relates to the more fundamental debate which has always existed in conservation literature about the nature of selectivity and the role of values within conservation activity. Hubbard, for instance, notes that heritage does not necessarily relate the truth but instead encourages a "soft focus" view of history:

"Although such initiatives have generally been economically successful, the arbitrary and selective way in which these heritage landscapes exploit local cultural identities and commercialise history has been viewed with much cynicism." (Hubbard, 1993, p. 359)

A fundamental factor instigating this loss of the original meaning which has contributed to the literature now challenging the concept of conservation, is heritage related tourism. Hall, for instance, has directly linked this issue with the influence of tourist consumption of the historic environment:
"Because the former industrial age is now almost as exotic as the agrarian age, they are now able to present a sanitised version of it as a new kind of tourist attraction." (Hall, 1993, p.891)

Hewison also links the two fields and highlights the increasing relevance of the relationship at least within the UK through government policy:

"If the first report by the all-party House of Commons Environment Committee is anything to go by, the interests of tourism will become even more dominant in government policies on conservation. The recommendation that attracted most attention was that cathedrals should charge every visitor £1 for, in spite of the 'wear and tear' of tourism, the report saw this as the best means of ensuring the buildings' survival, at least until sufficient public funds were made available. Astonishingly English Heritage was criticised for putting too little emphasis on tourism, and was 'unequivocally' urged to do more." (Hewison, 1987, p.102).

Following this, a further ideological question is raised by tourist consumption of the historic environment which relates to ascertaining to whom the past "belongs", linking values in the conservation process with the influence of its consumers. Recognition of the uneasy relationship between tourism and the historic environment in this sense is well established in the literature. For instance, in 1979 Chamberlin undertook interviews with tourists arriving back from European holidays who recollected superficial descriptions of historic sights but little else about their context or meaning. He described the tourist "as an innocent enemy of the past" and went on to discuss entrepreneurial selling and profiting from the "quick sale" of heritage to tourists whose impact was often highly destructive, stating:

"In effect, the historic countries of the West were prepared, if reluctantly, to mortgage their heritage in order to maintain their standard of living. But to whom, in fact, does this 'heritage' belong? To the native whose ancestors created it and who now has the burden of maintaining it, or to the tourist hurrying past with his camera? If it belongs to the native, then he has a right to mortgage it; if it belongs to mankind at large - of which the tourist is a part - then the tourist must be kept away to protect it, creating thereby a neatly insoluble paradox" (Chamberlin, 1979, p.69).

Tourism is not the only factor noted in the literature as bringing about this loss of meaning which is a key threat to the continuing success of conserving the historic city. Conservation is
often criticised as being an elitist concern, with the middle and upper classes being accused of manipulating the historic fabric to represent its own view of history (see Kearns and Philo, 1993; Hewison, 1987; McCrone et al, 1995). This has wider reaching implications which extend beyond those of urban conservation alone and pervade representations of all aspects of history.

The disempowerment of the remainder of society in influencing conservation has been discussed:

"urban bourgeoisie are seeking to mobilise segments of culture, history and locality in the competitive selling of their places both to outsiders (to attract capital) and to insiders (to legitimate redevelopment)." (Kearns and Philo, 1993)

and

"conflicts do frequently arise because of the manipulation of culture and history by place marketers runs against the understandings of local culture and history built into the daily encounters with city spaces of the city's "other peoples"." (Kearns and Philo, 1993, p.29)

Critics such as Hewison, as well as advocates of conservation are frequently in agreement that conservation plays a more deep rooted role than its emphasis on the physical environment would suggest. Hewison states:

"The past is the foundation of the individual and collective identity, objects from the past are the source of significance of cultural symbols." (Hewison, 1987, p.47)

Hubbard also discusses how the public are less concerned with actual historical and architectural integrity, than they are about the actual meaning of the buildings, and the history they convey:

"Whilst the historic purity of the townscape may be unimportant, its symbolism and allusion to past events and ways of life are thus crucial in maintaining cultural identities." (Hubbard, 1993, p.368)
The conservation literature has often taken up this theme of the potential potency of the historic built environment, Tiesdell et al, for instance, also stating:

"...the concern for cultural continuity can be manipulated to add specific - often political connotations and distortions to preservation. This process of interpretation can turn historic buildings and environments from relatively neutral artefacts into politically charged "heritage"; what is preserved depends on who chooses and what they perceive history to be" (1996, p.16)

Further adding to the threat of decontextualisation of the historic environment through the values of its conservators misrepresenting the past, the wider role of planning is changing from a managerial to entrepreneurial style within the new Europe. The literature is increasingly emphasising the place marketing role of the historic city. Sadler, for instance, describes the growth in this sector of activity:

"In the course of the 1970s and 1980s social science came increasingly to focus upon the significance of place, in part as one (largely belated) reflection of the real social and political changes associated with the accelerated internationalisation of business activity. At a time of intensified global restructuring, the roles which particular cities and regions might play in rapidly shifting world order were more and more evidently open to question......A process of 'place-marketing' became increasingly significant, through which the competitive ethos of the market place became translated into the burgeoning 'place-market'. (1993, p.175)

The increasing role of the international sphere of urban policy not least through the growing importance of the EU, has led planners more recently to view the city as an asset for competition with renewed interest. In addition, CEE countries are increasingly being required to compete with the west through promotion of their city-regions. Pichler Milanovich, for instance, in discussing the role of the CEE historic city states:

"There is a need for a strategic vision of how the city should develop in the future. Urban revitalisation could become more competitive, and use its heritage and the built environment as attributes in city-marketing to attract inward investment, to maintain the quality of life and to achieve sustainability through balanced economic competitiveness, social cohesion
and environmental quality objectives. If governments do not support this multi sectoral strategy, the city will lose its advantage in the future." (1996, p.121)

Literature relating to the historic city also discusses the role of the city in assisting countries in attracting inward investment and their marketing as an economic asset. Goodwin, for instance states that "the selling of an urban lifestyle thus becomes part and parcel of an increasingly sophisticated marketing of everyday life, in which images and myths are relentlessly packaged and presented until they become 'hyperreal' ...whereby any distinction between the 'real' and the 'representation' is effaced" (Goodwin, 1993, p.147).

This aspect of entrepreneurial activity playing an increasing role in manipulating the historic environment has already been linked in the literature with the former Soviet bloc (Goodwin, 1993). The capital cities of the region have already emerged as assuming the focus of economic growth and have so far been strongest to emerge through the transition, and this has specific implications in considering the wider spatial context of Prague:

"The position of such centres as the foci of economic, political, cultural and administrative activity is linked both to historical factors, the centralizing policies of the Communist regime, and reinforcing trends during the transition phase." (Downes, 1996, p.218).

Furthermore, in emphasising the role of capital cities, the re-establishment of national identity in Europe as discussed earlier in this Chapter is also important. This is occurring within eastern Europe in an effort to break away from the former label of the eastern block, whilst countries in western Europe are also asserting their own identity to balance moves towards homogenisation through European Community led legislation. Hewison also refers to sociological theory relating to nostalgia in stating:

"Nostalgia is felt most strongly at a time of discontent, anxiety or disappointment, yet the times for which we feel nostalgic most keenly were often themselves periods of disturbance" (p.45).

This aspect of conservation is of particular interest within a comparison of cities which could be considered to represent very different cultural and political backgrounds. At the same time, Edinburgh and Prague are similar in terms of their role as capital cities, and in their context of loss of national autonomy. The implications of the renewed need to re-establish national
identity through heritage has been explored further more recently by McCrone et al (1995). In an investigation of various facets relating to the building of an image of Scottish heritage and its exploitation, McCrone argues that, in the case of Scotland, as well as other non politically autonomous states, the case for relying of heritage to reassert national identity is crucial:

"If Scotland is heritage rich, then it could be because it has a past but not a present or a future...Like many 'stateless nations' such as Catalonia and Quebec, Scotland cannot rely on a pragmatic definition in terms of its political statehood. Indeed, given that it currently has no meaningful level of democratic control over its administration, it has even more of an identity crisis than the other two nations. There is no shortage of cultural accoutrements, however, in this search for collective identity. In spite of the high degree of institutional identity afforded to Scotland, there is a continuous questing for identity." (McCrone et al, 1995, p.6)

The implications of the importance placed on heritage as discussed by theorists such as McCrone has, by association, implications for the support of conservation as a means of alluding to the past on the part of all countries across Europe. Heritage and the associated role of conserving the historic city could therefore be considered a crucial and growing part of the respective identity of European states, particularly given the current period of transition for both east and west. When combined with the assertion of critics and advocates of conservation alike that conservation is used to stabilise society's perception of itself in times of hardship and change, the shared relevance of the debate for the case studies of Edinburgh and Prague adds a further dimension to this study. Ascherson outlines this common issue which arises as a result of similarities in the context of the cities:

"It seems to me that Edinburgh has never quite discovered an alternative raison d'être in all the 283 years since the last session of the Scottish Parliament. For different reasons, Prague, too has seemed at a loose end for most of the last 40 years, and Budapest and Bucharest and Vilnius as well. In the end, it turns out that the most European of urban destinies is to be the capital of a nation regaining the use of its limbs." (1990, p.81)

In short, the literature relating to conservation is full of contradictions and this extends to the variety of meanings assigned to the historic city in Europe both traditionally and in planning its future. The literature ranges from conservationists requiring the application of technical expertise in maintaining the integrity of the historic fabric, through critics of the retrospective
nature of conservation, to entrepreneurial commodification of the historic city in economic terms and sociological values of the historic city as symbol of national identity. Tourism has entered the debate in its influence on the integrity of the past due to its entrepreneurial manipulation of heritage destinations. The debates between the various aspects of the literature raise fundamental questions about the role of the historic city and relate to more tangible threats and opportunities influencing its future success. The following section outlines some of these issues in order to set the context of the further investigation of tourism as the focus of the study.

2.4 Threats and Opportunities in the Contemporary European Historic City

In light of the above discussion, it can be concluded that we are entering into a new context for the historic city throughout Europe where ideological support for conservation has been questioned most recently by the negative impact of commercial exploitation on the integrity of the historic city. Conservation nevertheless continues to gain support throughout Europe at present for a number of reasons. Consideration of the future for the historic city in Europe through comparison of two cities, brings together this complex and important debate. Within these broad arguments as put forward by theorists, a discussion of the threats and opportunities which exist for the historic city is a vital part of the consideration of its future.

Strongly influential externalities exist which interrupt the smooth and natural growth of towns, and are vital in understanding the role of urban conservation in the historic city in Europe today. The development industry is guided by primarily financially motivated agents which, without planning and other such restrictions would be likely to put historical continuity of the built environment low on their own list of priorities. Such processes are currently to be found in an exaggerated form in central and eastern Europe, an area which is now rapidly progressing towards a market-led economy. This is compounded by other factors, described by Fielden as follows:

"The threats to the conservation of historic cities come from many causes often acting in combination. These include demographic factors such as increases in population and the drift from rural areas to urban centres; the increasing use of private motor transport which penetrates areas never meant to be used by motor vehicles and consequently creates parking problems; individuals' profit from development at the public's expense, leading to high-rise
buildings which aggravate both the traffic and parking problems, change the micro-climate and produce atmospheric pollution and destructive vibrations." (Fielden, 1985, p.209)

Ideological arguments aside, the balance between conservation and development in historic cities today remains a complex issue in practical planning terms. Punter (1990) highlighted some of the key approaches to urban design which have arisen in the literature over the years, the broad themes of which having often been shared. Land use and vitality are often cited in determining what constitutes "good" urban design, as well as a range of other factors including consultation, visual appropriateness, permeability, harmony, personalisation and legibility.

The European Green Paper on the Urban Environment examined the main problems currently threatening the quality of environment in historic cores of European Cities. Although the latter stages of this thesis undertake a more detailed examination of one of these threats, tourism, it is important that its context is established through a review of the full range of factors involved.

The Green Paper assigns some of the blame for the deterioration of the quality of life in European city centres on the tradition of planning theory which has advocated the practice of zoning by landuse (which it terms as "functionalism"). This has been a concern of many critics of planning for some considerable time, notably including seminal works by Jacobs (1965), and Tibbalds (1992). Jacobs described the effect that a loss of variety can have on the form of urban areas as being "the blight of dullness". This literature has since maintained continuing support and is now a well established principle of planning, although this has not always been carried through to the implementation stage of planning policy making.

The 1990's have seen an emphasis in developments which incorporate a mixture of uses, in an effort to ensure greater sustainability. The linkage of housing with the work place in an effort to reduce distances travelled to work has been advocated by UK national planning policy and advice for instance. These trends, together with the publication of the Green Paper on the Urban Environment and the wider literature supporting a renaissance in urban living, will contribute towards redressing the problem of functionalism in the historic city centre.

Furthermore, the Green Paper stated that changes in the production and organisation of work at the global level are likely to have a negative effect on the historic city through the over-reliance on international companies for economic development, and the consequent vulnerability which this imposes on the city as a self sufficient entity. The urban level and city-
regions have a role to play in attracting international investment in view of the prevailing trends towards cross border economic development. This illustrates both opportunities and threats to the historic city therefore, with previously described literature documenting the role of this influence in improving the prospects of the historic city. This relates to an extensive discussion in planning literature which considers the fundamental turning point which we are now at as a result of restructuring (e.g. as brought together by Healey et al, 1995).

The uniqueness of the challenge which central and east European cities are now facing in the changing urban context is being reflected in the literature. Their geographical advantage as a gateway to the east, as well as the opportunities which they offer in terms of previously untapped resources means that they have potentially strong attraction for inward investment and are already being marketed (Bremm 1994). In addition, within the countries themselves the reorganisation and lifting of restrictions imposed by state control means that:

"The well known political changes that have opened the road to a market economy will speed up the changes in production systems. The reorganisation of local governments and their new financing systems have made regional and urban development less dependent on state budget redistribution and have also made "bottom up" development possible." (Enyedi, 1992, p.880)

This issue is therefore also of relevance in an east-west comparative study. The increasing competitiveness of European cities and the growing role of planning which specialises in place marketing provides an indication of the influence of European restructuring and global changes in consumption and production. Ashworth and Voogd (1990) relate the imperative of recognising the impact of the market in planning terms, in stating that:

"All that is important here is the realisation that [these changes] have thrust cities into a new relationship with external and internal markets presenting simultaneously both threats and opportunities." (p.3)

In identifying a further area for consideration, the Green Paper argues that the age of mass consumption has been an important cause of the growing standardisation of cities, particularly since the early 1980's, when the new international division of labour was emerging. Retailing trends and the mass use of the private car are two indicators of this shift which are having profound effects on the city. The Green Paper describes the result as "urban monoculture", with cities undergoing the same loss of particularly national identity that is pervading society as
a whole. This links with the ideological debate referred to above about meanings of the historic fabric. However, further arguments (as referred to previously) have been made taking a more socio-cultural view, which suggest that internationalisation of distribution and consumption is leading to a renewed awareness in national identity, particularly on the part of cities, in an effort to counteract the threat of a "monoculture".

The Green Paper recognises that the growth in the provision of hotel and other tourist accommodation and services is having an impact in a variety of ways. In its most physical form, the low standards of design and homogeneous form that many international chains of hotels are utilising on a global scale, do little to add to, if not detract considerably from the individual character which is the very essence of the historic core. The dominance of the international sphere of the hotel market is further promoted through the market advantage which they often hold in terms of their widespread reputation as a reliable 'brand name', as well as more practical aspects such as the use of international hotel booking systems.

In addition, the gradual effect that the changing land use in favour of tourist accommodation has on land values, and consequently rent levels, means that the eventual gentrification of the city centre is often the result. This is the cause of the loss of the sense of place which can have a desolating effect on the diversity and richness of character which have traditionally made the environment of historic cities so attractive to incomers. Appleyard describes in detail the process of gentrification and its effects, with characteristics including the two stage nature of gentrification, with incoming peripheral but wealthy social groups being followed by out migration of the original community.

"From the Trastevere to Telegraph Hill, Chelsea to Greenwich Village, this process has inexorably transformed the character of these places. It appears to take place in some Eastern European cities too........

........The area loses its "life" and "integrity". The old bars and wine shops fold. Boutiques, art galleries, and speciality shops take their place." (Appleyard, 1977, in Marston-Finch, 1982)

The broader impact that this urban restructuring and trend of the middle classes returning to the city centre has on the peripheral districts of the city can also be profound - the former residential districts suffering from depopulation and the subsequent loss of local amenities. As a result,
development trends in the residential market are considered by the Green Paper to cause a threat to many of Europe's urban areas. Gentrification also has more ideological connotations in terms of the conservation of such areas, with the historic built environment again being subjected to loaded assumptions. Tiesdell et al discuss this:

"...problems associated with gentrification stem from the differing interests of those who prioritize the physical conservation of the quarter - the preservationist - and those who prioritize its functional character - usually those who live and work there.....although there will inevitably be an overlap between the two groups, it is important to realize that their interests may be in conflict" (1996, p.205).

The impact of transport on the urban environment has long been a key issue in planning debate, and this is linked to wider and more fundamental changes in the nature of communications and mobility. Tibbalds underlines the functional and aesthetic necessity of effective planning for transportation and mobility in reordering urban public spaces:

"The first priority would seem to be to remove extraneous traffic, especially heavy lorries - from inner urban areas, and then to consider how best to deal with the proliferation of private cars. Governments must abandon short-term ad-hoc approaches. We need master plans laying down a timetable for co-ordinated, coherent investment to give towns and cities the transport systems they require and the traffic calming measures now being successfully tried in many countries. Without such an approach and some judicious discouragement of the private motorist, many towns and cities are simply going to choke to death" (Tibbalds, 1992, p.51).

Apart from the impact of roads in the city, Marston-Finch identified parking as the most destructive part of the invasion by cars, which have caused the loss of richness and human scale in centres where tourists need to explore on foot (1982). Transportation is in addition a particular problem for the historic city as a result of the likely early layout of streets and buildings which cannot accommodate vehicular traffic, particularly of the scale to which it has progressed. These street patterns were a defining feature of the attraction of the city in the first place.
"But most central-city districts, in their basic street patterns, predate modern vehicular traffic by centuries. Even when large in extent, they are small in scale, fundamentally designed to facilitate pedestrian movement. This scale becomes absolutely critical when a historic district is to be developed for touristic purposes. Such areas can only be enjoyed on foot ... In cities where many tourists arrive by bus or private car, parking facilities should be provided around the periphery - preferably underground and in small, dispersed units to avoid peak-hour traffic jams." (Marston-Finch, 1982)

Nevertheless, transport and communications are, of course, a vital part of urban activity, upon which the efficiency of economic development, and in turn prospects for inward investment in the city, heavily depends.

All of the above threats to the urban environment are, to varying degrees, influenced by tourism. In terms of functionalism, the effect of tourism on land use and the threats of "disneyfication" of the environment is an important factor. The negative impact of mass consumption on the historic built environment is also exacerbated by international tour operators, world wide hotel chains. Transportation is influenced by bus tours in historic areas, added numbers of visitors causing congestion and using car parking spaces. So too these issues relate to the specific nature of the historic city and is spatial and social characteristics. The medieval street pattern influences the success of transportation networks, the listing of buildings can lead to gentrification, demand for tourist land use can inflate land and property prices etc. Analysis of the impact of tourism in the historic city links an understanding of these practical issues to the ideological discussions in the literature about the nature of the historic city.

2.5 Tourism as a threat and opportunity of the European historic city

Aside from the ideological questioning of the conservation of historic cities in Europe, the above issues outline the complex nature of the historic city, with a range of issues having to be addressed by planning. Tourism is also an increasingly important function of the historic centre, partly due to its role as a vehicle for the commercial exploitation of the city and in fostering economic development. The literature relating to tourism in the historic city covers the range of opportunities and problems which it can incur. Ashworth and Tunbridge have carried out extensive research into the nature of the "Tourist-Historic City". Their research considers
the impact of global change on the role of the city in the future and discusses the growing trend of the historic city as a tourist destination.

"In the last quarter of the twentieth century cities throughout the world, to varying extents, are facing serious and fundamental problems arising from structural economic change, social polarisation, increasing difficulties of government, physically deteriorating infrastructure and increasingly unfavourable images as places to live, work or invest. While the tourist historic city is far from being a magic panacea for all of the many contemporary ills of the city wherever these may arise, it does offer one of the few real possibilities for finding distinctly urban solutions to these chronically urban problems..... In short, the tourist historic city implies a revaluation of the qualities of cities." (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990, pp.264-265)

In defining a new role for historic cities in response to global restructuring, tourism is an established function of the historic city which continues to grow in importance. The development of tourism in historic cities and its likely future, together with key related features of the tourism market which are defining its future role will be discussed in the following section. The unique and varied implications of tourism for the historic city in light of these trends, both positive and negative, will subsequently be discussed. Following this, planning and management responses to tourism in historic cities are discussed in Chapter 5 before linking with urban capacity analysis as an aspect of this, and the consequent further exploration of the study methodology.

Shaw and Williams (1994) have documented the historical emergence of mass tourism, beginning in the 18th century with spa towns, through the nineteenth century which gave rise to railway borne trippers to the present day. Since 1950 when there was a total of approximately 25 million tourists, this figure had risen dramatically to around 389 million in 1988. This is a reflection of several elements of social change including rising standards of living and increased leisure time. The rise in demand is also to a certain extent supply led - with decreasing air fares and improved facilities being key incentives for tourists. Tourism already makes up 6% of the world G.D.P. - accounting for an estimated $3.5 trillion of world output in 1993. Tourism employs 1 in 15 of the world’s workers, and these figures are expected to double by the year 2005 (CEC, 1994). International trends in the tourist industry indicate that this already substantial industry has recovered its growth following the 1990/91 worldwide recession, but
that rates of growth are unlikely to return to the levels of the 1980's (STB Strategic Plan, 1994).

More specifically, tourism operates at an extremely intense level in Europe. However, the continuing growth of the industry is not necessarily assured - the CEC report on Measures Applying to Tourism (1994) states:

"With 60% of visitors and 53% of revenue, Europe is the world's main driving force in international tourism, even though between 1970 and 1992 it lost 10% of its market share to new tourist destinations in third countries" (1994, p.6).

Despite this tourism remains an important industry for Europe, accounting for an estimated 5.5% share of the Community's GNP, and directly relating to around 9 million jobs (6% of the total). Despite this Williams and Shaw predict "...a potentially massive increase in the level of international tourism within the EC in the 1990's, and beyond, as southern European tourism expands, and as social access to foreign holidays is widened in all the member states" (1994, p.312). As Williams and Shaw (1986) state, the high level of activity within Europe is at least partly due to the large number of relatively prosperous persons living in close proximity to other countries. Much of the growth in the European tourist industry occurred up to the early seventies, which was the main period of expansion of the Mediterranean resorts.

This has since levelled off, in part due to the broadening of tourists' horizons outwith their own continent. Almost all countries in Europe have experienced growth in visitors to a greater or lesser extent. This ranges from Italy, Spain and Greece having the largest increases to Portugal and Ireland where it is likely that both countries suffered from political instability and social unrest. Trends, documented by the World Tourism Organisation in their annual figures, also indicate a rising market for winter holiday destinations, characterised by Switzerland and Austria. Within Europe tourism is a well established activity which continues to rise in importance:

"In the EC, more than any other world region, the tourist industry is an essential component of both production and consumption" (Williams and Shaw, 1994, p.301).

The role of the tourist industry in Europe has varied spatially, and has acted as an important means of redressing regional imbalance and disadvantages of peripheral regions:
"...tourism generates a net distribution of wealth from the north to the south of Europe, and from the richer to the poorer states and regions" (Williams and Shaw, 1994, p.307).

These regional disparities have also begun to assume a further east west dimension, with previous neglect of the market potential of the CEE countries now being redressed after the lifting of restrictions and sudden influx of mass tourism. In short, the restructuring which has been occurring throughout Europe and particularly that in the central and eastern states has influenced trends which are now emerging in the tourist industry. Governments of the impoverished former socialist states are now relying heavily on attracting international investment - both directly in the form of tourist spending, and indirectly through improving the image of the area in order to market the country as a location for economic investment. As a consequence of this change in attitudes, in combination with the concurrent lifting in entry and currency restrictions, the central and eastern European states have witnessed a dramatic influx of tourists since 1989 (Hall and Kinnaird, 1993).

One of the most notable features of the tourism industry is its diffuse nature, and the degree to which it has more recently become highly fragmented. Throughout the 1980's, Europe has witnessed a gradual move away from the destinations of the Mediterranean, in favour of a greater diversity of attractions. As a result, the industry is now undergoing significant dispersal in sectoral terms, of its consumers. One such change has been a gradual move away from the inclusive form of holiday packaging, in favour of the expanding "special interest" share of the market (World Tourism Organisation, 1993). Tourists are increasingly motivated by activity and learning based holidays - including the growing sector which is attracted to sites and places with special architectural and heritage markets.

A further significant sector of tourism which has witnessed growth over recent years is that of conference and business tourism. This accounted for 59.5 million overnight stays in London in 1985, for example (WTO, 1986), and is the result of the internationalisation of the work place, as well as the use of the "travel perk" by many companies in the 1980's. This is also a significant sector in terms of expenditure, with business and conference tourists likely to spend on average three times as much as the average tourist (Lawson 1982). Many of the demands of this sector are being swiftly met by cities all over Europe - through provisions of new conference and exhibition facilities.
"Increased flexibility in leisure time, combined with the growing interest in heritage, cultural and other new tourism products (see Urry 1990), have led to an increase in short break tourism. This has important implications for the regional distribution of tourism and tourism income, especially the shift - both relative and absolute - away from traditional coastal resorts" (Williams and Montanari, 1995, p.6).

Cities are also a popular destination of the short break sector of the market. Smaller cities are often the destination of the second or third holidays of households, with capitals and larger cities maintaining a significant role as primary destinations (Williams and Shaw, 1986). This pattern will inevitably have an impact on the role of the historic city in the future. As MacIntyre (1993) states:

"The cultural events, museums, monuments, historic places, shopping, entertainment and conference and convention facilities of urban areas can attract a large number of tourists. The existing infrastructure may have sufficient carrying capacity for visitors, or the capacity can be expanded as needed in ways that also benefit the local population. However, the influx of too many tourists can lead to congestion, pollution and reduced access to amenities."

The degree of seasonality varies widely throughout Europe, mainly due to the variance in climate of the continent. This is further compounded by the nature of some attractions which rely heavily on outdoor activity. Clearly, the Mediterranean countries experience a single peak pattern which is greater than that in countries further north. Another experience is that of the alpine countries which experience double peaks due to their role as winter destinations. The UK, the Netherlands and the FDR all experienced the least dramatic patterns of seasonality - this is a result of their emphasis on urban/business tourism which is far less dependent on climate and is also potentially free of peaks which can exacerbate negative impacts.

Tourism is frequently criticised due to its high vulnerability to external trends, such as the effects of the oil crisis in the early 1970's, economic recession or the deterrent of political unrest. National leaders, particularly in Eastern Europe at present, given their current impoverished position within Europe as a whole, clearly recognise the economic advantage of tourism. Awareness, however, of the disadvantages of tourist development, as further outlined by Lawson, and Williams and Shaw (1986) is presently either low, or consciously ignored with the sights of the national leaders of many countries, particularly central and eastern Europe,
currently firmly confined within the short term. Pressures caused by tourism are often only felt at the local level and in the medium to longer term, as Williams and Shaw state:

"In the initial stages tourism may create more jobs for locals while increased demand for food leads to intensification of agriculture. Later, with further development, negative consequences may become more apparent. These include overcommitment of resources to tourism, diverting investment from other sectors, congestion, pollution, in-migration of labour, and conflicts with other land uses." (p.38, 1986)

The global nature of tourism also reinforces the effects which internationalisation has on cities. The loss of character of a place can be seen as a potent threat to the historic city as a destination due to its reliance on exploitation of its identity to attract those visitors in the first place. A variety of features within tourism in combination contribute to potential benefits and disbenefits of tourism, and this is well discussed in the literature relating to tourism planning. Lawson and Bauv-Bovy (1977) have given a clear summary of the disadvantages and advantages of tourist development (Figure 2.1). Certain factors clearly have a more direct impact on historic cities than other destinations, whilst there are also those which are of special relevance for Eastern European cities. For instance the advantages of tourist development for the former eastern Europe relating to improvement of economic conditions are likely to engender support for the industry at the moment at a higher level than in the west.

**Figure 2.1 Advantages and Disadvantages of Tourist Development**

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<tr>
<th>ADVANTAGES OF TOURIST DEVELOPMENT</th>
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<tr>
<td>* Economic benefits; increased incomes; GNP; foreign exchange</td>
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<tr>
<td>* Development of infrastructure and services</td>
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<td>* Creation of skilled job opportunities</td>
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<td>* Justification for environmental protection and improvement</td>
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<td>* Education of youth and society</td>
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<td>* Diversification of the economy</td>
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<td>* Regionalisation and economic development</td>
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<td>* Increase in governmental revenues (taxes, rates, duties)</td>
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<td>* Creation of favourable image of the city abroad</td>
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<th>DISADVANTAGES OF TOURIST DEVELOPMENT</th>
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<td>* Development of excess demand, leakages etc.</td>
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<td>* Expensive investments which impose a financial commitment and may require the diversification of funds from more useful sectors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Social problems: revelation of income and social differences, introduction of gambling, prostitution etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Development of a sector vulnerable to many external conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Inflationary effects on land values</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Potential source of complaint and criticism if the image is not matched by the experience

Source: Lawson and Bauv-Bovy (1977)

This summary excludes more locally felt impacts such as transport and infrastructural congestion and overloading, the deterioration of the built environment etc. In addition, locally felt benefits often include greater vitality and better use of public open spaces, crucial to urban living as described by Elkin (et al, 1991):

"Cities are also about bringing people together. The city as a focus of social activity must retain its concentration of people and diversity of activities without which the whole point of urban living is lost." (p.45)

This rather idealistic view of the interaction of visitors and residents as a result of tourism is often not experienced at the local level. As Marston-Finch (1982) points out:

"Contemporary activity in historic preservation has enormously extended the number of monuments in all such categories, and modern cultural tourism has enormously increased the volume of visitors to them. Until the very recent years, however, this vast and growing interest in historic preservation has taken the form of SOME people visiting the habitats of OTHER people. Too often the "native inhabitants" are, on their own terrain, merely passive spectators of the touristic process."

In terms of threats to the urban environment, the range of issues outlined by the Green Paper as related above, emphasise the exposure of urban areas to wider forces than those which exist in merely the urban, regional or national spheres. Restructuring on a global scale, together with the reorganisation of industry has imposed a considerable degree of uncertainty on the role of many urban areas. Within the focus of this study, it is clear that where these issues are potentially difficult for any urban area, problems are often magnified in historic cites, often as a direct result of the special features of built fabric, and in view of their non-renewable nature.

"The dilemmas faced by the Community are especially acutely exposed in the environmental arena. The environment is essential to both consumption and production and there are complex trade offs between those, not least because of the consumption of the environment by
recreation and tourism itself is an important element of production" (Williams and Blacksell, 1994, p.394).

Despite the cross European nature of the issues relating to tourism in the historic city, "...the EU has been slow to recognise the need for intervention at a Community-wide level" (Williams and Shaw 1994, p.313). Policy responses have varied considerably between countries in Europe with little supranational co-ordination. The EC itself is in an uniquely advantageous position in the field of policy making for tourism as a result of its ability to assume a strategic overview of the situation. Williams and Shaw outline the existing framework of EC policy relating to the field (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2 The EC Policy Framework for Tourism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Freedom of movement and the protection of EC tourists</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) easing custom checks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) reduction of policy checks at frontiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) social security provisions for tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) assistance for tourists and regulation of cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) protection of tourists’ interests e.g. in complaints about shortcomings of tourist services</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Working conditions for those employed in tourism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) right of establishment and freedom to provide tourist services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) vocational training grants and mutual recognition of qualifications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) aid from the European Social Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>(iv) promotion of staggered holidays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) harmonization of taxation</td>
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<td>(vi) promotion of energy efficiency</td>
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<tr>
<th>Common transport policy and tourism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) environmental protection</td>
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<tr>
<td>(ii) art heritage</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Regional development and tourism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) ERDF assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) EAGGF assistance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Source: Williams and Shaw, 1994, p.314                |
| (based on CEC, 1985 b)                                |

In terms at least of resource allocation, ERDF and EAGGF assistance has formed the greatest contribution of the EU to European tourism to date, with the issue otherwise being a relatively low priority for budgetary commitment. Amongst reasons put forward in the literature for this,
(Williams and Shaw, 1994) the dominance of the private sector in tourism limits scope for EU intervention. In addition the lack of regulation also relates to a certain extent to the competitive nature of the tourist industry, "Any attempt to impose higher (and more expensive) EC standards on the tourist industries of the community will therefore affect their overall competitiveness." (Williams and Shaw, 1994, p.319)

In addition to this, in general the literature omits to fully consider the value of the supranational level of planning, particularly in European terms. Throughout Europe, each national government controls its own strategy relating to tourism. The EC potentially has the ability to co-ordinate these policies at the supranational level, however as Williams and Shaw argue, this function of the EU to date has been a relatively low priority. Many of the measures taken at this level relate to the Community's enabling role in the tourism industry as opposed to the need to regulate the impact of tourism. Where the need for sustainability, protection of the environment and monitoring of impacts has been referred to at this level, the implementation of policy responses is often addressed in a fragmented manner as opposed to in a co-ordinated and comprehensive sense (CEC, 1994).

This lack of concern for tourism at the strategic supranational level has more recently caused concern amongst theorists and planning professionals. Ashworth and Tunbridge, for instance, state: "A comparative study of tourism planning systems in the different EC countries would therefore be highly desirable." Goodall further underlines the shortfall which is commonly occurring:

"...there is an inherent danger if local level planning remains uncoordinated - too many destinations view development of the same tourism facilities, including the provision of accommodation as the way forward. There remains a need for effective planning of tourism at a higher level (in Europe after 1992, an 'international' level) if resource allocation decisions are to be made which provide the tourist attractions, facilities and accommodation in the 'mix' required by the market, according to the comparative advantage of destinations, and which maximises benefits to the individual destination areas." (Goodall, 1990, p.77)

Going some way towards compensating for this shortfall, in 1991, the European Community published the “Community Action Plan to Assist Tourism” which paid particular attention to the implications of tourism on sustainable urban development associated with tourism. The implications that such a high ideal has on cities throughout Europe are profound given the
established nature of many unsustainable practices. Chapter Five goes on to explore responses to the growing demand for regulating the impact of tourism, in outlining the concept of capacity analysis, prior to discussing the study's methodology which was developed from this literature. The following conclusions from the literature outlined above provide a summary of key issues arising which have formed a framework for the study and which it is anticipated the overall conclusions of the research will go some way towards addressing.

2.6 Conclusions: Tourism as a future function of the contemporary European historic city

"A notable lack in the recent literature on conservation has been any critical assessment of the requirements for conservation, the types of conservation, or how conservation might best be carried out. However, it seems that its very acceptance into mainstream planning, its unquestioning appearance in policies and action, may be deeply harmful to the root of the concept itself: in practice, we seem to be developing a museum culture, a conservation-area-architecture, and the fundamental nature of our 'enhancement' to conservation areas has been questioned" (Larkham, 1993, p.354).

In summarising the literature discussed in this chapter, the variety of meanings which the historic city in the new Europe has been attributed begins to emerge. The historic city in the west has been seen as a social asset, and important part of European culture, partly due to the rising importance of the conservation movement in post war times. At the same time, the historic city in Eastern Europe was not afforded similar value as a result of its being at odds with the Marxist principles of urban theory. In the initial section of this Chapter, literature relating to attitudes towards the historic city in east and west Europe, the rise of the conservation movement and the overall value of the historic city as a European asset, particularly in this time of transition within Europe was examined.

In terms of further ideological perspectives on the historic city and conservation, the literature ranges from support to contempt of the principles. The latter case relates to an important new area of the literature which has begun to fundamentally question the legitimacy of historical environments and heritage as a result of perceived threats to the integrity of the historic city due to over conservation. This literature gains a further dimension within an east-west comparative study, in the inheritance of a built environment and planning culture which has been shaped by socialist ideals, and which has continually placed its emphasis on modernism as fundamental
characteristic of development and urban change. Despite such questioning of conservation and its values across Europe, it remains an important aspect of European planning.

A final strand of the literature discussed is largely planning based, and relates to the range of opportunities and threats which are arising as a result of change in the historic city in Europe. As a result of the subject of this research, the specific issue of tourism as related within this area of discussion has been examined in further depth. Each historic city clearly has a unique political, cultural, social, economic, and political context, which has played a fundamental role in its formation. Despite this, however, as outlined in this part of the Chapter, the historic city as a concept, has more recently become subject to a single range of threats and opportunities which span the full width of Europe.

The complex interplay of tourism and historic preservation lies in the centre of the management of urban conflict in historic European cities. In the first instance, tourism can be regarded as a threat to the historic built fabric. Conversely however, the economic gains incurred by the accompanying development can directly and indirectly finance the required conservation. This can be of particular value in countries with otherwise limited financial resources available for such work (Inskeep, 1988), as in the case of eastern Europe. The balance between such gains, and the damage incurred by tourism in the first place forms the essence of the debate surrounding historic cities as tourist attractions:

"If tourism is the moral justification for conservation, it is also the greatest threat. Tourism provides much of the initiative, the money and the human occupation without which the conserved city could become a lifeless exhibit. It also provides the physical and psychological damage by its intrusion. This is the dilemma that makes planning in this field so difficult and yet so necessary." (Europa Nostra, 1978)

Tourism generates a significant proportion of the income of countries throughout the world. The need to recycle the income generated by tourism, back into the assets which generated it in the first place is clear. The impact of tourism, if left unchecked is not advantageous in itself, at best with piecemeal unsympathetic additions to the environment, and at worst with transformation of fully operational cities into tourist theme parks. (Burtenshaw, D. et al, 1981) Furthermore, advanced trends in the restructuring of cities, are beginning to bring about the removal of the function of the centre of the city as a business centre, further opening the way to tourist uses while exacerbating the threat of monofunctional areas.
The links between the issue of tourism in the historic city and the wider literature exist at a number of levels. Tourism relates to recent discussions about the meaning of the historic city and the 'popularisation' of heritage resources. Tourism is an important aspect of the capitalist view of the city as a commodity, and as such the examination of its impact is a means of highlighting the more ideological "condition" of the historic city in Europe.

In terms of the co-existence of tourism and conservation in the historic city, the literature points towards the further development of impact analysis and, in association, capacity analysis in order to monitor more closely the effects of tourism on the urban fabric. The full range of issues tourism in the historic city brings about clearly has an effect on the validity of the future role of the historic city as a tourist destination, given changing trends at the global level in the tourist industry,

"If ill-planed or unplanned, recreation use can cause severe damage to our environmental heritage but if well managed, it can support and encourage the efforts of conservation...The interests of tourism demand the protection of the scenic and historic heritage, the offer in the travel brochure must be genuine. The other side of the coin is that entry fees can be used to maintain historic structures and scenic areas. Despite these links, many conservationists feel that tourism does present a major threat to the environment. The key is to find a way of working together" (Kain, 1981, p.8).

Directly relevant work relating to tourism in historic cities has been carried out by Ashworth, originally in his work "The Tourist-Historic City", as well as further investigations on tourist accommodation in the historic city and place marketing. This is one of the few works which view the issues of tourism and heritage as one single entity, rather than conservation being incidental to the requirements of tourism, or the impact of tourism as conservation issue. Several models are put forward by Ashworth and Tunbridge relating to the evolution and functioning of the "tourist-historic city".

The balance between tiding the flow of changes in the historic city, and at the same time avoiding falling into the trap of allowing the museum based culture already dominates many historic European cities (Larkham, 1992). This review has aimed to bring together the range of problems encountered by contemporary urban planners in historic cities. Many of these problems are currently exaggerated in central and eastern Europe due to the speed at which
tourist development and the requirements of conservation are heading towards a future point of collision. The forces at play and threats to the built fabric have resulted in demands for a comprehensive planning framework which will not only control the adverse impacts of tourism, but also ensure that the optimal benefits from the income generated by visitors are gained, in order to compensate for the physical destruction and social inequity being caused by those visitors (Burtenshaw et al, 1981).

As the meaning of the historic city in Europe is growing in importance due to influences such as internationalisation and European identity, those with a vested interest in its exploitation are undermining the original meanings of these same cities. Tourism is a key factor in this, with its role being boosted by trends in the industry which extend throughout the world and relate to increasing interest in heritage destinations, short breaks etc. This exploitation is at the basis of threats to its continuing success, with the west already well practised in capitalising on the historic city's ability to act as a catalysts for economic investment. If this is the case then, a further issue for discussion highlighted by this literature relates to the role of the historic city as "capital" - an asset which is all the more valuable to the relatively impoverished central and eastern European countries. In addition, this issue is compounded by the importance of tourism in the region since the transition, the novelty value of this previously unexploited area as a tourist destination and the relatively intact state of much of the historic fabric of the region. All of these trends add up to exploitation which could lead to loss of meaning when it is all the more important as the new democracies seek to find their feet and re-establish their national identity.

As outlined in the early stages of this Chapter, the urban areas of eastern Europe are currently undergoing rapid restructuring which has been evolving over decades in western cities. This has been compounded by development pressure which has had little resistance from the planning system which was formed in the antithetical scenario of state control in the pre 1989 period. This is illustrated clearly in consideration of the growth of tourism and the pressure to promote the image of the city, which has generated a rather careless approach to development. This could well inadvertently pose a real threat to the physical integrity of the area in conservationists' terms.

The literature shows that the recognition of the application of the closer integration of the benefits of tourism with the needs of conservation, of minimising the negative impact of tourism, and the well known sustainability debate, is growing throughout western Europe.
However, the impact, at least in the short to medium term, that this will have on the central and eastern European countries is far more questionable. One of the main incentives for tourists in these countries is currently the low prices and high quality environment. As Hall (1990) states, these countries are now becoming in danger of overreliance on the west as a "cheap tourist playground". Hall also predicts that in the much longer term, these countries will see the scale of environmental degradation that has happened in many over-saturated western resorts.

Internationalisation, in terms of European planning in the future, the forces at play in cities, and the global nature of the tourist industry form key themes of the study. Cities on a global scale are looking to take on new roles in the post-industrial age, and trends in the tourist industry are providing such a role for an increasing number of small cities and major capitals alike. This provides a close link to the requirement of the conservation movement which is increasingly expected to justify itself in economic, social and physical terms. Such justification is emphasised in the currently financially destitute countries of central and eastern Europe. The case study examination, in the form of comparisons between cities in the east and west of Europe, will therefore form a contribution to the debate surrounding the justification of urban conservation.

The ecotourism debate which is assuming an increasingly well respected role in advancing tourism planning theory was found to be confined to the natural environment, rather than extending its wider goals to the built environment of the historic city which can be defined as similarly fragile. Planning which ensures that any reliance on tourism in historic cities is sustainable is likely to contribute greatly to progressing understanding of the costs and benefits role of the city as an artefact. The negative impact of tourism on the historic city has been identified in the literature review as a growing threat to the conservation of the built environment. The study will investigate the impact of tourism in each city, in order to set a framework for comparative analysis which will seek to illustrate the effectiveness of differing approaches to conservation and tourist exploitation of historic cities.
Chapter 3
Chapter 3
Planning, Tourism and Conservation in Edinburgh’s Old Town

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide an introduction to planning in the Old Town of Edinburgh, through an account of both the historic context of tourism and conservation in the city, and in terms of current issues for planning. The initial part reviews changing perceptions of the role of the Old Town, and discusses parallel changes in the status of conservation in Edinburgh. Development patterns in the city as a whole are considered, with reference being made to important policy documentation which could be considered indicative of the changing attitudes of policy makers to the role of the Old Town. The shifting priorities with regard to the Old Town, and the evolving consideration of conservation and tourism will be outlined in this largely historical account in order to gain a fuller understanding of how the issues relate to the Old Town today and what has lead to perceptions of the role of the area as a tourist attraction and area of historical value. This is followed by a discussion of the case study in terms of the wider issues defined for historic cities in Europe in Chapter 2. Key issues arising from the review will be highlighted, particularly in view of their relevance to Prague, which is the focus of Chapter 4.

Current provisions for conservation in the city will be outlined, together with an appraisal of the effectiveness of the planning system itself in implementing this aspect of policy making. The future of the Old Town in terms of opportunities and constraints, with reference to more general issues outlined in the literature will then be examined in order to provide a basis for an assessment of the role of tourism within this. The Chapter's conclusion draws the three themes of planning, conservation and tourism together to provide an overall context for the detailed capacity analysis carried out in Chapter 6, and for the comparisons between Edinburgh and Prague in terms of the impact of planning systems and the respective role of tourism in the historic area of each city as detailed in Chapter 8.
3.2 An Overview of the History of Planning and Development of the Built Environment in the Old Town of Edinburgh

In considering tourism and conservation in the Old Town, an understanding of the nature of the case study area as a historic built environment as well as a major tourist attraction is necessary. The official nomination for designation of World Heritage Status of a large part of the centre of the city incorporating both the Old Town and New Town outlines the unique history in its built form:

"Edinburgh is a built embodiment of the evolution of Scottish society and settlements, indicating how they have adapted and changed over time, to take advantage of the physical constraints and opportunities. Furthermore, by virtue of being the focus of the Scottish Reformation, the Scottish Enlightenment, the Athens of the North, the Scottish Renaissance, Edinburgh pre-eminently is an associative cultural landscape enjoying powerful resonances of religious, artistic and cultural history of international significance" (Historic Scotland, 1994 p.29).

The Old Town represents the focus of tourist attention, whilst at the same time accounting for a large proportion of Edinburgh’s historic built environment, and so is the logical case study for this research. The Old Town is the earliest part of the city formed from two separate boroughs, Canongate to the east, which spread up the hill to Edinburgh, which originated around the castle at the top of the Royal Mile. In the seventeenth century, the High Street had become the main thoroughfare linking the burghs which by that time had merged together. Around this time there was considerable urban growth around and beyond the Royal Mile, which meant that it soon became only a small part of the Old Town, which is now bounded by Princes Street Gardens to the north, and the Edinburgh University’s complex of buildings to the south (Figure 3.1). The townscape of the Old Town is nevertheless dominated by the spine of the Royal Mile, which has the Castle at its head and Holyrood Palace at its foot. Each side of the long street still has an intricate pattern of narrow closes leading off it which access backland development of further high tenements. However, the backbone of the Old Town is not completely intact, with many closes being lost due to the 19th century construction of George IV Bridge and other redevelopment schemes.

The area today covers 1.1 square kilometres, and despite changes over the years retains many of its key buildings and historic features. Originally many of the buildings in the heart of the Old Town would have been built of rubble, with thatched roofs and overhanging timber galleries. Following a number of medieval fires, however, this was virtually all replaced by slate roofs, and few of the
Figure 3.1 Definition of the case study area boundary
timber galleries have survived (with the exception of Gladstones Land in the Lawnmarket). The high stone tenements today form an imposing and memorable sight along the sides of both the narrow closes and fronting onto the Royal Mile itself.

Part of the attraction of the Old Town extends beyond the built fabric and its visual appeal to the cultural meanings and associations with the past which can be explored. Edinburgh's Old Town is said to have a colourful and often sinister history which the buildings stand in testament to. The fascinating human history of the Old Town is complemented by the diverse and largely intact built fabric. Ramsay Garden, for instance, stands imposingly at the top of the Royal Mile at the foot of the Castle's Esplanade, and a little further down the hill is Patrick Geddes's Outlook Tower. Ecclesiastic buildings located along the Royal Mile most notably include the Tron Kirk, the Highland Tollbooth Church with its impressive 241 feet tall steeple, and St. Giles Kirk, the first church built in Edinburgh after the Reformation on a site where churches have stood for 800 years. The house of the first reformed minister who preached in St. Giles Kirk, John Knox, also provides an interesting insight into the history and is located further down the Royal Mile, and outside the Kirk the "Heart of Midlothian" is formed in the cobble stones.

Offsetting the centrality of the Old Town in characterising Edinburgh, building of the symmetrically planned First New Town commenced in 1767, and eventually extended to be bordered by Princes Street Gardens on the south and Queen Street Gardens on the north, whilst its east and west ends were marked by the elegant St. Andrews and Charlotte Squares respectively. During the nineteenth century, the New Town expanded through implementation of a number of further plans which today converge to form a single continuously intact area of fine Georgian architecture which "...is hailed as a precursor of modern town planning, a counterpoint to the laissez faire urban environment of the Victorian era" (Hague, 1984).

The juxtaposition of the order of the New Town with the chaotic mass of the Old Town which was left behind to less well off citizens of the time, is one of the most striking properties of Edinburgh, though both areas could equally be considered remarkable entities in their own right. The city's qualities were defined by Historic Scotland in the nomination for World Heritage Status as follows:

"The particular nature of Edinburgh's duality is unusual: on the one hand, on a high ridge, is an ancient Old Town, while in contrast, and set apart on a fresh site, the 18th century New Town; the former on its spectacular site, the skyline punched through by the castle, the soaring neo-gothic
The Old Town is an important historical area which is today the centre of tourist activity. It also accommodates a growing population which maintains a sense of being a community in its own right, and a considerable number of businesses, government and academic institutions and commercial premises. Although the value of the area as a historic environment now dominates planning policy, the Old Town has a history which was not always characterised by recognition of the historical value of its fabric.

The residents of the Old Town traditionally lived in high tenements which generally followed the pattern of the higher the social position of the tenant, the lower the flat occupied, with shops on the ground floor levels. Sanitary conditions were never high and deteriorated as population increased, with high levels of overcrowding throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. In reaction “improvements” were effected in the latter half of the century. In 1861 a tenement collapsed whilst occupied by 200 inhabitants, and this acted as a catalyst for the passing of the “Act for the Improvement of the City of Edinburgh” in 1867. The first Medical Officer of Health of the city, Dr. Henry Littlejohn surveyed the environmental health problems in 1865, developing a scheme for slum clearance of the worst areas which was incorporated in the Act (Smith, 1994, p.1). The Act facilitated the demolition of many of the old tenements in and around the Royal Mile (Blackie, 1982; Hague, 1984). The overcrowding, however, which was thought to have been overcome after the implementation of the 1867 Act, persisted until the 1950’s, when the Chief Medical Officer of Health deemed it the most overcrowded city in the UK, with the exception of the Toxteth area of Liverpool (Blackie, 1982, p.9).

During this period, conservation in the UK remained a minority issue, pursued by a limited number of enthusiasts. Legislation began in the late nineteenth century, with Acts such as the 1882 Ancient Monuments Protection Act, emphasising on preserving a limited number of prehistoric monuments (Larkham, 1992).

In contrast, Edinburgh, including the Old Town, has continually benefited from relatively active civic groups promoting conservation. One of the most significant of such bodies was the Cockburn
Association, founded in 1875. Lord Cockburn had played an active role in raising civic awareness of architectural and historical values during the early 19th century, having written a letter to the Town Council describing “The Best Ways of Spoiling the Beauty of Edinburgh” in protest to ill advised development during the 1830’s. The city during the nineteenth century was influenced by the increasing spread outwards of the residential areas, which was facilitated further by the building of railways. Lord Cockburn criticised plans to run the railway through Princes Street Gardens, and railed against "the tyrannical beasts who own railways" (Bruce, 1975).

Later in the nineteenth century, Patrick Geddes recognised the slums behind the monuments of the Old Town, and practised “conservative surgery” from the 1880’s onwards, moving himself into the overcrowded Lawnmarket and actively participating in painting, whitewashing and fine grain improvements to the Old Town. In 1885 Geddes founded the Edinburgh Social Union in an attempt to encourage greater co-operation between the polarised social classes:

"Despite the vague and highly moral purposes, practical action was taken. Several properties were acquired and managed and rents were collected weekly by 'ladies and gentlemen who undertake this task as a means of gaining respect among the tenants and helping them with their counsel and sympathy'. Any surplus of rent, beyond five per cent interest on capital placed in the property and 'working expenses' was to be expended on the property or saved for future improvements" (Boardman, 1978, p.73).

Geddes and the Cockburn Association led the early recognition of conservation in Edinburgh, which was not effectively supported through legislation until after the turn of the century. The 1913 Ancient Monuments Act recognised national concerns which were growing at the time in favour of conserving the built heritage, setting up the administrative machinery to deal with this for the first time. Perhaps of greater significance for the Old Town itself, in 1919 in order to cope with the acute post war housing shortage, the UK Government introduced the Housing, Town Planning Act of 1919. At that time, many areas of Edinburgh were overcrowded, with the Old Town, in particular in St Mary's Street and the Canongate, deemed as having tenements unfit for habitation. To rehouse those displaced as a result of the provisions of the 1919 Act, council housing was constructed at Gorgie, Wardie and Willowbrae in the city. This move outwards from the cores of the Old and New Towns carried on throughout the first half of the twentieth century. The garden city movement had an influence in providing a solution to the housing crisis of the time in the city, and as a result between the wars considerable areas of low density housing, a large percentage of which comprised
council housing, effectively doubled the size of the city (Bell et al, 1984) in the interwar period, and accounted for extensive change in the historic areas of tenements in the Old Town.

The city authorities set up an advisory Committee for the Planning of the City Centre in 1929. As Hague describes, local politics in the city at that time were of such an adversarial nature that continuing disagreement and confusion led to Sir Frank Mears being appointed to make an objective professionally based planning appraisal of the city centre. Despite its idealistic and ambitious approach to city development, as well as its lack of eventual implementation Hague states: that “the ideas within it were to echo through strategies for the city for the next five decades” (Hague, 1984, p.5). Mears saw the city centre of Edinburgh as consisting of three zones: the “College Mile”, the “Business Mile” and the “Royal Mile” which represented the main foci of development which had hitherto occurred within the city in a fragmented and uncoordinated manner.

The report by Mears was therefore an important step in the recognition the distinct role within the city which was played by the Old Town with the Royal Mile at its heart, providing a plan for its reconstruction. Hague states:

“Behind the Mears proposals for the central area lay a complex of problems. Most evidently there were new functional space requirements to be met. The growing significance of motorized transport, the demands for a more healthy, trained and sophisticated labour force and the growth of the state administration itself, all these reflected back in institutional pressures on land in central Edinburgh. But merely to let such pressures rip would be to threaten the historic image of the city and all the sentiments associated with it. Yet to fossilize that historic image indefinitely would be to create a cultural vacuum, to confess that modern capitalism was incapable of generating urban form with which people could positively identify, and so was culturally bankrupt, parasitic on traditions which it had destroyed. The transition therefore had to be planned in such a way that traditional environments laden with meaning would be retained along new identities” (Hague, 1984, p.177).

Such moves in the case of Edinburgh represented a particularly early response to what was to be a shift in the emphasis in conservation from being concerned with the preservation of monuments and listed buildings, to a more wide ranging and multi sectoral concern in response to the significant changes to urban organisation, and consequently its development, which had begun to occur. Throughout this time, conservation was gaining support although still remaining a largely marginal
issue in the UK until after the second world war. Section 29(1) of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act made further provisions restricting the damage of, alteration to or demolition of listed buildings through the use of a new planning tool - the Building Preservation Order. The 1947 Act was also important in financial terms in that grants for the acquisition of buildings were made available to authorities for the first time. In 1953 the Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act created new Historic Buildings Councils for England Wales and Scotland.

Despite the strengthening and extension of the conservation policy framework which was occurring during this time, during the early post war years conservation in Edinburgh, as with most of the rest of Europe (Chapter 2) it was a relatively low priority for planners, with progress and new development being more the focus of the time. The Abercrombie Plan, the earliest comprehensive statement of planning policy for the city, was published in 1949. It was one of the most advanced planning documents for its time, covering the full planning perspective for the city. Abercrombie summed up the problems of the Old Town:

"...the centre where is congregated an interlocked mass of varied problems, concerned with traffic, government, office and shopping activities, monumental buildings, national amenities and humble homes." (Abercrombie & Plumstead, 1949, p.2)

As well as traffic improvements through the provision of futuristic triple decker roads along Princes Street linking east and west and under North Bridge, the plan also recognised the more general environmental problems caused by industrial activity in the Old Town, finding such a use unbefitting in such a historically and culturally significant residential area:

"With the presence of Holyrood Palace, this problem assumes national significance. A Royal Palace enshrouded in a black pall of smoke from time to time and the air permeated with factory processing, is no fit place for a sovereign to dwell, any more than a commoner in the surrounding houses." (Abercrombie & Plumstead, 1949, p.56)

As a result, one of the main recommendations of the plan for the Old Town was the decentralisation of industrial activity, particularly from sites in the Holyrood area to other locations. Despite valuing the historic fabric, the Abercrombie Plan saw living conditions being a prime concern which only the relocation of a large proportion of the population could solve:
"Not one of the "lands" or "hotels" can be described as providing normal standards of decent living in this Royal Mile stretch from Castle to Palace. Let the sentimentalist reflect, for it is indeed easy to be a conservator of others discomforts." (Abercrombie & Plumstead, 1949, p.62)

Despite the poor condition of the central area of the city, and in particular the Old Town at the time, the Abercrombie Plan in 1949 recognised the cultural and architectural value of the city's built environment. In line with contemporary thinking the plan spoke of "preservation" as opposed to the more recent idea of conservation. While advocating the preservation of the historic character of the city, the plan took a futuristic view of the means of solving the problem caused by increasing traffic levels "...the mounting volume of traffic both local and through, along streets laid out for a less hurried age", (Abercrombie & Plumstead, 1949, p.1) through alternative strategies for the city centre. It stated:

"Nothing is so likely to cause controversy and opposition as change or destruction of any of the ancient human land marks of this city. The cherishing of the heritage of the past is laudable but it makes the work of the planner more perilous. Paradoxically, it is the former consideration, highly varied topography, which helps rather than hinders the preservation of the historic and architectural appearance of the city, while permitting proposals of sufficient boldness to cope adequately with modern problems. There is fortunately, no war-time destruction in central Edinburgh, but the sudden changes in level, the high ridges and deep valleys, allow a whole system of road improvements to underlie the existing features of the city, tunnelling here, bridging there, in order to effect the highly complex traffic solution which present traffic congestion and interference require and future increases will render absolutely imperative." (Abercrombie & Plumstead, 1949, p.53)

However, whilst Abercrombie clearly recognised the significance of the historic fabric of the city, the plan put forward little in the way of proposals which might have been able to allow the conservation of the past to be complemented by progress and its demands on the urban environment, which characterised the post war period. As Hague (1984) states, "in practice preservation and modernization could not be mutually achieved in the 1940's...."

The 1950's saw similar development pressures throughout western European historic cities at the time, and which largely related to the growing importance of the car in shaping urban development. In 1955, for instance, the Cockburn Association objected to a proposal by the town council to turn
East Princes Street Gardens into a car park, and the application was subsequently withdrawn (Bruce, 1975, p.35).

In 1957 the Dumbiedykes area of the Old Town was identified in the Development Plan for comprehensive redevelopment to meet some of the severe housing need which was following the relative stagnation of development in the city during World War Two. Through the 1950's development spread outwards, originally in prefabricated houses into the north, west and south of the city at Greendykes, Muirhouse, Southhouse, Colinton Mains, Saughton Mains and Moredun. Thus in the post war period development shifted away from the central areas. The periphery of Edinburgh has been the location of much of the large scale development in modern times, owing to the established, relatively intact and distinctively fine grain of the inner areas. In particular, the periphery accommodated much of the city's housing requirements on a large scale. This began with the suburbs built in the 1950's including Broomhouse on the west, spreading outwards from the established inner city and establishing communities where prefabricated housing had alleviated the earliest post war housing shortages. The periphery saw its greatest sustained period of growth, however, from the late 1960's onwards, when high rise peripheral estates sprung up in a belt virtually surrounding the city. These schemes including Craigmiller, Niddrie, Pilton, Muirhouse, Granton, Leith, Sighthill and Wester Hailes (the largest), originally aimed to rehouse residents from substandard accommodation in the inner city, and quickly gained a reputation for poor environmental standards, isolation and high crime rates.

Housing policy was an important factor in the changing role of the Old Town during this time. As Blackie (1982) highlights, all of the previous plans for the city (Mears, 1931; Clyde, 1943; Abercrombie and Plumstead, 1949) had strongly advocated clearance of the city's slums (including those in the Old Town) and relocation of the displaced residents within the new peripheral housing schemes. The 1960's was a time where the Old Town was considered to stand for poor living standards and inadequate housing. Bell et al (1984) point out, for instance, that the High Street Comprehensive Development Area Report which was made in 1966 focused on 395 houses in the area, of which 291 were viewed as unacceptable for habitation. Most of the clearance proposed during these radical times did not come to fruition however, partly owing to the change in housing legislation to advocate less drastic measures\(^1\) (i.e. improvement replacing demolition) and also due to

\(^1\) the 1969 Housing Act replaced slum clearance proposals with more incremental forms of intervention such as Housing Treatment Areas (Bell et al, 1984)
growing popular dissatisfaction with the modern peripheral estates which began to emerge in the early 1970's. (Bell et al, 1984, para 4.40).

At the same time, in terms of recognising the historic built environment as a planning consideration in its own right, the 1965 Plan and Report of Survey stated:

"In the midst of the large scale redevelopment proposals for the older areas of the city, buildings of historic and architectural merit are retained and where necessary restored. This applies especially to the Royal Mile. The greater part of the Georgian development of the New Town remains intact, but in the commercial area of Princes Street and George Street building programmes have been or are being carried out in accordance with approved principle designed to preserve the unity and dignity of the original Georgian Streets" (p. 1.26).

Despite the apparent commitment of such a statement to conservation, in the climate of change of the 1960's and emphasis on functional issues in particular traffic management and technological solutions, more practical and action orientated policies supporting conservation were not apparent. However, the 1965 Development Plan Written Statement put forward a brief for establishing a High Buildings policy, the policy itself being approved by the City of Edinburgh Planning Sub committee in October 1968. The policy was founded on an increasing need to control the ever growing height of buildings which was popular amongst developers who were drawing from new technological developments in construction methods, and were keen to exploit the most economically effective plot ratios. The policy recognised the value of Edinburgh's unique hilly topography and the importance of views into and out of the city which could be easily be marred by inappropriately high building in the wrong location. The policy represents a response made by planners in a historic city to the trend of building upwards as advocated by the modern movement most strongly during its zenith in the 1960's.

The 1965 Report of Survey further outlined the importance of tourism to the city, with the Edinburgh International Festival being recognised as even then accounting for a significant share of the tourist market. The Report stated that 822,000 people visited the city in 1961, spending £6.3 million (page 7.2), with there being 12,000 total bedspaces to accommodate tourists in the city at that time. Wider issues identified in the report relating to the central area included the implications of traffic congestion for the centre with controls being seen even then as being vital for ensuring Edinburgh city centre's future prosperity.
In 1966 a Design Policy for the High Street was approved by the Council, after a comprehensive appraisal of the area's built environment, carried out by consultants in 1965. The policy encapsulated the continuing aim supported through development plans to ensure "retention of the unity of the Royal Mile" (City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh 1966, p.2), and provided a relatively comprehensive range of recommendations relating to aspects such as materials, road surfacing and signs and advertisements through to the appropriate use of listed buildings. Despite the need for considerable redevelopment in the area to improve the then poor environmental standards, the report advised a respectful approach being taken to the listed buildings of the area:

"Any redevelopment scheme would be designed around those listed buildings which do serve a useful purpose; they are essential ingredients in the character of the area, part of the heritage of the City. They must be integrated into the new developments to assist in the creation of interesting new spaces and views; their presence should not be grudgingly accepted, and the new layouts should not relegate them to the background. This applies as much to the buildings behind the High Street frontage as to those on it; to destroy the former for the sake of expediency would be to reduce the High Street to a mere facade and thereby reduce its attraction to tourists and residents" (City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh, 1966, p.3).

Following from the 1965 Plan Review for Edinburgh, the 1966 Lothians Regional Survey and Plan proposed accommodating growth and easing pressure on Edinburgh through the consolidation of New Towns, in particular Livingston. Great store was placed in future economic prosperity being ensured through car accessibility being maximised. For some time motor transport had threatened the Old Town in the form of a variety of proposals for roads and car parking schemes. This culminated in a proposal for an inner city ring road which would have demolished large areas of the built fabric of the city. This highly controversial plan, which was eventually defeated was described by the Cockburn Association retrospectively as a symbol of its cause:

"Edinburgh in 1967 witnessed an unprecedented growth of public concern over the City's planning proposals. That the ignition of the flame required such an outrageous proposal as the Inner City Ring Road as the activating spark is a sad reflection on past apathy. With the fire once kindled it must not be allowed to die after a single triumphant blaze in a Public Inquiry" (Bruce, 1975, p.73)
The Cockburn Association, as well as the growing number of amenity bodies (e.g. the Edinburgh Architectural Association, the Old Edinburgh Club), objected to loss of history in the Old Town down to the finest details such as the proposed replacement of setts on the Royal Mile with a new road surface. Throughout the UK, the gradual expansion in the remit of legislation relating to conservation of the time, was supported by the growing number of civic groups and societies supporting the cause. The 1967 Civic Amenities Act recognised the wider urban settings as opposed to monuments in isolation, and advocated a more active approach to conservation than what had hitherto been predominantly a system of negative control. By the 1970’s conservation was becoming a concern of the wider public, and the rate of formation of new civic societies peaked (Larkham, 1992), as the “scepticism of rapid redevelopment led to the popularisation of conservation” (Dobby A, 1978).

These changes are clearly reflected in the case of Edinburgh, where issues such as the blight caused by road plans to accommodate growing traffic levels, were fundamentally questioning, but also reaffirming the importance of the city’s built inheritance. This led to continual political conflict in Edinburgh which was typical throughout this period, as fully documented by Hague (1984). At the same time, this was not a problem which was unique to the city or the Old Town, and neither was the response in terms of the growing popularity of conservation as an antidote to such threats an unusual shift:

“The forces promoting change in the physical fabric of Edinburgh in the 1960’s did not come about by chance; they were integral to the development in the mode of production itself. They threatened, but could not replace, the identity with the meaning imbedded in the historic physical environment” (Hague, 1984, p.255).

The emphasis in the role of transport within the city was carried through to the early 1970’s, following the Edinburgh Corporation’s decision in 1968 to commission a team combining Freeman Fox and Associates and Colin Buchanan and Partners put forward recommendations for the city based on a combination of major new road construction and existing roads being upgraded, and the reorganisation of land use within the city emphasising decentralisation as an antidote to central congestion (Edinburgh: The Recommended Plan, 1972). Ruthless road plans put forward by Abercrombie, particularly those involving a new inner ring road, had caused extensive planning blight in and around the city centre, right up until the 1970’s when the ideas were eventually scrapped (Blackie 1982). The overall radical nature of proposals for the city as put forward by
Abercrombie were later considered to be a major threat to the fabric of the city centre. One major road was planned to run directly through St. Mary's Street, and many houses in the Old Town would have been on the list for clearance because they were of a poor standard of maintenance with few amenities. A change in policy and a rejection of road plans only came about in 1973, eventually ending many years of blight which the plans had previously caused. This reflected an overall changing emphasis in planning which was fundamentally linked with the wider growing literature and popularity of the conservation movement of the time as described in Chapter 2.

"The economic crisis of the early 1970's at least gave a respite from [the previous] development pressures. The loss of some of the cherished features of the environment and the scale and visual impact of their replacements, both as built and some which had been averted, had already earned wide criticism, outrage even. These reactions, and the introduction of more effective conservation controls, combined to lay the basis for a more sensitive approach to urban renewal, giving primacy to conservation and the regeneration of areas around the needs of existing communities" (EDC, 1994, para 1.13, p.3).

A real shift in focus of conservation policy in the city from preoccupation with the New Town did not occur until later in the 1970’s, despite the considerable activities in the area of amenity groups such as the Cockburn Association long prior to this. A growing awareness of the historic value of the townscape was emerging in Edinburgh from the beginning of the 1970’s, with studies such as that published in 1970 on the condition of the Grassmarket, reflecting these values and consolidating policy approaches to the issues of the time (recommending, for example, that full regard is afforded to the previously approved High Buildings Policy).

In 1972 an environmental improvement scheme was put forward by the Council for the Old Town, with around one hundred closes off the Royal Mile receiving much needed attention including whitewashing, painting and the signposting of features of historic and architectural interest. Around this time a redevelopment plan for around 140 houses and 18 shops was approved for the area bounded by the High Street, Blackfriars Street, St. Mary's Street and the Cowgate (Cockburn Association, 1972). By the mid 1970's conservationists in the city were increasingly concerned with the neglect of the Old Town, and when in 1975 the New Town was picked as one of the four UK demonstration projects for the European Year of Architectural Heritage, the Cockburn Association countered:
"...we can no longer ignore the Old Town. Here the very soul of Edinburgh is perishing from neglect. Which other city in Britain can still present so unique a scene? Chester retains much medieval, York unrivalled quaintness, but neither possess the drama of Edinburgh's Old Town. But this drama is in danger of becoming a restoration comedy. The Royal Mile, now almost only so in name, has become a sad catalogue of spasmodic successes and failures at conservation interspersed with yawning chasms of neglect. The survival of the New Town intact may be wonderful, but the very existence of the Old Town is miraculous - where then is the Old Town Conservation Committee? In 1975, then, a plea for an official change of attitude towards the Old Town - in economic terms it produces so much revenue from tourists that it might just possibly pay to conserve itself. It is a European endowment and we continue to ignore it at great risk" (Cockburn Association, 1975, p.4).

A more comprehensive conservationist policy, protecting identified Areas and Buildings of Architectural / Historic interest was approved by the City Council on 24th October 1974. Again, this reflected the changing approach in favour of conservationist principles of the time. The Old Town was designated a conservation area of outstanding architectural and historic interest in 1977. Despite this, the area remained run down and riddled with the continuing effects of earlier planning blight caused by road plans which had not been remedies by the halting nature of the redevelopment and housing schemes of the area. In 1979 the Old Town Community Development Project was set up in the area under the Urban Aid programme which aimed to address the problems of areas with high levels of social deprivation. The project was 75% central government funded, with the remaining funds being shared equally by the regional and district councils (Blackie 1982, p.29). The project set out to tackle a range of issues, representing an early attempt in Edinburgh to recognise the value of the area and attempt to address its problems in a comprehensive manner.

Elsewhere in the city, the 1970's through to the 1980's witnessed a recognition of the problems of peripheral housing schemes, common to most Scottish peripheral council estate development, and through the decade, the refurbishment of these inadequate buildings to improve the facades and lessen their effects of depersonalisation of the environment was increasingly undertaken. Some of these schemes are still in progress. The disenchantment with the previously promising peripheral expansion of the city refocused attention initially on the central areas of the city, although this has since reverted to an emphasis again on new peripheral developments. The rise of the conservation movement reached its most rapid period of progress during the 1970's, although the issue of
conservation had been well established as an integral part of policy making in Edinburgh for some considerable time previously.

Despite the efforts of the Old Town Community Development Project, the early 1980's saw the Old Town in a state of generally poor repair, with 30% of High Street property remaining vacant in 1981 (Blackie, 1982). The Planning and Development Committee set out conservation policy relating to the Old Town in January 1980. In 1981 the Old Town Conservation Advisory Committee was set up which comprised local authorities, planners and other interested groups, and which undertook a comprehensive survey of the area, highlighting key areas of need in the Old Town by which future policy was able to follow.

During the 1980’s, policies relating to the aesthetic character of the central area included, Edinburgh District Council’s approval in 1980 of a policy protecting the rooftops of the city, placing an emphasis on the preservation of their contribution to panoramic views in the city through use of appropriate materials. In October 1981 a further policy was passed relating to the stonecleaning of listed buildings in the city. Other guidance has focused on alterations to listed buildings (produced in 1981), and there has been extensive provisions and advice made relating to advertisements and signs in the central area. In 1982, an architecture ideas competition was held in an attempt to find a new use for the many gap sites in the Old Town. More improvement grants were becoming available at this time, despite increasingly less financial assistance to conservation at the time, and developers became more inclined through these incentives to refurbish and renew existing stock, instead of demolition. In 1984, a major restoration of St. Mary’s Street was undertaken, its neglect being partially caused by previous long standing road planning blight. In May 1985, the Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal was set up which consisted of representatives of conservation groups (e.g. the Cockburn Association), governmental and local authority representatives and community groups. The committee ran a small grants scheme in the area in an effort to foster further improvement of the built fabric.

As will be explored more fully later in the thesis in the context of tourism in the Old Town, the character and role of the area changed considerably through the course of the 1980’s, and into the 1990’s. Where the shift had occurred from policy being faced with the dilemma of progress versus conservation to focus on the relationship between the historic environment and renewal of the area between the 1960’s and 1970’s, the 1980’s in turn marked a cultural sea-change in the meaning of the historic environment. An important step which marked the shift up a gear in terms of promotion
of the city which occurred through the 1980's, was the Report "Edinburgh's Capital" which was prepared by PIEDA Consultants for the City's Chamber of Commerce. The report set out objectives for the promotion of business led development in the city, and emphasised on the importance of tourism and its interface with the built environment and provision of facilities. Hague states:

"Above all, it sought promotion of the city and multi-agency public-private partnership model as the way ahead....It was the first recognition of the context of international competition" (Hague, 1997, p.142).

The Old Town has continued to play an increasingly important role within the economic development of the city, and this has been reflected in the strengthening in conservation provisions within the city, and the relatively high degree of attention being afforded to the value of the built environment as an economic asset. The changing nature of the area on these terms has led to a complex relationship being formed between conservation and tourism in the Old Town, which has resulted from both national and international influences, as well as from key local characteristics and particular participants in the development process at this level. The nature and proponents of such change are discussed in more detail in the following section.

3.3 The Current UK Conservation Context and its Changing Planning Context - Implications for the Old Town

The unique value of the townscape of the Old Town, which represents a potted history of Scottish architecture has resulted in a total of 45% of the Central Area Local Plan being contained within designated conservation areas, of which there are 14 in total and 3 extending beyond the boundaries of the Local Plan Area. The city is also second only to London in terms of numbers of listed buildings (Wang, 1991). As the above account of the history of conservation in the Old Town has shown, the recognition of the value of the historic built environment of the city has a long history which has been increasingly reflected in the development plans and policies for the city in the post war period, and which predates the official designation of the Old Town as a conservation area in 1977. In the 1990's, conservation now plays a key role in the development process in historic cities throughout the UK. With specific reference to conservation and treatment of the built and natural heritage in Scotland central government sets out policy guidance. NPPG No.1 "The Planning System" (1994) states:
"Across Scotland, the quality of the environment will be maintained and enhanced by consistently applying policies which seek to protect the identified assets of the natural, cultural and built environment, which encourage environmental improvement wherever development is to take place, which promote the re-use of formerly developed urban land." (NPPG 1, 1994, paragraph 11, p.7)

Within this context, Edinburgh’s Central Area Local Plan states:

"The centre of Edinburgh is acclaimed as one of the finest urban environments in Europe and its conservation and enhancement has been the central objective of planning policy for over two decades." (Paragraph 2.1, p.7)

The 1967 Civic Amenities Act identified conservation areas for the first time as: "areas of special architectural or historic interest, the character or appearance of which it is desirable to preserve or enhance", with provisions being made both for their protection and for the more proactive role of making improvements within them. Since such legislation, the concept of conservation areas has been taken up by planning authorities throughout the UK, with over 7,000 established by 1993, with further allocations of 300-400 per year being made (Norton and Ayers, 1993, p.211). Norton and Ayers argue that many conservation areas have been designated without a full appraisal of the area, and that this is partly owing to the lack of clear legislative wording on the matter. There are an additional 1.3 million listed buildings in the UK (Rydin, 1993, p.108), 39,515 of which are in Scotland - 7% Category A, 67% Category B and the remainder Category C as at June 1993 (Historic Scotland, 1993, p.6).

Section 52(1) of the 1972 Town and Country Planning Act made provisions for the compiling of lists of buildings with special historic or architectural interest which could subsequently be afforded statutory protection. The provision extended also to further items within the curtilage of a building, with Section 52(a) also allowing the listing of buildings for their contribution to a wider group. In addition, listing covers both the interior and exterior of the building. Section 52(6) states that each local authority, Historic Scotland and the National Monuments Record, must keep copies of the statutory list and any subsequent amendments available for public viewing.
There are three categories of listing - A, B and C, which relate to degrees of national, regional and local importance respectively. Listing criteria as set out in the 1972 Act include the following categories of buildings:

* all buildings erected prior to 1840 in good condition and in original form;
* 1840-1940 of definite quality and character alone or within a group;
* 1914-1945 works of an important architect or of a particular style;
* Post 1945 buildings undergo a high degree of selection;

Particular attention with assigning listing criteria include works of better known architects, the special value of a building in architectural, planning or social economic history, buildings which illustrate technical innovation in construction, those encapsulating distinctive regional variations in design and/or materials, those associated with famous people or events, and the group value of buildings in the context of town planning. The listing process has come under increasing scrutiny in recent years in the UK where the questioning of the political input into the process and calls for greater objectivity, has resulted from arguments centring on whether more recent buildings, particular in the modern style should be preserved. As Baillieu states:

"The point about listing is not preserve a building for ever but to recognise that tastes change. In that sense, the listing of unpopular buildings is an example of humility - an acknowledgement of the right of future generations to make up their own minds. Humility, of course, is not the first word that springs to mind in relation to the politicians who ultimately rule on what will be our heritage." (Baillieu, 1992, p.8)

Section 2(1) of the Town and Country Amenities Act 1974 inserted Section 262 into the 1972 Town and Country Planning Act, requiring local planning authorities to identify areas for conservation within which all demolition constitutes development and is as a result subject to conservation area consent being granted and, through the development control process, applicants are required to ensure that new development within the area was designed with the character of the area within which it was set in mind. In addition, standard procedures of development control related publicity are extended when relating to development in a conservation area, and under Article 4 of the Town and Country Planning (General Permitted Development) (Scotland) Order, 1992, the definition of "development" can be extended to cover a variety of actions not normally covered by general planning provisions.
Following from this basis, the “Memorandum of Guidance on Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas”, is published by Historic Scotland. In terms of further national policy by Scottish Office Circular 27/93 provides further advice relating to conserving the built environment through treatment of listed buildings and conservation areas in development proposals.

Enforcement of the legislative provisions can be taken when the local authority is obliged to first serve a notice stating the breach of the law, remedial action required and giving the owner and occupier 28 days to object and lodge an appeal. If action is not taken following this, the local authority is then able to do so, with the costs for the operations carried out being imparted to the owner. It is also possible to obtain an injunction preventing damage to the building. If the owner is found to be neglectful, the local authority has compulsory purchase rights, with the price being set at minimum compensation rates, with any further development value of the property being discounted.

In terms of the wider context of the conservation process, a number of key themes should be considered. Planning has been in a state of perpetual transition since its beginnings in the UK, responding to ever changing political, social and institutional contexts. UK planning in the post war years was dominated by local government in the 1980’s when the Conservative government began a series of changes in an attempt to deregulate the system and maximise market freedom. The form which these changes took is well documented in the literature (e.g. Brindley, 1989; Montgomery & Thornley, 1990; Cloke, 1992.). Following this period, a number of issues have arisen for planners and consequently conservationists, which have fostered a changing approach to their respective roles in response.

One of the first important characteristics has been the shift in power from the local to central level of government, and from the public to private sector. Planning policy at all levels is influenced by the central government level, the Development Department of the Scottish Office. Responsibilities at this level include ensuring that UK policy is carried through to the former regions and district levels,² within Scotland, the responsibility for appeals and public inquiries, various “call-in” powers to monitor major developments at the strategic level, and advising regional and local planning authorities through published National Planning Policy Guidelines, and in advisory only capacity through Planning Advice Notes (PAN’s), both sets of which relate to a range of planning

² this structure was revised in April 1996 to form new unitary authorities in Scotland;
issues. Central government advice is also articulated in Circulars. Owing to the increasing centralisation of planning powers which has been occurring, such policy and guidance clearly plays an important role.

However, in terms of conservation and tourism at present, there are no NPPG’s or up to date PAN’s relating directly to either conservation or tourism. Both of these functions have been undertaken outwith the central government planning remit, instead being undertaken by more specifically focused agencies (i.e. Historic Scotland and the Scottish Tourist Board). Although the national tier could therefore be considered important in the comparative sense (contrasts with Prague in this respect will be explored more fully in the next Chapter), in terms of the Old Town, and in particular its role as a historic tourist attraction, there is a lack of strategic co-ordination of concerns at this level. This is more recently emerging as a concern due to the further erosion of the strategic policy making level which is likely to occur in Scotland with the loss of regional councils during the 1996 reorganisation of local government.

In addition to institutional change and the role of the strategic level of planning, key features of the Scottish planning process itself in turn has repercussions for the Old Town. Two main statements of primary legislation provide the formal legal basis for town planning in Scotland at present. The first is the Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act 1972 (as amended) which provides the overall legal framework for the town planning system, including the detailed definition of statutory plans and the role of development control. This was followed by the Planning and Compensation Act 1991, which has made several fundamental revisions to the 1972 Act. The most important aspect of these amendments are encapsulated within Section 58, which inserts section 18A of the 1972 Act:

"Where in making any determination under the planning Acts, regard is to be had to the development plan, the determination shall be made in accordance with the plan unless material consideration indicate otherwise" (p.66)

This, at least in principle allocating the ultimate say in all planning matters to development plans which were originally established under the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, has fundamental repercussions for planning in Scotland. Regional councils in Scotland are responsible for the preparation of structure plans$^3$ which cover a relatively wide geographic area and contain

$^3$ refer to earlier discussion relating reorganisation and the issue of structure planning
strategically orientated policies. At the same time the local tier of the development plan system is accounted for through local plans prepared by the district council.

The aim over the years has been to provide comprehensive coverage of Scotland in development plans, however this has provide to be continuously difficult mainly due to the lengthy statutory procedures which are required in the process of adoption. This is likely only to be hampered by the increasing demands of the system on the policies of the development plan in guiding the development control process. As a result, many district councils have more recently streamlined local plans to encompass a wider area, which would be included within a district wide local plan. The Scottish Office have instigated a review of the Scottish planning system, which, although not aiming to undertake such extreme changes in the current provisions, is concerned with ensuring the smooth transition of the system from a two to single tier process under local government reorganisation in 1996 (Scottish Office Environment Department, 1996). In line with wider trends in UK planning, the development plan process and the time consuming nature of the process is referred to in the document, amongst other planning functions. It states:

"...the Government is committed to lifting the burden of regulation on business and industry wherever possible. The Deregulation Initiative is part of the Government's ongoing commitment to encouraging enterprise and creating wealth. All unnecessary regulations should be removed, and essential regulations or procedures should, wherever possible, be simplified." (Scottish Office Environment Department, 1994, p. 19).

Figures 3.3 and 3.4 illustrate the process of structure and local plan preparation. Both processes include extensive information collation prior to formulation of policies, with early public consultation followed by the formal inquiry / examination of the plan in public and by central government, all being essential parts of the process prior to adoption.

In terms of the second fundamental aspect of UK planning, full planning permission is required by the relevant authority, before development is legally free to commence, as legislated for by the 1972 Town and Country Planning Act. The development control process is outlined in Figure 3.5, with the submission of the application on standard forms being followed by registration, publicity measures, collation of comments from relevant parties, comparison with development plan policies all culminating in the planning officer of the respective planning authority reporting to an elected committee, who in turn usually take on the responsibility of making the decision. A decision has to
Report of Survey: public consultations on strategic planning issues

Consultations on Draft Plan with general public and public bodies

Finalised Plan approved internally by resolution of Planning Authority

Plan, report on public consultations and report of survey submitted for approval to secretary of State. Plan available to public inspection: objections within 6 weeks

Consideration by Secretary of State of Plan, Issues and Objections

Draft modifications published

Consideration of objections

Plan approved by Secretary of State

Examination in public

Report on Examination in public

Source: Adapted from Henderson and O’Carroll, 1994
Figure 3.3 Development Plan Process: Local Plans

Report of Survey: public consultations on local planning issues

Consultations on Draft Plan with general public and public bodies

Finalised Plan approved provisionally by Planning Authority. Plan and report on public consultations to Secretary of State

Objections to Planning Authority within 6 weeks

Consideration of Objections

Planning Auth to consider Report and Recommendations

Modified plan published

Consideration of Objections

Local plan adopted after 28 days

or

Call in by Secretary of State

Source: Adapted from Henderson and O'Carroll, 1994
Figure 3.4

Development Control Process

1. Pre Application discussions between applicant and planning officials

2. Submission of forms, plans, fee & certificates by applicant or agent

3. Statutory registration and acknowledgement by PA

4. Weekly list to RPA

5. Local press advertisement as necessary

6. Statutory consultations with Trunk Roads Authority etc. Discretionary consultations

7. Collation of comments, objections, representations, from consultees, the general public and neighbours

8. Application examined in light of policies and proposals of current development plan and other considerations

9. Officers Report and Recommendation to committee

10. Decisions by or on behalf of the council within 2 months of submission date

11. Permission

12. Permission subject to conditions

13. Refusal

14. Aggrieved applicant may appeal to the Secretary of State

15. Aggrieved applicant may appeal to the Court of Session

This diagram is a simple representation of a complex statutory process.

Source: Henderson and O’Carroll, 1994
be reached within two months of submission of the application, or the applicant has the right to appeal to the Secretary of State directly. Permission can be granted, refused or granted with conditions as stipulated by the authority to ensure the development is acceptable, and planners can be allowed delegated powers of decision making where an application is for a minor development.

In addition to basic development control legislation, further provisions include the Town and Country Planning (Use Classes) (Scotland) Order 1989 (equivalent to the Use Classes Order in England) which identifies groups of land use, within which planning permission for a change of use is not generally required. Further provisions are set out in the Town and Country Planning (General Permitted Development) (Scotland) Order 1992 which indicates instances where development is permitted without planning permission and under which a number of specified minor alterations, construction of agricultural and temporary buildings, and other exemptions are related. Under Section 61 of the 1972 Act, advertising is subject to special controls with the material considerations of amenity and public safety being taken account of, with central policy included in the Town and Country Planning (Control of Advertisement (Scotland) Regulations 1984).

Planning permission can be granted in outline form, with development in principle being considered, and the further related details “reserved matters” being subject to further consideration at a later stage. Planning authorities can, under Section 50 of the 1972 Act, enter into agreements with developers to include the development, usually of infrastructure, within the conditions of planning permissions being granted. This was and has continued to be viewed to varying degrees by developers and planning critics as constituting blackmail (for example, Lichfield, 1984) in return for consent being granted, although it has increasingly been recognised as an effective tool for securing infrastructural and related community benefits, where the state has become no longer in a position to provide such development itself through the course of the 1980’s as a result of the prevailing deregulative trends of Thatcherism. This provision has, however, been the subject of much debate, with the requirement of linking the Agreement to development and lack of publicity relating to the Agreements emerging as central issues.

The only enforcement which is considered a criminal offence under enforcement provisions is development affecting or demolition of to listed buildings which does not have listed building consent under Section 53 of the 1972 Act and non compliance with Tree Preservation Orders under Section 98 or wilful damage to a tree in a conservation area under Section 59A (Henderson and O'Carroll, 1993, page 89). Otherwise, enforcement controls are intended as being regulatory, and can be made
on what is defined as a breach of planning control, where Section 83A of the Act defines it as "carrying out development without the required planning permission or failing to comply with a condition of planning permission" (Henderson and O’Carroll, 1993, p.90). Where possible, the Act encourages the submission of a retrospective planning application as remedy to breach of planning control, although should this not be the course of action, Part V of the 1972 Town and Country Planning Act, as well as the 1992 Enforcement Regulations make provision for serving of Enforcement Notices, combined if necessary with Stop Notices to cease activity in breach of controls, or Court Interdicts under Section 260A where planning authorities have and will not use Enforcement Notices and restriction of activity is necessary with immediate effect. More recently, enforcement has been strengthened by increased financial penalties for offenders, and streamlining of the process, in an attempt to better reflect commercial value of the environment.

Conservation in the Old Town exists within a planning process which has changed considerably and is still undergoing a transition in a number of ways. Firstly, the central government strategic level of planning for tourism and conservation is carried out through specialised QUANGO’s as opposed to the Scottish Office itself. This clearly has implications for the relationship between the concerns and the coherence of planning in the Old Town in this respect. Secondly, the development plan, having been questioned in terms of its status during the 1980’s, has been more recently strengthened in terms of its status within the process. At the same time, however, difficulties have arisen with ongoing issues of the timescale and updating of the development plans, and in the loss of the strategic tier and the implications this has for structure planning. The development control process remains a relatively steady element of the UK planning system, and conservation at the local level of influence through the control process could be considered relatively well integrated.

Nevertheless, the continuing marginalisation of strategic elements of conservation through it being carried out by Historic Scotland which remains concerned with the more “pure” considerations of conservation than more mainstream planning concerns is clearly an important issue. At the same time, the Scottish Tourist Board and the relatively high degree of influence which it is afforded is also an important consideration, given its explicitly economically orientated agenda.

The growing role of non governmental bodies and public private co-operation in facilitating and regulating development is a further aspect of the transition of planning. Again this mirrors the ethos of the Thatcher government which promoted the role of the private sector and reduced public sector intervention. This is an important point for conservation and tourism in the Old Town, and as a
result, the following section explores the changing nature of participants in the development process in the area, and considers the implications which this has for addressing the issues arising from the changing planning context of the area.

3.4 Participants in planning and development in the Old Town

In light of the above changing nature of planning and its relationship with conservation in the UK in the early to mid 1990’s, an important aspect in the consideration of tourism and conservation in the Old Town relates to current features and issues within the UK planning system. The underlying themes relate directly to the approach taken in the Old Town, and contrast with the case study of Prague discussed in Chapter 4. Three levels of interest exist in terms of participants in the development process in the Old Town. Firstly the interaction of bodies concerned with the national / strategic tier of activity is considered. Secondly, the response at the local level of planning is discussed, and thirdly, the role of civic groups and amenity bodies is explored more fully. Finally, this section explores the interaction within and between each of these levels of participants.

Each of these bodies has an influence at the local level in the development process in Edinburgh. Perhaps most apparent in terms of private sector investment and development in the city, under Scottish Enterprise, Lothian and Edinburgh Enterprise Company was formed. LEEL takes on the former SDA role at the local level with the main aim of stimulating and maintaining economic growth in the city. Through this role, LEEL has taken up the theme of the linkage of the quality of the environment of the city with prosperity, and as a result has instigated and supported a considerable number of projects which have aimed to improve the quality of the environment within the city.

In addition to the direct investment of LEEL, other agencies have a remit within the Old Town. Scottish Homes, for instance, has funded housing associations who have been particularly active in the Old Town. More specifically, however, Historic Scotland and the Scottish Tourist Board are of interest in this context. As previously mentioned, the former is responsible for the setting out of strategic policy on historic buildings and conservation areas. The latter provides co-ordination between area tourist boards (the Old Town being covered by the Edinburgh Tourist Board at the local level). Little evidence exists of interaction between these key agencies at present in the Old Town in terms of the national level of policy making. However, at the local level, the area based
approach of the Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust has provided an important vehicle for bringing such agencies together.

Figure 3.5

Non Governmental Organisations in the Development Process - National Level

Historic Scotland is responsible for the protection and public enjoyment of ancient monuments together with buildings and areas of architectural or historical interest. It was created in 1992 by a transfer from the Scottish Office Environment Department.

Scottish Enterprise is responsible for economic development and training backed at the local level by Local Enterprise Companies. It was created in 1991 from a merger of the Manpower Services Commission and the Scottish Development Agency.

Scottish Homes is responsible for providing financial assistance to Housing Associations and District Councils for new build and rehabilitation schemes mainly in the inner city to foster urban renewal in accordance with the national policy set out in "A New Life for Urban Scotland". It was created in 1990 from the former Scottish Special Housing Association - a central house building agency set up in the 1930's - and the Housing Corporation which provided finance for Housing Associations.

Scottish Natural Heritage is responsible for the natural environment of Scotland (nature conservation and protection of the countryside) in accordance with national policy. It was created in 1992 from a merger of the Countryside Commission for Scotland which was established in 1967 and the Nature Conservancy Council which originated in 1949.

Scottish Tourist Board is responsible under the 1969 Development of Tourism Act for the promotion and development of tourism and is supported by a number of Area Tourist Boards. This framework was modified in the early 1980's following the implementation of the Stodart proposals to take the function of tourism from regional councils and to achieve a greater involvement in decision making by the industry itself. Further changes were made in 1994.


The Old Town Renewal Trust plays a fundamental role in policy making and management in the area. As outlined in the historical development of conservation in Edinburgh, the city has long sought to establish partnerships between public and private sectors, with input from local representatives and community groups, to further advance the agenda of conservation in the city. The Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust is a key player in co-ordinating current development needs with the

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4 The Highlands and Islands Development Board has also been replaced under reorganisation by Highlands and Islands Enterprise.
demands of conserving the historic fabric of the area, ensuring economic success and working towards answering social needs.

The Trust was founded following the EOTCCR which in turn was set up in response to the considerable environmental and social problems of the area which had been nearing crisis point in the late 1970's. The EOTCCR had acted as a catalyst for improving the area, mainly through the administration of grants for the conservation of historic buildings, and for the improvement of housing standards. This was, however, a relatively limited mechanism in terms of staff and resources. As a result, and following a report focusing on tourism by the SDA in 1989 (discussed more fully in the following section), the EOTCCR was expanded through amalgamation with a charitable Trust which had previously provided support through the accumulation of funds for projects in the area, forming the EOTRT. The mission statement of the Trust is:

"To achieve long term sustainable improvements in the environment and the economy of Edinburgh's Old Town, by promoting a productive balance between the interests of residents, businesses and visitors. This balance is to be established through active partnership between the local community and development bodies." (EOTRT, 1993)

The Trust represents an innovative step in the Old Town towards forming a formalised relationship between the public and private sectors of planning in the Old Town. This has become common practice in the UK through the course of the Thatcher-led Conservative Government's emphasis on the private sector of the development industry in the late 1980's. Within this context, as Lyddon outlines, three main factors have contributed to the formation of Trusts such as that in the Old Town:

"1. Central government has developed the view that funds provided for local government should be targeted at specific problems.

2. The realisation that industry and business must become more actively involved in regeneration of employment and urban development.

3. The need on the part of inhabitants and the workforce to become more involved; to participate in the sense of to "take part in" and to have control over the quality of their life and environment."

(Lyddon, undated)
The Old Town Renewal Trust comprises a variety of partners, covering a cross section of participants in the development industry in central Edinburgh, and bringing together the otherwise fragmented NGO’s which form an important part of planning at present as previously highlighted. Lothian and Edinburgh Enterprise Ltd. (LEEL) plays an inherently commercially orientated role (being the Local Enterprise Company), and provides a large share of the funding of the Trust. At the central governmental level, input is provided by the Scottish Office Development Department, whilst representations from residents and the local business community carries participation in the work of the Trust right through to the local level. Co-ordination of interests as undertaken by the Trust could be considered to form a significant improvement to hitherto more piecemeal efforts of agencies in the area, with a previously greater emphasis in the role of local government. Where local government’s role during the 1980’s was diminishing, therefore, to a certain degree many of its former functions were instead undertaken by new quango type bodies.

As part of their activities, the Trust prepared an action plan for the Old Town of Edinburgh, the first of which was published in 1992, and which has been reviewed on an annual basis since. The action plan identifies key issues of concern and opportunity with recommendations linking closely to detailed features of the Old Town. In addition, the action plan identifies and updates areas and buildings with development potential, acting as a catalyst for restoration and new building in the area. The plan also aims to provide guidance on the types of development from land use sectors through the full spectrum of detail down to materials preferred and other design considerations.

The use of such an action plan, in light of the previous discussion as to the shortfalls of the development plan process in terms of providing ongoing and up to date policy and guidance is clearly important. In addition to this, the changeover from the local authority being a key developer, to the lead being taken by private sector investment demands a flexible yet robust type of plan which the EOTRT’s model would appear to at least partly provide. This approach could therefore be considered an innovative response at the local level to increasing fragmentation of strategic policy making and the balance being swung increasingly in favour of the market.

The Old Town Renewal Trust recently participated in a European-wide study of a selection of 18 historic cities and their respective conservation frameworks which was instigated by the European

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5 Various departments of the post 1996 reorganisation Edinburgh City Council, including planning, economic development and estates, recreation, public relations, tourism and housing also play a significant role in funding, as well as offering support in co-operation in joint projects. The new council also provides the strategic perspective which was formerly provided by Lothian Regional Council.
Commission. A report which synthesised, contrasted and compared the experiences reported by each of the cities, rated several features of the Edinburgh framework as being both innovative and highly effective. Amongst these, the theory fostered by the EOTRT, that an improved environment directly influences investment levels, was regarded as perhaps the most interesting feature of the approach to conservation in the Old Town. The study states:

"Moreover, in the Edinburgh study a hypothesis has been launched about improvements to the physical environment influencing economic regeneration by enhancing images of the area. This ‘enhancement hypothesis’ certainly deserves our attention.... A completely different innovative element has been produced by Edinburgh. Key strands of future action have been identified based on an impact analysis of tourism and physical environment investment comprising multipliers and the concept of the economic resource base of the study area. The newness lies in the use of this kind of impact for conservation purposes" (pp. 81/91).

Furthermore, the study found that the Old Town of Edinburgh excelled in organisational terms and public/private partnerships (termed as “local synergy”), firmly endorsing the structure and work of agents involved in the planning of the areas. This creative response to restructuring within the UK which characterises planning in the 1990’s could therefore be seen as a key strength of the area. By way of contrast, however, the same study criticised the Trust for not fully integrating the social aspects of their activities with their more physically and economically orientated work, as illustrated in a synthesis produced by the study relating to integration of activities of the participants (Figure 3.6).

This highlights the question of whether a semi independent body, largely funded by a LEC has a social conscience. The shift away from local government dominance of development activity in the area has been praised in its execution, and many worthwhile projects and developments have been generated by the Trust. Despite this, the relatively private orientation of active bodies in conserving the Old Town today, is also linked to debates about the nature of conservation as an elitist concern. As a result, the prioritisation of commercial success, including in terms of tourism development, at the cost of resident satisfaction will form a key element for consideration within the tourist capacity analysis exercise.
A third ‘level’ of participants in the conservation planning and tourism of the Old Town which forms an important part of the context of the case study, is the influence of local pressure groups and elitist elements in conservation which has been consistently high in the UK in the post war years. Rydin comments on the importance of public opinion and the organisation of civic groups and action groups in advancing the issue of conservation within the overall context of deregulation within which the system operates:

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### Figure 3.6 Integration of Aspects of Conservation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Functional Aspects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHARLOERI</td>
<td>all functions; emphasis on social aspects, heritage and (additionally) urban morphology;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODENSE</td>
<td>all functions; in-depth study of heritage, environment, traffic, housing, private business, building characteristics (additionally);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUHLBERG/ELBE</td>
<td>all functions; no special emphasis, but building assessment (additionally)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAUTZEN</td>
<td>all functions (public activities do not apply); no special emphasis;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WATERFORD</td>
<td>all functions except social aspects; emphasis on heritage, traffic, private business (tourism), building assessment;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORK</td>
<td>all functions; emphasis on heritage, traffic, private business (retail &amp; tourism);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTRICH</td>
<td>all functions except social aspects; emphasis on environment, traffic, public activities;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOMAR</td>
<td>all functions; plus analysis of building blocs (additionally), emphasis on heritage (regulations);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VISEU</td>
<td>all functions, emphasis on heritage (regulations), environment, traffic, geophysical survey (additionally);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VALENCIA</td>
<td>all functions; in depth study of heritage, environment, traffic, housing, social aspects, private business and morphology (additionally);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAERNARFON</td>
<td>all functions except social aspects; emphasis on heritage, traffic, private business (tourism), built environment and building characteristics (additionally);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDINBURGH</td>
<td>all functions except social aspects; emphasis on heritage, environment, private business (tourism);</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Drewe, 1994, p.78
"The vociferous pressure groups of conservation areas have reinforced the heritage protection policies of the local authorities to render conservation policies one of the success stories of post war planning in terms of the objectives of preserving the built environment. But it is a success which illustrates the dependence of land use planning on market processes and the potential for regressive impacts reinforced by pressure group politics." (Rydin, 1993, p.342)

This point links to a fundamental debate within the conservation literature as to ownership of the past, and the implications this has for the meaning of the conserved built environment. Larkham, for instance outlines the unrepresentative nature of such participation in the process by community groups and amenity bodies:

“In the majority of cases, public opinion is represented in planning consultation by local authority amenity groups, particularly civic societies. These societies have grown rapidly in number since 1957, when the national Civic Trust was formed; the number of them registered with the Trust reached a peak in the mid-to-late 1970’s and declined slightly in the 1980’s. The societies aim to represent public opinion, but it is clear that they are only representative, in terms of numbers of members, of only a small proportion of the population.” (Larkham, 1993, p.352)

The importance of non statutory bodies in maintaining support for conservation has been illustrated in the case of Edinburgh where the Cockburn Association is one of the most established and vociferous groups of its type, and the wider population is often dominated by the particular strength of the professional classes in the city. At the same time, the degree to which the area has lost its identity through conservation headed by such groups, and the different opinions which may be held by its residents, are an important dimension of the social and cultural issues in the area, which are taken up later within the perception studies of the capacity analysis.

The elitist nature of conservation which has been at its foundation since the earliest forming of concerned heritage groups, has been a key criticism of conservation in the UK, with the linked effect of gentrification being a manifestation of the role of conservation as the preserve of the more privileged groups in society. The owner is essentially responsible for the maintenance of listed buildings, grant aid is, to a certain degree, available from the Scottish of State for Scotland / Historic Scotland which designates an annual set amount of finance to selected buildings, and local authorities are additionally able to make grants or loans for maintenance if the conservation area is included within the town scheme provisions in agreement with the central bodies under Section 10 C
of the 1986 Housing and Planning Act. The central grant allocation is, however, only available for a limited number of buildings which are considered “outstanding”, although buildings in “outstanding” conservation areas may also be eligible for assistance. Local authorities are therefore the main source of available financial assistance. Given, however, that owners are ultimately responsible for the maintenance of the building, conservation areas and listed buildings can become costly assets with their availability as a result being restricted to a certain degree to the economically better off.

Despite this, “public opinion is overwhelmingly in favour of conserving and enhancing the familiar local scene,” (DoE Circular 8/87, in Taylor, M., p. 59). In more recent times, however, reflecting critiques of conservation and heritage as represented in the literature, a more advanced view of conservation in the Old Town has developed, with change and the aim of good design not necessarily equating with historicism. For instance, the Cockburn Association criticised the retrospective nature of an application for the renovation of a 1960’s building in the Old Town:

“One of the more bizarre proposals considered by the Cases Committee was the proposal to convert into student accommodation and re-clad the reinforced concrete frame of the former Heriot-Watt University Mountbatten Building with an ill-fitting Grassmarket medieval cum Scottish baronial (or perhaps Nova Scotia Baronetc, if you prefer) facade. It is difficult to decide whom this would be most likely to offend - supporters of genuine Scottish vernacular or supporters of the Bauhaus and the Modern movement. The Association objected to this ridiculous form of facadism and we are pleased to announce that a new scheme has been submitted (for a low budget hotel) and a much more suitable replacement facade has been designed” (Cockburn Association, February 1995, p.16).

In summary, the Old Town exists within a context of a relatively well established and supported national framework for conservation. Nevertheless, a number of key issues of contention stemming from this framework are important in further consideration of the area. Whilst the process of listing originated in a typically architecturally dominated climate, area-based protection has added a more social dimension to conservation over the course of the post war years. Despite this, conservation in the UK remains the subject of continuing criticism, being “open to accusations of elitism” (Hubbard, 1993, p.361). Such debates also relate back to the nature of the process itself, and has led to questioning of values attached to listing etc. This is clearly also an important part of conserving the Old Town itself, where conservation based civic groups have played a particularly active role for
some considerable time. In a more positive light, conservation has continued to be an important part of the planning system, and has enjoyed continuing widespread support in the UK.

3.5 Tourist growth and demand in Edinburgh and its role within the Old Town

The following section firstly relates the current position of Edinburgh and the Old Town in accommodating tourism. This is followed initially by a discussion of tourist related policy which has developed in the city over the past few years. The discussion of this aspect of policy making is then taken a step further, in discussing the development of a second strand of tourism related policy making which addresses the capacity of the area in accommodating tourism.

The above history of conservation in Edinburgh and current provisions in terms of actors in the development process and features of the planning system show the increasing commercialisation of the Old Town, which has been shared by historic areas throughout Europe during the 1980's and 1990's. A considerable part of this commodification of the historic environment has resulted from tourism and related tourist and leisure development. Law (1996) shows that Edinburgh ranks relatively high amongst European cities in terms of attracting tourists (Figure 3.7), particularly given its relatively compact scale and small population. Edinburgh and Prague also rank higher still (9 and 7 respectively) when considered in terms of foreign bednights (Law, 1996, p.18), illustrating the international scale of their appeal.
The Scottish Tourist Board produces an annual amalgam of tourism figures for the City of Edinburgh, mainly based on the International Passenger Survey (IPS) Data. Most recent figures detailing British tourist visits to the city for 1994 based on the three year average of 1992-1994, show that 1.1 million people on average visited the city annually with 0.6 million of this total number of trips being for holiday purposes. In terms of the average for the same period, British tourists spent on average £151 million per annum, and stayed for 3.4 million bednights. Based on the three year average 1991-1993, there were 850,000 trips made by overseas visitors to the city, staying for 4.9 million bednights per annum on average, and spending £175 million. Within the overall tourist attraction of Edinburgh, the Old Town accounts for the dominant share of the market in terms of actual tourist visits, with the area also gaining from considerable expenditure by both staying and day visitors to the city, as illustrated in Figure 3.8.
Figure 3.8
Tourist Expenditure in the Old Town of Edinburgh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stay Visitors</th>
<th>£M's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurants and Bars</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractions</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL STAY VISITOR EXPENDITURE</strong></td>
<td><strong>44.3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day Visitors</td>
<td>£M's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurants and Bars</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractions</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL DAY VISITOR EXPENDITURE</strong></td>
<td><strong>42.1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL TOURIST EXPENDITURE IN OLD TOWN</strong></td>
<td><strong>86.4</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: STB, 1995

Occupancy rates as collated by the Scottish Tourist Board for Scotland as a whole and the Edinburgh area are detailed in Figure 3.9. They illustrate the seasonality of the market which the Scottish Tourist Board is keen to redress through a variety of initiatives as put forward by the Strategic Plan for Tourism in Scotland (November 1994).

Figure 3.9 Hotel Occupancy Rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Edinburgh % Bedroom Occupancy</th>
<th>Scotland % Bedroom Occupancy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January - March</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January - June</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January - September</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January - December</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January - March</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January - June</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January - September</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January - December</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January - March</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: STB, 1995
Numbers of tourists visiting Edinburgh continue to rise slowly but steadily. Edinburgh Castle is well established as the second most popular tourist attraction in the UK, second only to the Tower of London. 13% of all Scottish day trips in 1990 were made to Lothian Region (Mackay Consultants Ltd. 1992), and 50% of all overseas trips made to Scotland included the region as a destination. The current top fifteen visitor attractions in Lothian Region are detailed in Figure 3.10.

**Figure 3.10**
Top Fifteen Tourist Attractions in Lothian Region - 1993, 1994 and % Change (Paying and Nonpaying)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attraction</th>
<th>1993</th>
<th>1994</th>
<th>% Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh Castle, Edinburgh</td>
<td>1049693</td>
<td>992078</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Botanic Gardens, Edinburgh</td>
<td>787107</td>
<td>788119</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh Zoo, Edinburgh</td>
<td>515823</td>
<td>#526438</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh</td>
<td>502428</td>
<td>474024</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh</td>
<td>332238</td>
<td>433644</td>
<td>+31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish United Services Museum, Edinburgh</td>
<td>316824</td>
<td>330901</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Royal Scots Regimental Museum, Edinburgh</td>
<td>#300000</td>
<td>300000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palace of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh</td>
<td>291220</td>
<td>252343</td>
<td>-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh</td>
<td>179199</td>
<td>239155</td>
<td>+33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum of Childhood, Edinburgh</td>
<td>258038</td>
<td>235144</td>
<td>-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh</td>
<td>175491</td>
<td>228984</td>
<td>+30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh</td>
<td>160203</td>
<td>#164095</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh Crystal Visitor Centre, Penicuik</td>
<td>113371</td>
<td>140995</td>
<td>+24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tron Kirk Exhibition/Information Centre, Edinburgh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>132190</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotch Whiskey Heritage Centre, Edinburgh</td>
<td>128759</td>
<td>117541</td>
<td>-9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# - Estimated Figure
* - Located in Old Town of Edinburgh
Source: Scottish Tourist Board, 1995

It was estimated in 1990 that tourists contributed £300 million that year into the Lothian Regional economy, which accounts for 18.1% of the total tourist expenditure in Scotland in the same year. Despite the significance of these statistics and the continuing popularity of Edinburgh itself as a destination, the Region as a whole has undergone a relative decline since the mid 1980's (from...
attracting 59% of the total tourist expenditure in 1985), indicating a need in policy terms not to be complacent in terms of the ability to attract visitors. This is further confirmed by the overall growth rates as indicated in the KPMG/SDA 1989 study, of a 5% growth in overseas tourists in Edinburgh since 1980, as compared to 30% for the same figure for the UK as a whole. This is a common trend in established tourist attractions such as Edinburgh, which are now finding themselves subject to comparatively fiercer competition on a world-wide scale.

As recognised in the Literature Review (Chapter 2), tourism is vulnerable to external influences. For example, visitors from the USA, a relatively significant group in terms of visitors to Edinburgh, are highly dependent on the strength of the US$. As a result, the SDA study in 1989 stated:

"However, in such a `dynamic' market, Edinburgh must grow at least as fast as the market or it will lose its share and face the prospect of a decline in visitor numbers. A vicious circle then ensues as fewer tourists mean less revenue for the city and the trade, those employed in tourism start to look for more secure jobs, maintenance suffers and investment fails to keep pace, the quality of provision declines and leads to a further loss of visitors." (SDA, 1989, p.7)

The specific demands of tourists groups also influence the effectiveness of the city in managing and benefiting from the industry. Fielden, for instance relates the need to balance the artificial nature of the tourist industry with the real identity of a historic area in selectively addressing tourism development and planning:

"Edinburgh's tourist season is short and over dependent on the fickle American market which has different priorities from ours. A young American girl was doing Europe with her parents in three weeks and has spent three days in Britain - to see Buckingham Palace and the floral clock in Edinburgh: then off to the continent. There is intense competition between cities for the tourist trade. Some people in Edinburgh are now worrying that other cities, York or Bath for example, are presenting themselves more effectively. But if a city is civilised for its own citizens it is more likely to get the right sort of tourists and tourism should benefit the local people rather than international chains of hotels" (Fielden, 1990, p.14).

The Edinburgh Festival is regarded as a vital attraction of the city and region for tourists and day visitors. Annual audiences drawn to the festival are in excess of 1.3 million, 2000 jobs are created (1320 full time equivalents), £44 million tourist expenditure is generated. Its most significant
elements include the Tattoo, which earns £20 million from audiences of 200,000 per annum, the Festival which generates £10 million from audiences of 500,000, and the Fringe which accounts for a further £7 million in come from audiences of 245,000 annually (Scotinform, 1991). The festival further exacerbates the highly seasonal pattern which is well established in Edinburgh and the rest of Scotland - to a point where the city, and in particular the Old Town becomes highly congested during the period of the festival. Figure 3.11 illustrates the clustering of festival venues in the city centre and Old Town.

In response to some of these trends outlined above tourism planning in Edinburgh has assumed (a) a promotional approach, and (b) a strategic approach, the main thrust of which having been concerned with redistributing visitors through time to alleviate temporal imbalance. Both of these approaches are key elements of traditional tourism planning literature. In terms of the strategic context of tourism planning in the area, central government guidance relating to tourism in Scotland, Planning Advice Note No.5, “Planning for Sport, Outdoor Recreation and Tourism,” was produced in 1975 and has lost relevance through its outdated nature (the implications of this in terms of tourism within strategic planning has been discussed earlier). However, the importance of tourism for Scotland as a whole as underlined by the PAN, has not diminished since 1975 - the reverse is in fact true. The PAN outlines the role of both local government and non-governmental agencies in planning for tourism, although it is likely that reorganisation in 1996 will bring about renewed scrutiny of these roles. The PAN stressed the need for a coherent strategy, in order for planning to satisfactorily accommodate the growth in leisure and tourism. Furthermore, the PAN provides some clarification of the diffuse nature of tourism and leisure as a local authority function, and seeks to clarify the individual roles of respective local government departments, viewing this as the most important constituent of tourism planning.

Despite its considerable age, the beginnings of partnerships between the public and private sectors in tourism planning and development can be traced back to the 1975 PAN, where much of the interaction particularly between the STB and CCS with businesses is anticipated and encouraged. Much of the 1970's tourism and recreation planning research focused on the rural environment. The late 1970's also saw the development of tourism multiplier (Archer, 1973) and impact assessment research studies (see for instance Pearce, 1981), which were utilised at least in part in more detailed research relating to Edinburgh carried out at the end of the 1980's (e.g. KPMG, 1989).
Figure 3.11 Festival Venues in and around the Old Town of Edinburgh

A report entitled “Edinburgh: The Next Initiative”, funded by the SDA (now replaced by Scottish Enterprise) in 1989, considered the strengths and weaknesses of tourism in the city. This report, which has since been followed up by a review, identified the main weaknesses of Edinburgh as a tourist destination:

(i) The city was perceived by outsiders as being less exciting than the reality;
(ii) Interpretative facilities were poor, and as a result, the full heritage significance was neither accessible or appreciated;
(iii) A lack of investment in human resources was leading to a low standard of service provision;
(iv) High levels of congestion were a recurring problem;
(v) Marketing of the city was fragmented, resulting in the lack of a common and coherent message for potential visitors;
(vi) There was a relative lack of city pride on the part of its residents.

Edinburgh, in acting on such research, mainly in recognition of the increasing competition, has undertaken a number of new initiatives in order increase and diversify its attractiveness to visitors. Principal projects undertaken over the last few years include the refurbishment of the City Art Centre and the Fruitmarket Gallery in Market Street, and the provision of a new Festival Theatre. Construction is currently underway of an extension to the Museum of Scotland in Chambers Street - a building which is also intended to make a new contribution in architectural terms to the Old Town.

A further new attraction is planned for the currently derelict Scottish and Newcastle Brewery site at Holyrood, which has been gifted by the company to the city for that purpose. A master plan for the large site, which constitutes an opportunity of unprecedented scale in the Old Town, has been prepared, which as well as providing a mixed housing and commercial development, will be dominated by a showpiece new visitor attraction, the ‘William Younger Centre’. The centre, which will take on a predominantly environmental theme, is intended, being an indoor attraction, to help towards extending the currently limited season of tourists to Edinburgh. Furthermore, given its strongly educational theme, it is hoped that the centre will also extend the current visitor profile to younger age groups. Integration with the rest of the area is intended through extensive signposting and footpath provision where necessary.

The 1989 study was largely responsible for the founding of the Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust, which maintains the tourism planning in the area amongst its main objectives. Following on from this
earlier study, in March 1994 a report was made to the EOTRT and LEEL by EDAW CR Planning, entitled "The Impact of Tourism on the Old Town of Edinburgh." This project, part funded by the European Commission had the main aim of assessing "how to achieve and sustain tourism-related economic growth and social vitality in the Old Town." This report differed slightly from the 1989 study, in that it attempted to fill the gaps, mainly in the articulation of implementation measures, which the previous report lacked. The funding input of the European Community highlights the support at this level for the concept of sustainability and the continuing relative strength of environmental issues as a means of intervening in urban and regional planning at the local level.

In terms of more recent policy and guidance, the Scottish Tourist Board produced a strategic plan for tourism in Scotland in November 1994. The three key objectives arising from the plan of the Scottish Tourism Co-ordinating Group (STCG) which acts as a co-ordinator of the public bodies participating in tourism in the country, in association with the Convenor of the Scottish Tourism Forum which accounts for private sector input, are:

1. To create new facilities and improve existing ones.
2. To promote tourism in a more effective and co-ordinated way at all levels.
3. To enhance skills, including management skills.

Within the context of these objectives, specific targets were set to be achieved by the year 2000:

* Increase total visitor expenditure from £2090 million in 1993 to £2300 million (at 1993 prices).
* Increase the number of Bednights from 60.6 million in 1993 to 65.0 million.
* Increase the number of jobs from 171,000 in 1991 to 195,000.
* Increase expenditure from October to June from 56% in 1993 to 60%.
* Increase expenditure outwith Edinburgh/Glasgow from 71% in 1993 to 75%.
* Increase Scotland's share of UK domestic expenditure from 11.4% in 1993 to 13%.
* Improve visitor perceptions of Scotland.

In addition to this, the STB has made some attempt to take on board the implications of the sustainability agenda for tourism planning. A Task Force on Tourism and the Environment in Scotland was set up in 1992, which combined the efforts of the Scottish Tourist Board, Scottish Natural Heritage, Scottish Enterprise, Highlands and Islands Enterprise, Historic Scotland,
Convention of Scottish Local Authorities, Forest Authority, Scottish Sports Council, Scottish Office Industry Department, National Trust for Scotland, Scottish Landowners Federation, Scottish Wildlife and Countryside Link and an Area Tourist Board representative. The stated objectives of the Task Force were:

"...to increase environmental awareness throughout the tourism industry, to promote sensitive development and introduce mechanisms that anticipate and reduce the environmental impacts caused by the users and providers of tourist facilities." (Task Force, undated)

Much of the work of the Task Force to date has focused on the rural capital of Scotland, and in particular has been concerned with the environmental degradation of sensitive and unique natural areas. However, the wider tensions which exist between tourist growth and development and the conservation of the area which forms the attraction in the first place (i.e. the fundamental concern of capacity analysis) have become more prevalent within policy and guidance during the 1990’s. As a result, the Scottish tourist industry could be considered environmentally aware to a certain degree, although much of the participation in planning tourism in the country is led by coalitions of parties with a private interest in boosting numbers as the overriding concern. Not least of these non governmental participants is Scottish Enterprise itself and its respective LEC’s, the majority of the board members of which being from the private / business sector. The issue of conflicting interests particularly of strategic agencies involved in the development process as highlighted in the planning / conservation context previously, therefore has had a direct impact on tourism in the Old Town.

At the local level of policy making in Edinburgh planners continue to view the growth of tourism in the Old Town in a positive light. The Central Area Local Plan, for instance, fully appreciates in principle the tangible benefits which can be gained from tourism in terms of its contribution to conservation. However, in addition to the benefits, as drawn to the attention of planners in the city by previous studies, the problems associated with tourism have not gone unnoticed outwith the confines of policy making in the city. As Blackie pointed out in the early 1980’s:

"The traditional function, a place of historic character where people live and work, has almost been lost and is not far from becoming the tourist museum that Malcolm Rifkind warned about." (Blackie 1982, p.9)
In 1987 the EOTCCR commented on conflicts arising which threatened the continuing tourist and resident satisfaction of the area:

"Although tourism is economically important it must not be allowed to dominate life in the Old Town. Other development of tourist attractions could turn the whole area of the Old Town into a museum, or worse, a kind of Disneyland. The Committee is convinced of the importance of maintaining the rich traditional mix of activities - we welcome visitors to share our enjoyment of the history, architecture and culture of Edinburgh, but not to take it over. There are real conflicts between residents and tourism, as anyone who lives in Ramsay Garden will tell you" (EOTCCR, in CAN, No.31, 1987, p.43).

The Cockburn Association has also become increasingly aware of tourism within the Old Town having a detrimental impact on the quality of life of the area:

"When the Old Town is so full of charabancs in the summer that walking down the High Street ceases to be a pleasure; when useful local shops are driven from the Lawnmarket, despite a high resident population, by purveyors of woollies; when the local Guide Friday manager suggests that a High Street resident should live elsewhere if she does not like listening to his perpetual commentary on John Knox over the tannoy; and when residents' legitimate parking spaces are confiscated by the police during the tattoo without compensation, it is time to take stock of the demands made on the City by tourism" (Cockburn Association Newsletter, 1991, p.2).

This concern for tourism dominating land use in the area ties in with both the literature on the meaning of the historic city, and the debate about conservation stifling new architecture and creativity which has grown in the 1990's. The definition of the point at which a place's meaning is lost is central in defining capacity, but the same time is virtually impossible to quantify in anything more than perceptions of users. As a result, the importance of the Old Town resident population has continually been supported in principle at least:

"The principal danger to the Old Town has been a surrender to tourism and to tat, and the more residents who live in it to balance the distortions of visitors, the less abject the surrender will be. Conversely, visits to the Old Town have become much more satisfying since a living community and culture has begun to thrive." (McKean, 1991)
However, despite this wider recognition of the requirement of striking a balance between growth and its impact on the environment, the Central Area Local Plan remains equivocal on the subject, leaving detailed consideration of the issues to the Old Town Action Plan. The response to such concerns at the local level, however, is more apparent through consideration of the changing emphasis of the EOTRT's Action Plan for the Old Town. Whilst the first review of the plan, for instance, related a tourism strategy for the area based primarily on a number of promotion based policies (EOTRT, 1993, p.26), the second review moved towards proposing the preparation of a visitor management plan to combat environmental degradation which may be caused in the area by tourism, stating:

“If greater numbers of visitors are to be encouraged there is a danger that without active management, pressures of numbers could cause degradation of the environment and facilities and conflicts between visitors and the host community. A visitor management plan will be developed during the next year. One of the aims of this plan will be to achieve a balance between the needs of residents and workers in the Old Town and the demands of visitors” (EOTRT, 1994, p.34).

It is anticipated by the 1994 study that a more innovative approach to tourism in the city, will go some way towards remedying any cliched ideas which were identified in the 1989 Tourism Review, as being a main barrier to improvement of the city as a tourist destination. Following from earlier awareness of slowing growth rates, the study advised that growth would need to come in line with the national standard in order for the city to compete on an even basis. The study also dealt with the reliance of the city on visitors originating from the US owing to their vulnerability to external disincentives to travel which was discussed earlier. The study identified the following key issues relating to tourism in the city:

* Heavy traffic on the Royal Mile, with little accommodation for pedestrians;
* Coach parking on the Esplanade;
* Insufficient off street parking for residents, business users and visitors, with the result of a heavy reliance on on-street, parking which brings its own problems;
* No transit service combined with limited and unaided pedestrian access;
* No castle-palace linkage which is required for continuity in combination with punctuation points;
* Little signage and interpretation;
* Inappropriate architecture of post war buildings;
* Under-utilised buildings and sites;
Limited retail provision for residents and visitors alike.

This list emphasises the centrality of issues of planning and sustainability to the tourist economy in the Old Town, and implicitly introduces the idea of capacity. Traffic levels and parking are a problem both in terms of exceeding capacity and having insufficient public transport back-up. Legibility of the area is likely to have less direct capacity implications - for example exacerbating pedestrian congestion/concentration and reducing positive visitor perceptions of the area. The lack of appropriate retail provision and inappropriate land use are further dimensions again relating to the kind of questions addressed capacity analysis.

Following from the growing recognition of sustainability, one of the most recent documents relating to tourism policy in the Old Town was produced by the Edinburgh Tourism Initiative Partnership, which aims to co-ordinate the previously fragmented interests of the various relevant non-governmental organisations. Suggesting a strategy based on widening the geographical distribution of tourist activity through the provision of new attractions in more peripheral locations and at quieter times of the year, the Partnership's Report states:

"...there is the issue of overall carrying capacity of the city and its communities and their ability to welcome visitors and handle their needs. At present this is perceived as a localised and geographical problem. Thus the Partners are working to encourage visitors to see more of Edinburgh's attractions." (ETIP, 1995, p.25)

In summary, whilst growth has been the overriding aim of tourism planning in Edinburgh, there has more recently been an increasing recognition of conflicts which it brings about for the area. This thesis aims to consider the implications of such growth in terms of the future of the Old Town and is using capacity analysis as defined in the previous chapter as a means of quantifying this idea. Initiatives to date have clearly considered the findings of previous reports, although much of the response has been through diversified but still continuing growth of tourism, as opposed to any more radical responses limiting tourist numbers in answer to some of the issues identified particularly by the 1994 study as nearing capacity.

This changing emphasis in tourism planning relating to the Old Town in part reflects the changing remit of planning and increasing participation of new actors in urban development which has characterised planning in the UK. The 1990's could be considered to be bringing about a new
interaction between the various participants in the process, with the model of a multi sectoral, yet geographically focused agency at the local level proving an important element of such an approach in the Edinburgh case.

The case study illustrates how the traditional development plan has been superseded in terms of planning for tourism by a series of consultancy and working party reports, ranging from the PIEDA study in the mid 1980's which focused on economic growth, through a more balanced view undertaken by KPMG / SDA in 1989, culminating in the Edinburgh Tourism Initiative Partnership Report (1995) which emphasises the growing importance of the sustainability agenda. The Action Plan for the Old Town has also proven both flexible and timely enough to take on board the changing emphasis on tourism policy making.

The following conclusions aim to bring together the key themes of tourism planning, conservation and the underlying changing nature of the planning system, prior to suggesting key issues which this raises for the urban capacity analysis carried out in the Old Town.

3.6 Conclusions: Issues for Capacity Analysis in Edinburgh

The role of the Old Town has changed through the years in relation to the rest of the city, and this is reflected in the changing land use within the area. Industry has moved outwards from the centre, and the population having declined for some time, has more recently grown again. The Old Town continues to play a role as the centre of a capital city. Three major hospitals (one soon to be relocated) can be found within the Central Area Local Plan's boundaries. Higher education also constitutes a major land use, with concerns for the implications of this having being alleviated when much of Heriot Watt University was relocated to its Riccarton Campus on the outskirts of the city in more recent years. Ancient legal institutions and local and regional government headquarters also occupy several often principal buildings in the area.

The overall trends in urban development, led by the retail sector, towards decentralisation to sites on the edges of cities of the late 1980's / early 1990's, together with improved access following the construction of the city bypass, has shifted the focus in Edinburgh of development to large areas on the western side of the city for both retail use followed by business use. The accompanying requirement for housing in such areas has also occurred more recently. Amongst such developments, a large area to the south west of the city has been proposed for mixed development, which is intended
to link in with existing settlements and public transport in order to justify peripheral development in terms of its sustainability. Functions of both the New Town, in terms of business use which has moved to the new peripheral business park, and institutional use in the case of the Royal Infirmary relocating to a site at Little France on the southern edge of the city have led to a new emphasis in the identity of the centre of the city which will have to be addressed through policy and development in the future. This decentralisation has and continues to create new development opportunities and disused sites and buildings in the Old Town, adding to the need for a comprehensive analysis of the area’s capacity to be undertaken.

In viewing the changing role of the Old Town in more recent years, a hypothetical model of planning, against which Prague can be compared, begins to emerge. Important features include an increasingly deregulated planning system, the increasingly important role of the private sector in tandem with public sector disempowerment, and the emphasis on public private partnerships and non governmental bodies in facilitating and regulating development activity in the city. In addition, a history of support for conserving the Old Town has characterised planning activity, with a range of civic and amenity groups (in particular the Cockburn Association) being fundamental actors within this. In summarising the evolution of conservation in Edinburgh it is possible to view changes in the city reflected in policy which run in parallel to wider trends in planning, despite constant significance of the city as a national capital with an extraordinary built inheritance. The development of conservation as a national planning concern is reflected in the policy making which has related to the Old Town over the years and has influenced the status of the area in relation to the wider city as a whole. New development in historic areas has been a consistently controversial issue in the city given the extensively historic nature of its built fabric, and more recently a critique of pastiche architecture and facadism has gained in importance.

Tourism is a well established function of the Old Town, although for some time now its negative effects have increasingly been highlighted by a range of participants in the development process of the city. Amongst common threats perceived in the Old Town, the distortion of the city’s image and loss of original meanings and functions, congestion and overcrowding, loss of retail amenity and overall incompatibility of tourism with quality of life for its residents have been highlighted over the years. Despite this recognition, however, planning for tourism in the city has continued to aspire to maintaining growth in tourist numbers. Some selectivity has entered the decision making process through efforts to disperse tourism in the area both in terms of spatial and temporal features.
Evaluative reports commissioned for the city have sought to maximise economic gain from tourism, but have not specifically focused on the concept of assessing levels of capacity.

The Old Town of Edinburgh, as well as the rest of the central area, has long been recognised in planning policy as being an important historic and architectural area worthy of special treatment. Each historic city in Europe, like Edinburgh, is shaped by a wide range of factors, including institutional, political, social and economic features. Trends in planning have followed as a direct result of national trends relating to each of these aspects. Often this has been manifested in the built environment, with local policy often following broader trends such as the need to construct housing in the post war period to compensate for the acute housing shortage of the time, modernism in the 1960's, the growing conservationist movement in the 1970's, as well as the issues following from global restructuring of industry and internationalisation of the market place since the 1980's. The constant historic nature of the centre of Edinburgh's built assets, however, has been supported relatively consistently throughout the post war period.

The overview of the changing nature of planning in the UK, and its implications for tourism and conservation in areas like the Old Town highlight a further dimension for consideration alongside the results of the capacity analysis. The degree to which fragmentation of sectoral responsibility has affected co-ordination of tourism and conservation is, for instance important. The changing role of the development plan and the growing reliance on supplementary policy and guidance at the local level also questions the impact which the declining strategic tier of planning is likely to have on the issues of concern and opportunity. The importance of civic groups and societies and the implications that this has for ownership and meaning of the conserved historic built environment is a further feature of interest which has been highlighted. As a result, it is anticipated that the implications of this underlying framework will be highlighted by the results of the capacity analysis in the area, and also through comparison of the results with those for Prague.

Despite policy recognition of the area's worth, however, the Old Town has only recently become a place of high quality living environment having had an erratic history of poverty, substandard living conditions and related depopulation. Edinburgh as a whole has nevertheless been cushioned to a certain degree from the difficulties which the reliance on heavy industry and its collapse during the 1980's of many cities has brought about. The traditionally white collar nature of the industrial / business sector of the city has at the same time withstood further trends towards globalisation, with
many places as a result, particularly in the rest of Scotland, relying on multinational companies for investment.

Traffic and the constraints of the historic street pattern and compact nature of the city centre have also played a key role in influencing the location of development in the city. The relative inaccessibility of the centre in terms of the car, together with more specific limitations faced by historic buildings in accommodating businesses in the high tech 1990's has meant that Edinburgh, and the New Town in particular, has had to face the need for a new role in the light of overall decentralising trends in the city. The Old Town, on the other hand, has traditionally performed the role of accommodating institutional and residential uses, both of which, to a greater or lesser degree have remain fairly constant. The Old Town further has a strong tradition as the focus of tourist activity, which continues to expand.

As a result, Edinburgh, like many other European historic cities which share the same influences of global restructuring, are turning to tourism as a means of securing their future use and prosperity. Unlike Prague, and the other cities of central and eastern Europe, however, the growing importance of tourism as a function of the city centre has been a gradual process, as opposed to an overnight escalation the effects of which would be expected to be more immediately apparent. In the case of the Old Town, the effects and impact of tourism will be assessed in Chapter 6, with analysis focusing on whether this more natural evolution of historic related tourism in the city has equipped Edinburgh with greater ability to accommodate tourist activity and related development in its Old Town.
Chapter 4
Planning, Conservation and Tourism in Prague

4.1 Introduction

This chapter, although aiming to compare the historical and administrative background of planning in Prague with that of Edinburgh, will assume a degree of autonomy in relating the unique complexities of the current transitionary period which characterises the Czech planning system and development in the city of Prague.

The discussion of planning in Edinburgh identified key issues which characterise the relationship between conservation and tourism within the Old Town. The changing nature of the historic city in western Europe explored in the literature review, is illustrated in the case of Edinburgh through the nature of the social structure of the Old Town, transport problems and solutions being explored, changing land use in the area etc. In Edinburgh the nationwide changes in planning over the last decade are manifested in the local approaches to these issues, with a shift away from public control in favour of the market, the role of public private partnerships and community involvement and input from active conservation bodies with a strong element of public and political support.

More specific features of the city in terms of its tourist market were also outlined, together with their impact on the area. The Edinburgh Festival was seen as an important element of this, for example, due to both its positive effects and the problems of tourism which it exacerbated through its concentration in time. This chapter therefore illustrates overall issues and opportunities for the historic city and the unique features of the city itself. In this context, the extent to which Prague's experiences vary will now be considered, and the influence of the differences in the planning system will also be explored in explaining different outcomes in the two cities.

Chapter 2 underlined the shared problems and opportunities of historic cities in western Europe. The harmonisation of planning systems has not been totally ruled out although it is likely that a European wide system of the future would maintain the features of each of the states concerned as opposed to streamline them into a homogenous system. Notwithstanding this, the continuing growth in
importance of the European aspect for planning will be impacted in turn by the future role of the former socialist states of east central Europe. At the centre of this relationship are those states which are at present making the most rapid progress towards full membership of the European Community - Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic.

The changes which began with the fall of the state in each of these countries in 1989, after four decades of communist rule, will have a profound impact on the structure of Europe in the future, as well as significant repercussions on a global scale. The management of these changes at the local level is therefore an important issue.

European planning has taken up a number of dominant themes over the past decade. The Czech Republic - along with other potential EU members of the former eastern bloc countries, will have to develop an understanding of these issues, as well as be able to meet an increasing number of more quantitative standards, in order to participate and compete in the New Europe. As defined in the literature review, this agenda for cities in the Europe of the future includes the role of city based regions, competition at the European and global level between these regions, networking between functionally (rather than geographically) related cities, place marketing and image promotion. The particularly rapid economic changes in the Czech Republic since 1989, and the impact these changes may have on the built environment of Prague, indicate an urgent need for the east to look to the west in reforming its planning system. In considering the future of the historic city in the CEE countries, factors influencing its development should first be considered in order to understand more fully the nature of the historic fabric. The following section outlines key periods in the development of Prague in establishing the city's historical context and meaning attached to the built environment in particular of the historic core.

4.2 The Historical Development of the Built Environment of Prague

It is thought that people first inhabited the Prague area around 27000BC, although buildings have only been traced back as far as around 4000 BC. The area was later occupied by Slav tribes which united to form an early feudal state around the 9th and 10th centuries which eventually became the Great Moravian Empire. Prague castle was founded in 870 AD by Price Bofivoj, followed by VyŠehrad in the 10th century, with Prague gaining full city rights in the 13th century.
The Old Town on the right bank of the River Vltava grew up within the town walls which were established in around the 13th century. The main period of growth came under Charles IV, who became King in 1333. Charles's strong sense of heritage and cosmopolitan upbringing ensured the city enjoyed peaceful and prosperous times, with the expansion of trade networks, the founding of the first university in central Europe and ever strengthening ecclesiastical power. Now known as the "Golden Age" of the city, Prague became the centre of the Holy Roman Empire (Charles IV being Emperor), at this time being the third largest city in Europe, only after Rome and Istanbul, with a population of 40,000 in 1348. A settlement on the left bank of the Vltava had been founded which was later known as “Mala Strana” (the Lesser Quarter). During Charles IV’s reign, this expansion continued, and the New Town was founded alongside the Old Town in the mid 14th century. Charles brought German craftsmen to improve the artistic value of the environment on a large scale. Kansky (1976) outlines development of urban areas in the Czech lands during the late 13th century:

"Because of their increasing wealth, most of the towns were able to improve their building stock by constructing additional houses and by erecting monumental buildings of great architectural beauty. Their accessibility had also been advanced significantly. New roads were built so that all major towns were connected with each other, and thus their individual productive and service functions were balanced and complemented according to their individual and common needs.”

(p.21)

The power of the church in the city and Bohemia reached a crisis point following Charles's death, when his successor, Václav, was unable to sustain the skilful and strong rule of his father. The increased influence of the Church, and concurrent growth in debauchery, petty theft and alcoholism amongst the clergy stirred reformers to speak out. Jan Hus, the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University preached at the Bethlehem Chapel and throughout the city against the material values and riches of the church. Hus was burned at the stake in 1415, and became the first martyr of the Reformation. The Hussite Wars (1419 - 1435) were instigated by widespread rioting of the Prague people, and therefore centred on the city. The First Defenestration of Prague, an occasion when several councillors were ejected from the windows of the town hall, and the death of Václav provided catalysts for the wars, during which the Czech “heretics” were the subject of a crusade sent by the Pope himself. As the Hussites were divided between the radical reformers (and ‘Taborites’) and more moderate ‘Utraquists’, the Catholics gained the eventual support of the Utraquists, and defeated the Taborites at the Battle of Lipany.
The end of the war saw the continuing power struggle between Czechs and Germans for dominance in the region. The Utraquists were allowed one King (George of Podebrady), followed by a short period of Polish rule, before the time of Austrian domination began, which continued from the 15th to the 19th centuries. The main influence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on the growth of Prague was the building of Baroque Palaces, churches and facades on a grand scale. Specially commissioned Italian architects dominated the architectural scene, being responsible for the elegant Vadlstejn Palace (begun in 1621), and the Černín Palace (1669-89). This was later replaced by a wave of French classicism, and the Viennese Court Architects were responsible for the remodelling of Prague Castle between 1716 and 1790. The Czechs were strictly controlled from the Viennese centred Austrian rulers, and felt the full effects of the controls brought about as a result of the Counter-Reformation. All Protestantism was strongly suppressed, and witch hunts throughout Bohemia were rife - as a result the period following the thirty years war during the 17th century became known to the Czechs as the dark ages. The Czech language was strongly suppressed and the German aristocracy and Catholic church dominated native Czechs. However, Maria Theresa became Queen, in the mid 18th century, and this marked the beginning of better times for the Czech lands, which were strengthened by her son Joseph II. A new freedom of worship emerged during this time, Jews were no longer restricted within the Empire and serfdom was abolished (Čornej, 1992).

Kain (1981) underlined the extensive reconstruction which the monarchy's bureaucracy brought about during the first half of the nineteenth century, together with the general stagnation of town systems during the 17th and 18th centuries. The Habsburgs also dismantled former military fortifications and town walls as they no longer appeared to have a use, replacing them with streets and copious areas of open space.

The Industrial revolution engendered a new national Czech consciousness (known as the narodno obrozeni) through the growth of the urban proletariat. The flourishing economy meant that Bohemia became the jewel in the crown of the Habsburg's empire, particularly due to its glass industry which was renowned on a European scale, combined with its strong textile, coal and iron industries. National awareness was strengthened further by the revival of Czech literature and music with composers such as Smetana and Dvořák. František Palacký led this revival in national pride. He wrote extensively about the history of the nation and at the Slav Congress, in 1848 he demanded the dividing of the Austro-Hungarian Empire into a federation of states, although not its absolute dissolution. This had been instigated by the revolutionary uprisings which spread across Europe to the German speaking world from France, and Palacký was supported by rioting radicals and
students on the streets of Prague. Although not resulting in the removal of Habsburg rule, 1848 can be seen as the beginning of the end for the Austrian rule of the Czech Lands. Czech identity was allowed to be manifested by symbolic buildings such as the national theatre and museum and the Rudolfinum. Tomas Masaryk emerged as a leading political light in support of Czech nationalism at around the turn of the century and the Czech language became equal to German.

The resurrection of Czech identity fostered a renewed support for the long tradition of Czech interest in planning and architecture. An example of an early competition for a town plan in the city of Hradec Králové in Eastern Bohemia dates back as early as 1884. Czech planning during this period was heavily influenced by German and Austrian influences (Hague and Prior 1991). At the turn of the century within Prague, the Jewish town (Josefov) in the historic core of the city was comprehensively redeveloped save a few important religious buildings, in an effort to address the problems of the slum conditions and overcrowding. The old area with its strong community roots was replaced with elegant art nouveau buildings, and a new wide boulevard (Pařížská) formed part of a new simplified road layout replacing much of the original medieval street pattern of the area and fundamentally altering the overall character of the former ghetto.

The new Czechoslovak Republic was formed on 28 October 1918, with Masaryk as its first president. At the beginning of the New Republic Czechoslovakia was the tenth most industrialised country in the world (Benson, 1993, p.17). After the country had established itself as a nation in its own right, interest grew in the principles of the garden city movement, Unwin visited Prague in the 1920’s and Howard’s book was translated into Czech. Zlin, the “town amongst gardens”, was built in 1920 in association with the Bata shoe factory and a garden suburb was planned for Prague (Musil et al, 1984, p.315; Hague and Prior, 1991). Planning took on a range of popular planning concepts of the time:

“Because Bohemia and Moravia were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Germany was an influential neighbour, the direct impact of Howard and his supporters before the First World War was mixed with the influence of German examples or with the German Transformation of English ideas.” (Musil et al, 1984, p.314)

Prague again became the cultural and political capital of the nation, and in addition to interests in innovative concepts of town planning at the time, there was a period only now recognised as one of
the most innovative periods in European architecture inspired by the Bauhaus and Cubist movements.

This was compounded by the continuing problem of the Sudenten Germans, and the demands of Hitler of possession of the region in 1938. Prague, refused this, but later conceded and handed over the Sudenten to Germany in an effort to avert the Second World War. Masaryk's successor, Beneš, resigned from the government and went into exile in London. The Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was set up in 1939, and the systematic persecution of its Jewish population began, whilst Slovakia became the industrial centre of the Reich manufacturing war goods. The Czech Universities and all other institutes of higher education were closed in 1939 following student uprisings against the Nazis. The Czechs felt the fury of the Nazis during the occupation when Reinhard Heydrich, the ruler of the Protectorate was assassinated in Prague by the Czech resistance, and the entire population of Lidice was executed. After that, the Czechs were forced into submission until the uprising of 1945 when German troops were held at bay outside Prague, with the Czechs unaided by the Americans at the nearby town of Plzen. The Germans finally surrendered and the Russians subsequently entered Prague.

The Second World War was followed by a violent backlash against Germans, who were later entirely expelled from the country. Beneš took up rule of the country following his return from exile in 1945. In the 1946 elections the communists won 37.9% of votes allowing for a coalition to be formed with the Socialists. Gottwald took over as Prime Minister and, following a coup in 1948, all non-communists in the government were forced to resign. The sinister beginnings of the single party rule of the country were when Masaryk's son, who had refused to resign, was found dead below the window of the foreign ministry. Beneš later resigned, allowing Gottwald to become President following the forming of a new constitution for the newly centralised people's democratic republic. The Stalinist show trials of 1952 contributed greatly to the loss of the idealistic shine of communism which had prevailed in the country in the years immediately following the war. Although the communists were Czechs, the structure of the Party ensured conformity to Moscow.

In short, the history of Prague is of a rich and varied nature, and this in turn has been reflected in the layering of historical periods of development which make the historic centre of the city culturally and architecturally unique. Prague's wealth as a centre for trading and its central European position at the cross roads of a number of ancient trading routes were at the foundations of the continuing wealth which contributed towards the area's particularly rich and high quality built environment.
The fortunate history of the area has also meant that much of the historic built fabric has remained intact, the result being a unique environment which encapsulates many of the qualities which typify the contemporary European historic city. Hammersley and Westlake define the legacy of this which remains today:

"The major factor of the tourist attraction of central Prague is the continued existence of so many ancient buildings and spaces. Apart from a Hausmann-style redevelopment of the city walls and parts of Josefov in the later 19th century, the central area has remained largely untouched by the erosion of heritage experienced by cities in Western Europe. It is likely that the absence of ‘capital city’ pressures in the 19th century saved many buildings from, redevelopment then. Thankfully, Prague was protected in the early 20th century by the new Czechoslovak Republic instituted rudimentary forms of conservation control rather than embarking upon the building of a new capital city on top of the old. Neither of the World Wars wrought much damage on the city: geographic position meant that Germany was virtually defeated before Prague became the focus of hostile action.” (1995, p.4).

4.3 Planning and Development in Prague during the Communist Regime

The immediate post war period was formed, in planning terms, by the 1949 Town Planning and Development Act, which was later replaced by the 1958 Act. Chapter Two outlined the Marxist principles of Soviet influenced planning, including land nationalisation, collectivism, limiting commercial activity, and a lack of market influences on land use planning. Following these principles, although having strong links to economic planning, the 1958 Act defined physical planning as being separate from economic planning, with the role of physical planners being to implement the objectives of economic planners by way of spatial organisation (Hague and Prior, 1991 p.20). Development plans under communism were expected to relate to the economic five year plans. As Hague and Prior observed however:

"Rather than integration of physical and economic plans, there was a dualism. Frequent changes in the economic plans effectively made them unreliable one-year plans. Extrapolation of these economic forecasts for the preparation of physical development plans was a long process, beset by bureaucratic hurdles. Thus economic planning complicated, even undermined the physical planning process. The socialist ideal of an integrated planning system was officially proclaimed, but in practice physical plans lacked authority and credibility” (1991, p. 20).
Matouskova also described how relating the physical plans to the economic plans "was never possible to realise in practice as the economic plans were realistic in a shorter perspective than the physical plan demanded" (Matouskova, 1991, p.5).

Pavinleck also recognised the ineffectiveness of development plans during communism as a result of their low level status in comparison to industrial priorities:

"Regional plans have not played a very important role in Czechoslovakia, because they have been totally subordinated to sectoral planning aims...The regional planning authorities did not have effective policy implementation instruments which could influence the behaviour of state owned factories in particular regions. They could not influence plans which were determined from the centre and these were drawn up without sufficient knowledge of the needs and suggestions from the regions" (Pavlinek, 1992, p.364).

Physical plans for the city of Prague in the post war period were produced in 1954-58, 1961-64, 1975 and 1986. Many other towns never had an approved plan due to the complicated and centralised nature of the process for formulating plans. Matouskova relates how many of the plans held their value only on an analytical and informative level, as opposed to more prescriptive role for which they were intended and which plans in western Europe have come to represent. Amongst work carried out for the plans, extensive analysis of historical areas and buildings were amongst the most useful and remain so today in documenting the historic built fabric. This was not, however, followed by a strong policy relating to findings, rendering the plans at best instructive as opposed to forming an active tool for planners. Plans did not deal directly with either sociological or ecological concerns.

Meanwhile, the institutional context continued to change. After the death of Gottwald, only a few days after his hero, Stalin, the Czechoslovak Republic was governed briefly by Zapotocky until Novotny eventually took over as President in 1957. A further new constitution was devised in 1960, when the former "Peoples' Republic" noticeably became a "Socialist Republic". Under these changes the Slovaks were still denied self government. The new economic strategy was based almost one sidedly on the growth of heavy industry. Over the following few years the Party reformers managed to assert themselves to such an extent that Novotny was forced to resign in 1968 to make way for Svoboda, a former war hero as President, Dubček as Party Leader, and Cernick, an economic specialist, as head of government.
Together the new leaders sought to win back the trust of the people of the CSR through economic reforms, guaranteeing human rights, federalising the Republic and acknowledging the rights of minorities. This was known as the Prague Spring which was summed up as “Socialism with a Human Face”. However, these radical reforms caused the Soviet Union to fear the break away of the country from the eastern bloc, and together with the pressure from Berlin and Warsaw who began to feel threatened, and fearing that others might follow the Czech example, felt compelled to intervene. The Prague Spring ended on August 20-21 August when Soviet tanks and troops moved in and forced the cancelling of most of the reforms, leaving only the federalisation of the states. The CSSR was created in 1969 which came under stricter Soviet control than other central and eastern European countries. Increasing economic difficulties followed which did little to ease the resentment of the people, despite attempts to modernise industry.

The reorganisation of business and industry, through closing or amalgamating many smaller businesses which had existed prior to the war in order to make way for the new large state enterprises, reshaped the economic base of the country. As a result, the development plans of the 1960's planned the decentralisation of many businesses and industries from their traditional locations, often in the inner urban areas of Prague, to sites on the edges of the city in order to accommodate the increased demands for space dictated by the size of state enterprises, as well as to alleviate congestion in the city centre (French and Hamilton, 1979). At the same time, however, a further legacy of the communist regime was the lack of a speculative property development industry, which in turn indirectly protected historic areas from market pressure.

The late nineteen sixties saw the same transport led phase of land use planning as in many other European countries, including the UK. The limited growth in personal car ownership led to a different approach to that put forward elsewhere, although resulting in similar outcomes. For instance, a revised plan in 1969 advocated the priority of pedestrians over traffic in Prague, with proposals for underground routes for traffic to facilitate this aim which were never implemented. Ideas of pedestrian-vehicular segregation also formed an important part in the planning involved in the construction of new towns in the UK. In Prague a new underground was constructed to improve access to the city centre and alleviate traffic problems, the first section of which was completed in 1974 (French and Hamilton, 1979). Traffic management in the historic centre, like in the UK, was heavily influenced by the rising importance of the private car, resulting in plans for a central ring road enclosing the historic centre.
The planning system, like the rest of society during communism was hampered by the bureaucratic and corrupt nature of its administration. The result was inefficient practice of planning which has left a legacy of problems which continue to characterise the city:

"Activities of the socialist state were highly centralised, with a concentration of governmental offices and ministries in Prague, the federal and Czech capital. Universities, research institutes and culture are concentrated in Prague as well...Even though its growth has been controlled during the postwar period, Prague suffers from industrial and traffic congestion that contributes to its poor physical environment. Prague is a very attractive city for migrants but is unable to meet an increasing demand for housing, thus creating severe shortages. As a result of these processes, the quality of life in Prague has deteriorated" (Pavlinek, 1992, p.369)

A further problem which continually characterised the post war period was a shortage in housing which became an important source of public dissatisfaction, an enduring issue which remained important throughout communist times. In the earliest stages of communist rule (up to the mid 1950's) construction of new housing continued to be carried out through provision of traditional stock by the state sector at relatively high levels of new construction and mainly consisted of two room dwellings. The high levels of industrialisation in the late 1950's fostered considerable social change and high rates of migration into urban areas further exacerbated housing shortages in these areas (Kansky, 1976). This is a typical feature of the soviet dominated city which was common in the central and east European socialist states, as outlined in Chapter 2 (pp.33-35). The existing mainly 19th century housing stock in cities proved unsuitable for accommodating workers, as Turner et al outline:

"..the dissatisfaction of city dwellers with living in buildings erected in the last century grew and a period commenced in which the consequences of the long term neglect of maintenance of the older housing stock emerged: pre war consequences of the economic crisis, no investment in housing during the war, housing policy wholly oriented towards new construction." (Turner et al, 1992, p.50)

Shortages and the lack of suitability of existing stock combined to act as a further catalyst for new housing development on the periphery of the cities. The suburbs of Prague, in their intense organisation and total break with historical built form, are a clear example of what was termed by
the communists as the NUS (New Unit of Settlement), with building largely through prefabricated blocks imported from the USSR. Large state industries dominated the development of housing and had a direct and pervasive influence on its form. From 1980, planning laws protecting high quality agricultural land from development limited peripheral sites available for new development and many of the housing schemes were built in accordance with high density requirements of 400 persons per hectare (Hague and Prior 1991). Construction techniques were restricted to the use of prefabricated units, "The type of housing was determined by the national plan for the building materials industry which decreed standardised production of panel housing systems" (Hague and Prior 1991). This in turn required the use of extensive and totally cleared sites, as opposed to the already built up nature of the historic city centre. As a result, the focus of development shifted away from such areas to the outskirts of cities as result of the dominance of the Soviet influence construction industry, adding to the neglect and low priority afforded to the case study area during this time.

During the mid to late 1960's in the more relaxed political climate prior to the Prague Spring the use of co-operatives to build housing grew and had at that point the highest construction rates of new housing, which were maintained until the velvet revolution. By the 1960's however, growth rates in housing provision levelled off, with inefficiencies in the system and demolition slowing down the process, resulting in Prague slowing down to a rate of new construction which was significantly lower than the national average (Franěk, 1979). In addition to exterior appearances of housing schemes and the poor quality of the peripheral estates' living environment, internally the principle of the minimised living space also had a profound impact on the quality and choice of accommodation available (Kansky, 1976). Housing co-operatives formed an important source of residential development in addition to that of the state itself despite their relatively being at odds with the desired totalitarian controls.

By the 1980's the provision of new state housing had ceased completely as a result of economic problems. By the end of 1990 a deficit of 307,600 dwellings in the former Czechoslovakia existed (Turner et al, 1992, p.55). This overall deficit was in turn more pronounced as a result of the uneven natural in spatial terms of development in communist times - the greatest difficulties were (and persist) in urban areas where labour and industry demanded its workforce lived, in contrast to the surplus in rural areas. In Prague as in other large communist cities, there was under urbanisation and commuting substituted for urban housing provision.
Planning during communist times was an activity which was permeated with political and ideological principles. The detailed aims of these principles in town planning terms are discussed more fully in the following section. In more general terms, the lack of objectivity in planning during this time is clear. The legal status of plans was used, for instance, to regulate private house building in the few cases it was considered possible by citizens, virtually starving the private sector of development opportunities and thus maintaining public reliance on state and co-operative housing provision. Whilst powers were in theory afforded to planners at the local level, in practice, these authorities were tightly controlled at the central level, mainly through lack of fiscal autonomy, as outlined by Bird and Wallich:

"Some form of local government structure had of course existed in most of the transition economies under the socialist regime. However, the fiscal system of this regime was essentially unitary, with local governments being little more than administrative units or 'departments' of the centre, with no independent fiscal or legislative responsibility. Policy making was controlled and centralised and local government had virtually no independent tax or expenditure powers -part of a larger picture in which the budget itself was seen only as the handmaiden of the plan." (1994, p.265)

Town planning during the 1970's changed little from the system which was originally established in the earlier post Stalinist years. This was all the more true in the case of conservation, where historic areas were overlooked, the focus of construction being consistently at the city edges. During the 1980's some reforms began to slowly change the system in eastern Europe, although the former Czechoslovakia was slower than most of its neighbours to respond as strong Soviet direction still pervaded the politics of the country.

In 1977 Civil Rights campaigners devised Charter 77, led by Václav Havel, Jiri Hajek and Jan Patocka. This was a programme of democratisation for the country and was followed by around another fifty similar documents which opposed single party rule. This continuing opposition to the government became openly acknowledged in 1988, dissident groups united to form a Civic Forum in 1989. This, together with events elsewhere in eastern and central Europe leading to peaceful daily mass rallies forced the resignation of Milos Jakes (the communist Party General Secretary on the 24th November), and led to the communist party no longer having a majority in the government, and on the 29th of December 1989 Václav Havel became the new head of state. The new CSFR was created on 19 March 1990.
The Development of Conservation as a Planning Issue in the Czech Republic and its influence on the case study area of the historic centre of Prague

The conservation movement which was developing in eighteenth century Europe was also important to the Czech Republic. The country was keen to reassert its identity after the turn of the twentieth century in particular, after the restrictive time of the Habsburg domination and Austro Hungarian Empire. The Habsburgs, for instance in the 17th Century had restricted tenancy on important cultural monuments to stifle feelings of nationalism, including Hradčany itself. Even earlier than that, after the counter-reformation, Jesuits sought to disguise gothic churches which had associations with the Hussite movement, through adding extensive Baroque facades. A relatively progressive view of architecture has long been considered a key feature of Czech aesthetic planning. Together with the diversity and richness of its artistic and architectural heritage, this has influenced the unique townscape which exists today in as vital a way as conserving that heritage itself.

The pervasive nature of socialist rule was manifested in planning and development in the Czech Republic, resulting in both positive and negative influences on the built environment. In terms of its positive impact, the city in the Czech Republic was subjected to more limited pressure for change compared to its western counterparts. The result has influenced the continuing historic value of many historic towns and cities including the centre of Prague:

"What about socialist urban design? Moscow, East Berlin, Warsaw, Prague, Volgograd, Khabarovsk, Tashkent, Leningrad, Beijing, Shanghai, Canton, Havana? These are all different cities with different histories, but they share a general sense of stability, quietude, limits and boundaries, well planted and maintained, grey because of muted communication, tidy but sterile to western vision, yet relaxing to over-communicated westerners. Socialist cities and cultures seem little if any, more respectful of nature than capitalist cities." (Eckbo, in Dix and Nelson Tarn, 1985, p.225)

The unique quality and sense of 'wholeness' which permeates the city of Prague is perhaps due to the fact that it is the most untouched capital city in Europe today. The extensive and remarkably intact historic centre was fortunate throughout the two world wars to escape the bombings which were the cause of so much devastation in most other cities throughout Europe. Even the Jewish
Quarter survived the Nazi occupation, as the monuments which remained were used for Hitler's propaganda as a museum of an "extinct race".

Following the 1958 Act in Territorial Planning, the Heritage Preservation Act was passed in the same year which allowed for monument preservation in "Town Heritage Areas" (Maier, 1994, p.38). The new law brought in listing powers for buildings which were nationally significant, aesthetically and architecturally typical of their period, or that portrayed, or were associated with, an important part of history. The progressive attitude towards architecture in general, is also reflected in the rejection of reconstruction as a part of conservation. This distinguishes the Czech Republic from its neighbours, notably Poland, where whole towns have been reconstructed. The Czechs, preferring the more demanding linkage of new and old, have such high standards that Prague still lacks a town hall, after it was bombed in the second world war, as four international competitions have not produced a suitable solution for development. This situation of conflict between the requirements of progress and the need to conserve the historic city echoes the situation in Edinburgh during the post war years as discussed more fully in Chapter 3.

In 1973, the 1958 Act was replaced by a new Law for the Protection of Historical Objects of Cultural Value (Carter, 1981, p.13). This emphasised the need for conservation and continuing use of buildings, but ensured that the use should not be incongruous with the regime. Whilst authenticity remained in terms of the fabric of the building, the function was revised (particularly in the case of religious buildings). Listing of buildings was carried out under three categories (Carter 1981, p.15):

"Category 1: national cultural monuments (individual buildings and reservations)
Category 2: cultural items, valued objects, areal spaces which are an indivisible component of the nation's cultural development
Category 3: cultural items in need of radical alteration or renovation"

The conservation of historic areas was fundamentally at odds with the nature and principles of communism and Soviet influenced city planning. Hammersley and Westlake (1994) detail the highly politicised nature of conservation in the communist era. The requirements of the Soviet Union throughout communist rule in Czechoslovakia was always dominant over the well being of the state of Czechoslovakia itself. The approach of the government to the needs of the heritage of the country was at best low profile. Czechoslovakia's prime function, particularly in Slovakia, was that of an industrial production heartland of the Soviet Union (the CSSR was much more industrialised than
the USSR, despite being much smaller), and the nature of this requirement ensured that development, requiring large scale production plants and housing to match, was located well outwith the historic cores of cities and towns.

Disregard for pollution further degraded the historic fabric, not least through the blackening effect of unlimited burning of brown coal in the city. Benson documents the implications of the CSSR’s reliance on brown coal for the environment:

"The main energy source in the CSSR was highly polluting brown coal from North Bohemia; an energy source which proved too cheap to allow serious consideration of alternative sources by a regime tied by dogma to achieving economic growth as the primary raison-d’etre for government policy making. Brown coal burning produces high levels of Sulphur Dioxide gas, the agent of acid rain, and this is evident in the withered forests of north Bohemia, as well as the crumbling stonework in other areas of the Czech Republic" (Benson, 1993, p.43).

As a result of the attitude of the regime towards the environment and development, conservation in Prague was therefore presented with a distinctly more complex and problematic set of circumstances than in Edinburgh’s Old Town, where it could be seen as having been a relatively uncontested principle during the same period. In addition to this, the more subtle meanings and symbolism associated with conserving Prague’s historic centre, represented values and identities which were at odds with the political ideals of the time. As a result, the pervasiveness of the Soviet influence in countries of central Europe led to a similar stifling of nationalistic tendencies to that which was enforced in the Czech lands under earlier Habsburg rule. As Dawson states:

"Indeed, so great was the westward and southward advance of Soviet influence, with the subsequent division of Europe into two opposing camps, that it can be argued that the earlier concept of Central Europe has almost entirely been replaced by one of Eastern Europe, where that is taken to mean the area which has been coterminous with the extent of Russia, or at least communist, influence since 1945." (Dawson, 1986, p.15)

The ideological discussions relating to meaning of the historic environment clarifies to a certain extent the contentious nature of conservation during the communist regime in the Soviet satellite states. The historic fabric, not least in capital cities, represents the past lives of society and is often inherently nationalistic and at times religious. For example, commonly a historic area is
characterised at least in part by monuments commemorating battles, symbols of past monarchies, statues of patron saints etc. Prague is no exception to this, with monuments to its important and turbulent religious past, and references to its ruling monarchies (especially Charles IV) being manifest throughout the historic centre. Conservation in this sense was at odds with the ruling state due to the apparent endorsement of Czech national identity and its being imbued with reminders of pre communist times. As Carter states:

"East Europe therefore emerged by the mid-1960's as a series of people's democracies, still vary aware of their own national identities. This was a concept which in time, according to classical Marxist theory, would disappear. Nevertheless, the deep rooted nature of nationalism and nation states remained and recent appeals to replace the national tradition in East European countries with the concept of 'Socialist' nationality have not been successful" (1981, p.4).

Indeed, given that the state sought to deny the past through promotion of a progressive communist future, conservation, in fact for any such non sanitised history of any kind for that matter, was commonly supported and became a form of passive opposition to the political doctrine of the time. As Hoffman describes:

"Although there is a tradition of historic preservation for Prague that dates back to the late nineteenth century, preservation took on new meaning and widespread support under state socialism...In this particular context, the preservation of the historical heritage was supported as anti-regime and anti Communist by planners and the general public. A popular activity for individuals and groups at weekends and vacation time was to rebuild decaying historic structures" (1994, pp.697-698).

In terms of the care and repair of the historic centre, this was carried out with the same highly politically motivated reasoning which permeated all other areas of society. In the early days of communism, the maintenance of historic buildings was so low on the agenda that it hardly existed at all. Václav Havel commented on this in one of the many speeches he made during the more relaxed atmosphere during the "Prague Spring" of 1968:

"...the falling window ledges and criticisms of the conditions of the facades are set so masterfully in the context of the world that we end up with the powerful feeling that if window ledges were not falling off our buildings in Prague we would have long ago been involved in World War Three, so
there is something healthy in the fact that they are falling...when you need to save money by leaving the upkeep of buildings not to a superintendent, but to a voluntary brigade of doctors, lawyers and office clerks working on weekends, you need only call it "socialist maintenance by the tenants", and a doctor chipping away at a rotten window ledge on his building is warmed by the feeling that in doing so, he is helping to fulfil some higher phase in the development of socialism" (Havel, 1968).

Despite the neglect of the historic core and lack of a significant commercial development market leading to its safeguarding, the historic core did come under threat during this time through the imposition of the values of Soviet style planning and architecture. Proposals periodically arose throughout the city on the basis of ambitious and monumentally scaled plans which were devised throughout the period of "Socialist-Realist Architecture" (1948-1956) which planned schemes to symbolise the all-encompassing power of the party, and imitated Soviet models. These plans potentially threatened the continued existence of the very core of the city, however:

"Naturally, the regime's ideologues were also eager to commission the building of monumental public projects. And yet they proved somewhat less successful in carrying out their plans in that sphere, most of the time's grandiose ideology-laden projects - including those for the National Army Centre and the Communist Party University in Prague - having remained on paper......Projects for a new city centre in Prague also remained unrealized" (Sedlakova, 1994, p.68).

A further threat to the historic fabric of the capital was the role of the private car as a symbol of progress and technological advancement. Although the inner ring road of Prague does appear to pass uncomfortably near the historic core, it has stopped short of entering it. However this is with the unfortunate exception of the brutal cutting off of the National Museum from Wenceslas Square, much to the peril of hordes of tourists and drivers alike (Figure 4.1). Prior to 1989 the threat of traffic to the efficient running of the historic centre was recognised, particularly owing to the congestion caused by cars in the centre and the high number of people coming into the centre to work from their homes on the periphery of the city. Dobby (1978) outlined the relatively proactive stance taken by the government during the late 1970's to promote the use of public transport through the disincentive of traffic congestion:
"However, despite this apparent sacrifice to strategic planning objectives, experiments in allowing car parking on the streets in Prague are being tried in order to encourage the use of public transport, presumably by making driving past all the obstruction impossibly difficult! Also in the area of traffic versus conservation, research in Czechoslovakia has established a direct relationship between the age of a building and the extent to which its life expectancy is reduced by traffic vibration - in contrast to Britain where concern has been expressed about the same issue, but no relevant research undertaken." (Dobby, A., 1978)

Figure 4.1 The Prague Inner Ring Road at the Eastern End of Václavské náměstí

A few towns, such as Teplice were completely redeveloped under communism, but, as Hammersley and Westlake highlight, the usual impact of communist modernism was piecemeal replacement of individual buildings with brutal concrete modern structures, combined with the enclosure of towns and cities by peripheral soulless housing estates. Maier (1994) outlines the flawed reasoning behind the plans which led to the form of Prague’s peripheral estates, stemming from the 1964 amendment to the Comprehensive Master Plan for Prague which put forward plans for large housing and industrial estates, which took the form of semi autonomous “towns”. As Maier states, “...no mechanisms to complement the idea of mixed uses were introduced and therefore, the actually executed projects become no more than huge dormitory satellites” (1994, p.38). In Prague these included North Town (Prosek, Žablice, Bohnice), South Town (Jižní Město) and South West Town (Stoulky, Luziny, Nové Butovice, Velka Ohrada).
During this shift in focus away from town and city centres, and as a direct result of the political history of the country, maintenance of the historic fabric, was negligible from 1930 onwards. A slight improvement of the total neglect suffered by a large proportion of the wealth of historic buildings in the country, came in the period following the Prague Spring, when the Party became intensely aware of the image it was portraying, not only within the country, but to the outside world as well. The Czechoslovak government concerned with appearing as advanced as its western counterparts in the wake of the Prague Spring and in an effort to foster limited tourism in historic areas of the country, took on the need for conservation in the early 1970's. The further legal provisions for conservation were established in 1970, with accompanying financial allocations, and in 1971 an area of 900 hectares in central Prague was declared a protected historic area (Figure 4.2).

This move towards the conservation agenda followed a wider recognition of the value of heritage throughout Europe, which in the west was also not supported by the public “en masse” until this point. Conservation theorists have discussed how this shift came about in the west largely as a backlash against the brutal impact of modernist developments of the 1960's and 1970's (as discussed more fully in Chapter 2, Section 2.1). This may also have been the case in the east, but the absence of any real public input into planning during the socialist era, allowed the encroachment of Soviet modernism to continue throughout the city. Fortunately, given the lack of a vibrant commercial market, the demands of which had the greatest impact on western town centres, the centre of Prague was left relatively intact, except for a limited number of infill developments. In terms of conservation policy, Matouskova outlines the problems of lack of policy within the plans:

"Another traditional cultural aspect is the aspect of the protection, conservation and restoration of historical monuments. It deals with individual protected building, their ensembles, historical centres, rural settlements, cultivated landscape, archaeological sites and so on. For planning it is important, especially the protection of whole parts of towns with their protective zones. But according to the trend of specialisation and division of work the protection of historical monuments was prepared and executed by other institutions than planning, even if the monument covered a sizeable part of the town. In that case there was a white spot left in the plan for the specialised institutions to complete it. I need not speak of all the disadvantages which such an additional approach brings" (1991, p.7).

Instead of being a planning function, therefore, conservation was left largely in the hands of architects. Construction firms also played an important role in this aspect of conservation. Given the
PRAGUE: MONUMENT PRESERVATION DISTRICTS 1971

1 Prague castle & surroundings
2 Hradčany & Strahov complex
3 Northern part of the Baroque fortifications
4 Malá Strana
5 Petřín slopes
6 Letná slopes
7 Staré Město & associated historic buildings
8 Former Josefov district
9 Old Jewish cemetery
10 Petrská district, Republic Square & area around central railway station
11 Areas around St. Henry's Church & Main Railway Station
12 St. Wenceslas Square & contiguous built up area
13 Charles Square & surrounding residences
14 Area of Jungmannova Spálená & V jirchářích streets
15 Section along Vltava river bank of 19th century housing
16 Karlov & Albertov areas
17 Vyšehrad area
18 River Vltava with its bridges & islands

SOURCE: ČSS.R. GOVERNMENT DECREE NO 66/71 (21/VI/71)
ideological constituents of modernism as advocated by the State prior to 1989, many buildings were considered unsuitable for conservation owing to the ways of life for which they stood. Amongst these for example, the city of Prague alone has been left with a legacy of a huge number of churches and religious buildings which were neglected. Despite this, as the historic centre was more or less intact, many government departments took over the palaces and aristocratic houses in the city centre in the communist years, as there were few centrally located alternatives.

During the early 1970’s the Party undertook the “rehabilitation” of what is known as the Royal Mile or “Kings’ Way” of Prague - the streets which extend from the Powder Tower in the Old Town (at the site of the former Royal Town residence), across the Charles Bridge, and through Mala Straná to the Castle (Figure 4.3). Such a project would appear at first glance to have been highly successful - the Royal Mile today being a nearly intact stretch of pristine, pastel Baroque facades. However, too often the facade was the limit of the depth of the improvements made, in terms not only of the neglect of the building itself behind the facade and its interior, but also the surrounding area. An article published in National Geographic in 1977, which was not circulated in Czechoslovakia at the time, due to its account of the in-fighting of the Communist rule of the country (White, 1997), is a telling account of Prague at the end of the 1970’s. It relates the extensive refurbishment and the painstaking methods undertaken to achieve this. Such a high level of prioritisation and facadism also permeated the limits of Prague - the capital city becoming a fortunately preserved showpiece for the country which was otherwise sadly neglected. This situation was often replicated in cities throughout the CEE region:

"Less repair and rehabilitation have been done during the last decade than in any less developed region in the European Community. Therefore the central-east European cities show a dramatic picture of ubiquitous decay in housing, infrastructure and traffic. The reconstruction, rehabilitation and renovation as specific activities were not subject to planning or monitoring, which resulted in deterioration of the existing housing stock. The 5 year programmes mainly used to cover the construction of new housing, and not the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the existing housing stock, especially in the central parts of cities" (Pichler-Milanovich, 1994, p.1111).

In short, this illustrates the effects of the high level of prioritisation of conservation activity which characterised all of the countries within the eastern and central European region during this time, and its problems, which was outlined by the typology suggested by Skea as related in Chapter Two.
Figure 4.3 Prague’s Royal Mile/“Kings’ Way”
However, due to the success mainly of its “showpieces” the former state of Czechoslovakia in the pre-1989 years established itself with many experts as being at the forefront of historic building conservation techniques (ECA Conservation Unit, 1993). Conservation was seen as a function of the Ministry of Culture and Education, which took an active role in training skilled craftsmen in plaster work, cabinetry, metal working, painting etc. The Centre for Applied Arts set up in 1952 provided training in these skills. The Institute of Building also established a pool of companies each specialising in different aspects of craftsmanship and restoration skills, who were drawn from to undertake the meticulously high standard of work required.

The communist government allocated a substantial amount of money for the restoration of buildings and monuments and used funding mechanisms including grants and interest free loans to finance buildings requiring restoration, together with the technical expertise of trained craftsmen in the most fortunate cases. Most of the buildings were in state ownership, and there was therefore great potential for restoration through state funding, but very little in the way of private contributions. Under the overview of the Ministry for Culture, the State Institute for Preservation (Státní Ústav Památkové Péče a Ochrany Prirody) was responsible for selecting the buildings to be restored, with criteria reflecting many of the communist ideals. For instance, Marston-Fitch (1982) describes how whole villages were preserved in an effort to highlight pre communist ways of life in comparison to the vast social improvement brought about by the new regime. The Institute was also responsible for keeping meticulous written and photographic records of the restoration of each building as it progressed, with any new discoveries being recorded. Permission for conserving anything uncovered within a building which was not originally anticipated (e.g. commonly gothic remains under baroque facades) was required to be given technical approval only by the Ministry, in order that the preserved result would be politically acceptable. This situation relates back to the concept of conservation being at odds in terms of its cultural connotations with the ideals of the socialist principles (Chapter Two, Section 2.1), and illustrates the means of legitimising its concerns through focusing on the aesthetic / technical reasoning behind such works, as opposed to their more cultural and social significance. The scientific emphasis of the approach emerges, when Carter’s description of measures undertaken is considered:

"Czech conservationists are now locked in a battle with time and the effects of modern life, utilizing the latest technology to preserve their city. A whole telemetric system of sensors have been installed to keep a constant watch; this includes seismographic and ultrasonic equipment and an electrocardiograph machine to measure vibrations caused by the wind, by land movements, by
the effect of construction work on the new underground Metro system, by traffic, and by aircraft. Deep-sited thermometers measure wall temperatures and guard against cracks from freezing; photometers note changes in the plaster, and instruments record condensation and measure the effects of acidity in the atmosphere caused by pollution and the ageing of the stonework” (1981, p.33).

Conservation was afforded considerable finance during the Communist years, the budget for conservation in Prague increasing six fold between 1964 (30 million Kcs / £1,304,000) and 1980 (200 million Kcs / £8,695,060) (Carter, 1981, p.32). Despite this, as discussed previously with reference to housing construction during the communist period, apart from the prestigious but limited activity under the Ministry of Culture and Education, the nature of the large scale construction companies limited the continuing fostering and effective use of specialised conservation skills and tradesmen during the post war period. Although the Ministry specifically sought to engender such practice, given the considerable scale of the historic fabric in need of conservation, those with skills for restoration were unable to work beyond the most highly prioritised "show piece" buildings in central areas (again mainly along the King's Way).

In terms of conservation as a function of the development plan, historic areas were identified and often comprehensively surveyed at the local level, before being passed over to the centralised conservation authorities for their practical administration and maintenance. The attempts to maintain standards of excellence for conservation in Czechoslovakia were repeatedly undermined by the domination of large scale industry. As Turner et al outline:

"This orientation towards new construction resulted in the extinction of enterprises able to perform reconstruction and modernization effectively....the question of building repair, reconstruction and modernization became an unresolved problem and, characteristically perhaps, Czechoslovakia imports workers for the repair and reconstruction of historically highly valuable buildings" (Turner et al, 1992, p.57).

As a result, conservation in the post war period and in particular during the 1970’s was promoted by the regime as being well catered for, with the skilled craftsmen of Czechoslovakia being a particular factor in assuring the highest quality of workmanship possible, and in establishing a reputation of excellence for the country throughout Europe. However, in reality the benefits of the asset of a having a strong tradition in skilled workmen were offset by the highly centralised priority approach
to selecting buildings to be restored as outlined by Skea (Chapter 2), with few buildings receiving the highest level of attention (and being allocated a large share of the state budget) and the majority being left to decay or replaced. This was a result of the political ideology pervading the selection process and influence of the powerful construction lobby. Indeed Dr. Josef Stulc, current secretary of the State Institute for the Care of Historic Monuments, believes today that the power of the construction lobby and nature of the industry acted as the single most important factor hindering conservation in Prague in the pre-revolutionary period (Interview, May 1994).

SURPMO (The State Institute for the Reconstruction of Historic Towns and Monuments), established in 1954 by Dr. Ing. Arch. Vilem Lorenc was the main government agency in the field of conservation. Its main objective, as outlined in its annual report was:

"The creation of optimum preconditions of the conservation, evaluation and renovation of the historical, old urban structures and architectural wealth of Czechoslovakia ... SURPMO contributes to the hope that complex regeneration of central areas of historic cities will become a distinct part of the continuous development and that the existing examples of historic architecture will inspire creativity in people, will enrich and improve peoples' lives in the same way as literature, music and other forms of art." (c.1982, p.1)

The remit of SURPMO extended to advise on new development which has implications for the historic environment, as well as the broader task of advising on processes of modernization and renovation, upgrading of the historical infrastructure, traffic and pedestrian proposals. The focus of SURPMO over the years broadened, with interests in the state of the art in conservation in other countries being an important element in shaping practice within the former Czechoslovakia. The organisation had seven hundred and fifty employees, and its concentration on technical expertise as opposed to cultural meanings of the historic fabric provided it with a more legitimate role than might otherwise have been permitted by the regime (White, 1979). Important projects, as related in its annual reports, included work on Prague castle, the Old Town Hall, the Carolinum, the Convent of Blessed Agnes, and the Waldstein, Martinic and Palfyovsky palaces.

The State Institute for the Care of Historic Monuments (SUPP) has been devolved from this body in the post 1989 years. The Institute advises on applications relating to historic buildings, and oversees the activities of its local branches\(^1\), advising for instance where the local office is in disagreement

\(^1\) a branch exists for the Prague 1 district
with the municipality. The SUPP also is responsible for listing and the designation of protected historic areas. The Institute also carries out obligatory surveys of listed buildings in historic districts, producing a report as to what is and is not feasible in terms of the future of the building. The Institute also has powers to regulate applications for non listed buildings within historic districts.

The Institute has lacked funding almost totally since the transition, with subsidy for economic development accounting for most of the demands on municipal budgets. During communist times around 500 Million Kc was allocated per five year plan period on average. Since 1989 this has reduced to 170 million Kc for a comparable period (around 20% of previous funding levels) (Interview with Dr. Josef Stulc, Director of SUPP, Prague 1995). So where the money was available for conservation prior to 1989 and there was insufficient labour force to implement improvements, the situation since 1989 has reversed, with there being a growing wealth of national talent and specialised building companies, but insufficient financial support available. The Institute is currently exploring less direct ways of gaining financial resources, for example through infrastructure grant aid, for which greater provision has been made in the name of economic development (interview with Dr. Stulc, May 1994).

The lack of a history developing under communism in Prague of planners and conservationists dealing with the market and investment in the historic built environment, is evident in the continuing lack of efficient funding mechanisms as compared to the Edinburgh case. The absolute powers of the state in terms of both land ownership and control, meant that there was little need for negotiating powers, investment through partnership arrangements and co-operation, all themes which have developed to varying degrees in the west, with Edinburgh’s Old Town being no exception. This enabling role which is characterised, for example, by the delivery of leverage style funding arrangements and central role of a proactive / co-ordinating locally based agency (EOTRT), is therefore a distinct strength of Edinburgh as compared to Prague in the post 1989 period.

The above difficulties for conservation during the communist regime include therefore, ideological incongruity with the Soviet ideal, the dominance of the construction lobby, lack of coherent and effective physical planning tools and highly centralised distribution of financial and labour resources. The strong theoretical tradition which existed despite being fundamentally at odds with the socialist administration, in combination with the fortuity that left the city of Prague unscathed from the world war two bombings which devalued the historic integrity much of urban Europe, made
up the loss felt by the lack of imagination, freedom of use of skilled craftsmen or proper materials which communist rule did not allow for:

"Years of paralysing state soullessness has left certain problems, but cushioned it from others such as the wholesale destruction wrought by ill-judged and often unsympathetic developments seen in most historic centres in the western world." (ECA Conservation Unit, 1993, p.5)

Attitudes to conservation in each case study area play a fundamental role in explaining current management of the historic city. In Edinburgh, the case study described a steady and consistent popular and official growth in support for the conservation agenda to the point most recently where it has been described as stifling new developments. Nevertheless the conservation movement in the city has received popular and political support and continues to form an important part of policy making, with an escape having been made from any plans put forward for comprehensive redevelopment for the centre, and new housing in the post war period of a modernist form taking place almost exclusively on the edges of the city.

In Prague, popular opinion was supplanted throughout the post war period up to the velvet revolution by political will, with conservation of the city being prioritised by the communist government within political doctrine which shaped all areas of development. Initial neglect of the historic centre of the city in terms of its conservation during the 1960's was overtaken by regard for the contribution of a well conserved built heritage to the overall image of the city and those who run it as a consequence. This in turn fostered the highly centralised approach to buildings, particularly those considered to be of value along the length of the King's Way. As such, in comparison to Edinburgh, conservation of the built heritage which existed was not a key factor in determining policy, but the emphasis was instead on the end product of a built heritage worthy of admiration in itself.

Conservation continued to grow in the CSSR during the regime despite, as opposed to as a result of, the underlying political framework. Whilst the principle objectives of construction during this time were set at the national level, and disregarded the value of the historic centre due to the dictates of building and construction techniques and the ideology of the Soviet city, at the same time conservation work was carried out in the historic centre through the work of specialised bodies. Whilst planning claimed to be catering for more than just a limited number of particularly valuable historic buildings through designation of the entire historic core as a protected area in the early
1970's, in effect the area approach was considerably less comprehensive than has been the case in Edinburgh, in its continuing prioritisation of public buildings and showpiece projects, and its inherent facadist approach.

The above contrasts illustrate the way in which cultural and political motives for conservation lie at the centre of differences in overall attitudes towards the two cities. In the post revolutionary period, two extreme elements of cultural attitudes within Prague - entrepreneurship and national pride in the country's capital are presently at odds and their interplay is likely to shape the future of the historic centre. At the same time, Edinburgh has undergone a considerable length of time within the influence of the UK phenomenon of the "heritage debate" which in turn has influenced attitudes to the city since the early 1970's.

Since the transition, a new range of problems for planning and conservation in the historic centre of Prague have arisen, which although very different from those under communism, are compounded by the enduring inheritance of communist planning and its shortfalls. The following section considers some of the key issues for planning in the historic city centre of Prague in the post 1989 period.

4.5 Issues for Planning in the Historic Centre Prague in the Post revolutionary period and future prospects

The agglomeration which makes up the city of Prague at present covers an area of 3700 square kilometres and has a total currently of 1.2 million inhabitants, roughly 16% of the total population of the Czech Republic. It is anticipated the population will rise to nearly 2 million by the end of the century (Plicka / Prague City Architects Department, 1993), marking the impact of the new mobility of the Czech population which was regulated by the communist regime to relate the labour market to industrial location as closely as possible, leading to under urbanisation which characterised the Czech Republic in post war years. It is also estimated that there is currently a temporary population of approximately 300 - 350 thousand persons, including students, guest workers, visitors and tourists.) The inhabitants of the historic centre of the city have steadily decreased since the turn of the century by roughly 100,000 inhabitants (Plicka / City Architect's Office, 1993). Figure 4.4 illustrates population change.
Despite the Old Town of Edinburgh having had problems in relation to population decline and ageing at different points in its history, the sustained decline of the historic core of Prague, particularly as a result of the housing policies during the communist regime, is of relatively greater concern. In the Edinburgh case, whilst decline was a problem during the 1970's and early 1980's, this trend has reversed more recently. However, as related previously, the characteristics of the population within overall numbers, not least polarisation of age groups, suggest issues for planning within this. The same is to a certain extent true of Prague, where as well as established trends of decline, the population is ageing.

The historic core of Prague also accommodates most of the employment within the city, and the administrative and government offices of both the municipality and the national level. Despite the lack of a pre 1989 commercial market of a comparable scale to Prague's western counterparts, since 1989 retail has fast become a dominating feature of the historic core. Considerable levels of office space have also been quickly provided, often by international investors. Land use has therefore changed considerably in the city centre, with the present residential share of the area reducing rapidly to around 30-25% - a decline of around 10% since 1989 (Interview with Professor Base, CVUT, 1994)
A highly ambitious listing programme and legislative framework, together with more general features of communist city development as outlined above, have ensured that the historic centre of Prague has remained relatively intact. The stage at which the city now stands in terms of its commitment to conservation, and the context set in Chapter Two by Skea, is changing as rapidly as the country's political framework itself.

"In central and eastern Europe, Communist governments advocated and implemented the most extreme form of the centralised, priority approach to urban conservation. In Hungary and Czechoslovakia, for example, the finest villages and urban areas were selected by central agencies and then preserved by meticulous restoration programmes. With the collapse of communism in 1989, however, both these countries are looking for ways to decentralise their systems of area conservation and thereby give more control to local communities. Throughout Europe, therefore, those countries which initially adopted an extremely centralised, priority approach are modifying their national programmes in such a way as to introduce the strengths of the localist, 'pragmatic' approach to area conservation" (Skea, 1993, p.17).

As Hammersley and Westlake point out, the commercial threats to the city now call for an even greater commitment to conservation than ever, and this is backed up at the wider European level by Skea which states that "above all, conservationist principles must become more firmly embedded in the local planning process throughout Europe." (Skea, 1993, p. 23)

The attainment of this goal is, however, difficult to envisage at a time when an inevitable backlash has arisen in the east European countries against the term planning as it directly associated with the control of the state (Hague and Prior 1991). The high degree of fragmentation and dispersal of powers which has resulted from government reorganisation, coupled with the decreasing role of community activity and the rise of individual in its place has led to:

"...the understandable fear of everything coming from the centre, a fear rooted in the bad experience from the recent past, and efforts to assume complete control over one's own territory on the part of local authorities tend to result in viewing the city as a mere aggregation of its parts and in placing narrow local interests above the interests and needs of the city as a whole." (Plicka / Prague City Architects Department, 1993, p.11)
Hoffman also outlines the unpopularity of planning as a result of its previous role as an instrument of state control:

"At highly confrontational meetings during 1990, 1991, and even 1992, planners were attacked as the source of all the municipality's problems, from environmental pollution to poor housing to the lack of amenities and services" (1994, p.692).

In 1990 the Mayor of the City of Prague introduced a programme of financial subsidy for the restoration of historic buildings. However, such moves could be considered to be insufficient as the total financial allocation in central government to this initiative is equivalent to the restoration costs of one typical house in Mala Strana (Hammersley and Westlake, 1994). Since 1989, the municipality of Prague has had to cope with increasing pressure on all of its functions (as well as planning) with the added problem of a diminishing budget. In 1991 the overall budget totalled 20 billion Kc - this was reduced to 14 billion Kc in 1994, despite inflation continuing to rise to approximately 50% in the same period (interview with Jan Kasl, 1994). Within this financial climate, conservation as well as planning in the wider sense remain a low priority. This is not, however necessarily the case in terms of wider cultural support for conserving the historic city centre. Following from support for conservation which persisted through the communist era, the historic core has been the focus of some of the earliest democratic public participation in planning in the city. As Hoffman relates:

"In Prague, Old Town residents in 1990 turned out en masse to protest plans to create hotels in their area, and in 1993, they protested the proposed development of the Charles Bridge...A recent mayor of Prague was ousted for making a private deal with a hotel developer" (1994, p.698).

Conservation and the new means of ensuring its goals through the planning system, appears to have an important role to play in the future of the historic centre of Prague. Despite this, fiscal and policy making constraints aside, it is effectively a small part of more far reaching changes which are likely to have a more fundamental impact on the historic core of the city in the future. These changes, which have occurred owing to the dismantling of state control and establishing the free market, include the process of Privatisation, and in particular the effects of the restitution of state property to private owners is perhaps one of the main issues which is having a profound effect on the nature of planning in the city today. One commentator aptly describes the situation for the Czech Government as being "like an attendant at a lost-and-found office where frustrated claimants
grapple to regain their belongings" (Coudenhove, 1993). Figure 4.5 provides an illustration of the process and its potential impact on historic areas of Prague.

As pointed out by many researching the changes in Prague since 1989, including Hague and Prior (1990), Eskinasi (1994) and Hammersley and Westlake (1994), the restitution of property which had been seized in the Communist coup of 1948, to the former owners or their descendants as dictated by the 1994 law, has caused a compounding of the already difficult circumstances for conservation. The difficulties in identifying owners or their relatives for each building and, in particular, the complication of many properties previously being owned by Germans who were expelled from the country following the war, means that many buildings have been left with no specific person responsible for their maintenance, until the Ministry of the Economy is able to justify State ownership when the case is proven. Those who have been identified are further often unable to meet the extensive costs incurred by the many cases of neglected buildings under communism. A further complication arises in that the concept of private property under communism was abolished between 1955 and 1962, and as a result the state did not then keep records of ownership which could now be referred to (Russell and Westlake, 1992). To complicate matters even further, to avoid identification as class enemies under Stalinism, some owners apparently destroyed their own property deeds.

This is a greater problem for buildings outwith the relatively well preserved historic core of Prague, although this does not preclude the area from the problem in any way. The spatial pattern of restitution in the city as a whole is relatively centralised, particularly as the vast majority of buildings in the outer areas and periphery of the city were constructed after 1948, and therefore do not form part of the restitution process. As a result, in Praha 1, the central district of the city within which the entire historic core is located, around 70% of property had already been restituted by the end of 1993 (Eskinasi, 1994, p.67). Clapham also confirms the specific relationship between this issue and the future of the historic city in the post transitional period particularly in social and housing terms:

"Restitution also has had profound urban impacts because much of the stock involved is in the inner parts of towns and cities. Sýkora (1994) shows that in the central city districts of Prague (Prague 1 and 2) between 70% and 75% of the stock was restituted, thus reducing the availability of public rented housing in these neighbourhoods" (Clapham, 1995, p.687).
Figure 4.5
Key constituents in the restitution process and their interaction in relation to buildings of the historic centre of Prague

Owner gains property through restitution

Property listed / in protected area

High refurbishment costs not met by income from tenants due to rent controls

Estate agent buys property

Owner required to relocate tenants at high cost

Artificially high property costs

Planning resistance to change of use to commercial

Lack of grants and subsidies to fund restoration and/or maintenance of historic buildings

Loss of support for planning due to associations with the communist past

Commercial use

Property decays due to lack of use/finance

Source: Research undertaken by Author
The fact that much of the restituted property is therefore of a historic nature adds a further dimension to the problem which illustrates the chronic lack of support for conservation in the city to date:

"Even the lowest income groups were being drawn into home-ownership. Many of them were not aware of the costs of maintenance, repair and renovation. It may be expected that many ex-tenants in inner-city areas and particularly those of medieval origin, will be forced to move elsewhere when facing the problems of urban rehabilitation. This seems very likely since almost no financial assistance has been provided to private investors for renovation and rehabilitation" (Pichler-Milanovich, 1994, p.1108)

As Eskinasi points out, however:

"Restitution, however, leads in most cases to the sale of the building to these agencies and investors. They will be very motivated to rehabilitate the house, in order to let it to foreigners. The process is likely to increase the pressure on the social structure in older city parts. Those benefiting most from the restitution will be the real estate agencies, not the normal Czech citizens." (p. 71)

Due to the ownership system of the country, owners have usually gained whole buildings (as opposed to single flats), along with the tenants who are inhabiting them at low prices due to the rent control system which is still in place. The costs incurred by maintenance of such a building, usually in a run down state yet often listed or in a listed area, create great pressures for redevelopment in the historic centre of Prague. As there is no economic viability in legally renting out apartments, owners are turning to conversions for commercial use in order to exploit the considerable gap in rental that this gives. However, conservation policies, particularly of the municipal level, are currently resisting such change, although not completely. As the Prague Post reported:

"To the chagrin of many owners, in the meantime their requests to commercially lease out portions of their buildings are being resisted by municipal offices, with the latter arguing that whole neighbourhoods could become depopulated. You can't really blame the owners who know that one commercial lease will cover expenses of administering the entire building." (Prague Post, September 1993)
The lack of a strong policy framework however, leads to the different experience in terms of the effectiveness of the conservation bodies in the city as, reported by Douglas (1996) who states:

"Regarding Prague, Šikora (1994) shows that many restituted houses and flats have been converted from residential to non residential uses. He states that "this change is relatively easy as no legislative norms exist which would prevent the reduction of residential space" (p.1162)" (Douglas 1996, p.115).

Resale of properties is a further option with limited viability for new owners of property due to the 45% tax which the government imposes on gains from property resales within five years of purchase, compared to around 2% in the neighbouring Germany. This was imposed after around 3000 properties were bought up at extremely low prices, and resold for huge profits, in the early post revolution days of 1990. Owners are also under the heavy burden of being obliged by law to relocate any tenants that may be displaced due to refurbishment or improvement of the building. Given the currently artificially high property prices, this is obviously an unattractive, if not impossible option for owners. Notwithstanding these complications, owners are often approached by real estate agencies, who have no problem selling on the properties to developers in the competitive market of Prague, where commercial floor space is in high demand and short supply, and is priced accordingly. This is a particularly attractive option for restituted property owners who own buildings used for rented housing.

Due to the conflicting situation of properties either being converted to commercial use, or left to decay, the conservationists are facing a question of whether conversion to commercial use, and loss of residential character is preferable to the alternative of decay. An interview conducted with a leading Czech conservationist in 1979 by National Geographic confirmed that this is not a new phenomenon which has come with the free market:

"Many organisations apply to move their offices into the historic core, but we usually refuse, because its life should be preserved. We don't want our city centre to be alive only from eight to five. And so we may spend twice as much to remodel substandard old apartments as it would cost to build new ones elsewhere. Anyone used to living here and wanting to stay just moves a little way, to a reconstructed apartment." (White, 1979, p.558)
Such a statement belies the more likely reality that although conservation activity did take place, such instances were limited in relation to the overwhelming focus of development on the outskirts of the city which has previously been highlighted. The communist years were dominated by a continuing housing crisis which demanded quantity as opposed to quality (i.e. features such as variety, character, and vitality which can be offered by historic areas). The Czech Ministry of the Economy highlights the effects of such an approach to housing on historic city cores:

“In the years 1948-1989, the housing policy confined particularly on mass housing construction. Since the sixties it consisted nearly exclusively in the application of prefabricated mounted technology in the form of monotonous developments built on vacant areas on the outskirts of towns.....Quite omitted was the then existing structure of town centres, many of which have a rich and significant historic tradition. In the period mentioned above, houses were permanently deteriorating because practically no maintenance and necessary repairs were made.....Thus a great number of historical town centres were devastated and “closed” in mass uniform construction of blocks of flats without any appropriate civic facilities” (Wagner et al, 1996, p.5).

However, the market is very different now, and whilst under communism continued habitation of historic town centres as a priority appeared straightforward to implement, the strength of the market, inexperience of planners with dealing with the private sector and the lack of appropriate mechanisms for doing so mean this is now becoming a major problem. This will induce owners to allow buildings to deteriorate to such a level that tenants move out, making way for refurbishment which will be financed by future market rate rents which will be legal. Gentrification and increasing social polarisation within the historic centre will begin to emerge as rent controls lift. The government is apparently following the natural progression of the market instead of intervening to carry out the changes:

"The government apparently expects that with the gradual construction of new apartments, and the conclusion of new rental agreements, the deregulation of rents will go into effect. This method, as a way to an unregulated apartment market, is slow and ineffective for countries with a stable population where the supply of apartments is more a matter of maintenance and reconstruction of existing apartment buildings than the construction of new ones." (Singar, 1993)
A further aspect of the problems of restitution of property and rent controls is that partial deregulation has occurred in the Czech Republic, where rent controls are lifted when property becomes vacant, "leading to fears of intimidation and harassment" (Clapham, 1995, p.687).

Housing and social polarisation are related issues which compound the overall process of restitution and privatisation. Unemployment has remained relatively low, for example at a level of only 3% in the Czech Republic in February 1996 (Boland & Done, 1996, p.1), although this is set to continue to rise, having had the advantage previously of starting from a rate of zero, as unemployment was illegal under communism. Despite this few are financially able to enter into the private property market, and this is also compounded by the unestablished nature of the investment and property finance market and artificially high property values. Access to the private rented sector remains similarly restricted as related by Pichler Milanovich:

"The average cost of an apartment in some of the central locations in central-east European capital cities (e.g. Prague, Budapest, Ljubljana, Zagreb) is 2000 DEM /sq m and the average salary in central-east Europe was 400-800 DEM in 1994. Mortgage loans are very limited and commercial credits with high interest rates and down-payments of 30-50 per cent of the value of the dwelling are required. The private rented sector is small and payments of 6 months to 1 year's rent in advance are common practice" (Pichler Milanovich, 1996, p.119).

The reshaping of monetary systems will assume a fundamental role in facilitating housing reform in the Czech Republic. The paradox of housing being an important issue but having received little funding, is a shared by all the Eastern European countries. The Prague Post also outlined this problem:

"The apartment market is an example of how the most right-wing government among post-communist countries can, on the basis of short term political interests, choose an ineffective solution which will hinder the long term interest of citizens" (Prague Post November 17-23, 1993)

Following the changes which occurred under the Communist government up to 1989, presently forty percent of the population the city live in the prefabricated suburbs (known as panelaks) around the edges of the city. Since the fall of Communist rule, however, these areas have entered a rapid decline in quality of life heralding a possible if not inevitable housing crisis. The case of Jižní Město, the largest housing project in the country, and one of the most drastically affected of these suburbs, was
reported by the Prague Post in its article “Jižní Město Teeters on the Ghetto Edge” It describes the suburb as:

".. a sprawling concrete jungle of hundreds of ashen buildings. Bleak, sterile and depressing, the complexes are houses of fear for some residents. Delinquent teenagers terrorize elderly tenants by kicking the doors of their apartments. Other tenants are robbed, sometimes more than once." (1993)

Many recent reports and research have underlined the likely implications of the reform of the housing market in countries throughout central and eastern Europe (see, for example, Baross and Struyk, 1993; Pichler-Milanovich, 1994; Eskinasi, 1995; Clapham, 1995; Musil, 1995; Andrusz et al, 1996). The problems of the peripheral areas are likely to become high on the agenda of planning activity in the future given the likely social change and increasing polarisation which is already occurring and the reform of housing is likely to exacerbate the negative effects of this. In 1987 Charter 77 published a highly critical document which put forward the problems for young people in finding housing in Prague, suggesting fundamental reforms to the system (Turner et al, 1992). Housing as a whole was in continual crisis throughout communism in Prague and the revolution has so far fostered slow improvement in the situation, which in turn has been hampered by the ongoing emergence of new problems.

There was no change in rent levels since their original rate which had been set in 1964 despite rising salaries in that time until 1992, when the gradual liberalization of rent controls commenced (for full details refer to Wagner et al, 1996, p.24). Further moves towards reform have included the removal of differentiation in rent levels between state and co-operative housing. The problems of overcrowding, of residents being forced to share their homes with relatives and homelessness have emerged in statistics since the revolution. Little progress has been made in practice due to the political nature of the problem and its implications of more radical actions on political popularity. The historic core in particular looks likely to lose its existing role as primarily a place of residence:

"In the central city, which can be perceived as a laboratory of contemporary urban restructuring, transformation has a considerable impact on the decline of the residential function. Many restituted houses and individual flats were transferred from residential space to non residential premises...These processes rapidly change the face of the central city, where revitalisation,
"New social groups will emerge. The changes that can be expected in central and eastern European capital cities could be much more profound than those observed in western European cities in the late 1970's and 1980's. Social polarization could have inevitable consequences for the geographical pattern and development of the cities and urban regions" (Pichler-Milanovich, 1994, p.1107)

This indicates the likely pressure for government intervention in these more fundamental areas of concern, leaving conservation in the historic core relatively low on the list of government priorities. As a result, it is likely that the country will rely increasingly on private investment. This in turn is likely to have a direct bearing on the character of the historic core. Eskinasi, for instance, discusses the likely implications of this in terms of social segregation:

"One of the main changes is the reintroduction of the land market....This implies that the more central parts of the housing stock could soon become the most expensive area, but in the outer districts there is no chance of this happening. Moreover, the more outward quarters, in many cases, consist of panel buildings, which are not exactly the most popular type of houses. An increasing differentiation in rents will emerge, partly based on location, which is a new factor. Because of this, rent will increasingly determine the choice of where to live. Lower income groups will more and more be forced to live in the cheaper housing stock....Some neighbourhoods may develop into 'ghettos' of lower-income groups, whereas other districts will witness considerable gentrification caused by an influx of people who are able to pay liberalized rents" (1995, p.546).

The function of planning was initially controlled by the post 1989 Ministry of the Environment with environmental activists and ecologists highlighting the important concern of environmental degradation in the country. The government, following the lead of Klaus, has since moved planning to the Ministry of the Economy where it is intended to function in a more enabling as opposed to
regulatory role. In compounding the complex task of reforming the nature of the market in Prague, European forces, in combination with the freeing of formerly restrained market forces, have already made an impression in the centre of central and eastern European cities:

"At the local level, increasing pressure for investment in the most desirable locations in Eastern Europe is leading to deterioration of the historic urban character of cities such as Prague and Budapest. If this continues, the long-term result could be to reduce the investment potential of such areas for both investors and visitors. Whilst a degree of protection has been maintained in most cases, development pressure from experienced foreign investors is bringing particular problems of enforcement. Abuse of present laws governing other areas such as taxation is already widespread in former Czechoslovakia, for example." (McCarthy, 1993, pp.23-4)

The international office market has created a situation of unrealistically high rents in the city, and has spurred the construction industry to add an estimated 42,300 square metres of office space to the market during 1994 (Thailing, 1994). Despite the high rents, Price Waterhouse have also predicted that demand will also rise through the course of 1994 in excess of the additional space, with a resulting shortfall in the supply of around 3700 square metres (Thailing, 1994). However, according to Price Waterhouse, in the longer term, whilst demand will level off, supply will continue to rise, creating an oversaturated market by the end of 1995, accompanied by the predicted levelling off of rent levels at the end of 1994. This relates to the wider trend of European competitiveness, with Prague showing a good response in taking on board global business and investment market.

"Larger and especially capital cities in central-east Europe are becoming the most attractive locations for foreign investment and development... the globalisation of the world economy has emphasised the spatial status of large and capital cities whose cores are the key nodes in the global system of information and financial flows" (Pichler-Milanovich, p.1098, 1994).

Despite its apparent economic advantages, such an issue is not necessarily beneficial to the historic city. Some of the problems, for example referred to in Chapter Two included loss of character and offsetting a historic area's fragile land use balance. Foreign participation in the development process in the city raises a number of issues relating to gentrification, as well as the wider cultural disadvantage of the Czechs in terms of their ability to participate in free market activity.
"...while Prague's heritage has remained largely unscathed, its people have not. They have become isolated from free market principles and the benefits of enterprise. Now they have begun to experiment, often with limited funds, prematurely aping western practices. Chrome palaces sell things that Czechs don't want and can't afford. Equally disappointed are visitors who come for historical treasures, not glitz and London prices." (Kirke, 1993, p.20)

As Russell and Westlake (1992) point out, development activity in the historic centre is likely to profoundly influence the success of the continued conservation of the area, with trends already seen in the west of increasing reliance on the private sector as a means of finance for conservation becoming an imperative. Given that the city relies on its quality of built environment in attracting new investment, it will be necessary to recognise the interdependence of these two diverse facets of the development process.

"One of the great attractions of Czechoslovakia lies in the fact that much of it remains untouched, providing a historical timepiece rare within the Western world. The collapse of socialist structures, however, means that the vast subsidy levels previously available for historic building restoration works have been withdrawn, and without a system of listed building control the fate of much of the historical environment in Czechoslovakia now lies with the private sector" (Russell and Westlake 1992, p. 215).

In competing on the European and Global levels, however, most of the CEE countries are at a further disadvantage due to the lack of acceptable infrastructure provision:

"The quality of urban infrastructure is a decisive factor in attracting investments and in their spread throughout the country. The gross negligence in this area - polluted environment and outdated technology - is the most important part of an 'internal debt' of the former regimes to their societies" (Surazska & Blasek, 1996, p.15).

The industrial base was outdated long before 1989, but continued to function at highly inefficient rates of production. In industrial terms, however, the Czech Republic benefits from having a relatively skilled and cheap labour force, and higher levels of social cohesion compared to its neighbours against which it is now competing for investment. The country's trading success has a long history which has also benefited from its central geographic location. The incentive of early entry to the European Community is further boosting support internally to compete for inward
investment. In monetary terms, 150 billion Kc has been allocated for the period up to the end of the 1990's, in order to modernise the transport network, two thirds of this is being spent on highway construction. The Financial Times underlined the lack of capacity of the Czech Republic to finance projects as a result of a lack of long term domestic investment capital (Boland & Done, 1996) to counteract infrastructure shortages. This is likely to lead to even greater reliance on inward investment, which in turn has implications for the safeguarding of the indigenous character of the historic centre of Prague, and limits the ability of authorities in such areas to take anything other than a proactive / enabling stance to in considering such developments.

In compounding the disadvantage of insufficient infrastructure in attracting inward investment, the legacy of heavy pollution left by the communist pursuit of economic gain at the price of the environment, has lead to Prague, along with many other cities in the central and east European region, having considerably higher levels of sulphur dioxide, carbon dioxide and other toxic emissions than is the case in the atmosphere of many west European capitals by comparison (Cole, 1995, p.145). The problem of air pollution in the city is exacerbated by its location in the river basin of the Vltava, causing temperature inversions which often lead to a thick smog settling over the city. Policies are now beginning to reduce the burning of brown coal in the city, although more widespread problems of the region such as acid rain, may not overcome quite so easily. As previously highlighted, this affects the built heritage in physical terms through erosion and blackening of stonework. At the same time this problem has taken on a new dimension following the transition, in the inevitable rapid growth of private car ownership.

The above features of the planning system in Prague today raise a number of issues which are likely to influence the future of the city as a whole. Combined with the inevitable dramatic surge anticipated in car ownership over the next few years\(^2\), it is clear that the environmental quality of the historic centre of eastern European cities is under the threat of more forces than tourist development alone. This may reach a point when the threat is reversed and tourism has to look to correcting these problems in order to maintain the attraction of the environment of the Eastern European historic city, which is at the root of its growth and prosperity.

\(^2\) In 1990 one in five Czechs owned a car; in 1996 this figure had increased to one in three (Financial Times, Friday April 26th 1996)
In short, the communist regime had a profound impact on the city of Prague in planning terms, which the new system being required to address a wide range of issues as defined above. Parysek and Dutowski summarise the significance of this inheritance:

"The principle of primacy of ideology over politics, politics over the economy, and the economy over social problems, has left behind legacies of an incapable, inefficient, technologically backward and pathological economic system; an incapacitated, collectivized and cowed society lacking initiative and deprived of any influence on its own fate; and an over-exploited, devastated and degraded environment" (Parysek and Dutkowski, 1994, p.424)

Balancing out many of these disadvantages however, there still exists a range of constant assets of the city centre including the enduring quality and character of the historic fabric in architectural and historic terms, the continuing vitality of the historic centre’s open spaces, and continuing demand at least for the foreseeable future for land and buildings in the area as the mainstay of a lucrative property market. Planning following the transition is faced with the task of overcoming the problems outlined above in order to fully capitalise on such assets and ensure the city can secure its position in terms of European and global competition.

4.6 The effects of national, political and institutional restructuring on planning at the city level

Urban planning is intertwined with the structures and processes of urban politics, and this is a particularly interesting aspect of an east west comparative study. It is still difficult to assess the likely effectiveness of the post 1989 governmental and administrative structures in Prague, not least because these are currently being established.

As a result of the transition and due to the popular perception that planning was a system dominated by communist principles, it has been necessary to establish an almost entirely new system. In short, "Dismantling the command economy not only requires the creation of a new private sector; it also requires the creation of a new public sector" (Bird & Wallich, 1994, p.267). The above issues identified as being important influences in the future of the historic centre of Prague underline the need to look at wider influences in considering the future agenda for the historic city. Given that the transition occurred six years ago (at time of writing) some progress has already been made in reshaping the planning system as a whole.
Since 1992 central government governance of planning in the Czech Republic has been carried out by the Ministry of Economy of the Czech Republic, as established by Law No. 474/1992 of the Czech National Council, which also defined specific areas of jurisdiction, with subsequent legislative amendments as made by Law No. 548/1992 and Law No. 21/1993 (Ministry of Czech Economy, 1995). The Ministry includes the following sections of activity:

1. Economic Policy Section
2. Business Section
3. Regional Policy and Planning Section
4. Communications, Information and Standardization Section
5. Czech Telecommunications Office
6. Administration and Financial Section
7. Internal Services Section

The Regional Policy and Physical Planning Section comprises the full range of planning control at the strategic level through the following departments. The coverage of each is defined at the central level. (Czech Ministry of the Economy, 1995) is outlined below:

* **Regional Policy Department:**
  analysis of regional economic trends and identification of problematic regions for targeting of State assistance priorities; strategic proposals for reuse of former Soviet military areas; intervention in restitution of property (declaration of exemptions to come under State Ownership); participates in legislation preparation and advises local authorities.

* **Physical Planning Department (central physical planning body):**
  technical planning documents covering whole country as framework for regional plans; information gathering to advise State administration bodies; strong links with construction industry; fosters international ventures, particular cross border links with neighbours; manages subsidised Regional Development Institute, Brno.

* **Building Regulations Department:**
  central state administration body in building regulations for Prague and the regions.
Regional Offices Department

central administration of regional planning and building regulations in all areas outwith Prague through regional offices; linkage of central and local government ensuring two way flow of information.

Building offices are in turn responsible for the strategic tier of planning, including:

(a) administration of regional planning, preparation of planning documentation, proposals for regional land use, co-ordination of supraregional infrastructure (roads, power lines etc.)

(b) administration of building regulations, appeals, and co-ordination of state construction.

Regional Information Systems Department

Research and data collection ensuring use of standardised methods across regions, monitoring and cross regional comparison of information;

In addition to the above State Departments and regional offices, The Ministry of the Economy established the Regional Planning Institute in Brno on 1st September, 1994. Subsidised by the Ministry, the Institute conducts a range of planning research and projects. The Institute places an emphasis on the impact of methods, legislation and technical standards on the public interest, developing software products for planning use, record keeping and bibliographical services.

Legislation passed between 1989 and the 1992 election included the Environment Act which introduced the idea of sustainable development, the Environmental Impact Assessment Act, Act on Air Protection Against Pollutants, Nature and Landscape protection Act, Act on the Protection of Agricultural Land, Waste Disposal Act, together with a more minor series of decrees and regulations mostly in reaction to the overriding problem of pollution of the environment which had built up through the communist years. (Maier, 1994) Conservation legislation has not yet been re-addressed following the transition.

Regional Offices include: Prague (administering the Central Bohemian Region), Ceske Budejovice, Pizen, Chomutov, Liberec, Hradec Kralove, Brno, Olomouc and Ostrava.
The central level of government therefore could be seen to retain a reduced role in terms of intervention in the post revolutionary period, as a result of the shift in power towards the local level, with a variety of ministries being retained to cover a range of what are considered to be distinct issues. New legislation produced by central government has been slow to emerge, with this political sphere being hampered by the continuing instability of a new democracy. Central government participation in Prague remains restricted to forming legislation together with further administration and management roles as carried out through the departments outlined above.

The relatively active approach taken by central government input into development planning and control in Scotland and as a consequence the case study area of Edinburgh is an important factor in comparing the two systems. In the case of Edinburgh the previous Chapter related how planners at regional and local levels are made aware of government policy through subject specific National Planning Policy Guidelines (NPPG’s), are informed of legislation and statutes through Circulars and are advised further through Planning Advice Notes (PAN’s). Although these central government tools, particularly NPPG’s, have come under criticism for a variety of reasons including idiosyncrasy of subject choice, their rural bias and confusion as to their actual role (e.g. Raemaekers et al, 1993), they do provide both a fuller dissemination of legislation and a more strategically orientated outlook for planning authorities to refer to, which currently is lacking in the case of Prague. The lack of comparable guidance and advice on the part of central government in Prague, as well as the loss of the former strategic tier of planning which was carried out by the now abolished regional authorities, is likely to exacerbate the effects of the over-concern with detail at the expense of an understanding of wider issues which has long characterised the Czech system, at least whilst no strategic guidance is provided due to the lack of an up to date approved plan for the city. As Maier states:

“Planning permits must comply with statutory planning documentation. The procedures for obtaining planning permits are virtually the same as when no statutory master plan is in power, but in this case, the planning authorities have no precise guidance and they often ask for detailed study” (1994, p.41).

The organisation of local government in Prague was remodelled in October 1990, with the passing of the Municipal Law and the Law on the Capital City Prague. This has resulted in essence in the elimination of the strategic tier of local government, there now being a total of 57 city parts (Mestska cast). Eskinasi outlined the role of the city part as defined by the 1990 Law on the Capital City Prague which stated:
"A city part shall participate in exercising the self-governing functions of the Capital City Prague, for example by:

a) approving the development program of its territory and taking measures to implement and monitor it.

b) taking a stand with regard to the intentions of other authorities and organizations if they concern its interests.

c) making submissions to proposals of generally binding edicts and other measures by the Capital City of Prague concerning the city part.

d) drawing up its own budget and financial statement of its economic activities."

(Kara, 1992, in Eskinasi 1993)

As Eskinasi goes on to outline, the city part may manage its own budget, but it remains considerably dependent on the magistrate for finance, and only having land management as opposed to land ownership rights. The city parts vary considerably in size of population coverage, resulting in further complication of the operation of this fragmented system.

"Prague's worst weakness is the deplorable fragmentation of responsibilities between a multitude of authorities. As a result the city lacks an appropriate administrative, legal and financial framework within which it could develop and implement strategic planning proposals."

(Bor, 1995 p.27)

The removal of power and shift toward greater devolution of power to the local level reflects moves towards greater decentralisation which have shaped planning in the UK since the 1980's. Under the Thatcher regime, despite this increased devolution of powers to the local level, authorities have nevertheless remained unable to act in a fully autonomous capacity. Both this process in the UK and the decentralisation in Prague could be viewed as illustrating deeper cultural notions within the countries. In Prague, decentralisation is clearly a move to mark the revolutionary changes and offset the balance in favour of central control which existed under communism. By way of contrast increasing centralisation of power (in parallel with fragmentation of local authority functions) in the
case of the UK is viewed by many theorists (e.g. Burns, 1991) as the dismantling of local powers to ensure the implementation of the government doctrine through returning power to the centre. As Burns states:

“As yet most decentralization initiatives, even where they have started to offer budgetary control to local people, have not offered local policy freedom (to the extent that the area could act on policy which contradicted central policy) nor have they developed mechanisms by which local policy can shape central policy (the central policy making process has not been decentralized)” (Burns, 1991, p.226).

Both centralisation and decentralisation could be viewed as having negative effects in the administration of planning. In Prague, the transportation network is already beginning to feel the negative effects of fragmentation of control which has occurred mainly as a result of the abolition of the regional level (kraj) of administration (Wood and Turkington, 1995). The former mixture of two and three tier administration which characterised Prague in the period prior to 1990, has been replaced by a combination of ten districts, under which local administration is carried out the city parts. Hoffman illustrates the problems of the fragmentation of Prague's local government in practice:

"At present, 10 of these districts are trying to build their own commercial centres without an overall co-ordinating authority. Decentralisation is expected to exacerbate uneven development as municipalities and subunits have different populations, tax bases and revenues, and thus a differential capacity to handle that which is unprofitable (infrastructure or deteriorating housing estates) as well as to develop the plan" (1994, p.697).
Figure 4.6 Changes in Local Government Organisation in Prague (Pre and Post 1990)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-1990</th>
<th>Post 1990</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Magistrate</td>
<td>Magistrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 districts (obvod)</td>
<td>6 districts (obvod)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 local national committees (MNV)</td>
<td>57 city parts (Mestská cast)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eskinasi, 1993

Figure 4.7 illustrates the structure of municipal income in the Czech Republic. All state subsidies are currently administered by the district (okresy) offices. These offices have control over their own budgets and their own income which is around half of the municipal income (Surazska & Blasek, 1996, p.11)

"Municipal representatives are under pressure to accept district spending projects since no money is available to anyone until an alternative sharing scheme is adopted. In these assemblies, municipalities are represented according to their population size and thus there is a considerable bias in favour of urban interests" (Surazska & Blasek, 1996, p.11).

"The general intent is clearly to free local governments from the dead hand of central control and to let local democracy flourish. It is far from clear, however, that the local fiscal systems being established will achieve this goal - at least not without compromising the attainment of broader reforms underway in the transitional economies such as price liberalization and privatization" (Bird and Wallich, 1994, p.265).
Figure 4.7 The channels of municipal income in the Czech Republic

76 Okresy
(~ 121 000 inhabitants)

Ministry of Finance

Prednosta ( prefect )
office

60% PIT

Tax office

General grant

Specific grants

40% PIT

MUNICIPALITIES
6200
(~ 83 per Okres)

Local tax base
- property tax
- local fees

Management of municipal property and services

Source: Surazska and Blazek (1996)
The post 1989 structure, however, is viewed as temporary, with further organisational difficulties already emerging as a result of the wide variation in population sizes between the city parts (Eskinasi, 1993, p.51). The units are considerably smaller than those of the local level of government in the case of Edinburgh in both the pre and post 1996 organisational structure. The new city authority in Edinburgh, along with its counterparts elsewhere in Scotland, is being encouraged to establish local offices in an effort to retain local relations. Edinburgh is however less of a problem in terms of this concern than other new councils covering more geographically dispersed rural and semi rural areas, which are amongst the most remote in Europe.

The current reorganisation of Scottish local government to form unitary authorities differs from the increasingly fragmented approach which has progressed in Prague since 1989. The new Scottish authorities are expected by policy makers to bridge the gap between local and regional authorities. The Prague authorities in comparison are only equipped to deal with planning at the local level, with no explicit strategic guidance. The Scottish system has long maintained a pride in its regional level of government which provided full strategic coverage of the country through structure plans, particularly as this was not a strong element of the neighbouring English system. One of the main debates surrounding reorganisation as discussed in Chapters 3 and 6 focuses on this facet of the planning system, with early calls (e.g. Hayton, 1995) for measures to ensure inter authority cooperation in dealing with strategic planning.

Following from the overall structure of local authorities in Scotland and the Czech Republic, actual population coverage as defined by the second section of the table varies considerably. Prague's municipalities, which cover the most fragmented region of local authority in the Czech Republic, account for a widely ranging scale of population coverage as Eskinasi detailed:
## Five Largest and Five Smallest City Parts with Number of Inhabitants 1993.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Five largest</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Five smallest</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Praha 4</td>
<td>143,551</td>
<td>Přední Kopanina</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praha 10</td>
<td>138,203</td>
<td>Královice</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praha 6</td>
<td>126,692</td>
<td>Benice</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praha 8</td>
<td>112,500</td>
<td>Křeslice</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praha 3</td>
<td>81,862</td>
<td>Nedvězí</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eskinasi 1993, page 53

The historic centre is within (and does not cover all of) the Praha 1 city part, which covers an average sized population of 42,567 (Eskinasi, 1994, p.102). Such powers afforded to relatively small bodies contrasts with local government in Edinburgh in the post 1996 reorganisation period, with a new unitary authority covering the City of Edinburgh accounting for a population of 441,620. The 1996 scheme for local government abolished Lothian Region, and created new unitary authorities of the City of Edinburgh Council, Midlothian Council (population of 79,910), West Lothian Council (146,730) and East Lothian Council (85,640). It remains to be seen how effective the new councils will be following this reorganisation, although it is clear that both pre and post reorganisation structures represent significantly wider coverage than that of the Prague municipalities. The repercussions that the relatively high degree of centralisation of power and accountability in the UK has on the ability for locally led planning action has been discussed by many theorists (e.g. previous reference of Burns, 1991), as well as in the context and in contrast to the systems of other member states within the European Community (e.g. Healey & Williams, 1993). At the same time, apart from the exceptionally high level of fragmentation in the case of Prague in terms of population coverage, it could be asserted that the nature of organisation of local government in the Czech Republic, particularly as it relates to planning, has a great deal more in common with the rest of Europe than the UK on the grounds of decentralisation of power and its statutory role.

Under communism, “physical planning was part of a highly centralised system of government, and as such the scope for local involvement and autonomy was sharply circumscribed” (Hague and Prior, 1991, p.21) The problem of public participation and accountability of the planning system remains even in the post revolutionary period. Local elections have gained relatively high voting
levels - the November 1994 local elections for instance received a 71% turn out of voters (Prague Post, 1994). Despite this however, in terms of activity and involvement beyond merely voting, a lack of understanding of access to local government and roles which can be undertaken by the public has meant a continuingly passive public. The Prague Post reported how around sixty towns in the same election had no election as no-one was willing to stand. Civic groups are unsurprisingly rare in the society which has been dominated by a communist government which did not appreciate opponents, or any vocal minorities for that matter. This contrasts with the lengthy history of considerable input particularly in the area of conservation in the Old Town of Edinburgh, as described in the previous chapter. However, informally organised groups, the most famous of which being "The Prague Mothers", had already emerged prior to 1989 in response to the growing awareness of environmental issues, and the particular problem of pollution in the case of the Czech Republic.

Public accountability is a further feature of local government which illustrates the important differences in the local government framework within which the planning systems of each case study operate. Both case studies illustrate a democratic basis for the running of local government, although actual accountability to, and empowerment of, the public varies. In particular, despite the Czech system including the capacity in statutory terms of involving the public in decision making, this was not usually effectively utilised. As Benson (1993) points out:

"Actual public involvement in the planning process was not as open and statutorily encouraged as the theoretical framework might have suggested. In common with criticisms made in other East European socialist states, the vested interests of the communist party ideology often overrode the opinions of the local populace. In addition, at a local level, large industrial enterprises which dominated local employment in an urban area would heavily influence local urban administrations" (p.36).

Explanations for this could be due to the only recently established formalisation of public participation in the case of Prague. It should however be noted that the UK system is only really considered efficient on this basis in comparison to a case such as Prague, with many studies underlining the shortfalls in this area in the case of the UK as compared to other west European countries.
Issues for the new planning system following institutional restructuring in the Czech Republic

Public participation and the degree of government intervention is an issue which lies at the heart of a comparison between the two planning systems. Public participation was not traditionally a well established and recognised part of the Czech system prior to 1989, whereas in Edinburgh there is a long history of not only public participation in planning, but also in highly organised civic groups representing public opinion in an increasingly sophisticated manner. The UK system has nevertheless debated the actual effectiveness of public participation, with a number of initiatives illustrating that the UK system can take community participation to a far greater level. At the European level, “transparency” (Healey and Williams, 1993) of planning services is a fundamental requirement, not least within the requirements of the sustainability debate. This aspect of the Czech planning system is an area in need of rapid development in order to ensure a more democratic and relevant response is attained as soon as possible.

Officers during communist times were virtually all recruited subject to political approval, thus ensuring the effective implementation of centralised principles and reducing the scope for dissent. Following the changes, new problems of education of planners and the relationship between planners and elected representatives will be another concern with fundamental implications for the democratisation of the process. In addition to the structural problems in terms of the institutional and professional identity of planning, in more practical terms, the basic planning tools of development plans and development control are being fundamentally reshaped as a result of the transition.

The most recently approved development plan for the city of Prague, approved in 1986, has now lost a great deal of its relevance since the 1989 changes. Early attempts to replace the 1986 plan comprised attempts to update and augment existing policy, although containing guidance for some new development including some rehabilitation in the historic centre and the location of a number of major development schemes (Bor, 1995, p.26). More recently the need for a new approach has been acknowledged and these attempts led to no real new comprehensive policy guidance for the city. Work began in Autumn 1991 on the revised Strategic Plan for the city to replace this plan. It was anticipated that it would be completed by the end of 1994/ early 1995, although it remains overdue at the time of writing. Preparation of the plan is proving a lengthy and difficult process, which in turn draws parallels with the difficulties related in the Edinburgh case study in the previous Chapter. A commission was appointed on the city council for the preparation of a Strategic plan, which was
chaired by Jan Kasl. The commission have produced a report entitled Praha 2010 which aimed to put forward salient issues for the new plan in terms of strengths and weaknesses which should be addressed.

The City Architect’s department has been replaced by the Prague City Development Authority which includes a new department for Strategic Concepts which includes "a directorate and groups concerned with social, economic, ecological and urbanistic aspects, and a legislative and public relations support group" (Bor, 1995, p.27). In considering issues for the new plan, a key trend being taken into account is that development in Prague, previously almost exclusively confined to the periphery of the city, has already begun to change its emphasis. As the City Architect’s Office stated:

"Until the year 2000, the main emphasis of development will be concentrated on the outskirts of the city where some new residential districts are still under construction, but attention will be increasingly centred on the comprehensive renewal of Prague’s inner city. This is crucial not only for a balanced development and for levelling differences in housing standards. A continued growth of the city, which already now sprawls to a great distance from the centre, is very costly in terms of transport and public utilities." (City Architect’s Office, 1993, p.65)

The new Strategic Plan currently being prepared seeks to establish “stabilized zones” in the city where development is zoned according to appropriate functions. Areas without a clear singular function are to be known as “unstabilized zones” for which more detailed plans will be made.

The plan has to provide a predicted 30,000 further housing units, despite the forecasted relatively steady population growth of around 2,000 persons (p.a.) to the end of the century. This is owing to both the inadequate quality of much of the existing stock and for household growth (Wood and Turkington, 1995). The plan is also aiming to reduce the concentration of employment in the historic core, which currently accommodates one third of the total jobs in the city, by increasing the ability of the more peripheral areas to attract new investment in an attempt to reduce congestion and commuters into the centre. (Wood and Turkington 1995). Congestion in the centre is exacerbated by the fact that the third of all jobs are accommodated in an area of less than 1.6% of the total area covered by the city.
The new planning framework for Prague incorporates three layers of plan including the strategic plan, the master plan and zoning regulation plans, each accounting for ascending degrees of detail and localisation. The inclusion of a strategic plan which aims to provide an overview and outline of key targets for the city, brings the physically oriented Master Plan in line with a more cross European model of development plan which takes into account the full range of issues such as social structure, economic characteristics etc. which affect planning in a less direct way.

In comparing the two systems of development plans, in the Edinburgh case detailed in Chapter 3, development plans within the UK planning system have gained somewhat in legislative standing since the 1991 Planning and Compensation Act, although the implementation of its policies and recommendations remain essentially discretionary in practice, particularly when compared to the more rigidly administered zoning plans of many other European countries. The Czech model continues to allocate detailed land use zones at the most local level of the plan. As a result, apart from the current plan for the city being outdated prior to the final adoption of a new plan, and despite improvements to the structure of plans to incorporate a wider view for planners, the Czech framework could be considered to be ineffective compared to that in place in Edinburgh in the context of dealing with the demands of the commercial property market.

As Turba (1996) describes, however, the new working group is beginning to address the problems which the transition has imposed in terms of identifying an appropriate development plan response. Phase 1 of the "Prague 2010" project which was set up to address these issues began in 1994, and involved a group of experts, politicians and inhabitants of the city discussed five key problem areas of Prague transport and the general functioning of the city, ecological problems, social problems (including crime and the growth of marginalised / disadvantaged groups in society), institutional problems and general problems relating to the territorial development of the city. Following further discussion of these aspects and consideration of the likely scenarios of future development on these terms, ten task areas were identified for a strategic development plan for the city. The Prague city elected authorities formed a programme of priorities on the basis of these concerns, which included stimulation of entrepreneurship (including tourism) and protection of cultural heritage. A strategic vision has therefore started to emerge which goes some way toward redressing the previous policy shortfall in terms of co-ordinating tourism and conservation. Turba states:
"Prague has the chance to take advantage of its cultural and spiritual tradition and the current wave of touristic interest. While seeking its new identity, nevertheless, it must not lose the values which make it to be one of the exceptional cities of Europe" (1996, p.8).

Recognition of conservation as an issue is being consolidated in a workshop (within a series of topic areas) focusing on the conflicts arising from development and safeguarding of the historic city centre. Meanwhile, work has commenced on phase 2 of strategic plan for the city, in cooperation with consultants from the UK (supported in part by the British Council Know How Fund). (Turba, 1996, p.4)

This strong strategic approach is clearly much needed in Prague, overcoming the negative effects which have already emerged since 1989, of the lack of an appropriate policy framework of this type. Whether or not such an approach can be sustained in the future, particularly due to the institutional framework of the city's highly fragmented local authorities not being adequately co-ordinated at the central level, is yet to be seen.

In terms of the second aspect of development control in Prague, the former Office of the Chief Architect was responsible for the granting of planning permits through zoning procedures and the requirements of the statutory Master Plan for the city. This role has now been taken on by the replacement Prague City Development Authority. The local authority construction department is then responsible for the granting of a Construction Permit (Stavební povolení), which is a similar requirement to Building Regulations in the UK (a distinct element from planning). Figure 4.9 summarises the requirements of the system in greater detail. One British firm sums up the frustrations which the Czech planning system can cause:

"In Czechoslovakia the procedures that must be followed when obtaining planning permission and in satisfying the local building legislation, are Kafkaesque in their complexity" (Griffin et al, 1992).
Figure 4.9 Summary of the Development Control Process in Prague

| STAGE 1: | Applicant must be a locally registered practice prior to taking part in procedures; |
| STAGE 2: | Initial application for “Permission to Place a Building” - this is the equivalent to the UK full planning permission; the application includes: |

**Drawings:** Site plan, building plans, elevations & sections showing dimensional form, details of materials, room numbers and areas for each space, land use and titles map showing all relevant and adjacent properties, photomontages showing new buildings set in the existing environment, a special co-ordination drawing showing all the services connections, existing contours and trees to be felled.

**Written Reports:** Detailed description of the development, calculations of energy consumption, reasons for the use of the building, the placing and effects of trees on the development, noise pollution, traffic considerations and any other relevant data.

* use of a Czech agent to maintain momentum is recommended;
* the application is submitted to up to 50 Prague authorities and institutions;
* a hearing is arranged for the verbal confirmation of approval;
* one week is allowed for public comment;
* this is followed by a fourteen day statutory "cooling off" period

| STAGE 3: | Further application is submitted for "Permission to Build" - this is the equivalent of Building Regulations in the UK |

* this part of the application requires more in-depth information;
* various authorities are again consulted for approval;
* this is followed by a fourteen day public consultation period;
* the final hearing takes place ("Kolaudace");

Source: adapted from Griffin et al. 1992

The respective development control systems of Prague and Edinburgh are perhaps the features of the planning systems which most clearly illustrate the variance in political histories and present circumstances in the two countries. In the case of Prague, despite since the transition being in favour of free market activity, led by a highly Thatcherite government, the Czech development control system remains cumbersome and a disincentive for development, to a greater extent than in any west European system. As illustrated in Figure 4.9, applying for permission to place a building, together with the building regulations involves the submission of a considerable number of detailed statements, plans and drawings, which is then followed by a lengthy consultative and decision making process (despite the relatively minor requirements for public consultation). Even after the completion of a building, a further inspection and granting of a final certificate is required.
In the UK developers often protest against lengthy planning procedures, although in comparison to the Prague system the UK development control system appears almost negligent in its haste. The UK system has been the subject of a great deal of scrutiny, particularly since the deregulation culture of the Thatcher government. Nevertheless the system commits to providing a decision on applications within eight weeks of submission. The UK system also benefits from the option for applicants to seek permission for development in outline only, where authorities can make a decision in principle only, prior to the later approval of reserved matters in more detail. This option has proved effective in dealing with complex and/or large scale development. Through simplifying the process, whilst maintaining a degree of control, the outline planning permission allows for the more efficient running of the free market than the stringent system in operation in Prague, which has tended to be frequently bypassed by developers partly as a result of their frustration with the process.

The tendency for the market to overtake the outdated nature of planning in Prague is further exacerbated by enforcement provisions. The powers afforded to planners in the UK have been strengthened more recently through the introduction of legislation following the Carnwath Report “Enforcing Planning Control” which was published in 1989. To achieve this and in an effort to speed up the process, the Planning and Compensation Act (1991) increased fiscal penalties, simplified enforcement procedures and reduced loopholes in the legislation. In contrast to this, since 1989 legislation in the Czech Republic has dismantled enforcement procedures for development in protected areas and/or affecting protected buildings. Once more this aspect of a comparison between the two planning systems could be equated with public and political pressure to react against the former high levels of control of planning under communism.

Again the lack of an appropriate framework in Prague is highlighted when compared to the provisions within the Edinburgh system which allows for planning agreements. Despite criticisms of the implementation of such provisions as highlighted in the previous chapter, at least in principle this serves as a further mechanism by which increased interaction and co-operation between the public and private sectors can be achieved. Given the transitional nature of planning in both cases, where traditional public sector roles have been substantially eroded, giving way to increased input from the market, Prague clearly has something of value to learn from Edinburgh in this sense. The present

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4 If this is not achieved, the applicant has the legal right to appeal to the Secretary of State directly. This system has benefits through encouraging a more positive dialogue with applicants, whilst at the same time can be abused e.g. local authorities have been known to issue a refusal notice to ensure the eight week target is met and may even delay recording the receipt of applications to prolong the decision time available.

5 as supplemented by detailed guidance set out in SOE Circulars 8/1992 and 36/1992
transitional nature of the Czech system has the potential to provide the opportunity for such reforms to be undertaken.

Planning in Prague, and its role in addressing the symbiotic elements of conservation and tourism in the historic centre, although considerably disadvantaged by the communist inheritance, is clearly beginning to reform itself, taking on a more strategically orientated approach. Several aspects obviously require considerable change, not least the development control system, the way in which planners can overcome institutional fragmentation, and the need to foster greater interaction between the public and private sectors. Conservation has, however, emerged as a well recognised concern, together a respect for the importance of the historic built environment in forming a strategy for the city. Having established this, the characteristics of the tourist market in the city are discussed in more detail in the following section, prior to putting forward concluding comments relating to the potential amalgamation of these key themes of urban development.

4.8 Tourism in the Historic Centre of Prague since the Transition

With the gradual relaxation in the previously stifling state imposed controls in gaining entry to the country and exchanging currency, the Czech Republic, with Prague as its focus, witnessed a steady growth in its tourism industry throughout the 1980’s. Numbers of visitors rose steadily to around 24.5 million in 1988 - the highest rate in the wider region at that time (E.I.U., 1989). The majority of tourists continued to be of domestic origins or from within the Soviet bloc. Despite this growth, a report published by the Economist Intelligence Unit in 1989 outlined a number of shortfalls in the industry within the CSSR, which it considered to account for the relatively low income gleaned from visitors to the country, including:

* The supply side of tourism was considered a low priority by those centrally administering the economy who were faced with what were considered to be 'more important' need - there was therefore little or no incentive for the active promotion of the industry;

* Controlling numbers of western visitors in an effort to attain the social and cultural aspirations of the government more easily. This would have been ideologically necessary as the government restricted outward-bound travel and would therefore have difficulty inviting western tourists (and their influence on society) on this basis. Limiting cultural exchange and crossover (an important
feature of international tourism) would have been important in limiting the travel aspirations of its own population.

* Capacities for tourist numbers trailed foreign demand by as much as 100%, with insufficient infrastructure and services being provided.

* There was poor training for participants in the industry;

* Marketing of the country abroad was limited;

* Transportation into the country (as well as outwards) was virtually a state monopoly;

As a result of these factors, together with the inaccuracies of available tourism data due to the inclusion of transitional traffic crossing border checkpoints at that time, only 6.8% of arrivals into the country were from western origins, with 75% of all foreign visits being from other CEE countries staying for less than 24 hours. Prior to the changes in 1989, the EIU summarised the crippling effects of the socialist regime on the development of the industry, as part of the overall contrived circumstances of consumption shared by all communist countries. It states:

"For decades, the Czech government has not recognised the possibility of developing foreign tourism into a major convertible currency earning industry. In the past the reasoning behind not investing more in tourism was that the money was needed for industries whose products could be exported to the west i.e. traditional heavy industries. At the same time, the system of central planning and government monopolies does not allow for private investment, and entrepreneurial spirit is severely restricted. The almost 100 per cent budgetary redistribution of enterprise income, and the general lack of personal incentives for managers and employers mean that even enterprises in the tourism industry have limited interest in promoting their businesses"(p.29).

The EIU Report stated that a slight thaw in government policy in favour of tourism, which occurred at the end of the 1980's with the drop in income from traditional heavy industry, would have been insufficient to stimulate tourism without a complete change in government attitude together with substantial investment. At the end of 1989 the Velvet revolution instigated these changes virtually overnight, when the previously stifled entrepreneurial sector of activity was liberated from state control. The additional curiosity value of many central and eastern European cities, previously
unexplored by mass tourism, in combination with additional "pulling power" of weaker currencies in the region, proved to be a catalyst for a major surge in tourist activity in Prague. In short, in an industry where fashion plays an important role in defining trends, the sudden changes in the former central and east European countries meant that an exciting and cheap product was available for consumption which had not been before. Tourist numbers in the area therefore increased at a rapid pace following 1989.

Data relating to tourist numbers in the Czech Republic today continue to present extensive problems in terms of their accuracy. For instance, the Czech Tourist Authority states that between January and November 1996, 101.0 million foreign visitors arrived in the Czech Republic - an increase of 11.5% in the same period during the year previously. This figure, exceptionally high in terms of tourist numbers, is distorted by the location of the Czech Republic at the crossroads of Europe, and the consequent effects of a large percentage of those counted as tourists in fact passing through in transit without stopping in the country.

As an alternative source of data, the Czech Tourist Board also generates figures in terms of those staying in official accommodation, with the resulting exclusion of a large proportion of the total, through tourists using the thriving "black market" of accommodation in private rooms. There is little data at the national level, with any further breakdown of tourist distribution within the country at either the regional or urban level being even less likely to be either accurate or available in the first place. This continuing problem with data in the Czech Republic reflects the communist legacy of lack of access, public dissemination of results of surveys and regard for accuracy due to its former political manipulation.

Notwithstanding this lack of clarity as to actual numbers of tourists which is endemic throughout the region, in the first half of the 1990's, the growth of tourism in the CEE countries has been identified as a primary factor of influence in economic growth and welfare of the region. In terms of the overall role of the region of as a tourist destination, tourist activity so far has focused primarily of the city break sector of the industry, with Prague leading a number of other popular cities including Budapest, Krakow, St. Petersberg, Bucharest and Sofia.

The popularity of the region's historic cities as tourist destinations reflects the global sectoral change within the tourist industry which has occurred over the last decade. Within Europe, a clear shift has taken place, lessening the former near exclusive dominance of the Mediterranean resort holiday in
favour of growing interest in activity-based, educational and cultural holidays. The growth in the short break sector of the tourist market, and the increasing propensity of tourists to take a second holidays within a year, has helped towards strengthening tourism in historic cities further. The former eastern Bloc is no exception to this trend, and this has been amplified to a certain extent by the lack of prior visits to the area of many potential tourists, as well as the alternative attractions outwith the cities.

Figure 4.10 is an illustration of tourist resources of the region as described by Hall, which represents the spread of attractions apart from the historic cities which have largely yet to be fully explored. The winter holiday market of the region has also benefited from an increase in tourist interest in the region, particularly in the case of Romania. The favourable currency exchange rates for western visitors (although in a state of constant flux) has helped to further promote tourism in the region as a budget holiday option.

Despite the economic benefits which tourism is widely recognised as generating, and the relative strength of the industry within the Czech economy as a whole, government support for tourism since 1989 has remained low, as in the pre revolutionary period. The Association of Travel Agencies of the Czech Republic recently demanded greater government re-investment in the industry (Damsell, 1993), on the grounds of the overall contribution which the industry makes to the country's economy. In 1992, for instance, tourists spent $1.2 billion (35 billion Kc) in the Czech Republic - constituting 4% of the Czech GNP. In response, the government spends $1 million annually on the promotion and marketing of tourism, which, when compared to the budgets of $10 million in Hungary and in excess of $50 million in Austria, is highlighted as being disproportionately low. This lack of direct support in financial terms is exacerbated by the continued inefficiency of the state in the provision of practical support mechanisms including the standardisation of the rating of service provision, and regulating of tour operators.
Figure 4.10 Tourist Resources in Central and Eastern Europe

Source: Hall, 1990
Despite this lack of support, however, the tourist industry in the Czech Republic, and particularly within Prague itself, has proceeded to grow at a high rate, which more recently has begun to level off to a certain degree, at least in part due to the diminishing advantage held by the city in terms of favourable exchange rates for foreigners, in short, "Prague's reputation as an inexpensive city, something that has motivated many tourists who came here, is fading as price hikes hit the tourist harder than anyone else" (Spinkova, 1993, p.4).

Despite reductions in actual numbers, it is easy to envisage a continuing prosperous tourist industry within the city, given the extent of unexploited sources of support and promotion. A more sophisticated approach which is government supported, than the current entrepreneurial led development, is likely to continue to become of greater importance in the future.

Given the overnight burgeoning of the industry, the impact of mass tourism on a historic city is highlighted in the cities of the CEE countries including Prague which, prior to 1989, had experienced little or no commercial pressure. As a result, the case study of Prague is clearly based on a very distinct context from that of Edinburgh. The technical studies conducted in the historic core, in combination with the perceptions of residents and tourists, as well as providing an appraisal of the impact of tourism on each city, will also provide an insight into the degree to which the effects of mass tourism in the historic city of the new Europe are constant. This aspect is discussed more fully in Chapter 7.

Given the context of conservation and current planning provisions discussed earlier in this chapter, an investigation of the impact of tourism through capacity analysis is likely to highlight the strengths and weaknesses of the system. Tourism in the historic core of Prague is clearly an issue which has rapidly become important, both in terms of its potential aid for the economy, and in its negative impact:

"The low level of Czech unemployment could in part be a sign of incomplete transformation with over-employment in industry. In part it could also be due to two elements of good fortune. The first is the country's success in attracting foreign tourists - over 100 million in 1994 against a population of 10.3 million - who spend the equivalent of the average wage for 7% of the Czech labour force" (Myant, 1995, p.73).
So far, benefits in terms of the provision of new employment opportunities have played an important part in easing the transition for part of the population, not least in historic cities as illustrated in Figure 4.11. The statistics contrast labour market shares in Prague and Český Krumlov (historic areas with high tourist numbers) where a higher proportion of the market related to tourism, than in the other industrial and agriculturally based areas.

Figure 4.11 Percentage of labour force active in selected sectors of Czech districts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Agriculture</th>
<th>Finance</th>
<th>Trade &amp; repair</th>
<th>Hotel &amp; catering</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prague</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prague-west</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Český Krumlov</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jablonec nad Nisou</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Despite these figures representing a consistent view of tourism with employment opportunities, Myant highlights the lower impact on employment than might have been expected from levels of tourist spending in the country. This is particularly true of Prague, which accounts for nearly half of all tourist nights spent in the country as a whole. This is partly a result of the strength of the private accommodation market in response to the shortfall in official accommodation in the city:

"Thus money passes directly to individuals and need generate no direct employment. It could be spent within that area, giving some demand stimulus, or even abroad on quality consumer goods. In either case, the principal impact will be to raise personal incomes rather than employment" (Myant, 1995, p.759).

The above wider issues relating to tourism form the basis of the more localised impact of the industry which is being examined in the capacity analysis related in Chapter 7. The literature review identified issues which historic cities share in accommodating tourism. In the case of Prague, the planning background and wider political history make a number of these impacts more important than others. For instance, the lack of a commercial retail market in the city prior to 1989 has meant
the quick establishment of new outlets in the historic centre since the transition. The retail study combined with perception studies aims to highlight the impact of this new land use in the historic centre. Tourist numbers have multiplied quickly since 1989, the industry previously being restricted. The overall views of residents are therefore of particular interest, not least due to early figures indicating continuing depopulation. The lack of a strong policy framework and effective development control in the city, in combination with shortage of financial assistance for historic areas, adds a further dimension to measuring the impact of tourism on aesthetic and townscape features. The relationship between Prague's context as outlined above and the more general problems and opportunities will be highlighted when the results of the capacity analysis in Prague and Edinburgh are compared in Chapter 8.

4.9 Conclusions - Issues for Capacity Analysis in Prague

In short, the historic centre of Prague is being faced with a number of new problems which are now arising as a result of the transition from communism to the free market. As described above, these include the restitution of property, continuing inadequacies of housing supply, mounting social problems, inward investment and pressure for commercial development shifting the land use balance, and the impact of mass tourism with its accompanying problems and opportunities. Left unchecked, these issues will potentially detract from the quality of life of the historic centre in a permanent way, creating far reaching problems such as depopulation, environmental deterioration and loss of the historic fabric. This thesis focuses on the last of the threats - tourist impact - in an effort to assess the ability of the planning system to regulate and direct change for the benefit of the area.

"Further problems consisted of the urgent need for restoration of historic Prague and its protection against a brutal touristification. Solutions to these and many other problems were difficult to reach because of the almost complete lack of effective metropolitan agencies with authority to plan and raise taxes for the necessary activities" (Jorgensen, 1992, p.650).

The historic centre of Prague requires an effective response by planners, who in turn are unable to deliver this due to the continuing transitional nature of the system itself. Fundamental aspects of the ability of Prague's planning system to adequately control and direct tourist related development in the historic centre will be considered through the urban capacity analysis. For instance, the restructuring of development plans and the lack of strength in policy making in the meantime, may increase the negative impact of tourism and negate its potential benefits to the area. This is further
compounded by the inadequacies of the development control procedures, and the lack of a democratic and organisational base upon which a sound planning system should be based.

The urban areas of eastern Europe are undergoing rapid restructuring, with changes since 1989 being comparable to those which have evolved over decades in western cities. This has been compounded by development pressure which has had little steering from the planning system to date, largely due to its formation during the antithetical scenario of state control in the pre 1989 period. This is illustrated in the consideration of tourist development in the historic core and pressure to promote the city abroad, which has been the result of a simplistic faith in market forces.

"It remains to be seen how far the city council is able to progress in a climate of reduced state funding, increasing commercial pressures, greater individual freedom and spending capacity and weaker powers of implementation. The next few years will truly be a period of challenge for a city in transition" (Wood and Turkington, 1995, p.1120).

In short, the ability of the planning system in Prague, which is still undergoing fundamental restructuring, to cope with such complex and urgent problems is extremely uncertain. The entrepreneurial invasion of the city, finding itself restricted by the cumbersome planning controls, is often bypassing the system completely (undeterred by inadequate enforcement provisions) in order to extract short term gain from tourism in the historic city centre. The absence of more sophisticated market orientated planning instruments such as those of the UK (e.g. outline planning permission) should be addressed in forming the new planning system:

"...the authorities need to act quickly to establish firm control over a burgeoning business sector which is increasingly exerting pressure on the fragile building fabric. Provisions are in place to safeguard historic buildings, but these are not geared up to combat the guile and aggression of commercial operators, the enforcement of these provisions is already being seriously tested" (Mabbitt, 1992, p.15).

Despite the above threats and the lack of current planning capacity to deal with them effectively, the historical account of conservation in the city indicates its potential strengths of a relatively intact historic built environment (albeit by default) and underlying traditions in public support for historic buildings. The considerable scale and quality of the historic built environment of the city remains one of its greatest assets:
“Eastern Europe has retained much of its architectural heritage because of slow economic development and, if it tries hard enough, can still avoid some of the mistakes caused by more rapid development in the west” (Clark, 1992,).

The changes which are occurring in the historic centre of Prague are likely to bring about a significant reshaping of its built, social and economic characteristics. The effectiveness of planning will have a direct influence on whether this change is for the better or worse. The control of the impact of tourism, perhaps the most immediately apparent threat at present, is explored in the detailed capacity analysis exercise, the results of which are related in Chapter 7. Apart from serving as a framework for comparison with Edinburgh, the collation of data in Prague is of further interest for a number of reasons. In the period of rapid change which has occurred since 1989, the technical studies will establish a range of baseline data which documents the changes in the historic centre in the post transition period. In addition, the perception studies, particularly of the residents, redress the continuing lack of contact between the city’s planners and its population.
Chapter 5
Chapter 5

Tourism Impact Assessment and Urban Capacity Analysis: The Current Debate and Developing Methodology

5.1 Introduction - Scope of the Chapter

This thesis aims to study Edinburgh and Prague through applying a problem oriented comparative methodology, as defined in Chapter One. Chapter Two identified the role of the historic city in Europe in the past, present and future. Tourism in the historic city was explored further in Chapter Two, through discussion of trends and issues. This Chapter takes the literature a step further, through outlining the development of methodologies for assessing tourist impact through urban capacity analysis. It also defines the most appropriate framework for data collection in the two case study areas.

The chapter discusses a number of aspects of methodology. Firstly, traditional approaches to tourism planning are identified and their effectiveness is discussed. Influences on tourism planning and recent debates about the role of the industry in terms of sustainability are then outlined, bringing the field of tourism planning up to date. The second strand of methodology will be the role of capacity measurement as a means of facilitating tourism planning and management. Studies which illustrate this are discussed. The Chapter then examines capacity analysis more fully and in particular the current debate in planning about the technique’s validity and implementation. The Chapter concludes with a description of a recent urban capacity analysis study carried out in Chester, which is the basis for application of the method to Prague and Edinburgh. The resulting adapted methodology used in the study will be explored more fully prior to the results of its application in the respective case study areas being fully detailed in Chapters 6 and 7.
5.2 Traditional Tourism Planning Literature

Tourism planning literature ranges from the descriptive to prescriptive. Pearce, Mathieson and Wall, Burkhart and Madlick, and Gunn have identified tourism as a relevant concern of planners, and have increasingly advocated a proactive approach to its management. With the growing awareness of the debate surrounding sustainability and ecotourism, the literature reflects a concurrent interest in the environmental impact of tourism in terms of both research and practice.

Burkhart and Madlick (1981) summarised the main components of tourism planning as:
1. Assessing demand
2. Assessment of required resources of land, capital and labour
3. Impacts/compatibility of tourism with existing/other activities

These components confirm that tourism is predominantly demand, rather than supply led, and the resulting role of planning often has to be reactionary, rather than proactive. Tourism is inherently diffuse in its impact and as a result requires a comprehensive approach to be taken in its assessment. Traditionally tourism planning has been carried out at multiple spatial levels of planning activity, each assuming its own specialised area of influence. For instance, at the local level, transport within, rather than to or between destinations, as well as protection of vulnerable resources become critical issues, at the same time as ensuring the needs of visitors and tourists are adequately catered for. At the local level, planning is often confined to the physical organisation of sectors of activity. Mathieson and Wall (1982) commented that:

"Zoning regulations, building codes and design standards may be employed to ensure that new structures, such as hotels, are constructed in appropriate locations and are of acceptable appearance. However, to date such measures have usually been employed after the damage has been done. They have often been site specific rather than reflections of an imaginative, general policy. They have usually been reactionary, discouraging unsightly developments, rather than positive, promoting excellence in design." (p.24)

However, the traditional input of the planner in the local sphere has developed through research and literature over the years from a reactionary ‘damage limitation’ role to a more proactive
stance. The planning of tourism, particularly in the context of the more sensitive environment (whether it be physically, social, economically or ecologically vulnerable), can take steps to ensure tourism produces a beneficial effect.

In addition to local level concern with the impact of tourism, the strategic level of activity allows for the implementation of further planning and management mechanisms which benefit from the wider viewpoint. These include prioritisation of attractions according to capacity within a region, co-ordinating transport linkages of key attractions and improving access from tourist sources. Furthermore, tourism planning at the national level as identified by Pearce (1981) has traditionally determined objectives in order to attain a strategic overview of the situation. This level also serves a useful purpose in incorporating this role within the national policy and guidance framework. At the national level, the relationship between attractions, and the regional context of cities and resorts, can be comprehensively explored. Larger infrastructural concerns have also generally been taken account of at this level.

Much of tourism planning to date as identified by Pearce (1981) has omitted to fully consider the value of the supranational level of planning, particularly in European terms. This is explored more fully in the literature relating to tourism in the European historic city which was discussed in Chapter Two. Despite this, the underlying principles of tourism planning have generally responded to the changing tourist industry, with the restructuring of Europe and global economic change demanding a closer examination of the impact of tourism on the historic city in Europe. Given the debates surrounding conservation and its implementation, and the need for the historic city to utilise tourism as a means of aiding this process in both financial and land use terms, tourism planning, which has traditionally focused on either the natural environment or resort/purpose built facilities in applying planning concepts, will be increasing concerned with development in historic cities across Europe. The rapid growth of tourism in central and eastern Europe will further demand considerable intervention, if tourism in these cities is to be sustained.

The tourist industry itself is constantly changing, as it is primarily demand led and consequently sensitive to fashions. The rising popularity of the green movement has fostered a new awareness not least on the part of the consumer as to the sustainability of tourist activity. Following from this, the concepts of "eco tourism", green tourism and sustainable tourism have been increasingly
documented in contemporary tourism literature (see for example McIntyre, 1993; Lindberg & Hawkins, 1993; Hawkins, 1994). Although seeming to be new, much of this awareness is based on the well established traditional approach to tourism planning through monitoring impacts. Western defines ecotourism, for example, as follows:

"Ecotourism is about creating and satisfying a hunger for nature, about exploiting tourism’s potential for conservation and development, and about averting its negative impact on ecology, culture and aesthetics." (Western, 1993, p.8)

The popularity of such causes has already had a considerable impact on the way in which people regard their tourist destinations (Grenier, et al, 1993). A study of German tourists for example identified that “20% of tourists which consider the environment of their destination is damaged are unlikely to return” (Hawkins, 1994, p.4).

Despite increasing interest in sustainable tourism, much of the literature around the subject remains primarily focused on the natural environment and is often rural based. Its principles, however, are clearly relevant and applicable to all forms of tourism and tourist destinations, including the historic city. Western, for instance, has acknowledged the narrow definitions that ecotourism has satisfied so far, but states:

"Much as we may want to define ecotourism narrowly, in reality the principles applied to the mass market can do more good for conservation - and alleviate more harm - than a small elitist market. Ecotourism, accepted in this way, is shifting from definitions of small scale nature tourism to a set of principles applicable to any nature-related tourism. If we accept that ecotourism is about principles of balancing tourism, conservation and culture, its role is limitless." (Western, 1993, p.10)

This clearly gives scope for the extension of this debate into the historic city, which can equally be classed as a “fragile environment” under threat from mass tourism and its impacts. Sustainable tourism and the related literature has already played a role in advancing traditional approaches to planning through highlighting the comprehensive nature of the impact of tourism. This in turn has more recently called into question the effectiveness of methods of impact analysis. Until the rise in
interest in sustainability, the physical, social and economic impacts of tourist development in the context of an integrated approach has been paid little attention in research and literature:

"Most studies refer to the effects of tourism on one particular environmental component. There has been little attempt to integrate the effects on a number of components to provide an assessment of the impacts of tourism on the environment as a whole." (Hall and Kinnaird, 1993, p.156)

This shortfall has occurred despite the recognition throughout tourism planning literature that the tourist industry itself has a direct interest in protecting those assets which made it an attraction to begin with, particularly in the case of historic cities. Ashworth sums up the incompatibility which is inherent in the relationship between tourism and the conserved city:

"The functional relations are based upon the central paradox of the coexistence of both a fundamental symbiosis together with a degree of equally fundamental mutual incompatibility." (Ashworth, 1990, p.95)

The interaction of tourist development and conservation in historic cities is additionally recognised as having a potentially positive impact in the form of the generation of financial and other means of support for the conservation and preservation of historic buildings as well as other aspects of life in historic areas of cities. The hotel industry, for example, is beginning to take on board environmental issues, shown by increasing awareness of the green / ecotourism niche. Charter (1992), for instance, described some of the benefits for hotel owners which have motivated this change:

"It is important to realise the opportunities a green policy can create. Public interest in green issues will mean that hotels which are seen to be actively doing something about their role in protecting the environment will attract good media attention and enable greener marketing which will mean more customers, proud and committed staff, good local community relations good shareholder relations and potentially improved supplier relations as suppliers vie to win contracts with the company...Early involvement will mean the company can drive the issue to its best advantage rather than be pushed into belated, ill thought out actions." (p.15)
In its simplest interpretation, within the sustainability agenda tourism planning plays as much an enabling and management role as that of a regulator. Effective management has the potential to solve many of the problems of the impact of tourism, perhaps most notably in social terms. However the extent to which this is implemented, and the possibility for comprehensive coverage of the market are likely to be slow and difficult to attain prospects. The World Tourism Organisation produced a report in 1993 entitled “Sustainable Tourist Development: A Guide for Local Planners” (McIntyre, 1993). It provides the planner with practical advice in attaining sustainable tourist development. This advice has begun to be implemented in recent tourism planning at least at the national level of many countries within Europe. For example, the principles were included in “Sustainable Development - The UK Strategy” (HM Gov., 1994). The respective policy responses to these changes, as well as omissions, are identified for the two case studies areas as part of the contextual information gathered for the capacity analysis in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively.

Traditionally tourist impact assessment has been undertaken through adjustments to EIA methodology. Glasson et al (1995) discuss how this has become recognised as having too limited a focus for the needs of the assessment, and is only really relevant to new development as opposed to assessing that which is already in place. This has particular importance for the assessment of tourism in the historic city, they state:

"The methods and approaches of EIA are valuable for new projects, but by definition much of the tourism infrastructure of historic cities, including of course the key heritage components, is already in place. In such situations visitor impact management measures become more appropriate. Strategic Environmental Assessments relating to the overall tourism policy / strategy may be more appropriate for many centres. However policies need to be assessed against objectives and against indicators. It is in this context that the issue of carrying capacity, in relation to factors such as air quality, noise, traffic congestion and resident acceptability comes into play" (Glasson et al, 1995, p.42).

Traditional approaches in the literature to the historic city only partially take on board the tourism planning, whilst tourism planning itself has never fully integrated the issues relating to the historic / urban sphere. The growing role of market planning has, however, played an important role in
consolidating these two areas of concern through its strategic/image based approach to the city. In parallel with this, conservation practice in the UK at the local level has increasingly extended its remit to provide management strategies and visitor plans (for examples of key projects of this type see summary by English Tourist Board, undated). Such approaches, both in terms of conservation and tourism however, have remained marginal in terms of their incorporation within and implementation by mainstream planning authorities. This may be a result of the specialised nature of agencies dealing with national policy and guidance for tourism and conservation as previously discussed in the case of the UK in Chapter 3. More recent literature including Ashworth and Tunbridge’s seminal work, and the growing emphasis on ecotourism and sustainable tourism principles is likely to provide scope for further amalgamation of the tourism and conservation in order that a more comprehensive, and therefore effective view can be taken.

In summarising the planning literature relating to tourism then, it is possible to identify a commitment to the analysis of impacts of tourism through the planning system, which in turn has been strengthened through increasing environmental/sustainability awareness. The nature of tourism demands a comprehensive means of impact assessment, whilst traditional planning approaches often remained focused at a narrower scale. In addition, whilst impact analysis has sought to evaluate potential impacts of new development, the assessment of the impact of tourism in destinations which are already established is less well understood. Urban capacity analysis is a means of comprehensively exploring the impact of tourism which has gone some way towards addressing this aspect of tourism planning.

5.3 Tourism planning, impact assessment and urban capacity analysis

Urban capacity analysis has recently received attention in UK planning circles. The concept that each place has a certain capacity - a level to which development is acceptable, but beyond which it is likely to have a negative effect is, however, relatively long standing. Carrying capacity as a concept originated in the field of natural science, where its earliest associations were made in regard to the number of animals which an area could graze effectively (Glasson et al, 1995). The idea that there was a limit at which an area could sustain an activity before a decline in quality of experience and in the area itself, was taken on board during the 1960’s in recreation management. Levels of visitors participating in outdoor activity were monitored within the confines of an area's
defined carrying capacity. As Wall (1992) states, there have since been as many definitions of carrying capacity and the methodology associated with it as there have been writers on the subject. More recently, capacity analysis has emerged as having the potential to be one of the most useful measurements of the sustainability of a place.

Tourism impact studies and the setting and regulation of carrying capacities of attractions which are under pressure are both tools which have been extensively used and are well documented in the both traditional and more recently emerging literature. Capacity analysis theory relates to a wider field than that of tourism alone, but the concept is being increasingly applied to improve regulation and management of tourism in times when sustainability and concern for the environment are receiving attention. In turn, recreation and tourism have been primary elements in the development of urban capacity analysis in both theory and practice. The World Tourism Organisation defines carrying capacity as follows:

"The concept refers to the maximum use which can be made of a site without causing detrimental effects on its resources, diminishing tourist satisfaction levels, or generating socio-economic problems for the community." (1993, p.16.)

Methodological guidelines relating to the investigation of the impact of tourism (outlined by Mathieson and Wall 1982) have been implemented through studies undertaken world wide throughout the 1970's and 1980's. Models for assessing environmental impact have been modified for the specific requirements of tourism impact assessment by planners. Pearce (1981), for instance, utilised the framework set by Potter in the late 1970's which operates on the basis of an assessment of the consequences of development, and subsequent comparison with the future which would have occurred without development. Other earlier methodologies often related to a single area as opposed to the idea of viewing the picture as a whole, Mathieson and Wall stating;

"There has been a tendency to examine impacts from selected, specific projects in isolation from the broader tourist phenomena of which they are a part; to concentrate in primary impacts to the exclusion of secondary and tertiary impacts; to measure the more tangible, quantifiable impacts, such as economic impacts, to the neglect of less readily measured social and environmental
impacts; and to stress positive impacts or benefits, and to overlook undesirable consequences or costs” (1982, p.6).

The OECD (1972) framework for the study of tourist and environmental stress also operates on a similar basis to capacity analysis through referring to stressor activities and stress, primary responses (environmental) and secondary responses (human). This was additionally developed further by Pearce (1981) (Figure 5.1), utilising indicators in determining the impact of tourism. Research in historic cities throughout Europe has focused on the carrying capacity in terms of visitors. One example of is the study by Borg and Costa (1995) in Venice, the European historic city perhaps most famous for the pressure caused by excessive numbers of visitors in a fragile environment with high infrastructural constraints. The study defined the two types of methodology which can be used in assessing tourist capacity levels:

(a) the level of capacity of individual attractions - most useful where a city is famous for a specific monument, e.g. Chartres Cathedral;

(b) the level of capacity of a destination city as a whole - where the city itself, and the overall ambience of its historic areas form the main attraction;

Borg and Costa applied a number of linear restrictions as a means of gauging possible numbers of tourists which could be economically accommodated in the city, including accommodation availability, catering facilities, parking, transportation, waste disposal services, and actual space in the cathedral. As a result, the study calculated the number of days each year where the capacity of these features is surpassed by visitor numbers, leading to recommendations based on visitor management.

The key methodological problem which pervades planning for tourism in any form is the highly diffuse and complex nature of its constituent features and their impacts. Tourism is difficult to isolate in the simplest of analysis, but within the concept of capacity analysis, the task is compounded by the need for an overview of the area being examined as a whole in order for a fully informed assessment to be made. Despite this, the assessment of the carrying capacity of tourist destinations is a long standing part of the literature relating to tourism planning and is sufficiently
Figure 5.1 Framework for the study of tourism and environmental stress (Potter / OECD, 1981, p.47)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRESSOR ACTIVITIES</th>
<th>STRESS</th>
<th>PRIMARY RESPONSE</th>
<th>SECONDARY RESPONSE (RESPONSE)</th>
<th>HUMAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Permanent environmental restructuring</td>
<td>restructuring of local environments expansion of built environments land taken out of primary production</td>
<td>Change in habitat Change in population of biological species Change in health and welfare of man Change in visual quality</td>
<td>Individual - impact on aesthetic values Collective measures expenditure of environmental improvements expenditure on management of conservation designation of wild life conservation and national parks controls on access to recreational lands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Major construction activity urban expansion transport network tourist facilities marinas, skilifts, sea walls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Change in land use expansion of recreational lands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Generation of waste residuals urbanization transportation</td>
<td>Pollution loadings emissions effluent discharges solid waste disposal noise (traffic, aircraft)</td>
<td>Change in quality of environmental media air water soil Health of biological organisms Health of humans</td>
<td>Individual defensive measures Locals air conditioning recycling of waste materials protests and attitude change Tourists change of attitude to environment decline in tourist revenues Collective defensive measures expenditure on pollution abatement by tourist related industries clean up of rivers, beaches</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tourist activities skiing walking hunting trail bike riding collecting</td>
<td>Trampling of vegetation and soils Destruction of species</td>
<td>Change in habitat Change in population of biological species</td>
<td>Collective defensive measures expenditure on management of conservation designation of wildlife conservation and national parks controls on access to recreational lands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Effect on population dynamics population growth</td>
<td>Population density (seasonal)</td>
<td>Congestion Demand for natural resources land and water energy</td>
<td>Individual - attitudes to overcrowding and the environment Collective growth in support services e.g. water supply, electricity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
robust and multi-faceted as to take into account tourist impact in a relatively comprehensive manner. The level at which the use of a destination detracts from its original attraction is a crucial element to be assessed within research focusing on the dynamics of tourism and the environment.

Much of the debate surrounding studies implemented to date has related to problems in defining the actual meaning of carrying capacity. Lindsay, in 1986 (from Glasson et al 1995), defined the concept as follows:

\[
CC = f(Q, T, N, U, DM, AB)
\]

where

- **CC** - Carrying Capacity is a function of:
- **Q** - Quantity of resources available
- **T** - Tolerance of these resources to visitor use
- **N** - Actual Number of visitors at site or setting
- **U** - Type of Use or visitor activity undertaken
- **DM** - Design and Management of visitor facilities in the setting
- **AB** - Attitude and Behaviour of visitors on the site, and similarly of the site managers

Glasson et al provide further discussion of the assessment of carrying capacity, with particular emphasis on the role of visitor management as an integral part of the concept. The authors describe the difficulties which have arisen as the result of the transfer of what was originally a concept associated with scientific values to the field of tourism. It is suggested that this transition has excluded the considerably more complex features related to tourism, including economical, cultural and political dimensions.

In general, disagreement in the literature continues about whether carrying capacity should be defined as a single threshold level of activity, or conversely whether the assignment of numeric values alone is useless. Further problems are encountered through the quantification of environmental and other non-economic resources, what Mathieson and Wall term as "spatial and temporal discontinuities". The complex interactions between the various impacts create a 'grey' area. Of particular concern, for example, is the misleading nature of visitor numbers in assessing...
carrying capacity. Mathieson and Wall (1982) underline the problems of correlating numbers with an increase in factors such as overcrowding, as tourists are in no way a homogeneous group. The complexities of characteristics of both the visitor destination and the resident population, are a further factor to be considered.

Following from these arguments, Glasson et al underline the complex nature of the process which should take account of both dimensions (the objective) and soft perspectives (the subjective). This is illustrated in Figure 5.2

Given the three key constituents of physical, ecological and economical capacity as traditionally used in assessing capacity, with an emphasis being on the definition of a single dimension, Glasson et al propose an alternative process of assessment to that was originated by Lindsay:

\[ TCC = f(Ecol, Phys, Econ) (TC, RA, PC) \]

where

- **TCC** - Tourist Carrying Capacity is a function of
- **Ecol** - ecological systems in a destination
- **Phys** - physical infrastructure and tourist facility development
- **Econ** - economic characteristics of tourist investment and expenditure
- **TC** - tourists' characteristics in social-cultural and behavioural terms
- **RA** - residents' acceptance or tolerance or tourism activity and
- **PC** - political capability and authority to take effective management decisions.

(Glasson et al, 1995, p. 54)

In order to assemble a methodological framework for this comparative study, cases of the use of environmental impact and capacity analysis have been examined. Recently, urban capacity analysis has gained interest from planning in assuming a wider applicability, with an increasing incidence of its use, accompanied by a discussion as to their merit.
Figure 5.2: The capacity network or capacity web (Source: Glasson et al, 1995 (after Williams and Gill 1991))
"The concept of 'environmental capacity' has its origins in the environmental sciences and the examination of natural ecosystems. It has gained wider application in the consideration of matters such as air and water pollution, where air quality and emission standards have found accepted usage. And now the planning community is showing considerable interest in the transferability of the concept to land use planning" (Lock, 1996, p.43).

In contrast there is a view that the term brings little in the way of innovation to methods of urban planning:

"The process of revealing environmental 'limits' or capacities has long been a key building block of the planning process. It is an essential part of policy formulation and review. It requires 'states of the environment' reporting and leads readily to the setting of indicators and targets - which in turn suggest thresholds and limits beyond which environmental damage becomes serious. It is closely linked to environmental appraisal, data collection, applied research and monitoring - both of the state of the environment and polices themselves" (Connell, 1995, p.178).

Though methods are the same, the idea of dealing with urban change as a coherent whole differentiates the field from previous planning experience. The concept addresses the need to extend tourism impact assessment across all its areas of influence, a need which was defined as assuming a new importance following sustainability in the tourism planning literature above.

Development plans in the UK, particularly at the strategic level, have taken the concept on board to varying degrees, with different levels of success. Grigson (undated), in a recent study assessed the effectiveness of the environmental capacity concept. He studied a number of English County Councils who have sought to utilise the concept as part of the formulation of development plans at the county level - including Norfolk, Hampshire, Surrey, Berkshire, North Yorkshire. Several of these plans were not considered appropriate for adoption by the Secretary of State for the Environment, owing to the use of capacity "measurement" to justify stagnation of growth in some of the more extreme cases. Grigson additionally took into account two important studies relating...
exclusively to environmental capacity, as opposed to purporting to be development plans as such - the Chester Study, and a similar study in Hertfordshire by Land Use Consultants (1994).

These studies were considered by Grigson to represent opposite and extreme ends of the spectrum of detail involved in the process. Grigson's critique contends that although the Chester study is relatively thorough, it still falls some way short of the mark in pursuing a narrowly defined stance in terms of preservation of the built environment as it currently stands. The Chester study is further criticised for its narrow geographical focus, with solutions for the city itself becoming 'someone else's problem' - for example, the proposed containment of growth within the current city edges ultimately forcing development at locations detached from the city and therefore outwith the remit of consideration.

"The concept is being exploited by some simply as a term for arguing the degree to which an area can be viewed as 'full up' and unable to take further development. If the concept is to transfer successfully to land use planning, working methodologies are needed to foster a systematic, objective and transparent appraisal of 'environmental capacity'. We have made a start but we must be careful. We have here a Pandora's box, and without care and thought the concept might be used not to inform decisions but simply to 'prove' that development should be blocked, irrespective of its quality or any need." (Lock, 1996, p.44)

Despite these criticisms, Grigson maintains that the Chester Study is a pioneering and yet unequalled attempt to comprehensively deal with the issues. At the other end of the spectrum, the Hertfordshire study is strongly criticised by Grigson for its superficiality, and misleading exaggeration of capacity. In this light, as well as on more general ideological grounds, Grigson took an essentially critical stance of the use of such an objective benchmark in assessing carrying capacity, formulating a number of key recommendations which could potentially be applied to all studies of this nature, which primarily address the vested interest which may occur when capacity analysis is implemented by a planning authority, whose aim, as pointed out by Grigson, is traditionally dominated by their role in controlling as opposed to enabling development:
"...environmental capacity is a planning tool for which the claims have tended to run well ahead of performance. However, it is still a developing field - even if some its protagonists policy aims might be the opposite!" (Grigson, p. 28)

The Chester study was described by its exponents as being "far in advance of some of its European counterparts in looking at capacity and how it effects the future of a city. It is an exciting and new approach to planning that will be invaluable in other cities" (Roebuck, 1994, p.14). The study established “capacity frameworks” which comprise of a set of indicators on the basis of which the use of the city can be measured. The methodological report, which was commissioned by the county and city councils to be carried out by Arup Consultants, is widely considered at least at the national level by English Heritage and the Department of the Environment (Arup, 1995) as being the most advanced and practically orientated of its kind which has been carried out in an English Historic city to date. It states:

"The environmental capacity concept implies that a city is pushed beyond certain limits, there is a risk of destroying the very things that are valued and worthy of conserving" (Arup, 1993, p.1).

The methodology used in Chester will be explained in this Chapter, together with the modifications which have been made, mainly in response to the comparative nature of this study. Notwithstanding the potential benefits of the methodology used in Chester to replace more traditional methods of assessment, it should be noted that the Chester Study itself reached no real conclusion on tourism as a measure of capacity..."The only issue where it has been difficult to produce a guideline is issue 7, the impact of tourism. The reason for not taking this forward is that it is virtually impossible to distinguish the impacts of tourism from other impacts due to ordinary activities that might take place. There is some comfort in this however because many of the perceived impacts of tourism such as pedestrian congestion are dealt with under other issues" (BDP, 1994, para 5.038, p. 55). This was largely due to the narrowly quantified nature of many of the capacity limits, within which tourism was difficult to confine, despite the overall approach of involving perception studies and other descriptive elements to provide a fuller picture.

Whilst the Chester study’s methodology excelled in its comprehensiveness, this was not carried through fully to its conclusions in assessing different options for the city and defining capacity
levels for each sector. The lack of results pertaining to the tourism section of the research, the least easily quantifiable area, a key problem identified in the literature as previously discussed, highlights this shortfall. This thesis, in confining its sectoral assessment to tourism, has compensated for this to a certain degree through enhancing the role of the perception studies, and through the carrying of descriptive elements of the research through to form an integral part of the definition of options and subsequent capacity analysis on this basis.

The Chester study based research on an amalgam of Ecological and Perceptual Capacity. This thesis combines perceptual and physical capacity. The inclusion of ecological capacity would undermine the comparison of Prague and Edinburgh, given the environmental problems of the Czech Republic. Several other important departures from the Chester Study have shaped the revised methodology:

a) The sectoral view of the study has been narrowed to focus specifically on the tourism sector;

b) The geographical focus has been limited to the almost exclusive examination of the historic core of each city, drawing only from contextual references to other parts of the city;

c) The assessment of each area will be comparatively analysed as a key factor in assessing overall levels of capacity and future policy directions for each city;

The thesis therefore seeks to make an original contribution to research by revising and applying the methods of capacity analysis. As a result the following adapted methodology has been devised.

"...impact assessment requires a systematic project definition, an organized data base or information system and a clear identification of space and time dimensions." (Coc ossis et al, 1995, p.7)

Figure 5.3 provides a structured breakdown of the methodology used by the Chester study as devised by Ove Arup in the methodology report prior to the Building Design Partnership Study. Within this framework, a number of key aspects of the methodology have been investigated further
Figure 5.3 Structure of Chester Methodology

1. Define Study Area(s)

2. Assemble Contextual Data on City
   - Comparison with Similar Cities
   - Current Planning Strategy

3. Establish Physical Attributes

4. Establish Activities/Demands

5. Identify Tensions

6. Technical Studies

7. Perception Studies

8. Identify Key Issues

9. Draw Initial Conclusions on Capacities

B. IDENTIFYING CAPACITIES AND GUIDELINES

10. Undertake Land Capacity Study & Property Review

11. Examine Pressures for Change in Each Activity Sector

12. Define Options based on Different Roles for City

13a. Identify Impacts on Functioning of City Core

13b. Identify Impacts at City Scale

14. Assess Effects on Key Issues and Capacities

15. Reach Firmer Conclusions on Capacities

GUIDELINES

Development Control
Development Plan
Monitoring

Source: Arup et al, 1993
5.4 The Role of Perception Studies

"When coming to a view on the appropriateness of locations and the appropriateness of circumstances, we have to guard against relying solely on 'the informed professional's view', for want of a better description. The casting of what is appropriate must reflect the values, aspirations and needs of the 'ordinary' man and woman" (Lock, 1996, p.44)

The foregoing debates suggest that perception studies are likely to form a more important element of an assessment of environmental capacity than that previously recognised. Although this may not necessarily be in terms of the overall weighting of their contribution to a comprehensive study, the manner in which they are implemented has been the focus of much of the debate around the issue. Grigson, for instance, criticised the Chester study for its use of "interested parties" and "lobbying" in putting together the perception studies. Grigson urges caution in utilising "opinions" as part of what should be as objective an assessment as possible (Grigson, undated). In the case of this study, the link between perception and tourism is clearly stronger than for evaluating the capacity of many other land uses. As discussed more fully in Chapter 2, perceptions of visitors determines the attraction of the destination itself, whilst residents' decisions (influenced by their perceptions also) are fundamentally important for the historic city in its role as a tourist destination.

In the case of the perception studies carried out for this study, a significantly different approach has been taken from that in Chester. In an attempt to somehow 'measure the unmeasurable' a departure has been made from the usual unsystematic and qualitatively-led approach, which usually either draws from previous social surveys not specifically carried out in direct relation to the study, or from the approach of using panel discussions as used in the case of Chester. As a result of this different approach, it is anticipated that the outcome would test the main subject of contention centring on capacity analysis to date. Following from the main criticisms of the qualitative nature of perceptions used in Chester, the aim of the perception studies was to acquire a balanced view of tourism in each case study area in as objective a manner as possible.
An outline of stages in questionnaire construction (May, 1993, p.83) has been followed in devising the basic survey format as follows:

1. What is the aim of the research?
Primarily, the questionnaires were set up to ensure as balanced a view as possible between the residents and the visitors using the respective areas. The resident survey aimed to assess the degree to which the lives of the case study area's residents are influenced by tourism in each city. The different activities and perceptions are to be examined in turn. The visitor questionnaire aimed to examine levels of visitor satisfaction for cross comparison with that of residents. The extent to which continued residence and future visits on the part of each group respectively is affected by levels of satisfaction/dissatisfaction is also a prime aim of the survey, to be investigated through cross tabulation of the results.

2. What information do you require to fulfil these aims?
Apart from gathering general information about the respondents of each survey (mainly for the purposes of explorations through cross tabulation and to establish representativeness of the sample) the surveys seek to establish the perceived character of each case study area, the perceived impact of tourism through questions relating directly to a number of specific constituents, a view of future intentions to remain in or return to the area and finally perceived potential of a number of changes to improve the quality of the area.

3. Undertake preliminary reading around the topic and initial field work
This was done in the literature review and research leading to Chapters 3 and 4, which introduced the planning system of each city. Furthermore, the capacity analysis required an early forming of key issues and activities in each area (relating to tourism) as well as tensions.

4. What kind of questionnaire will be used and how will the sample be derived?
Perceptions towards tourism would on first examination appear relatively easy to gauge, given that the issue is often the subject of popular debate, and that the impact of tourism is often visually prominent and touches the lives of many residents of a city. Despite this, however, attaining a sensitive and accurate understanding of the underlying views is a more difficult task than it might appear. Within the specific requirements of this study, the perception studies included the added
difficulty of gaining information of this type from tourists whose first language is often not English, and the even more challenging task of doing the same for Prague residents to whom consultation of this nature is clearly a new and unfamiliar concept. As a result, careful thought was required and new approaches had to be devised to address these problems in as effective a way as possible.

Although panel discussions would have been a practical option for Edinburgh residents, they would have been less so for the international cross section of tourists being interviewed. The difficulties of gauging the opinions of Prague residents with a limited language capability and without an interpreter would have been insuperable. As a result, within the demands and resources of the study, it was considered appropriate to carry out an extensive series of questionnaires with simple closed ended questions to overcome language restrictions. The tourist interviews were conducted mainly aurally, with the use of translated versions where the interviewee was willing to complete it him/herself. The questionnaire forms and their translations as used are provided in Appendix 1. As a result, the views of Prague residents and visitors, and Edinburgh residents and visitors were collated for comparison within each city and between the two cities.

To maximise comparability, variations in content between the Edinburgh and Prague surveys were limited to varying individual constituents within the section which assesses the perceived character of the historic area. This was considered feasible, if not necessary, as the question is not intended to assess the actual character of the area, but rather relative perceptions of the various constituents, and for comparison between the two sample groups. Further alterations to the form included an adjustment of tenures specified in Question 2 as appropriate for the Prague property system, and the insertion of "historic core" in the place of "the Old Town / area around the Royal Mile" on a repeated basis.

5.4.1 Distribution of Questionnaires

A random sample of residents of the Old Town of Edinburgh and the historic centre as defined for Prague was aimed for. The problems with conducting comparative research, as well as the time restraints of carrying out capacity analysis through a single person study, emerged most clearly in this area of the study. In Edinburgh, a systematic sample was drawn from. Distribution of the
survey to this sample was partially completed, although the remainder was delayed until returning from the research visit to Prague in August 1995, at which point the sample was becoming out of date (the Electoral register is compiled each October). As a result, the Edinburgh residents sample which was ultimately used, drew from the following updated draft of the Electoral Register, published in October 1995, in order to ensure as up-to-date a sample as possible to limit non-returns through wrong addressees receiving the survey. Of the 400 questionnaires distributed, 128 responses were received (32%) - an acceptable rate of return for a postal survey (postage paid return envelopes were provided) and a number that is large enough to make analysis credible.

Not surprisingly, the Prague resident survey sample proved problematic. No access could be made to an electoral register or similar source of reference from which to draw a sample, mainly due to difficulties encountered by the author in communicating the required information. It is also likely, however, that public access to such information is a relatively new concept in terms of the post socialist countries. In order to ensure that the full area was covered, but that the sample remained relatively random, ten streets were drawn from lists of all of the streets in Staré město (excluding Josefov) and Malá Strana. Five Streets in Josefov and Hradčany were also picked at random - providing a total of thirty streets in all, within each of these streets ten questionnaires were delivered “randomly”¹ to those buildings in residential use which had names on doors (signifying they were likely to be occupied) or to which access to post boxes could be made. Clearly this is not a strictly scientific random sample, but it was considered the best practical and systematic course of action in the circumstances. 71 of the three hundred questionnaires were returned - a rate of 23.66%. Reply paid return envelopes to the UK were provided. Given all the difficulties - including the lack of similar studies to draw on, the problems of devising questionnaires in Czech, and the lack of familiarity of Prague residents with such questionnaires, the level of response was very acceptable. The location of respondents in each case study area is mapped and discussed in the following respective Chapters.

Samples for the visitor questionnaires were based on the identification of places at which to stop tourists within each city which reflected the full range of environmental conditions. In Edinburgh,

¹ Delivery was “random” only in the sense that distribution considered only in terms of contingent circumstances such as access to postal boxes being possible through open doors / or on street locations etc.; distribution also sought not to be overly concentrated in a single tenement building, utilising as wide a spread within each street as was available at the time of delivery.
visitors were stopped on the Esplanade and on Castlehill, further down the Royal Mile close to St. Giles and opposite the then Scandic Crown Hotel (now Holiday Inn). For the purposes of comparison a more limited number were interviewed in the Grassmarket, at Holyrood and in Chambers Street, all areas slightly detached from the main focus of tourist activity around the castle and at the higher end of the Royal Mile. In Prague, interviews were conducted at the key tourist focal points of the Charles Bridge (including the adjacent Křižovnické náměstí and Mostecká), outside the castle gates in Hradčanské náměstí, in Staroměstské nám. and at the exit gates of the Old Jewish cemetery. As with the Edinburgh sample, an attempt was made to cover the full cross section of tourists by conducting a limited number at the more peripheral locations of the quieter square of Uhelný trh in Staré Město, southward from the King’s Way along Újezd in Malá Strana, and on Pohořelec in Hradčany. The locations of interviews, dates, times at which they were carried out, as well as weather conditions at the time of interview are fully detailed in the respective following Chapters.

5. Consider the most appropriate questions to ask, which will depend upon the aims of the research, the target group and the time and resources at your disposal

5.4.2 Resident Questionnaire

Section A of the resident questionnaire asked respondents their age (by group) and their sex, in order to compare the survey sample with overall census data where available. A further question relating to economic status was asked at the end of the form. Section A also questioned tenure and length of residence. Questionnaires were numbered prior to distribution so that the location of each response could be mapped. Section A aimed therefore to provide the characteristics of respondents, for cross tabulation with more detailed responses at a later stage of analysis.

Section B of the resident questionnaire aimed to ascertain firstly the most positive features of living in the area as perceived by residents. It suggested broad features including history, architecture, parks and open spaces, other parts of the city, the city’s surrounding countryside, cultural facilities, social facilities, the weather, street ambience, shops and the sense of community as features, to which respondents were asked to state whether or not they considered each “very important”, “important” or “not important”. This broad approach was narrowed down in the following question within Section B, to detail a number of stated environmental features identified
as important in the Old Town Action Plan in the case of Edinburgh (with adaptations made for the case of Prague). Respondents were further asked to state whether they thought these more specific features contributed “a lot”, “a little” or “nothing” to the character of the area. This allowed exploration of the relation between ‘experts’ and residents perceptions of the character and qualities of the historic area.

**Part C** assessed perceptions of actual tourist impact directly. Respondents were asked to state how they feel about:

- numbers of tourists on the streets;
- numbers of souvenirs shops, their effects on the character and the level of shops selling everyday goods;
- traffic levels;
- the contribution of guided tours to traffic problems;
- the provision of car and coach parking;
- relative costs of living;
- advertisements and shopfronts;
- air quality;
- noise levels;
- litter on the streets;

Residents were then asked to comment as to whether they felt they would still be resident in the area in ten years time, and to state whether any of the specified aspects of the environment of the area would influence this choice. Thus the aim was to explore links between perception of capacity and action.

**Part D** assessed perceptions of potential improvements which would enhance their current standard of living in the area, through specifying whether it would be best to have more, less or no change to each of the environmental factors mentioned in Part C. This was intended to identify priorities in relation to perceptions of capacity and thresholds.
5.4.3 Visitor Questionnaire

The visitor questionnaire for both cities was modified in a number of ways. Within Section A, the respondents' characteristics that were explored included origin, age group, accommodation by type and location, length of visit to the city, whether or not the interviewee had been on a guided tour of the city, whether they had or would be visiting any other locations in the country within the course of their visit (where they would be staying for at least one night), and finally whether they had visited any other European historic cities in the past five years. The remainder of the questionnaire was the same as the one distributed to residents, although the question about anticipated future residence was replaced with the perceived likelihood of a return trip to the city.

5.4.4 Structure of Analysis

Analysis of the questionnaire comprised two main stages. The primary analysis provided a series of frequency tables for each of the questions, from which any anomalies, important features or other issues arising were identified. Secondary analysis was conducted comparing primary results of the two surveys, and this was followed by cross tabulation of responses. Cross tabulations mainly used the pivotal question of perceived likelihood of future residency within the area or repeat visits to the city with other results as this was seen as a 'litmus test' of perceived capacity thresholds. Responses to the question served as an overall classification of the sample into four groups according to overall levels of satisfaction with the environment of the area.

The combined stages of the analysis aim to provide as comprehensive a view as possible of the essence of the area as a tourist attraction for visitors, whilst allowing for an insight into its strengths and weaknesses as a place of residence. Following coding, SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Scientists) for Windows was used to analyse the questionnaires.

5.5 The Validity of Technical Indicators for Capacity Measurement

The study utilises a number of indicators of the level of tourist capacity within each. Whilst these indicators were identified in the methodological report for the Chester study, few were actually
implemented in the course of the research carried out there. The Chester study suggested, although did not comprehensively utilise, technical indicators to assess the capacity of tourism in a historic city, as shown in Figure 5.4.

Following from an examination of the planning context in each city, and the initial assessment of the key threats and opportunities in each case study area, a set of issues and opportunities and related indicators considered relevant to both case study areas was identified. Choice took account of their transferability between Edinburgh and Prague so as to achieve consistency within the comparative framework. They are detailed in Figure 5.5

Exclusions from the original set of issues and indicators included new construction as this was addressed through wider definitions and detailed descriptions of the development industry in each city, assessment of the state of the real estate market, and overview of planning trends and priorities. This aspect has not been included as an indicator, owing to the problems which would arise in comparing results between the cities, given the contextual diversity of the cities' real estate markets, and in particular the complex nature of the transitionary period in Prague. Wealth creation and the indicator of employment were not included owing to possible discrepancies between employment data in the two cities (which is notoriously difficult to accurately analyse comparatively), and the transitory state of the employment market in Prague in particular. Each of the indicators chosen was assessed on the following basis:

* **Tourist numbers**

  This indicator was assessed as part of the contextual data/compared background provided at the outset of the analysis. This was seen as necessarily forming a significant part of the assessment given the comparative nature of the assessment.

* **Townscape Studies**

  Analysis in greater detail of key areas of the historic townscape were added in order to supplement the establishment of the critical environmental capital of each case study area, and strengthen the emphasis of the physical impact of tourism through highlighting positive and negative features in the townscape.
Figure 5.4   Issues and indicators as defined by the Chester Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue of Concern / Opportunity</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wear or tear</td>
<td>number of visitors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pedestrian congestion</td>
<td>number of “touristy” shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>type of shops</td>
<td>visitor enjoyment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parking problems</td>
<td>resident frustration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new uses for old buildings</td>
<td>vacancy rate in city centre car parks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wealth creation</td>
<td>traffic congestion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new construction</td>
<td>number of historic buildings in tourist use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loss of non-tourist functions</td>
<td>jobs attributable to tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lack of use of peripheral areas</td>
<td>tourism as a catalyst for change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spatial concentration of tourist activity</td>
<td>land use in the historic centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tourist activity patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>identification and monitoring of key attractions and areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the character and form of new building in the historic centre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Arup, Methodological Report, 1993
Figure 5.5 Issues and indicators as used by the study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue of Concern / Opportunity</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pedestrian congestion</td>
<td>number of visitors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>townscape studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact of tourist activity on transportation network / car and coach parking</td>
<td>levels of pedestrian comfort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>resident / visitor satisfaction / frustration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>car parking provision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of non tourist land use</td>
<td>traffic congestion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>study of guided tours and coach parking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spatial concentration of tourist activity</td>
<td>number of historic buildings in tourist use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>land use in the historic centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decline in quality of the historic built environment</td>
<td>tourist activity patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>identification and monitoring of key attractions and areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of use of peripheral areas</td>
<td>the character and form of new building in the historic centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail diversity</td>
<td>retail survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new uses for old buildings</td>
<td>distribution of tourist accommodation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: adapted from the Chester study, Arup et al 1993
* Guided tours / coach parking

Guided tour companies operating in each area were identified as fully as possible, with the frequency of their tours, the routes taken and modes of transportation (including pedestrian tours) noted. Coach parking policy and provision in each area was compared with observations of where parking was taking place.

* Street Use / Pedestrian Congestion

Within each case study area, each street was visited on two occasions and allocated a category representing the estimated number of tourists out of the total number of street users - an overall grading was attained after both observations were taken into account. The first visit was carried out on a weekday afternoon, and the second on a Saturday. The street use categories range from “quiet to busy” (A) through to “highly congested” (D), whilst the tourist-user categories went from “low” (1) to high (4).

Definition of the level of use was problematic in terms of both the time limitations on observation, and relatively subjective method of definition. As previously outlined, however, the single person nature of the methodology facilitated consistency, both in terms of the inter and intra urban dimensions of the study. Pedestrian activity was also observed in terms of broader spatial dynamics within each area.

* Pressure Points

Pressure points were identified through the 1994 pilot work in Prague which established the threats and opportunities caused by tourism in each case. Key issues in Edinburgh’s Old Town, had been identified in “Edinburgh: the Next Initiative” (KPMG 1989) and as a result, research was less specifically directed in Edinburgh. In Prague a detailed assessment was made of pressure points in order to compensate for the relative lack of previous published research.
Tourist Accommodation
An overview of each city as a whole was made. In addition accommodation within the limits of each case study area was identified. Where available, rates of growth and occupancy rates were also drawn together in forming an assessment of accommodation.

Retail study and assessment
A comprehensive on-the-ground survey was made of all retail units in each area, with the name of each unit and its description being recorded. This was subsequently analysed using two coding systems - the first using categories of outlets as defined by the Institute for Retail Studies (CRC, 1986), and a further categorisation devised to establish tourist related retail activity.

Reuse of historic buildings
The reuse of buildings specifically for tourism was recorded in each city, together with a description of their historic and architectural significance.

The perceptions of visitors and tourists were collated and analysed to supplement the technical evaluations. Perceptions were not intended to provide an objective indicator, but they are seen as an integral part of the assessment of levels of capacity, in contrast to the more peripheral role which they were given in Chester. Figure 5.6 summarises the linkage of questions from both surveys (included in Appendix 1) with the technical studies conducted, which were subdivided from those specified in Figure 5.5 previously, to address composite details within a single indicator.
Figure 5.6 Linkage of Technical and Perception Studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECTOR OF TOURIST IMPACT ASSESSMENT</th>
<th>PERCEPTION STUDY A: CORRESPONDING QUESTIONS IN VISITOR SURVEY</th>
<th>PERCEPTION STUDY B: CORRESPONDING QUESTIONS IN RESIDENT SURVEY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Classification of streets by tourist usage;</td>
<td>4, 9(i), 10(a)(i), 12, 23(b)(A), 24(i);</td>
<td>loc id., 4(i), 5(i), 5(iii), 6, 16(b)1, 17(i);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tour operators frequency on and modes of use of routes and impact on transportation network;</td>
<td>6, 15-16, 24(vi)4, 9(i), 10(i)(ii), 15, 16, 19, 20, 23(b)\text{v}, 24 (v)(vi);</td>
<td>8-9, 17(vi)loc id., 4(i), 5(i)(ii), 13, 14, 16 \text{V}, 17(v)(vi);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Retail survey;</td>
<td>9(j), 13(a)(b), 18, 23(b)BCG, 24(ii)(iii)(vii);</td>
<td>4j, 7(a)(b)(c), 12, 16(b)BCG, 17(ii)(iii)(vii);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Coach parking in historic centre;</td>
<td>17, 23(b)E, 24(iv);</td>
<td>10, 16(b)E, 17(iv);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Condition of buildings;</td>
<td>9(b), 10(vi)(vii)(viii), 24(vii);</td>
<td>4(b), 5(vi)(vii)(viii), 17(viii);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Historic buildings in tourist use;</td>
<td>4, 9B, 13(a)(b), 22, 24(ix);</td>
<td>4(b), 7(a)(b)(c), 12, 17(ix);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tourist accommodation in case study area / overall city context;</td>
<td>3, 4, 9DE, 14 (a)[(b)(c)], 22, 24(ix);</td>
<td>4DE, 11, 17(ix);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Key pressure points / impact on historic fabric;</td>
<td>location of questionnaire;</td>
<td>location of residence;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, analysis of the technical studies is bolstered by the findings from the perception studies. Comparative analysis in Chapter 8, then provides a further cross-national dimension to combine 'hard' and 'soft' approaches and to add the kind of comparison between different cities that was not used in Chester, and which is not likely to figure in other studies by planning consultants for single clients.
Conclusion: Combining Comparative Planning Research with Urban Capacity Analysis Methodology - A Synthesis of Theoretical and Practical Aspects

"...impact assessment requires a systematic project definition, an organized data base or information system, and a clear identification of space and time dimensions" (Coccossis et al, 1995, p.7).

Carrying out capacity analysis in two cities, for the direct purpose of comparative analysis, is fraught with the practical problems (identified in Chapter 1) traditionally associated with comparative research. Differences in data sources, cross cultural differences in perceptions and access to data were all problems encountered during the course of the data collection. However, it is contended that actual numbers and "hard facts" in each city are secondary to the view of the "whole", of the interaction of tourism and the historic centre of each city. Careful measuring and comparison of each of the individual constituents has been attempted, but the central concern of the research has been to develop and apply a comparative methodology, based on capacity analysis, which allows tourism and the conservation of historic European cities to be studied together.

The argument that studies such as this type "compare the incomparable" is answered in the same way that the arguments that capacity analysis "measures the unmeasurable" are refuted. The comparison gives the capacity analysis greater meaning, whilst the application of the standard framework of capacity analysis increases the validity of cross across national comparative study. The need for integration not separation of research on the city and tourist activity is reinforced by Burtenshaw et al who state:

"The impact of tourism upon the city is magnified by its concentration in space as well as time, and it is this concentration rather than absolute numbers of tourists that presents most of the planning problems." (1981, p.166)

Chapter 9 takes forward the discussion of methodology, the concept of comparative planning research as an instrument of capacity analysis is discussed in greater depth, reaching conclusions about the validity of further studies and their likely benefits. At the same time, the use of a
standardized framework such as capacity analysis, which can be applied to both cities as a basis for comparison will be considered more fully, as a contribution to the development of the methodology of comparative planning.

Clearly, the concept of assessing tourist carrying capacity has been widely implemented and debated. The more recent studies assessing urban capacity, however, have begun to focus more fully on the built environment or urban area as a single entity, within which activities act in a symbiotic manner. This more recent analysis lends itself well to tourism, where linear values can be expanded to provide a more qualitative view of the dynamics of tourism in a historic city. Such an approach will not automatically overcome the inherent problems of research in this diffuse field rich in problems of definition. However, it may go some way towards advancing visitor capacity analysis, as well as relating tourism more explicitly to the physical environment, and so become a more relevant tool for planners.

A final constituent of the study which seeks to address some of the main problems associated with the field is the emphasis on the comparative nature of the analysis. Glasson et al concluded:

"There is much to be gained from networking and comparative studies...But comparative good practice is not confined to any one country. Hopefully the research for this book has illustrated the value of Europe-wide comparative studies and the importance of networking on this largest scale in the interest of maintaining and enhancing the heritage of Europe's historic towns and cities." (Glasson et al, 1995, p.156)

This is further supported by the Methodology Report for the Chester study which stated:

"It must be emphasised, however, that indicators are most useful when they are being used in a comparative sense. Such comparisons can be made against:
   i) external standards;
   ii) other comparable cities;
   iii) values for that same city over time (past or predicted)"
(Arup, 1993 p.21)
The literature therefore adds credence to the approach of this study in combining comparative and capacity analysis. The benefits in methodological terms of the further investigation of the subject, however, will be in addition to the wider issues addressed by the study relating to the new Europe, internationalisation and the role of the planning and management of historic cities across Europe.
Chapter 6
The Impact of Tourism on the Old Town of Edinburgh

6.1 Definition and description of critical environmental capital and constant assets of the Old Town of Edinburgh

Chapter 3 reviewed planning policy in Edinburgh and its Old Town. The architectural and historic importance of the city and in particular its central historic areas has been recognised and protection has been afforded increased policy support through the statutory planning system in recent years. This Chapter investigates the relationship between this policy commitment to conserving the Old Town, and its role as a tourist destination. Chapter 3 outlined the continuing growth in tourist numbers visiting the city, their characteristics and general economic impact on the Old Town. Planning policy from the 1980's has supported a continuing growth in service and facility provision relating to tourism as well as encouraging prestige projects and attractions to augment the existing attraction of the area and ensure the city retains its competitiveness.

Tourist attractions within Edinburgh are dominated by those of historic character. Figure 6.1 illustrates some of the most important tourists attractions within the Old Town. As with most other historic cities, Edinburgh's main asset for tourism is the overall ambience of the historic streets in the Old Town. However, perhaps due to erratic weather, the city also relies on a number of popular indoor attractions including several major museums and galleries and a number of interpretative exhibitions, many of which have a strong historical focus. The Childhood Museum, the Whisky Heritage Centre, The People's Story and the soon to be developed tartan weaving centre in the old building of the Castlehill Reservoir close to the foot of the Esplanade. ¹

The townscape studies detailed later as part of the capacity analysis provide a perspective on the aesthetic quality of the built environment of key points in the Old Town. Figure 6.2 illustrates overall townscape characteristics of the Old Town. Other factors which contribute substantially to the essence of the Old Town should be highlighted in assessing the critical

¹ The implications of the reuse of historic buildings will be dealt with at greater length in section 6.10
Figure 6.1 Key tourist attractions in the Old Town

△ Current attraction
△ New attraction under construction
Figure 6.2 Key Townscape Characteristics of the Old Town of Edinburgh
environmental capital for consideration within the capacity analysis. In terms of constant assets defining the Old Town, the adjacent geometrically planned Georgian New Town emphasises the organic medieval pattern of development which characterises the Old Town. A further constant element of the Old Town’s built environment is the overall landscape within which the city is located and the unique topography of the Old Town. The Castle rock and crag and tail formation, along which the Royal Mile runs, is visible from many approaches to the city. The position of the Royal Mile and Castle on a hill overlooking Princes Street and the New Town is reminiscent of the topography of Prague, with its castle on the hill overlooking the river, Malá Strana and the Charles Bridge. Both cities benefit from this in that each has a single defining silhouette from which they can easily be identified, even by people who are otherwise unfamiliar with the city. Figure 6.3 illustrates this aspect of the character of the Old Town and notes the similarity in the case of Prague.

In addition, the gradient of the High Street and the contrasts in levels with surrounding areas, allow for high quality views into and out of the area as illustrated in Figure 6.4. The topography is further accentuated by the strong skyline which is all the more dramatic due to the height of the buildings and tenements, as well as the historic emphasis provided by church spires and castle battlements. The medieval street pattern creates interest for the pedestrian and many of the positive townscape features defined by Cullen can be identified, such as serial vision, and outdoor rooms in the "Lands" (courtyards in between tenements linked by closes). Despite criticisms of post war buildings in the area (for example Bell et al, 1984) there remains a relatively coherent sense of place in the Old Town, reflecting historical continuity. The successful bid for the UNESCO World Heritage Status highlights aspects of the built environment which distinctly characterise the Old Town. For instance, the "consistent use of stone in architecture" is important, as are the narrow original plot widths which still imbue the area with a feeling of high density (Historic Scotland, 1994). The medieval heritage of the area aside, during the nineteenth century further additions were made to the Old Town, owing partly to a series of Improvement Acts - building which resulted along George IV Bridge and Victoria Street were of the 'Old Scots' or 'Flemish' styles, and add a further architectural / aesthetic dimension to the built environment of the Old Town and reinforces the historic Scottish identity and romantic character of the area.

2 constant assets are defined in the Chester study as characteristics which are less at risk of destruction through capacity levels being exceeded owing to their relatively non perishable nature;
Figure 6.3  Compared topography of the Historic Centres of Edinburgh and Prague
Figure 6.4 Key Views and Vistas into and within the Old Town
A considerable share of land use in the Old Town is accounted for by institutional and administrative functions, because of but also reinforcing its role as the centre of the capital of a nation. The Royal Infirmary is to be relocated to the southern periphery of the city. Higher education also constitutes a major land use, although more recently there have been concerns for the future of this when much of Heriot-Watt University was relocated to its Riccarton Campus on the western outskirts of the city. Ancient legal institutions and local and regional government headquarters continue to occupy several principal historic buildings, as well as account for some of the less sympathetic new development in the area. In terms of the implications of such changes for the supply and demand of land and buildings in the Old Town, these trends in development in the city were discussed more fully in Chapter 3 which emphasised on the changing role of the area within the city as a whole. As concluded in Chapter 3, the functions of both residential and tourist activity remain two relatively constant aspects of life in the area. In terms of land use supply and demand in the area, and the implications that this has for assessing its capacity, whilst there is an amount of outward movement of land use from the area, existing land use, coupled with the constraints of a tightly contained built environment, maintain a healthy level of demand for land and buildings in the area. The capacity of the area to absorb tourism and its associated land uses is therefore neither excessive, nor is it limited in terms of oncoming opportunities.

Changing land use in the Old Town has direct implications for the land market and development activity in the area. The Old Town continues to sustain a population with a strong sense of community, and is the location of retail, administrative, business and some light industrial premises. More recently, as described in Chapter Three, other established activities have decentralised to areas on the edge of the city or other sites outwith the Old Town, leaving empty premises and derelict sites, which in turn have formed an important part of the opportunities for redevelopment. The move away from traditional industrial and business activity has been continuing for some time now, with post industrial types of land use providing the focus of development for a number of years.

The Action Plan for the Old Town (1995) envisages a continuing rise in resident numbers in the Old Town (6363 including non residential students in 1991), with the possibility in the long term of total population exceeding 10,000. New dwellings proposed at present (EOTRT, 1996) in the area include 176 dwellings for affordable rent, 39 for market rent, 178 for sale, with accommodation for 393 students proposed. Other sites as detailed by the plan will potentially provide a further 500 dwellings, with 250 more units of student accommodation, both in the
long term. The targeted growth in population will require major development of housing. It is also likely that Housing Associations will continue to make an important contribution to housing in the area. Residential development as a whole is likely to continue to be an important part of the overall development in the future of the area. In addition to discussing likely implications of change in the area for development activity, the Action Plan for the Old Town highlights key opportunities for redevelopment on a site by site basis, with updates on an annual basis in each review published. The most recent appraisal of development opportunities in the Old Town is illustrated in Figure 6.5

Despite the early nineties recession, development in the Old Town has continued, with refurbishment and adaptation of premises being common. Despite this, a number of gap sites which have been available for development for a considerable time, remain undeveloped. Many of the sites have been of long standing disuse in the Old Town. Some buildings have similarly lacked a continuing use, partly due to the wider trend of business premises requiring new purpose built accommodation for technological and other requirements. Institutions relocating and the reorganisation of local government have left larger buildings vacant, an alternative use for which is often difficult to identify. Historic buildings can be difficult to adapt for reuse - not least redundant churches of which there is a considerable number in the case study area. In light of the decreasing land use demands made by traditional sectors other than housing in the Old Town, tourism and leisure uses could be seen as important motors of redevelopment.

Policy directed at tourism and leisure use in the Old Town, follows the broader strategic objective set for Edinburgh and Scotland as a whole. New attractions planned have been detailed more fully in Chapter 3. A large share of conversions of historic buildings in the area will probably continue to cater for tourist and leisure activity, either directly through becoming attractions, or indirectly through services. The long empty Tron Church, for example, has become a permanent tourist information centre. Despite new planned attractions and accommodation proposed in the area, it is likely that the main focus in terms of developing tourism and leisure will mainly assume ‘softer approaches’ as opposed to development per se - for example extending shop and service opening times to boost off peak levels of use etc. Nevertheless, leisure and tourism are likely to continue to boost land values through stimulating demand. This is explored more fully within Issue 6 of the capacity analysis.
Figure 6.5 Development Opportunities in the Old Town

- Current opportunity
- Development proposed / commenced
The Old Town therefore remains an area of mixed use, with historic buildings being adapted to accommodate new use as appropriate. Development opportunities, though constrained by the intact historic fabric, have arisen through availability of minor sites. However, changing land use in the early 1990's illustrates wider influences on the development process. Industry, and to a certain extent business use, have moved outwards from Edinburgh's core, whilst growth has occurred in service sectors, including tourist accommodation and related leisure facilities. The area has nevertheless maintained a relatively stable population base. An evaluation of tourist impact should, therefore, take account of the needs of the full range of users of the Old Town.

In short, the critical environmental capital of the Old Town can be attributed to a number of main themes. The historic built environment is important on one level, together with its various features such as topography, street plan, contrasts with neighbouring areas etc., as well as at the further level of the less tangible inherent cultural meanings which the area's buildings and monuments represent. Another aspect of the area's capital relates to the social vitality of the area, and its role as a place of residence. A third level of environmental capital which could be considered as specific to the area exists in the dynamics of land use in the area, and the continuing demand for a variety of mixed land uses and properties which currently ensures interest and a lack of vacant properties and gap sites.

6.2 Previous research in the Old Town

Previous research conducted in the Old Town has sought to establish views of users of the area as to the suitability of tourism as a land use. Research has covered a range of users including visitors, residents and those working and/or with business interests in the area. The Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust and LEEL have instigated a number of surveys to assess visitor satisfaction (Scotinform 1991, 1992, 1993; Social Research Associates, 1991). Principally, in recent years, these have been aimed at evaluating the effectiveness of the new temporary visitor centre in the Tron Church run by the EOTRT, although a major survey was carried out in 1992 of visitors to a temporary information centre at Cannonball House, to assess the validity of a more permanent TIC on the Royal Mile.

A general perception study was carried out for LEEL by Social Research Associates in 1991, which was based on a total of 500 interviews with residents, local visitors, tourists, employees and employers during April of that year. This confirmed widespread support for a TIC on the
Royal Mile. However, concerns were found, within all of the groups, about the volume and nature of through traffic on the Royal Mile, with tourist buses being seen as particularly inappropriate. Overall, however, a very high level of satisfaction was recorded, which, surprisingly, was carried through to those living and working in the area who generally saw no conflict in the needs of visitors and their own.

A survey carried out in the Temporary TIC in Cannonball House in 1992 (Scotinform, 1992), involved 526 interviews, a sample of the total estimated 7000 visitors to the centre during the course of the Festival that year. The survey revealed consistently high levels of satisfaction from visitors, and identified aspects which respondents particularly enjoyed in terms of the attractions of the Old Town itself - these are outlined in Figure 6.6:

**Figure 6.6 Cannonball House Survey Results**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects of Old Town Respondents Particularly interested in:</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All aspects of the Old Town</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castle</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other historic buildings</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holyrood</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St.Giles</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museums and Galleries</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shops</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurants and pubs</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Histories / stories of the past</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Scotinform Ltd, 1992

Of the limited dislikes of respondents, coaches (8%) and crowds (3%) were the most frequent answers. Overall, demand for a permanent tourist information centre was overwhelmingly confirmed by respondents. The dominance of the environmental and architectural features of the area came through clearly in the survey.

The EDAW CR Planning 1994 study consulted the local population through four focus groups. The Report states:

"Views expressed at the focus groups would suggest that residents regard tourism favourably; provided that visitor flows are not further concentrated over the period of the
Edinburgh festival. There is also a general appreciation that it had not been for tourism much of the public sector-led investment in the Old Town's physical environment would not have occurred. There is a feeling that more widespread provision of local services would go some way to compensating for the more negative aspects of tourism (largely related to daytime noise and congestion.) There is also growing concern that the "evening economy" of pubs and restaurants should not be developed further if the aim of building a balanced community is to be achieved" (EDAW CR Planning, 1994, p. 67, para 10.3).

These perceptions could be considered quite sophisticated, given the acceptance of negative impacts due to the recognition of the concurrent ‘pay off’ which occurs through the more positive aspects of tourism. At the same time the results could be considered largely predictable and reflect the lack of comprehensiveness in understanding of all of the issues involved on the part of residents of an area. A degree of caution has therefore been attached to their interpretation.

The Old Town is characterised by both ends of the business spectrum, in accommodating a plethora of small businesses alongside a handful of some of the largest employers and institutions in the city. The role of the Old Town as the heart of the capital of Scotland is confirmed in the siting of legal, religious, and cultural institutions within the area, as well as its role in accommodating key aspects of city life including educational institutes, a hospital and local government headquarters. These institutions largely account for 7% of companies in the Old Town which employ more than 20 people (CR Planning, 1994). There has been a more recent downward trend in these larger companies, including the loss of the Scottish and Newcastle Brewery at Holyrood, and the impending relocation of both the Scotsman from its offices on North Bridge, and the Royal Infirmary which is planned to move to the southern edge of the city. This reflects the pattern of decentralisation which has characterised development in Edinburgh since the mid to late 1980s, but which could be considered a natural course for urban development to assume, given that the Old Town has so far maintained vitality through responding to changing market demands and accommodating alternative land uses such as more specialised small businesses and commercial outlets.

Around 12,000 people currently work in the Old Town, which at the same time has one of the highest unemployment rates in the city, with around 16% of young males in the area having no job (EDC, 1993). Thus there is no direct correlation between residence and employment and this imbalance has become a key issue which planners in the area are seeking to redress. A
large proportion of workers in the Old Town travel from elsewhere in and beyond Edinburgh, a pattern likely to be true of most other historic cities in Europe.

The Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust conducted a survey of Old Town businesses in 1990 (EOTRT, 1990), which covered a large proportion of the total number of over 400. This revealed the large proportion of the commercial activity in the area in terms the total number of companies being accounted for by small businesses (over half of the total), which, despite each by definition only employing less than five people, accounted for around 42% of the workforce. Two thirds of the businesses had been operational for less than five years, indicating a relatively high turnover rate, which is partly explained by the general vulnerability of small businesses.

A high proportion of the businesses surveyed by the EOTRT employed the majority of their workers on a part time and/or casual basis, which may be a reflection of the dominance of the highly seasonal tourist market on the area, but may also be attributable to more general features of characteristics businesses. Significantly, and in opposition to this, only a quarter of businesses surveyed considered the tourist market to be their most important sector of custom - which may in part be a testament to the continuing vitality of the local community of the Old Town. Strength of business in the area was reflecting in the 80% of businesses which considered they had experienced positive growth over the previous two years, although this is in line with a period of growth nationally at the time (late 1980’s). Also in contrast to perceptions of their customer groups, the growth in popularity of the area for tourists was seen as the main factor in business improvement. Overall, tourism was seen by the overwhelming majority of businesses as being a positive asset, which should be encouraged.

Predictably the survey found general dissatisfaction with the level of rates. High rates acted as a disincentive for basic commodity shops, which were widely acknowledged to be under represented in the area. The report recommended a preferential rates scheme to address this imbalance.

These results highlight the complex and two sided nature of assessing capacity where issues can bring about positive as well as negative impacts. Research into the perceptions of users of the Old Town has highlighted some issues, but levels of satisfaction with the area’s role as a tourist destination are generally high. Of particular interest is the relatively sophisticated
response of residents on a number of occasions with regard to negative aspects of tourism being offset by its more positive benefits.

Despite being able to deduce aspects of opinions of users of the Old Town, *no systematic comparison has yet been made between the views of the different user groups*. Questioning of visitors has sought statistical evidence of levels of use of attractions and other quantitative variables, with less emphasis given to qualitative aspects of satisfaction. The perception studies undertaken for the capacity analysis aim to add these further dimensions to the research, in establishing more detailed perceptions of tourism in the area in a directly comparable format. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the questionnaire survey of tourists further aimed to overcome limitations imposed in questioning a cross national sample of tourists in a single language, through using simplified questions and translated self completion forms if appropriate. While the perception studies do not include a survey of the opinions of business users of the area, their views expressed in earlier survey work has been referred to where relevant.

6.3 Primary Analysis - Resident Survey

To set the context of the resident survey, it is helpful to sketch the base demography of the Old Town. The population of the area is currently nearly 7,000 in total (1991 Census). The area has been through periods of both steady growth and rapid decline - peaking in the mid nineteenth century at around 50,000, and at its lowest in the early 1970’s at under 3000 (Bell et al, 1984).

For the purposes of the study, the 1991 census figures for St.Giles ward are referred to as the nearest unit of measurement to the case study area, although this includes a wider area than the Old Town alone. As shown by the figures for St. Giles ward, at present the Old Town area has a disproportionately high concentration of residents in the 20-30 year, and 55-75 year age groups, which, combined with a dearth of children and families, has caused concerns amongst policy makers (EDC, 1995) about the threat of depopulation of the area in the future. However, such concerns could be considered oversimplistic as they presume that children will stay in the same place as they were born, and this is not usually or necessarily the case. Figure 6.7 illustrates the population age structure of St. Giles ward as detailed in the 1991 Census, whilst Figure 6.8 gives a breakdown of the economic status of residents.
Figure 6.7 Age Structure of St Giles Ward

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>1991 Census</th>
<th>1991 Census %</th>
<th>1981 Census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-15</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>832</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-ret</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ret-74</td>
<td>666</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-84</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85+</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7175</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: EDC, 1993

Figure 6.8 Economic Position of Residents: St. Giles Ward

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>1991 Census</th>
<th>1991 Census %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL 16+</td>
<td>6613</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically active</td>
<td>4224</td>
<td>63.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees Full time</td>
<td>2838</td>
<td>67.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part time</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self employed</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Government scheme</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically Inactive</td>
<td>2389</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanently Sick</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>917</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>828</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1981 and 1991 Census Data

The data for St. Giles ward reflects a general cross section of the overall population of the city, although it should be noted from these figures that the proportions of both retired people and
students should be substantially higher than the other groups if the sample taken in the case study is to representative of the full population of the area. The specifics of the age structure of the respondent sample has the potential to influence the findings of the perception studies in a number of ways. For example, respondent characteristics may affect aspects of mobility of the elderly and heighten perceptions of certain issues such as pedestrian congestion.

Respondents to the resident survey carried out in October/November 1995 were found to be of a similar age breakdown to that found in the 1991 census for St. Giles ward as a whole, within which the Old Town is located. The low proportion of residents in the 41-60 year old age group is illustrated for instance by this group being the lowest proportion of respondents (15.6%). Retired people and those aged between 16 and 25 each represented around a quarter of all respondents, whilst those in the 26-40 age group accounted for around 35.2% of the population. Given that the sample did not include residents of the ex-servicemen homes (for example Queensberry House on the Canongate), and also excluded the Edinburgh University and Edinburgh College of art student residences in the area owing to the high propensity of students to migrate, the age structure of respondents could be said to be broadly representative.

The confidence which can be attached to the survey findings is therefore increased due to the similarities in population characteristics between the census data and the resident sample used for the analysis.

Figure 6.9 : Age Structure of Residents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-25</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-40</td>
<td>35.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-60</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Edinburgh Old Town Resident Survey, November 1995

The housing tenure of respondents reflected the private rented housing within the Old Town as compared to the city as a whole and at the national level. This category accounted for around one third of respondents. Owner occupiers formed the largest group at 39.8% of the sample, with 17.2% of respondents residing in local authority residences, and a further 9.4% living in housing association properties.
The relatively high turnover of residents in the Old Town is reflected in more than half of the respondents (55.5%) having lived in the area for three years or less. Fewer of the sample had lived in the area for 3-5 years (14.1%) and 6-10 years (7.0%), whilst at the other end of the spectrum, a substantial percentage (22.7%) had lived in the area for more than ten years. This immediately suggests that there are different populations within the Old Town whose priorities and perceptions may well be at variance.

The mobility of the youngest age group is illustrated in twenty of the thirty four ‘16-25’ year old age group stating they either would probably or definitely not be living in the area in ten years time, as well as in the cross tabulation of age with length of residence (thirty two of the thirty four respondents having lived at their address for less than three years). By way of contrast, in response to the same question, twenty of the twenty eight respondents in the oldest age group stated that they definitely or probably would be living in the area in ten years time, and at the same time twenty of the twenty eight had lived in the area for ten years or more. A similar bias towards continued residence resulted from the 41-60 age group, with a
progressively less stable outlook in the 26-40 year old group, both of which were again confirmed by cross tabulation of the groups with length of residence to date.

So a further picture emerges of different social groups within the area, and in particular a division emerges between an ageing / long term resident population and a young transient population. Whilst 34.4% of respondents were in full time permanent employment, the two other significant groups were students and retired persons who each accounted for 21.1% of the total sample, again reflecting the importance of the area in accommodating these groups. 4.7% of the sample were unemployed.

Figure 6.12: Economic Status of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic status</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full time permanent employment</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full time temporary employment</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part time permanent employment</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part time temporary employment</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not working due to specific reason</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Edinburgh Old Town Resident Survey, November 1995

In summary, the resident survey sample broadly reflected the wider population of the Old Town as detailed for St. Giles ward in the 1991 Census. In particular, the lack of evidence of families living in the area relates directly to the dominance of small size accommodation (dwellings with 1 to 3 three rooms) in the area compared to the city as a whole as identified in the 1984 Old Town Study (71% as compared to 49% respectively). Such patterns could be considered to be broadly typical of a European historic city as discussed in some of the literature identified in Chapter 2. For instance, the EU’s Green Paper on the Urban Environment, identified a common issue of high levels of elderly residents, and young childless residents living in city centre locations, and the related social implications this may have. As a result, evidence of a specific set of social groupings within the perception studies have been noted, and add a further aspect to consideration of the use of perceptions within capacity analysis, particularly when compared to Prague in the following chapter. The confirmation that
a similar population exists in the Old Town to that which has been identified as being characteristic of the contemporary European historic city in general, enhances the transferability of experiences and perceptions at a wider level.

6.4 Primary Analysis - Visitor Survey

Figure 6.13 illustrates the origins of visitor survey respondents in the Edinburgh survey. Visitors from the UK and Western Europe made up more than half of the total sample of responses (19.3% and 34.4% of the total respectively.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe (excluding UK)</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americas</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia / New Zealand</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Edinburgh Visitor Survey, July 1995

The Scottish Tourist Board Figures for origins of overseas visitors in 1994 to Scotland as a whole broadly correlate with the samples characteristics, with Western Europe (both EU and non EU member countries combined) being the main source of overseas visitors and North America accounting for a significant share of origins of tourists (STB, 1995, Factsheet RH48). The survey did, however, question less domestic tourists than might have been anticipated from wider tourist figures for visitors to the city. Domestic tourists nevertheless made up a large enough share of the sample for their views to be accounted for adequately.

As shown in Figure 6.14, just under one third of respondents were staying in hotel accommodation, with friends and relatives, guest houses and bed and breakfast establishments, self catering and youth hostels each accounting for a significant share of the market. A relatively small proportion were in caravanning and camping accommodation, as would be the case in many historic towns. The nature of the visit to the city, combined with
Scottish weather, explains this to a certain degree.

**Figure 6.14**: Accommodation used by Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accommodation by type</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guest House / B &amp; B</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Catering</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth hostel</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caravan / camping</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends / relatives</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not specified</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Edinburgh Visitor Survey, July 1995

Relatively few visitors were staying in the Old Town itself (7.8%), with other central areas accounting easily for the majority (78.9%). The responses revealed a relatively long length of stay, given the general expectations for a historic city to specialise in the short stay sector of the tourist market. The largest group was those staying for three nights to one week, although a further quarter were staying for between one and two weeks. Two weeks and two nights proved the next most popular lengths of stay, whilst the extremes of one night (6.4%) and more than two weeks (9.2%) were less commonly indicated.

Question 22 of the visitor survey assessed perception of the dominance of tourism on the Old Town. Of the visitors questioned, around half (50.5%) felt there was a good balance between tourism and everyday life, 35.8% thought that tourism dominated everyday life, and 13.3% thought that everyday life dominated the area. This question does not necessarily ascertain levels of capacity, given that domination of tourism in an area may not necessarily directly equate with capacity being reached or surpassed. Nevertheless responses do suggest that over a third of the visitors perceive they are experiencing a tourist area, and by implication this is less authentic and has less rich meaning than if the area were seen as a living historic environment. The question also enables comparison with the Prague responses in the next chapter, and is a means of cross referencing with other responses. The coincidence of perceived (dis)satisfaction with levels of tourist activity, with capacity levels identified in each technical study will therefore be referred to where appropriate (mainly through cross tabulation of responses).
In bringing together data collated as the basis of the urban capacity analysis, the following section combines and contrasts the perceptions of both residents and tourists as identified by the studies, with technical studies conducted for each area of concern, and discusses the related planning policy for each issue.

6.5 The Impact of Tourism on the Aesthetic and Environmental Quality of the Built Environment (Issue 1)

The Old Town of Edinburgh's historic heritage has fostered a careful approach to design in the area, particularly since its official designation as a conservation area in 1977. Figure 6.15 illustrates the Old Town Conservation area boundaries within the case study area, and highlights listed buildings (by category). The majority of the historic fabric is contained within the Conservation Area, which contains a considerable number of listed buildings in total. Special controls therefore apply to much of the area, effectively strengthening planning control of the aesthetic aspect of development. Edinburgh District Council Department of Planning produce guidelines on a number of visual/design features to advise applicants in the Old Town, including Shopfront Design (with special policy applying to the key areas of Cockburn Street and South Bridge), the Painting and Cleaning of Stonework, Replacement Windows, Signs and Advertising and Satellite Antennae.
Chapter 3 outlined some of the key aspects of townscape quality in the Old Town, not least the debate between historicism and design / progressive approaches to architecture. Gap sites and other opportunities for redevelopment are subjected to considerable scrutiny prior to planning consent being granted, both under the provisions of the local plan, and the wider protection legally afforded to conservation areas. The townscape is a testament to the changes in policy emphasis over the post war years with a number of buildings illustrating progressive attitudes during the 1960's and early 1970's, followed by post modernism during the 1980's and pastiche in the early 1990's. Townscape quality and environmental improvement is an ongoing quest of planning activity in the Old Town, there being continual demands on resources for improvements. As Fielden summed up for instance:

"Some of the Old Town off the Royal Mile is squalid. Despite efforts in the last few years to improve closes such as Tweeddale Court, the Royal Mile itself peters out at the bottom and is cut into short lengths by cross traffic. Presentation of the castle has been improved but is made ridiculous by the scaffolding for the tattoo in the high season of tourism" (Sir Bernard Fielden, 1990, p.14).

Amongst efforts to improve the Old Town in the early 1990's was an improvement scheme targeting the Royal Mile focusing on pedestrian versus vehicular use of the street. Townscape studies were therefore undertaken as part of the capacity analysis for this study on the High Street and the Lawnmarket, both areas additionally forming the focus of tourist activity in the case study area. The Castle esplanade has been the subject of criticism over the years, particularly due to its use during the Tattoo annually, and as a coach park for the Castle's visitors. Hunter Square and the Canongate where it meets Holyrood have further been identified in research focusing on the area (e.g. KPMG, 1989) as important open spaces which have not consistently fulfilled their role as foci of activity. The approaches to the Grassmarket (a further key open space within the area) were also considered due to both their specifically historic nature, problems with traffic and interest for visitors and everyday users alike. Finally the Cowgate's townscape was considered due also to its role as a busy through road, its historic nature and the variety of new development along its length.
The castle esplanade is an extensive open area to the immediate east of the castle from which there are extensive views to the north and south. During the winter months, the esplanade acts as a large and convenient coach parking area, whilst it is covered by scaffolding accommodating seating for the military tattoo for a large part of the summer period.

Debate over several years has centred on whether or not the function of accommodating the military tattoo should be removed from the esplanade to be sited elsewhere - one suggestion put forward Princes Street Gardens as a suitable alternative. Similarly, the suitability of coach parking on this important space has been a contentious issue within the city. Removal of one or both of these functions would clearly significantly enhance the visual outlook and appearance of the esplanade in summer months, providing what would surely be a more fitting approach to this attraction which receives close to one million visitors annually. Likewise, vistas to the castle from elsewhere in the city would be significantly improved.

Unfortunately, however, the likelihood of finding a location of a similar expanse in the case of coach parking, which is also in such close proximity to the Royal Mile is not significant. Similarly, the need to find a venue for the tattoo which is of similar historic and visual merit to act as a backdrop for this major tourist attraction, limits the chances of the future relocation of the event and consequent removal of the need for scaffolding for the course of the busiest part of the year. Of course it could also be argued that the inappropriate use of the esplanade has continued now for a number of years, with the castle's visiting numbers clearly not suffering as a result. However, the contribution of the use of the castle esplanade to the more piecemeal erosion of the overall quality of the fabric of the Old Town is irrefutable.

The Lawnmarket continues to slope down to George IV Bridge, and together with Castlehill, this part of the Royal Mile accommodates the highest concentration of tourist souvenir shops in the city (as detailed in retail survey). Many of the shops draw from the predictable and most well known imagery of Scottish heritage with tartanry, clans and bagpipes on prominent display. The height of the buildings, amongst the highest in the Old Town along the Lawnmarket, reconciles to a certain degree the negative impact of these shops, and they are sufficiently dispersed to not allow the area to become a complete tourist ghetto. The fact that the road is used quite heavily by buses and through traffic is a further reminder of the bustling activity of everyday life which goes on amongst the tourists.

The Castlehill forms the highest part of the Royal Mile, sloping down from the castle esplanade to meet the Lawnmarket. The narrowness of the castle hill accentuates the already high level of tourist use, with visitors passing through to visit not only the castle, but also the Outlook Tower and Interpretation Centre and Scotch Whisky Heritage Centre. Tourist activity in this part of the Royal Mile will increase further in the near future, following the conversion of the Castlehill Reservoir building, currently not in use, to a new tourist attraction based on the Scottish weaving and tartan industry. Despite this, the Castlehill still accommodates a substantial element of residential land use.
The High Street at this point is a focus of visitor activity. The north side of the street is made up mainly of tenements with shops, often tourist orientated on the ground floor, whilst on the southern side there is Parliament Square, a cobbled open area just after George IV Bridge in which the St Giles High Kirk is situated parallel, as opposed to facing, the Royal Mile. Until the nineteenth century, the Old Tollbooth stood adjacent to the church, which housed a prison, the law courts, Scottish Parliamentary meeting place and the town council. Today a heart shape in the cobbles marks its foundations.

This part of the High Street has a number of tourist related shops, but this is in addition to a similar number of bars, restaurants, with a few neutral units such as Crawfords the Bakers and Oddbins off-licence. Particularly at the Tron end, this is perhaps the most congested area in traffic terms of the Royal Mile, and this has been exacerbated to a certain degree by the combined effects of the widening of the pavements, which has not noticeably reduced numbers of buses using the stretch. Pedestrian use of this area is also very high and this reaches extreme proportions during the Festival as the Fringe Office is located there, and performers canvas passers by to attend shows on the pavements. There are also often stalls along this stretch of the High Street, outside the Edinburgh City Chambers, making this deadened blank wall into a point of interest. The area as a result has in general a good balance between tourist users and everyday life going on, with the balance being tipped in favour of tourism for only a limited period of every year.

The Scandic Crown Hotel (now Holiday Inn) was constructed as a pastiche of the vernacular architectural form of the Old Town and Royal Mile. Through its architecture, the building has gone some way towards representing the traditional form of the Royal Mile with arches and entrances mimicking close entrances, and baronial turrets and small windows amongst other features included in the façade. Despite this, the blatantly pastiche approach to an development of this scale on the Royal Mile has been the subject of much debate, with the hotel itself being highly criticised in its bulk and lack of vertical definition. Deeper concerns on the cultural aspect of such a development in the heart of the Old Town have been voiced, with McKean stating that it "is symbolic, however, of Edinburgh's uncertain cultural stance...it is evidence that the city has lost all sense of a thriving and appropriate contemporary culture visible, say, in Vienna, Oslo or Copenhagen." (McKean, 1991)
Hunter Square has been changed considerably since 1994, as a result of the Royal Mile Improvement Scheme. The area was identified as having the potential to be an important urban space, as a focal point for activity, particularly due to its location agent to the Tron Church which is used as a Visitor Interpretation Centre. The square is bordered to the east by South Bridge, and to the north by the Tron Church, whilst to the west and north it is enclosed by tenements. On the latter two sides, there is a range of bars, cafés and restaurants, providing some points of interest and activity. In the centre of the square, the underground conveniences have been built over to provide a raised stone area, which can act as a stage during the festival, and the steps of which are used as seating in good weather.

Despite the best intentions of those refurbishing the square, however, it remains exposed and noisy as a result of its situation close to one of the busiest crossroads along the length of the Royal Mile. Some of the urban decay which has all but been banished from the area over the past few years, persists in the derelict buildings and disused shop units down Blair Street which runs southwards from its south western corner, and this extends to a gap side in this corner of the square. The site, which was identified as a development opportunity in the Old Town Renewal Trust's Action Plan, has been acquired for the development of a hotel by the multinational chain Ibis, with retail on the ground floor. Once this is complete, this should significantly improve the quality of the square as an urban space, but further improvements, down Blair Street and South bridge would be required to significantly improve the overall quality of the area and its setting. Given the poor weather often encountered in the city, the square's south facing aspect is not an obvious asset, given the shadow cast by high building surrounding it.

The value of the changes, in particular through the closing of the square to through traffic as part of the Royal Mile project, as an improvement to the ambience of the square, should not, however, be underestimated. The square is often lively and full of people particularly during the peak tourist season. Further additions planned in including the provision of a fountain, may succeed in making Hunter Square an important focal point of the area.
The Canongate extends to the eastern lower end of the Royal Mile, stretching from the High Street at the Junction with St Mary's Street, Jeffrey Street to the Palace of Holyrood House at its eastern most extremity. The Canongate is a more residential area than the rest of the Royal Mile, with many backlands, both historically intact and rebuilt, having accommodation covering the full range of population, from single people to family sized dwellings. Shops are more widely dispersed on this part of the Royal Mile, with the tourist emphasis being considerably less obvious than in the High Street and in Castlehill.

At the foot of the Canongate, there is a crossroads forming a roundabout in front of Holyrood House, providing a space which is not particularly comfortable for pedestrian users, with through traffic maintaining priority. There is no formal space in front of the palace for visitors to gather. The bottom of the Canongate is rounded off with an area of modern style housing which further creates a break in the continuing historical amenity of the Royal Mile at this point.

Round the corner, Holyrood Road is an area which is likely to be the main focus of development activity in the area for some time yet. This area is currently unattractive, with both modern buildings and derelict sites. The backdrop of Arthur's seat, Holyrood Park, and Salisbury Crags, however, as well as proximity to the rest of the Old Town, indicates the extensive potential for improvement in the area.
6.5.2 Perception Studies Relating to Townscape Quality

In terms of perception studies carried out relating to townscape quality, the visitor survey responses to Question 10 and resident responses to Question 5 rated the contribution of specified environmental features to the environment of the Old Town. Figure 6.20 illustrates those feeling the feature contributed "a lot". Overall the relative importance (ranking is shown in brackets following each percentage) attributed to each environmental feature proved to be broadly similar for each of the constituents, apart from the residents rating views as the third most important feature with closes and wynds as the most important, with a direct reversal in the level of importance being attributed by visitors.

Figure 6.20 Perceived relative importance of stated environmental constituents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Visitor survey</th>
<th>Resident survey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the views from the area over the rest of the city</td>
<td>74.8 (1)</td>
<td>69.5 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the cobbled streets</td>
<td>61.5 (2)</td>
<td>78.1 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the closes and wynds</td>
<td>58.3 (3)</td>
<td>93.8 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the tenements</td>
<td>52.3 (4)</td>
<td>67.2 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the stone used in the buildings</td>
<td>48.6 (5)</td>
<td>58.6 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the topography</td>
<td>42.7 (6)</td>
<td>52.3 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the height of the buildings</td>
<td>28.4 (7)</td>
<td>47.7 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the modern buildings in the area</td>
<td>2.8 (8)</td>
<td>8.6 (8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Modern buildings in the area are illustrated in Figure 6.21. Interestingly, they were virtually ignored by visitors, with many interviewees commenting that they thought that there was none, despite often being stopped by the interviewer across the road from both the Scandic Crown Hotel and the Lothian Regional Council building on George IV Bridge. Residents were generally more aware than visitors of the modern buildings, although many added comments condemning specific developments or protesting against new building in general in the Old Town. Their perception of modern buildings' importance as a contributing factor to the character of the area, was similarly at a far lower level than any other feature.

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3 Respondents ranked the contribution of specific features to the overall character of the area through indicating whether they felt each contributed "a lot", "a little" or "nothing";
Question 13.2 of the visitor asked whether those who considered there to be too many souvenir shops on and around the Royal Mile, thought that the shopfronts detracted from the quality of the environment. Six respondents felt strongly that they did, with a further thirty three also agreeing, whilst twenty three disagreed and further one strongly disagreed - indicating that quantity of shops did not necessarily detract from the perceived environmental quality. Of those responding to the corresponding resident survey question 7.1 (52 respondents in total), 15 agreed strongly, and 39 agreed, with relatively few disagreeing (15) and disagreeing strongly (3). The residents in the Old Town were therefore on the whole more critical of the impact of tourist shops on the visual character of the area.

Question 18 asked more directly the degree to which visitors perceived that advertisements spoil the character of the Old Town. A relatively small percentage agreed strongly with this proposition, with a larger proportion agreeing. A more substantial proportion disagreed, with a further less significant number disagreeing strongly. Most visitors indicated no strong feelings either way. As illustrated in the overall views shown in Figure 6.22, there is a lack of evidence supporting a majority distaste on the part of visitors for advertising in the area, the greater proportion of respondents being either neutral or actively disagreeing. In comparison, resident responses to the corresponding Question 12 of the survey, indicated a far greater degree of negative perception of the impact of advertising on the visual quality of the area.

Figure 6.22 Perceived Degree to which Advertisements spoil the character of the Old Town - Visitor and Resident Responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Visitor %*</th>
<th>Resident %*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree strongly</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree strongly</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Does not include no responses, don't knows and omissions

The visitor responses indicated that 24% of tourists thought there should be less souvenir shops, with only 4.6% feeling there should be more. However, a substantial majority (69.7%) thought there should be no change to the status quo. In terms of advertising control, 19.3% of visitors thought there should be more controls on adverts, only 5.5% felt there should be less, and a larger majority felt that there should be no change to the status quo (74.3%). In the most
extreme of results, only 0.9% (2 respondents) of visitors felt there should be more new buildings in the Old Town, leaving a cumulative 99.1% feeling there should either be less or no change to the status quo. In contrast, residents indicated a far stronger wish for less tourist shops (43.8%), and greater support for more advertising controls (41.9%) as a result of the more critical stance to this feature of the environment. The importance of history as a crucial part of the visitor experience is underlined in the contrasting 64.5% of residents (as opposed to 0.9% of visitors) willing to accept more modern building as a positive improvement to the area.

Figure 6.23 Perceptions of Potential Improvements to the Old Town

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Improvement</th>
<th>Visitor More %</th>
<th>Visitor Less %</th>
<th>Visitor No change %</th>
<th>Resident More %</th>
<th>Resident Less %</th>
<th>Resident No Change %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourist shops</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advert Controls</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>74.3</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Buildings</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Cross tabulation indicates a high degree of consistency between responses to questions relating to the built environment. A minority of consistently critical residents emerged, with residents as a group in turn being on the whole more critical than visitors. Overall, urban conservation appears to have been successful, at least in terms of perceived townscape quality. The townscape studies did indicate the strengths coming from the quality of the heritage itself, with ineffective management and incompatible use (mainly by traffic) in later times being the reasons for many of the negative aspects noted. On the whole, however, the aesthetic quality of the townscape of the Old Town appears to be far below its capacity to accommodating tourism, and critical capacity thresholds have not been exceeded - certainly in terms of perceptions, and in an only slightly more limited sense in terms of the findings of the townscape analysis.

6.6 The Impact of Tourist Activity on the Transportation Network and Parking Provision

Chapter Three demonstrated the continually important role that transportation issues have played in the Old Town. The Abercrombie Plan, for instance, proposed a new futuristic road system to accommodate increasing traffic levels. The Cockburn Association continually contested road and parking plans, including most famously car park plans proposed by the council for East Princes Street Gardens in the 1950's, and the infamous inner ring road plans. These plans blighted many parts of the Old Town until well into the 1970's, contributing significantly to widespread neglect and dereliction which persisted until relatively recently. Traffic management is a complex issue for any city, but has further implications for those of
historic character, as outlined in the wider literature relating to the European historic city in Chapter 2.

Edinburgh has gradually become more accessible by road through a number of major developments. The city is surrounded by a bypass, built in the 1980’s, has built a new western approach road and in the mid 1990’s the M8 (Edinburgh - Glasgow) was linked to the by-pass. Beyond these plans, however, the city remains relatively intact from road proposals, at least when compared to many of its UK counterparts. The main emphasis in public transport has been on the use of buses. The city has continued more recently to be the spotlight of many transportation research and initiatives through the development plans over the years, not least in its historic centre where flows are significantly impeded by the built form and unchanged street pattern of the townscape. Perhaps also as result of this, Edinburgh has a relatively low car ownership rate, as compared to equivalent figures for 1981 (Figure 6.24), although the city is currently maintaining one of the highest rates of growth in car ownership in Europe.

Figure 6.24 Compared levels of Car Ownership 1981/1991: City of Edinburgh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1991 % total households</th>
<th>1991 % total households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No car</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>46.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 car</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 cars</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+ cars</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The car ownership within the Old Town is extremely low, as a percentage of the overall population - with the 1991 Census indicated a figure of 765 cars in total (around 1 for every 10 residents). In 1992, there were 373 resident car parking spaces provided, with an additional number of private residential spaces (EOTRT, 1995). This indicates that whilst resident needs may be more easily catered for, pressure on publicly available spaces is likely to be acute, given the scale of visitor numbers as well as the importance of the Old Town in terms of business, commercial and administrative land uses within the city as a whole.

The KPMG / SDA Edinburgh Tourism Review (1989) noted that 75% of visitors to Edinburgh arrive by coach or car, and that there was a need to manage vehicle borne visitors more effectively. It stated:
"The problem with attracting large numbers of vehicle borne visitors is that the environmental damage which they inflict on the city centre, directly in terms of traffic congestion and pollution or indirectly in terms of insensitive engineering structures, could destroy the fragile resource which attracted the tourist in the first place" (SDA, 1989, p.34).

The public transport system in Edinburgh is well used compared to many other cities. Despite the dominance of vehicle borne visitors to the Old Town the high use of public transport in general is reflected in the various visitor surveys conducted by LEEL and the EOTRT in the Old Town, which indicated a very high proportion of tourists after their arrival giving up their cars when viewing the city, in favour of both public transport and walking. An average of 362,000 public transport trips were made in the city every weekday in the late 1980’s (Edinburgh Area Public Transport Study 1987/8). This, and the need to develop a more sustainable strategy as endorsed by the Lothian Region Structure Plan 1995, has meant that a set of more sustainable policies are now being pursued by the Regional Council4. Amongst these, urban greenways are being developed which increase bus priority measures and introduce an extensive traffic calming programme centred on public transport corridors throughout Edinburgh. In the Old Town, the Greenways are planned for George IV Bridge and North Bridge to be implemented in Phase 2 of the Scheme (EOTRT, 1995)

This is also combined with steps towards ensuring pedestrian, cyclist and public transport priority in the central area of the city. More ambitious proposals for a rapid transit link have been put forward, mainly to link the retail and business development at the Gyle and Edinburgh Business Park on the west side of the city to the city centre, but the most recent proposal to introduce a fast link between the new conference centre and the airport is expected to be implemented before the year 2000. A number of other park and ride schemes have been proposed for the city. Transport Policy Plan 10 A, (Lothian Regional Council, 1993):

"The consequences of excessive traffic are evident to all users of Edinburgh City Centre. Particular problems are suffered by bus users, pedestrians and cyclists. Bus users are delayed because of parked or 'cruising' cars. Pedestrians and cyclists safety is threatened by conflict with heavy traffic volumes. Improved road safety in central Edinburgh is a priority"(p.10).

4 City of Edinburgh Council, following 1996 local government reorganisation
Two LRT buses run through the heart of the Old Town. Road improvements restrict vehicle access in the area, in order to sustain bus operation. The problem of isolation long identified in the Dumbiedykes area has been countered to a certain degree through the provision of a new bus service linking Dumbiedykes Road with Bristo Square, which commenced in July 1994 (EOTRT, 1995).

A programme of improvements for the Royal Mile, which has been in progress since mid 1994, includes a strong element of traffic calming in favour of improving pedestrian flows and the overall quality of environment in the area. This project illustrates the wider commitment of the city authorities to redressing the transport balance in favour of pedestrian use.

6.6.1 Technical study: current transportation network

A number of key issues relating to transportation as an aspect of the Old Town’s tourist capacity arise. Public transport is a strength of the area to a certain extent, although the continuing high level of vehicle borne visitors, despite their being likely to use public transport within the Old Town, indicates a need to consider links connecting the Old Town with the rest of the city / country, thus reducing pressure on car parking facilities and road congestion. Overall, however, the city could be considered to continue to rely to a large extent on the private car despite the many initiatives and policies aiming to bring about the contrary scenario of public transport dominance.

The balance between traffic and pedestrian use and traffic congestion in the Old Town are key issues identified in the city, which may be further influenced by the nature of tourism in the area. An examination of the use, frequency and routes of coach tours goes some way towards addressing these issues as part of the capacity analysis. Similarly, the difficulties in ensuring adequate availability of car parking spaces is further compounded by the additional demand made by visitors to the area. Coach parking provisions and wider car parking capacity levels are therefore further indicators which investigate the implications of the issues. In addition to the primary data collection which aims to develop these key issues, secondary sources of information relating to tourism and transport in the Old Town have also been investigated.

In terms of the technical studies, an examination of routes and frequencies of tour operators is unlikely to be comprehensive in its coverage, and cannot therefore be seen to represent a
definitive level of use relating to capacity. Despite this, for the purposes of this study, an analysis of key tour operators and their routes provides some indication of demands on the transportation network, when it is considered to represent a wider profile of tour operator activity as opposed to the complete picture.

Tour operators in the Old Town of Edinburgh use buses and coaches as the main means of transportation. In particular, Guide Friday tours and the Lothian Regional Council's own equivalent run open top and closed buses on routes within the city centre every 15 mins during the summer months. The contribution of these tours to the overall level of congestion in the Royal Mile area in particular is well known, although they probably account for a small proportion of the total tourist coaches in the area - the majority being run by tour operators. Coach tours were, nevertheless, a basic point of dispute during the debates which led to the scheme for pedestrianisation of the Royal Mile.

The buses run on a drop off basis with the dual use of standard public bus stops. Since the widening of pavements and other traffic calming measures, many parts of the Royal Mile have been known to come to a complete standstill, with buses, including those run by tour operators being the main cause of this in the most narrow stretches of the Royal Mile. The main tours operating in the Old Town are illustrated in Figure 6.25
6.25 Routes of main tour operators in the Old Town

Edinburgh Classic Tour (LRT)
Guide Friday Tour
A further popular means of providing tours which multiplied dramatically in the early 1990's is the pedestrian 'ghost tours'. These are run by a number of operators and increase substantially through the festival period. These operators utilise mainly temporary advertising and operate mainly in the evenings when pedestrian crowding is not a problem - their impact on this problem is therefore minimal, although a number of residents surveyed complained about the noise they bring about in the area at night. This option could nevertheless be considered one means of broadening tourist capacity to accommodate greater tourist numbers as they would be on foot and at off peak times.

**Coach parking** is a further important aspect of tourist impact in terms of transportation. Previous research (EDAW CR Planning 1994) and Townscape Study No.1(Figure 6.16) have discussed the negative impact of coach parking on the Castle Esplanade. In terms of tourist coaches in the area, an increased restriction of coaches on the Royal Mile has been in force, as the negative impact of excessive coach numbers in the area is well recognised in current local plan policy making (EDC, 1994, p.82).

Lothian Regional Council considered alternative coach routes, with Market Street / New Street providing possibly the most practical option given their relative width and as they are not under great pressure for use. Short term coach parking / drop off points are still provided at a number of points on the Royal Mile during the peak season, notably outside St.Giles Cathedral, whilst Johnston Terrace is also used for coach parking during the peak times of tourist activity. The local plan highlights the continuing reliance of the central area on short term use of central development sites not in use to accommodate car and coach parking, the New Street Bus Garage for example being an important tourist bus park. The local plan also states that the Council's development brief for the bus garage (a major development opportunity in the Old Town) includes continuing an element of coach parking as one of the stipulated uses. Road safety promotion is further priority to be enforced on Waverley Bridge, which is one of the greatest points of pressure, as a result of the location of the station and the traffic related to it. Many of the tour operators use this street as a starting point, and other operators park there. (EOTRT, 1995, p.26)

The 1989 study estimated that a peak rate of 3500 extra car and coach parking spaces would be required by the mid 1990's due to visitor numbers in the central area. The Review suggested a five step plan to accommodate visitor coaches in Edinburgh including preferred coach routes,
short term parking and rendez-vous points. Although some evidence exists that extra spaces have been provided and that these steps have been taken, continuing congestion and chaotic coach parking as observed in the Old Town would suggest that these targets either underestimated increasing demands or that they have not been met, or a combination of the two.

6.2.2 Perceptions of Transport Related Issues

The perception studies can be used alongside these technical indicators. A larger share of the total number of visitors indicated that they thought there was not too much traffic in the Old Town, although for both groups, there was an overall recognition of there being a problem. Far less residents felt that there was not too much traffic (6.8% disagreeing or disagreeing strongly), combined with a greater proportion of residents agreeing strongly that there was too much traffic (32.8% as opposed to 8.7% of visitors). This is perhaps as a result of the greater likelihood of residents to drive within the area, since tourists often either choose not to drive in the city centre or utilise central park and walk schemes as earlier studies have shown. This is further underlined by the indifference of tourists to car and coach parking provision in the area, and the relative strength of opinion of the residents compared to visitors that there is a shortfall. Overall therefore, there was a tendency towards dissatisfaction with traffic levels and parking on the part of residents, whilst visitors were more or less indifferent to parking provision, and although more negative in responding to perceived traffic levels, remained less critical as compared to residents.

In considering the responses, however, it should be noted that residents as a group have already emerged as being more critical of environmental conditions than the visitors were. Their responses to the questions about traffic and parking levels may be at least partially explained by this.
Figure 6.26 Perceptions of Traffic Levels

**Is there too much traffic in the Old Town?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Visitor %</th>
<th>Resident %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree Strongly</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>32.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree strongly</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Figure 6.27 Perceptions of Car and Coach Parking Provision

**Are there enough places for cars and coaches to park in the Old Town?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Visitor %</th>
<th>Resident %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree Strongly</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree strongly</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


When questioned about the perceived contribution of guided tours to the traffic problems of the Old Town, slightly less residents than visitors felt that tours made no significant difference to the problem, whilst slightly more believed them to be the main problem. Only six of the visitors questioned felt that tours were the main problem.

Figure 6.28 Perceptions of Contribution of Guided Tours to Traffic Problems of Old Town

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Visitor %</th>
<th>Resident %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main problem</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of the problem</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No significant difference</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of perceived potential of specified improvements linked with public transport, a consistent proportion of around half of the visitors questioned supported no change, whilst residents were less ready to accept the status quo. In addition, despite visitors providing relatively uncritical perceptions of the transport network and car and coach parking provision, few of those questioned felt that lifting of traffic restrictions or decreasing car parking would improve their visit to the Old Town. From this it can be concluded that traffic congestion and related transportation issues are relatively low ranking in terms of effects on enjoyment of the area for visitors - in this case traffic is a relatively peripheral issue in terms of the experience of the historic city as a whole.

More residents took a more proactive stance on the matter, strongly advocating an increase in parking provision and more restrictions on traffic in the area. A substantial proportion of both groups felt that there should be fewer guided tours in the area, despite no strong evidence that they felt tours were exclusively to blame for the traffic problem, although they did see it as part of the problem. In addition, very few of either group felt that more guided tours would be an improvement to the area, indicating that their contribution to the traffic problem was sufficient to limit support for further additions to the current quantity.

Figure 6.29 - Perceptions of Potential Improvements to the Old Town

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Improvement</th>
<th>Visitor More %*</th>
<th>Visitor Less %*</th>
<th>Visitor No change %*</th>
<th>Resident More %*</th>
<th>Resident Less %*</th>
<th>Resident No Change %*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parking availability</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic restrictions</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>64.8</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guided coach tours</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>39.8</td>
<td>41.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Percentages excluding non responses

In summarising the transportation and parking capacity of the Old Town, it would appear that the evidence of capacity levels being reached is represented more by the technical studies than by the perceptions of the areas users. An appraisal of secondary sources of traffic data underlines the problem of traffic congestion in the area. Similarly, the survey of coach tour operators, though not comprehensive, indicates a considerable heightening of traffic pressure in the area, limited by street patterns and more recently traffic calming. In terms of perceptions, general tolerance was indicated by many respondents. Of those who were more critical, many were residents who objected to both car parking and traffic and may represent the likely vested interests of private car owners. Criticisms therefore appeared to relate more to practical
issues as opposed to a perception that overall quality of life was negatively influenced and therefore capacity levels were being approached or breached.

As the above cross tabulation of responses of residents to the question of potential improvements shows, the above perceptions of possible improvements to the area and in particular the frequent endorsement by respondents of traffic restrictions and increased car parking in the area (incompatible aims) highlight the shortfalls of the method of assessment used. A more in depth approach which allowed respondents to discuss solutions in greater depth as opposed to only providing more instinctive responses would clearly have been advantageous in this case. This theme of the depth of perception being ascertained is discussed more fully later in terms of the implications of the findings of developing the methodology of capacity analysis further in this respect. This does not invalidate the responses obtained, but does highlight the degree of caution with which the results should be considered.

6.7 The impact of tourist activity on pedestrian comfort in the Old Town (Issue 3)

Pedestrian use of streets in the Old Town is a further aspect (indirectly related to transportation) of tourism impact which typically influences the capacity of a historic city. Classification of street use through systematic observation, although subjective, is one way of estimating the share of pedestrians who are tourists, and as a result the impact which tourism has on congestion where it occurs. Policy in the Old Town has recognised the need to improve the environment for pedestrian users. As a result, a number of projects have been carried out, including the widening of pavements, installation of bollards, strategic replacement of road surfacing etc.
6.30 Location of key tourist attractions and streets observed by use
Source: adapted from fodors '96 (after Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990)
6.7.1 Technical Indicator: Classification of Street Use

In classifying streets by tourist use (technical indicator) the Chester study appraised levels of street use on eight key shopping streets, allocating each a category according to use. Tourist use was evaluated on far broader terms as a result of a lack of data available to the study team. It is felt that an observed level of tourist use, despite its subjectivity, would be necessary for this thesis. As a result, overall levels of use were supplemented with the allocation of a category according to tourist use as a percentage of the whole. To maximise the reliability of the allocations the whole exercise was solely undertaken by the author. In addition, observations were taken for each street on a weekday afternoon and on a Saturday afternoon.

The spatial distribution of streets observed tied in closely with a mapping of tourist attractions using the method set out by Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990) where entries in a seminal travel guidebook (Fodor’s 1996 in this instance) were assessed according to the length of entry. Figure 6.30 illustrates this, combined with the mapping of the spatial distribution of top attractions of the city as defined by the STB, together with the streets observed during the technical study.

The Chester study used a standard format for assessing degrees of congestion on shopping streets. It measured degrees above or below an average acceptable rate of one person per square metre as established in research carried out by Fruin (BDP, 1994, p. 53, para 5.033). Given that the streets in the capacity analysis for the thesis were of a different nature, it was thought inappropriate to apply levels of use for shopping streets to any classification carried out. The streets often represented significant commercial land use areas and routes through them, but differed from those in Chester as tourism and sightseeing was also an important function of many of them, with shopping often forming a more secondary element than was the norm in Chester.

Perceptions of crowding vary from observer to observer, and so any observations will be subjective to some extent. Better representation might have been achieved had there been more time, resources and personnel available to the researcher. In an effort to compensate for this, judgements were made by the researcher only, since use of a single observer limits discrepancies between judgements. Observations were based on pedestrians relative to pavement space available, although this was not strictly numerically defined, but based instead
on more qualitative observations. Times of observation were monitored to eliminate the influence of external factors - for example the effects of weather, special events etc. Weekday observations were carried out between 12.30 and 4.30 for approximately half an hour at each location (minus time taken to move from one location to the other) on two subsequent Wednesday afternoons during the summer (July 12th and 19th) during the days when visitor surveys were also being done. The weekend sample was gathered on a Saturday afternoon during the same time period. The same method was used for Prague observations which were also carried out during the same weeks that visitor interviews were being carried out and resident surveys had been distributed. The subjective nature of the observation also allowed for a further dimension of assessing tourist contribution to the pedestrian congestion through extensive first hand observation.

Figure 6.31 Classification of observed pedestrian use of streets - overall degrees of congestion and tourist use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Street</th>
<th>Weekday Usage category</th>
<th>Weekday Tourist category</th>
<th>Saturday Usage category</th>
<th>Saturday Tourist category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Castlehill / Lawnmarket</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria Street</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grassmarket</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Street</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cockburn Street</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Bridge</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canongate</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Mary's Street</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Street use category | Tourist-user category
A: Quiet to busy    | 1: Low
B: Busy, comfortable| 2: Low - medium
C: Busy, uncomfortable| 3: Medium - high
D: Highly congested | 4: High

As Figure 6.31 shows, although a broad correlation of high levels of tourist users with general crowding was observed, few of the streets appeared to exceed acceptable levels of use as a whole. However, high levels of concentration of tourist use in the small areas within key streets, particularly the Royal Mile, is an issue of greater concern. All of the streets are in close proximity, but level of use by tourists dropped off dramatically away from and at the eastern end of the Royal Mile. The cluster of tourist attractions at the upper end of the Royal Mile as
illustrated in this analysis, brought about the highest occurrence of streets designated category 4 tourist use. Concerns expressed in policy making relating to tourism in the Old Town about tourist activity dropping off dramatically at the lower end of the Royal Mile were borne out to a certain degree, although the Canongate as a whole was found to be less used by all pedestrians, not just tourists, whilst of those using the Canongate, a relatively high proportion were tourists, in particular during the week.

Despite the lack of evidence of capacity being exceeded in terms of each area as a whole, some observations of highly localised congestion were noted. These included the entrance to the Castle at the top of Castlehill and around the cross roads of the High Street and George IV Bridge, both of which related directly to the central areas of tourist activity and arose due mainly to pedestrians and road traffic competing for space. Many of the more established attractions contribute to the relatively high concentration of tourist users owing to their siting on or close to the Royal Mile. It is likely that new development including the major new attraction at Holyrood, as well as the museum extension in Chambers Street, will alter the level of concentration of pedestrian activity to reduce overall levels of pedestrian use in the central area further, although at the same time, an argument can be put forward that an increase in attractions will only increase tourist numbers and consequently is likely in turn to increase congestion. Clearly more in depth research and analysis after such attractions have opened would be required to answer such questions.

6.7.2 Perceptions of Pedestrian Street Use

Visitors and residents were questioned about their perceptions of the levels of pedestrian use of the streets of the Old Town. An effort was made to ensure that visitors were questioned at a range of times from the busiest to the quietest times of the day, as well as at weekends in order to ensure the full cross section of conditions were attained. An overall greater degree of dissatisfaction was clearly voiced by resident respondents, compared to a substantial proportion of visitors being relatively satisfied. Some of the visitors even expressed a feeling that the streets were too quiet. Residents frequently added comments on the questionnaire form relating to seasonal changes in pedestrian use, virtually all of which indicated satisfaction in the winter months, but great dissatisfaction with overcrowding during the summer, with the Edinburgh Festival period also being singled out as a problem time.
Figure 6.32 Perceptions of Pedestrian Congestion in Old Town

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Visitor %</th>
<th>Resident %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very crowded, uncomfortable</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busy, but comfortable</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>77.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither too busy nor too quiet</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too quiet</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


A greater level of satisfaction with current levels of pedestrian users was illustrated by visitor respondents, although few of both groups felt that an increase in pedestrians in the area would be an improvement to the area.

Figure 6.33 - Perceptions of Potential Improvements to the Old Town

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Improvement</th>
<th>Visitor More %*</th>
<th>Visitor Less %*</th>
<th>Visitor No change %*</th>
<th>Resident More %*</th>
<th>Resident Less %*</th>
<th>Resident No Change %*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numbers of people on the streets</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>57.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Percentages excluding non responses

In summary therefore, whilst overall levels of congestion appear to fall well short of capacity levels, some correlation between tourist use and localised pressure points was observed. In terms of perception findings, generally positive responses were made, with the exception of a number of residents remarking on congestion becoming a problem at peak times. Therefore whilst no evidence exists of overall capacity being exceeding in terms of levels of pedestrian use, localised and seasonal problems should be noted. Some scope exists for alleviating these problems through new off centre development widening tourist activity in the Old Town and through other initiatives already being implemented which aim to extend the tourist season throughout the year although, as previously mentioned, the effects of these in terms of reducing numbers may prove more limited than anticipated by policy makers.
6.8 Spatial concentration of tourist activity (Issue 4)

Following from the two previous issues which assessed degrees of traffic and pedestrian congestion respectively, the spatial concentration of activity is underlined as an important impact of tourism in the case study area. This is a typical problem in European historic cities, due to the densely built character of the historic urban environment, as well as to the nature of the tourist experience in general (i.e. short break tourism with minimal diversification from key attractions). The implications of concentrated tourist activity can extend beyond practical issues of traffic and pedestrian management to influence the stability of the resident population, the economic feasibility of business and commercial activity, and can become a source of visitor dissatisfaction at a fundamental level. Following from the Chester methodology, two indicators were used to assess this issue in more detail - areas of acute activity and the location of accommodation in and around the case study area.

6.8.1 Technical Indicators: polarisation of use and intensification of impact at key points

The first indicator sought to identify the polarisation of tourist activity at key pressure points and the resulting intensification of impact at that location. Much of the attraction of the Old Town of Edinburgh is based on either purposely planned or non perishable resources. As a result, there is little evidence of any physical deterioration of the built fabric itself. The physical impact of tourism is manifested in terms of the users’ experience of the area, and in particular in terms of traffic and pedestrian impact. As already discussed, the long running problem of traffic and pedestrian management in the area is well recognised, although action has only recently taken place in the form of the programme of improvements. Edinburgh, as a city, has appeared to be reluctant to pedestrianise areas - Rose Street, to the immediate north of Princes Street is, in fact, the only substantially pedestrianised area in the city centre, and even this only came about as the result of considerably lobbying by amenity groups in the early 1970’s. Pedestrianisation of the Royal Mile has been the subject of much debate, with residents responding negatively to the idea in consultations in the earliest stages of the Royal Mile Project.

Nevertheless, the juxtaposition of everyday life with the role of the area as a tourist experience is likely to continue to cause problems which are of a deeper nature than that which can be remedied by partial management measures alone. The need to access shops for deliveries the length of the Royal Mile, for instance, has been one of the main factors stopping any more...
comprehensive pedestrianisation measures, although LRC are taking steps towards severely limiting loading times and sizes of vehicles on the Royal Mile (EOTRT, 1995).

The second indicator identified the location of tourist accommodation in and around the Old Town, as a further aspect of the spatial concentration of tourist activity. This indicator is also broadly representative of the degree of land use change which tourism has instigated in the Old Town, adding a further dimension to the location of tourist facilities within the Old Town as previously illustrated.

Table 6.34 Tourist Accommodation in Edinburgh by Type / Number of Bedspaces 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Total Units</th>
<th>Bedspaces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>10677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guest House</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>3384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B &amp; B</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>1507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camping / caravan park</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Catering</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>2298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostels / Educational estab.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>21,521</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: STB Data 1994

As the above table shows, hotels provide the majority of bedspaces in Edinburgh, with similar shares between guest houses, self catering and hostels / educational establishments. B&B's and camping caravan sites account for a smaller share of the market. Policy in Edinburgh to date has restricted the licensing /permission for guest houses and B & B's to a number of defined strategic routes leading into the city centre, in areas of formerly larger houses on the edges of the central area. Burtenshaw et al (1982) who mapped Hotel accommodation in Edinburgh, refer to Youngson's description of these areas as the "tattered fringe" of the conserved area (Youngson, 1966, in Burtenshaw et al (1982), p.176.)

Partly as a result of this policy and because of the effect of the continuing residential role of the area, there remains a relatively small level of tourist accommodation provided within the case study area.
Figure 6.35 Hotels in Central Edinburgh (Burtenshaw)
Accommodation in case study area (by type)

Source: survey by author

Legend:
- Youth hostel
- Seasonal youth hostel
- Hotel
- Hotel under construction
There are 1800 bedspaces at present in the hotels in the Old Town, so most visitors stay in other locations. This has become a concern of the EOTRT, amongst others, given that income from accommodation accounts for the largest proportion of total tourist income (EOTRT, 1994). Further currently proposed hotels (1996), catering for the lower budget end of the market include three - located in the Grassmarket, Hunter Square and on Holyrood Road - which would provide more than 1000 further spaces. A shortfall in low cost accommodation has also been identified by policy makers. There are two hostels at present, both located close to the High Street which together provide a further 170 beds. A further four hostels/low cost hostels either currently have planning consent or are under consideration in the area (EOTRT, 1995). Further accommodation is provided through the use of student accommodation in the summer vacations.

6.8.2 Perceptions of Spatial Concentration of Activity

The perception studies explored the spatial concentration of tourist activity. They revealed that visitors were evenly divided into groups visiting places outside the city during their holiday (58.7%) and those not (40.8%). Only 10.6% of visitors felt that other parts of the city of Edinburgh formed a "very important" contribution to the perceived character of the city as a whole, and although many did think they were "important" (62.8%), a substantial number felt that they were not important at all (24.8%). Of the residents responding to the same question, 18.8% felt other parts of the city were "not important", less residents than visitors felt they were "important" (46.9%) and a greater proportion felt they were "very important".

The perception studies of both groups were relatively inconclusive when questioning about the importance of other city parts in forming a picture of the perceived character of the city. This would point towards a relatively central orientation of perceptions of the city, with the Old Town being the most important part in most cases. The question was intended to assess the relative use and awareness of the Old Town as compared to all other parts of the city. A number of respondents questioned this definition further at the time, with the New Town / Old Town distinction not always immediately clear to the interviewee.

While only a small proportion of visitors questioned were staying in accommodation in the Old Town itself, the majority stayed elsewhere in the city centre. When questioned whether changes in accommodation currently provided in the area would improve the area, the responses showed
greater support for an increase in Old Town accommodation amongst visitors as opposed to residents. This was combined with only a very small number of visitors supporting a decrease compared to a significant proportion of residents in support of this option. It should be noted, however, that the majority of both groups supported no change to the current situation.

Figure 6.37 - Perceptions of Potential Improvements to the Old Town

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Improvement</th>
<th>Visitor More</th>
<th>Visitor Less</th>
<th>Visitor No change</th>
<th>Resident More</th>
<th>Resident Less</th>
<th>Resident No Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provision of tourist accommodation in the Old Town</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>67.0</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>53.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Percentages excluding non responses

In summary, areas of pedestrian congestion aside, spatial concentration of tourist activity was not found to present a major threat to the capacity of the Old Town at present, perhaps partly due to active recognition of this problem and policy making in response. Similarly accommodation was not significantly concentrated in the Old Town, partly as a result of a location policy which forms part of the Edinburgh Central Area Local Plan. There is, however, considerable scope for broadening tourist activity within the Old Town and to surrounding areas, some of which has already been taken up in the siting of new tourist attractions.

6.9 The impact of tourism on retail diversity in the Old Town (Issue 5)

Retailing has been consistently identified as an important part of the economy of the Old Town, with the Action Plan identifying renewed interest in the High Street by national retailers (EOTRT, 1995). Retail activity in the Old Town is likely to continue to contribute substantially towards demand for land and/or buildings. The importance of retail land use in fostering the vitality of urban streets and squares has long been recognised in planning literature (e.g. Jacobs, 1965; through to Tibbalds, 1992). Retail activity in the city therefore is not only of economic value, but can contribute positively to the quality of the urban environment.

The EOTRT commissioned ScotInform to carry out a retail survey of the area in 1992. The survey found that the relatively low car ownership rate in the area limited easy access by residents to everyday shops outwith the area. The resident population was found to have
insufficient spending power, and was forecast as having insufficient rates of growth in the future, to merit large scale provision of non durable retail outlets in the area. The high degree of speciality shopping was found to be in line with wider demands of the retail market, although the high turnover of small business was a subject of concern, with training and management advice being recommended directions to remedy this (EOTRT, 1992).

CR Planning Consultants were commissioned in 1993 by the European Commission and Lothian and Edinburgh Enterprise Ltd. to carry out a further survey, with recommendations aiming to increase expenditure in outlets in the area, through diversification and concentrating on quality developments. The most recent retail survey in the Old Town was carried out in 1994 by Edinburgh District Council, to form a base for their business assistance scheme. This questioned 134 traders in the area about concerns including traffic, litter, car parking and signposting. The traders consulted felt that the resident population was insufficient to sustain shops in the area, that there was a significant drop in custom the further an outlet was located from the castle down the length of the Royal Mile. Strong seasonality of visitors using retail outlets in line with the seasonal variations in the overall number of visitors was noted (EOTRT, 1995, pp. 28-29).

In terms of the environmental implications of retailing as a land use in the Old Town, the Action Plan for the Old Town (EOTRT, 1995) recognises both the potential negative impact of insensitive shopfronts on the overall environment of the area, as well as the positive additions which can be made by high quality window displays and signs. The plan includes an initiative for renewing or repairing shopfronts in the Old Town, with a two stage grant funded jointly by EOTRT and LEEL. This is detailed in a planning brochure and technical handout. Cockburn Street and South Bridge have specific improvement policies tailored to their own needs, as part of an overall improvement strategy for the area.

The Holyrood development plan may include a proposal for a small superstore serving the Dumbiedykes area and eastern end of the Old Town. The overall level of retail activity continues to be quite positive, with a number of developments including retail provision, and a steady level of interest in the area (EOTRT, 1995, p.29). The EOTRT and Old Town Business Association are making efforts to promote the area at the higher end of the retail market with the emphasis being on smaller high quality units. An initiative ran for the first time in Summer 1995 promoting together a number of business willing to extend open hours into the evening.
The Economic Development Department of the District Council\textsuperscript{5} is also running a scheme aimed at assisting retailers in the Canongate area through advice, joint marketing schemes, retail associations and consultations with traders as to the best future use of Council owned units (EOTRT, 1995, p.30). The council's ownership of property in the area is therefore being used to advance policy and proposals relating to retail in the Old Town.

6.9.1 Technical Study: Retail Outlets in the Old Town

A comprehensive study of retail facilities in the Old Town was carried out during Autumn 1995. As illustrated in the townscape studies and as illustrated in Figure 6.38, souvenir shops, particularly around the castle end of the Royal Mile predominate and draw extensively from the popular Scottish heritage theme of tartanry, whisky and bagpipes. A critique of the effects that such dominance of this sector of retail outlets can have was investigated as part of the literature review (Chapter 2), centering on the heritage industry and in particular investigations carried out by Prentice relating to the 'theme park effect' which can occur in historic centres where tourist land use overtakes everyday life and tourist interest shops are clustered around heritage attractions.

\textsuperscript{5} Now the City of Edinburgh Council
Figure 6.38 Tourist shopfronts in the Lawnmarket / Castlehill

CASTLE GIFT SHOP

SWEETS KODAK FILMS
ICE CREAM SOFT DRINKS

POSTCARDS SOUVENIRS
SHORTBREAD ROCK

SCOTCR9FT OF EUNLCFR!
Figure 6.39 Retail Units in Old Town Classified by Institute of Retail Studies (IRS) Codes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IRS Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Empty unit</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household shopping</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essential shopping</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convenience shopping</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal shopping</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personal Research 1995

Figure 6.40 Retail Units in Old Town Classified by Observed Usage Codes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Empty unit</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist user</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist-resident user</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral use</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident-tourist user</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident User</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personal Research, 1995

A further dimension of the figures emerges when compared to the findings of the 1984 Old Town Study's shopping survey in the Old Town (Bell et al., 1984). That study found that 78 of a total of 398 retail units were vacant property - 19.5% of all units. The 1995 figure of 8.7% indicates a significant reduction in vacancy rates during a decade in which small shops nationally have been declining.

At first there appears to be considerable provision for residents of the area. However, when compared with the IRS coding relating to goods sold, nearly half of all the units sell personal
goods, with a further quarter of units being restaurants, cafés and pubs. Again, comparing the results with the 1984 figures indicates that actual levels of everyday shops have increased. Despite the different classification system employed, the 1984 study identified only 7.5% of shops in the area as catering for resident needs. The observed codes of classification identified a similar figure of 7.7% of shops being used exclusively by residents, although a further 17.1% were also considered to be more suitable for residents than tourists.

6.9.2 Perceptions of Retail Provision in the Old Town

The earlier issue of townscape dealt with the residents' and tourists' perceived impact of shopfronts and advertising in the Old Town. However, the surveys included more general perceptions of the level of shop provision, as well as the provision of shops selling everyday goods. In terms of souvenir shops, whilst 23.9% of visitors felt there were too many, the proportion of residents was 42.2%. Only 3.1% of residents felt that there were not enough, compared to 8.7% of visitors. Whilst the latter figure was relatively high compared to that of residents, it should be noted that this is only a very small proportion of the total visitors questioned, despite their direct gain from the provision of more outlets. Once more, the majority of those questioned were happy with the current situation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Visitor %</th>
<th>Resident %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Too Many</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right amount</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>53.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not enough</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In contrast, when questioned about the provision of shops selling everyday goods, the residents in particular voiced a strong opinion that there was an undersupply.
In summarising the results of the retail perception and technical studies, it is important to note that whilst playing a significant role in accommodating retail activity, the Old Town is neither the only nor the primary shopping area of the city. Results indicating tourist shop domination should be qualified by recognition of the fact that the area is the primary focus of the city's tourist activity. Despite this, both the technical and perception studies indicate a lack of adequate non-tourist retail facilities. Empty units and vacancy rates mean that this shortfall is not caused by an excess of tourist shops, and previous studies have highlighted inadequate population to support such facilities. The provision of everyday facilities is likely, however, to have suffered from the high business rates commented on in the Old Town Business Survey, which in turn is likely to have arisen at least in part due to demand for units to accommodate tourist shops. More sophisticated analysis would be required to confirm this assumption, although it does highlight an important issue in considering capacity levels in retail terms. This is further backed up by perceptions, particularly those of residents. Despite this, comparison with the 1984 survey suggests the situation has improved somewhat over the past ten years. This has implications for the role of retail within the options of change put forward later.

6.10 The impact of tourism on land use / the reuse of historic buildings in the Old Town (Issue 6)

The unique value of the townscape, which represents the history of Scottish architecture has resulted in 45% of the Central Area Local Plan area coverage being contained within designated conservation areas, of which there are 14 in total and 3 extending beyond the boundaries of the Local Plan Area. Edinburgh is second only to London in terms of numbers of listed buildings.
Historic buildings in the Old Town predominantly used for tourism.
6.10.1 Technical Study of Historic Buildings in Tourist Use

In terms of a technical study identifying historic buildings in tourist use, Figure 6.43 provides a guide to historic buildings now used exclusively for tourism as well as those with related uses. The mixture of uses in the Old Town is reflected in the uses of its historic buildings. Many of the tenements are in residential use with retail on the ground floor, whilst there is a substantial office/business sector in the area. The reuse of historic buildings, and in particular those which are either larger or more architecturally or historically significant, has recently favoured tourist related facilities and attractions.

The extent to which redevelopment of historic buildings contributes to the capacity of a historic city can be viewed in two senses. On a positive note, finding a new use for an historic building is an important part of the conservation process - restoration being no more than a technical exercise if there is not viable use for the building. In a more negative sense, where tourism accounts for the near exclusive use of a city’s built heritage, with few buildings being occupied by the city’s residents and / or businesses, this can lead to the ‘theme park’ or ‘Disney land’ effect. Striking a balance between these aspects of reusing historic buildings for tourism and related activities is the key in assessing the capacity.

In Edinburgh limited grant aid is available from Historic Scotland and the local authority for part finance of the restoration and maintenance of historic buildings. Clearly this has an impact on the desirability of location in a historic building for developers. As shown in the technical study, historic buildings in the Old Town are used for tourism, but have maintained an important role in the lives of the city’s residents as dwellings. The issue of office and business use of historic buildings which has been debated in Edinburgh since the 1980’s indicates the importance of leisure and recreation as a substitute for everyday use of many buildings. In addition, many redundant churches or larger buildings are inherently difficult to find an appropriate new use for. Tourism and leisure could therefore be considered a desirable catalyst for their reuse. As a result, the balance between tourist reuse in terms of capacity levels could be considered good at the moment. However the current pattern of activity, not least that of business relocation to the periphery of the city, indicate the possibility of dominance of tourist use of historic buildings in the Old Town potentially becoming a problem in the future.
6.10.2 Perceptions of historic buildings in tourist use

This issue was excluded from the perception studies, as it was considered unlikely that the questionnaire would be of sufficient depth to have the capacity to fully address the issue, given the complex nature of the considerations involved in evaluating whether the re-use of historic buildings was legitimate or not.

6.11 Overall Capacity Level - comparing the issues

Figure 6.44 brings together the results of the data collection as detailed above for each issue.

**Figure 6.44 Amalgam of Capacity levels**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Perceived Capacity</th>
<th>Technical Capacity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Townscape</td>
<td>A-B</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Transport</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>C-D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Pedestrian congestion</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Spatial concentration of activity</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Retail diversity</td>
<td>C-D</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Re-use of historic buildings</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>B-C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Categories
A - No indication of progression towards capacity
B - Minor indications of progression towards capacity
C - Major indications of progression towards capacity
D - At capacity
E - Exceeding capacity

In bringing together the above issues, some indication of a current overall capacity level for the Old Town in terms of tourism can be made. Transportation in the area is one of the more negative aspects, which is exacerbated somewhat by tourism and which policy to date has not succeeded in remedying. In contrast, the aesthetic value of the built environment is a more positive aspect of the area which relates to a strong policy emphasis both in the past and at present. Retail is seen as being a problem for residents due to low levels of provision of outlets selling everyday goods. Whilst this detracts somewhat from the overall quality of life in the
area, no conclusive evidence of a direct link of problems with retail provision to tourism was found. Despite this, there are likely to be more indirect impacts involved in this issue. The reuse of historic buildings was found to be a positive aspect of tourism, although the balance between this and the more negative dominance of the use of the built heritage of area in light of wider property trends in the city was noted.

Although the research into the technical indicators and perception studies did not provide concrete evidence of capacity being breached, their combination, trends and other aspects of planning and development in Edinburgh as a whole raised some concerns about the less tangible idea of the 'ambience' of the area. While aspects of tourism in the Old Town point towards capacity being approached, in general the Old Town is not close to capacity. Nevertheless, a case has been made for a reduction in the concentration of tourism both in spatial and temporal terms. The following section discusses options for change based on the above findings.

6.12 Conclusions: current tourist capacity of the Old Town of Edinburgh within the overall context of development demand and market directions within the city

6.12.1 Capacity Analysis: Options for Change

Each option detailed below follows the Chester model in forecasting future scenarios for the Old Town. However, whilst the Chester study viewed all of the sectors of development as contrasting elements within each option, this thesis has taken tourism numbers as the main constituent of change, with various degrees of change in related sectors of environmental and development activity following from each projection. Through using this method of scenario writing, the analysis neither seeks to quantify projected trends nor to assess their probability. Rather, its value is in bringing together the different aspects of capacity. The approach is taken from futures studies, which has developed over the last thirty years to form a discipline in its own right. Masser at al (1992, p.4) describe some of its advantages:

"Scenarios are descriptions of future developments based on explicit assumptions. As a method for exploring the future scenarios are superior to more rigorous forecasting methods such as statistical extrapolation or mathematical models if the number of factors to be considered and the degree of uncertainty about the future are high."

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Masser et al cite a number of seminal works which have adopted this method, ranging from the earliest (Utopia by Thomas More 1518) to more recent planning exercises (London 2000 (1963) and London 2001 (1989) by Hall). Further methodological discussions relating to futures studies are provided by Fowles (1978) and Hirschhorn (1980). All of the literature outlines the use of scenarios as a basis for (expert) discussion and as a means of instigating further critical evaluation of a subject. This role relates to the use of the options for change defined below as both a discussion tool and as a framework for comparison of the two case studies.

The options for change shown below draw from evidence gathered in the combined technical and perception studies, and act as a summary for discussion of the effects of a number of broadly defined options for the future. In the Chester study, four criteria form the basis against which each option for growth is evaluated:

* available development opportunities to absorb growth. (In Chester, this was mathematically calculated within a timescale indicating the point where change can occur within stated capacity levels).

* the impact of each option on the critical environmental capital

* effects on identified key issues

* effects on property values and the market - market perceptions, employment, leisure, rental levels, property values and movement in the sub region.

The value and difficulties of the comparative element of this thesis mean that land use by floorspace has not been quantified in an effort to assess capacity. Key issues of concern and opportunity and wider aspects of tourist development as identified by the literature review were considered of greater value. The Chester study itself did not set firm capacity limits and recognised the problems of quantification. The thesis therefore concentrates on analysis of the issues and most importantly their compared values as detailed in Chapter 8.

Within these parameters the following paragraphs put forward options for change and evaluate of the most significant likely impacts of each.
6.12.2 Minimal Change

This option is presumes that only planning projects already approved and proposed will be implemented, followed by a policy of restraining further growth. The option also takes into account the increasing importance of tourism at both the European and global levels (see Chapter 2), and its likely growth.

Figure 6.45 Option 1 - Minimal Change

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourist numbers</td>
<td>Growth</td>
<td>Levelling off growth</td>
<td>Reduction</td>
<td>Reduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>Growth</td>
<td>Growth</td>
<td>Reduction</td>
<td>Reduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% pedestrians</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tourists shops</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist traffic</td>
<td>No change</td>
<td>No change</td>
<td>No change</td>
<td>Reduction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tourism projects already proposed and / or approved in the city as detailed in the early part of this chapter, are likely to continue to bring growth in tourist numbers for the first decade when reductionist policies are still in their early stages. In the second decade it could be expected that this growth would level off, sustained by the well established nature of the city as an international tourist destination and its importance as a gateway to the rest of Scotland. After this period, and following the implementation of a restraining policy, reductions of tourist numbers would occur relatively slowly at first, but then would gain impetus as the city is overtaken in the competitive world and European tourist market which requires active promotion and sustained innovation in order for tourism to remain a growth sector. The already fragile nature of tourist growth in the city as outlined most recently by EDAW CR Planning (1994) would probably mean that a decline in tourism would occur relatively quickly if promotion stopped and this would be even more the case if reductionist policies were implemented.

Growth in accommodation is likely to follow the initial period of continuing increase in tourist numbers, and would most likely only catch up with the levelling off of growth at a point slightly later in time. As a result of the delayed response to demand which often occurs in accommodation provision, the market would become quickly saturated in the period of decline.
of overall tourist numbers, with closures and rapid decline in supply likely to occur at that point.

A similar pattern is likely to emerge for the retail sector, whilst the share of tourists as a proportion of the total number of pedestrians in the Old Town is likely to decline more rapidly due to its direct linkage with numbers. Residents' perceptions suggest that popularity of the Old Town as a place of residence would probably not be affected adversely by declining tourist activity levels. Indeed it might gain popularity as tourist dominance reduces. Tourist traffic levels would undergo a less abrupt change in line with tourist numbers owing to the likelihood that congestion is a disincentive at present, and whilst numbers reduce, it is likely that the proportion of tourists using vehicles as well as coach tours would increase as congestion initially reduces and this disincentive lifts somewhat.

In townscape terms, the decline in visitor services as well as tourist oriented retail outlets in the Old Town, may create a reduction in visual amenity as a consequence of the loss of use and increase in vacancies, although it is unlikely to constitute a critical threat to the environment as it is not an irreversible process. However, given the relatively slow rate of decline, it is possible to envisage alternative uses being found for many of the retail units which would be likely to be vacated due to the strength of the retail industry within the city as a whole (EDC, 1994). Spatially, it is possible to see a renaissance in non-tourist functions coming into the area at a later stage, as tourist decline reduces congestion and the associated operational problems which businesses have previously faced in locating in the area as a result of congestion related to tourism are reduced. This would be further supported by the moves away from current area of tourist concentration currently being proposed in projects, particularly at Holyrood.

The availability of development opportunities in the Old Town to accommodate this change have already clearly been borne in mind in the proposal and approval of tourist-related projects in the area -the demand for further space would clearly not in this case be an issue. However, tourism is clearly an important land use in the Old Town at present, and it is likely that in a climate of decline, the reuse of certain historic buildings currently in need of a function may be more problematic, particularly in the case of churches / larger buildings. This is further reinforced by the number of churches already redundant elsewhere in the city.
6.12.3 Trend Change in Tourism

This option is based on continuing steady growth in tourism in the area along the generally established pattern of around the last decade.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourist numbers</td>
<td>Growth</td>
<td>Growth</td>
<td>Growth levelling off</td>
<td>Reduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation %</td>
<td>Growth</td>
<td>Growth</td>
<td>Growth</td>
<td>Rapid reduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% pedestrians tourists</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% retail tourist shops</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist traffic</td>
<td>No change</td>
<td>No change</td>
<td>No change</td>
<td>Reduction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Research has identified the existing tourist growth as insufficient for Edinburgh to maintain its share of the tourist market. A similar pattern to minimal change therefore emerges, although it is likely that this would occur at a slower rate than the minimal change option in light of the lack of active reductionist policies. This reflects the inherently competitive nature of the tourist industry and constant pressure for change which keeps up with fashion and public demand.

Decline when it happens would also occur at a slower rate than if only the projects already approved/proposed were to be implemented as in the minimal change option. However, the continued growth of tourist accommodation at its current rate would be likely to culminate in a more problematic scenario with extreme over provision - alternative uses would therefore be required to prevent disuse and its negative effects on the built fabric. Overall, however, the even slower rate of decline would substantially reduce the threat in townscape terms of the vacating of buildings currently in tourist use and subsequent degradation of the built environment.

Again, it is likely that development opportunities would be available to meet the needs of this option in the area, with a continuation in the current trend of increasing reuse of historic buildings under the continuing growth in tourist numbers. Key problems such as pedestrianisation and the impact of tourist traffic on the transportation network of the Old Town may increase in terms of pressure in the area at first, although it is likely that everyday life would eventually be restored as its primary function, providing previous tourist increases
had not already acted as a disincentive to residence or an extreme financial barrier in terms of property/rental prices. Although residential property values would decline under this scenario at first, the drop off in tourist activity would perhaps bring about an upward turn in this process in the end. In terms of demand for commercial property, an initial increasing demand for space with accompanying price rises would quickly tail off following reduction of tourist numbers.

If development trends were to continue to follow the current trend of decentralisation of non tourist functions, in combination with growing tourist activity, it is likely that the area would become increasingly monofunctional, which would in turn further precipitate the eventual decline in the area's attractiveness. However, decentralisation of tourist attractions within the Old Town as a whole in the shape of new tourist developments may alleviate stress on areas currently being subjected to the highest levels of tourist activity.

6.12.4 Major Change

This option is based on increased promotion of Edinburgh as a tourist destination, with a high level of public and private investment in facilities etc. and substantial increases in provision of tourist attractions and accommodation, accompanied by the reduced role of the Old Town as a place of residence to make way for tourism.

**Figure 6.47 Option 3 - Major Change**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourist numbers</td>
<td>High growth</td>
<td>Growth levelling off</td>
<td>Reduction</td>
<td>Reduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>Growth</td>
<td>High growth</td>
<td>Growth</td>
<td>Rapid reduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% pedestrians tourists</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% retail tourist shops</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist traffic</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This option for change is, conversely, one of the most likely of all the options to bring about a swift reduction in the numbers of tourists visiting the Old Town. The option as shown above would most likely increase numbers at first in all categories although it is subsequently likely that a rapid turnaround in all categories with substantial reductions would result from capacity
being rapidly passed with resulting deterioration of the tourist/visitor experience as a direct result of environmental degradation and the loss of place identity. The possibility of the process being self regulating in terms of options for development being freed up as decline occurs thus reducing pressure and capacity has been considered within this scenario. The perception studies, in particular the views of the residents, do however point towards loss of population (if not visitors at first), which would potentially radically reshape the very essence of the Old Town and its existing attraction for visitors. This relates to the "x-factor" of ambience and sense of place which although not directly definable in technical or even perception studies, is at the basis of the concept of tourist capacity.

All of the key issues identified, including levels of tourist-pedestrian street use, pressure on the transportation infrastructure, centralisation of spatial activity and degradation of the environment / visual amenity of the area, would quickly come under excessive pressure. Reductions in tourist activity would subsequently occur, exacerbating the problem of finding alternative land use within the historic fabric. Whilst overall numbers of tourists would reduce the share of tourists as pedestrians would be likely to reduce less readily, as the loss of everyday functions in the area as a result of high initial growth would maintain the proportionate level of tourist users. Although retail facilities catering for tourists would increase in the early period of growth, this expansion of the market would quickly contract as a result of decline in tourist numbers, with retail premises unlikely to find an alternative use due to the loss of non tourist functions in the area which had occurred in the earlier period. Currently research shows that the resident population cannot support extensive everyday goods shops - depopulation as a result of tourist domination would exacerbate this problem.

Initial pressure for facilities to cater for a large increase in tourist numbers would raise land values at first, although higher vacancy rates in the time of decline would lead to the market values reducing quickly in the second period. Historic buildings which would be reused, together with displacement of current non tourist use for tourist use in the initial period of growth, would come under threat. They would lose their function at a rate which would be rapid enough to bring about difficulties in finding a new use, and at a time where the levels of both everyday life and tourist activity in the area would both be contracting.
6.12.5 Selective Change

This option is based on the deliberate targeting of groups of tourists, including business and short stay tourists, in order to maximise income and minimise impacts from tourism in the area. This option would also aim to spread tourists more evenly through the year.

Figure 6.48 Option 4 - Selective Change

<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourist numbers</td>
<td>Growth</td>
<td>No change</td>
<td>No change</td>
<td>No change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>Current growth maintained</td>
<td>Levelling off growth</td>
<td>Redevelopment</td>
<td>Redevelopment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% pedestrians tourists</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium-low</td>
<td>Medium-low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% retail tourist shops</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist traffic</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This approach could ensure one of the steadiest and therefore potentially the most sustainable scenarios of growth for the tourist future of the Old Town, although it is not without its own implications for the capacity of the area in terms of tourism. As a result of targeting of change, it is anticipated that, after initial continued growth as the new identity is being established, numbers would stabilise, the change being in sectors as opposed to volume of visitors. Accommodation would at first continue to experience growth rates, although at a later time redevelopment in response to different needs of new groups would be required. The proportion of pedestrian tourists would reduce owing to the wider time spread of visitors on the streets and the targeting of business groups who would have more limited time to wander the streets. Coach traffic is more likely to increase as delegates at conferences etc. take guided bus tours to see the city within limited time of visits.

An appropriate strategy for targeting tourist groups in Edinburgh could potentially secure its long term ability to continue to attract tourists. Considering the key issues, if marketing and related policy was specifically aimed at tourists in the business sector, pressure currently found such as the proportion of tourist-pedestrian users and lack of retail diversity could be reduced. Agencies such as the Scottish Tourist Board, its Edinburgh branch and Lothian and Edinburgh Enterprise Ltd. (LEEL) are to a certain extent already attempting to promote tourism strategically in the city, and this has been quite successful so far with a new conference centre adding to the marketability of the city in these terms. Further targeting of groups to come to the city in the low season would be likely to ensure maintenance of tourist numbers at current levels, with a relaxation in pressure on the key areas of concern as tourist use could be spread
throughout the year. The promotion of the city for new year celebrations is increasingly offsetting the seasonal pattern of tourism in the city, although any extreme reversal of the pattern is unlikely, partly due to the influence of the Edinburgh festival during the late summer, and also due to the argument mentioned earlier that spreading promotion of tourism in time and space may only result in a further increase in numbers as opposed to deflecting existing levels of use on these terms. The targeting of tourism to one niche of the market, however, should be viewed with some caution in an effort to sustain diversity of the historic city's users. For instance, the city having an exclusive reputation as a location for conferences may reduce other sectors substantially through omitting to market the city's other positive aspects. Again, balance is therefore the key.

It is possible to envisage rising property values in the case of such a scenario, although it would be unlikely to be of a scale which would bring about change at the expense of resident / non tourist business activity given scope for growth identified in the assessment of existing property values. Greater control of user groups could lead to more effective dispersal and decentralisation of tourist activity through encouragement of facility provision elsewhere in the city, for example in provision of specialised conference facilities etc. This has already occurred to a certain extent through the regeneration experienced around the site of the conference centre in the Fountainbridge area of the city, a previously rundown area just outwith the historic centre of the city.

6.12.6 Managed Reduction

This option starts from premise that the area is at, or has already exceeded its capacity, and as such tourism will not be actively promoted. Although the evidence identified in the capacity analysis does not support such a scenario being likely, some key indicators did indicate progression towards such levels being possible. It is therefore worth exploring the scenario should such a situation arise, regardless of the current situation.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourist numbers</td>
<td>No change</td>
<td>Reduction</td>
<td>Reduction</td>
<td>No change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>No change</td>
<td>Reduction</td>
<td>Reduction</td>
<td>No change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% pedestrians tourists</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% retail tourist shops</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Reduction</td>
<td>Medium-low</td>
<td>Medium-low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist traffic</td>
<td>Reduction</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Assuming that the Old Town has already reached its tourist capacity and taking action accordingly, would result in the greater possibility of a less marked decrease in the tourism role, than the active promotion of the tourism at the expense of other uses (as suggested in the previous option for major change) might do in the short term, although the competitiveness of the city on a global level would reduce in the medium term, resulting in the collapse in the role of tourism in the Old Town in the longer term. Eventually a relatively low level of tourist activity would be maintained with everyday life dominating.

Currently high levels of pedestrian share of tourists and high degrees of clustering of tourist shops around key attractions is likely to reduce following from reducing tourist figures, with property prices concurrently reducing. As a result, it is subsequently possible to envisage an increasing rate of growth of the population of the area, with the larger population being increasingly able to support services and retail catering for everyday needs. Transport congestion would similarly level off, and together with current improvements, the overall environmental quality of the streetscape would significantly improve in the short to medium term, although the loss of tourist land use in the longer term may present new problems. In terms of the overall spatial dynamics of the city, the emphasis on the central area where the tourist attractions are located would reduce, with wider development trends towards decentralisation in the city shaping activity more significantly. Lack of congestion and reducing tourism emphasis may alternatively foster the renaissance of the area as a focus of the working population of the city and business activity at the same time. At the same time, activities outwith the city in surrounding areas may be promoted in place of the traditional attractions of the Old Town sought by visitors to Edinburgh.

The built fabric throughout this would be likely to be more efficiently conserved at first, and as a result the attractiveness of the city would be preserved in the long term for visitors, although loss of land use and vacation of current sites in tourist use, as well as a loss of finance from tourist expenditure in the area may prove a greater threat to the continued conservation of the area in the longer term. The current strength of tourism as a catalyst for buildings which are often difficult to re-use (due to size or their historic characteristics) would also be lost.
6.12.7 Evaluation Conclusions

All of the above options and their subsequent evaluation are based at best on informed predictions, with reality more likely to be far more complex. Despite this, the options and their evaluation do highlight some of the key characteristics of planning for tourism in the Old Town of Edinburgh, with their comparison with those evaluated for Prague being the more important result. Nevertheless a number of issues of concern and opportunity arise from this evaluation:

* The above capacity analysis suggests that continued growth or excessive promotion of the city, without promotion of alternative sectors or times of tourists using the Old Town is more likely to reduce tourism in the Old Town than actively reducing tourist numbers to stop tourism exceeding its capacity.

* The Edinburgh tourism market could, however, be seen as being relatively long established and as a result is less volatile and susceptible to change - it is likely that a critical level of tourist interest will remain except in perhaps the most extreme scenarios. The city also benefits from being able to accommodate the needs of wider growth sectors of business, historic city, speciality and short break sectors of the tourist market.

* Despite the benefits of cautious promotion and the guarding against change, research has shown that complacency in its attractiveness to tourists may become the city's biggest threat, with current trends projected in the future being unlikely to prove of sufficient scale, as well as reductionist strategies being counterproductive for the future promotion and effective competing of the city at the European and world level;

* Selective change which is sensitive to global trends and which is proactive to in terms of fostering demand, as opposed to reactive, is most likely to sustain the optimal levels of growth;

* The needs of the resident population and the everyday life of the area apart from tourist activity should be considered as an important part of maintaining the area’s attractiveness, given levels of concern voiced by residents in the perception studies.

* The heritage industry debate and its manifestation in making the historic city a theme park should be borne in mind by those promoting the area. This is an important point in terms of the
wider trends in tourism and in the nature of conservation as highlighted in Chapter 2. The theme can be seen as manifesting itself in the Old Town, not least through the nature of shopfronts, clustering of retail outlets, and reuse of historic buildings for tourist use. However, the technical studies did not highlight capacity in this sense as being surpassed as yet, and in turn the perception studies indicated a lack of sensitivity of the area’s users (particularly visitors to the issue). However, trends established in the area, the need for continuing growth in tourism numbers to ensure continuing competitiveness, and the changing nature of popularity of the conservation movement and its ideals, indicate that this point is a fundamental aspect of capacity which likely to be quite a mutable factor in terms of its contribution to capacity.

The Old Town of Edinburgh has not reached tourist capacity at the moment. Despite the relatively robust nature of the tourist market, however, the perception studies and in particular the views of the resident population, as well as the trend towards reducing the everyday role of the area, point towards a worrying future for the area, should current trends persist. This aspect includes a number of elements including the reuse of historic buildings, the lack of a population able to sustain non tourist shops etc. However, a number of recent new initiatives could be seen to be on the right track towards fostering the long term future of tourism in the area, particularly the selective targeting of tourists in terms of off season promotion, and additions to the supply of business and activity based tourist facilities at locations close to but not within the areas of current highest tourist concentration. The above options and previous research outline some of the perceived and technically appraised key issues being encountered in the area as a result of tourism.

Edinburgh has been criticised as being complacent in its approach to tourism in previous studies - the result being a relatively low level of tourism growth as compared to that found in the UK as a whole. However, the literature review and highlighting of key issues of concern endemic to a historic city point towards a cautious approach being required. Decentralisation of economic activity is a trend which could lead to increasing concentration of tourist activity as a dominant use of the area. Although this would at first lead to higher tourist numbers, such a mono functional role is highly unlikely to be sustainable in the long term. The heritage industry may be thriving now in the city, but historic cities which have become theme parks MAY give way to their more sophisticated counterparts as the public take a less retrospective viewpoint. This must be borne in mind in Edinburgh’s strategic planning.
"Meanwhile, Edinburgh, the Old Town in particular, is threatened by the heritage industry. Museums, yes, but a whole town quarter must not become a museum, and nothing could be more revolting than to turn the Porteous Riot, say, into a deodorised waxwork. History here is not pretty or kind; also it is not yet dead" (Ascherson N, 1990, p.79). Exploitation of heritage tourism past capacity levels from the point of view of its non tourist users should be avoided, with the safeguarding of the quality of life and environment of the area being a priority.

The above analysis and its predominantly qualitative nature in terms of the definition of a clear cut capacity limit and options for change on that basis, shows that an assessment in these terms of the future for Edinburgh, however, could be viewed more effectively in an objective manner, when carried out in a comparative context. In particular the qualitative aspects of the approach to capacity and options for change can be used in and complemented by comparative research. The comparison relates back to research questions mentioned earlier in this study: to what degree are the identified threats to the city common to all historic cities; do trends in Edinburgh which seem threatening when viewed in isolation, appear considerably less pernicious when the same issues are explored in other cities?

Edinburgh is competing in a market of European historic cities, as a result, the tourist capacity must be considered in terms of the competitiveness of the city within the market as a whole. The capacity analysis carried out in Prague, a city which could be considered to be at the opposite end of the spectrum of the degree of establishment of its tourist and real estate market, may provide a balance against which the capacity of Edinburgh can be assessed more effectively.

This analysis has highlighted the relative subjectivity which can enter the process of assessing capacity levels in a city when viewed in isolation, a problem which partly led to the lack of firm conclusions being made by the Chester study on tourist capacity levels. Following the capacity analysis results for Prague in the next Chapter, the thesis will address in the last two chapters the degree to which subjectivity can be legitimised through the use of comparison as a tool of standardisation.
Chapter 7
Chapter 7
The Impact of Tourism on the Historic Centre of Prague -
Tourism Capacity Analysis.

7.1 Introduction

This chapter relates the findings of the capacity analysis which was carried out in the historic core of Prague. The Chapter initially defines the critical environmental capital of the case study area, followed by the primary analysis of the visitor and resident survey results. This is followed by a discussion of the results of the technical and perception studies carried out for each of the key issues in turn, prior to their being combined to formulate scenarios for further consideration towards the end of the chapter.

Chapter Four illustrated the past and present planning policy relating to the historic core of Prague. The changes in institutional and political frameworks in the Czech Republic have been mirrored by the pattern of planning and development in the city in the post war years. The city centre has played a continually important role in terms of accommodating a resident population, the city's administrative functions and a large share of the economic activity (in relation to its size). The historic core has remained an important area despite the policy of decentralisation which was generally pursued by the authorities under the communist regime, where relocation to more peripheral sites was the preferred option in terms of development. The historic centre is also the focus for tourism in Prague.

7.2 Definition of the critical environmental capital / constant assets of Prague.

As described in Chapter Four, conservation policy under communism has left the historic core preserved in its most central areas, which are in turn surrounded by extensive areas of historic buildings which have had little or no maintenance in post war years. This situation differs from historic cores of west European cities largely due to the lack of the added catalyst for regeneration which the private commercial sector has often provided. The resulting environment provides both problems and opportunities which each play an important part within the capacity analysis.

As will be discussed more fully later, the historic core continues to be home for a small proportion of the city's residents, although early evidence also suggests that this situation is changing rapidly through the continuing population decline in the area. The opportunities and problems created by social change in the area are therefore a further important consideration for the capacity analysis.
Figure 7.1 Key tourist attractions in the historic centre of Prague
Chapter 4 highlighted population decline which was a well established trend in the historic core prior to 1989, and which the restructuring of property ownership in the country has as yet done little to redress. At the same time, a significant share of the buildings of the historic core have lost their use through the reorganisation of institutions following the political changes. Inward investment is a further factor contributing to this time of change for the historic core.

Within the climate of transition, the constant assets of the built environment and their cultural associations remain crucial environmental capital which the city has the potential to make good use of in beginning to compete at the supranational level. The critical environmental capital of Prague lies primarily in the built heritage of the central area, and is highlighted by its unique topography. Figure 7.1 shows key tourist attractions within the historic centre. The historic core comprises four towns. Hradčany, the Castle District, is located on the western side of the Vltava (as also illustrated in Figure 7.1). The area originally grew up around the castle, with Hradčanské Náměstí forming the original market place for the settlement. The original workers houses were replaced by large Baroque palaces and town houses, many of which still stand today. The castle, with St. Vitus cathedral in its centre, lines the top of a hill overlooking the rest of the central area, above the lower area around the Vltava. Malá Strana, the Lesser Quarter spread downhill towards the Vltava from the Hrad in the earliest years of the growth of the settlement of Prague. The main axis of the district is formed by Malostranské nám, which is dominated by the dome of the Baroque St. Nicholas's Church. Further south of the Hrad, the tree covered green Petřín Hill overlooks the Vltava, contrasting with the medieval close knit street pattern of the district.

Staré Město, the Old Town on the eastern bank of the Vltava across from Malá Strana, is the largest of the four towns which make up the historic centre. Staroměstské náměstí (Old Town Square) forms its centre, where the Old Town hall and astronomical clock are the focus of tourist attention. The medieval street pattern in the Old Town has been largely retained, with many of the baroque façades covering over original Gothic foundations of buildings. Josefov, the Jewish Town, although officially within Staré Město, maintains a history and identity of its own. previously the overcrowded Jewish ghetto of the city, the area was comprehensively redeveloped at the end of the nineteenth century, with only a few key buildings representing the Jewish community in the area being retained. Despite this, the wide tree lined avenues with ornate art nouveau influenced apartment buildings, together with the relatively strong resident community of the area, form a valuable part of the historic core of the city.
Figure 7.2 Illustrative analysis of key constituents of the environmental capital of the historic centre of Prague

- Landmark/tower
- Focus of high townscape quality
- Open space
- Key historic street
Figure 7.3 Key views and vistas into, within and out of the historic centre of Prague
Figure 7.2 is an illustrative analysis of the key constituents which form the critical environmental capital of the historic centre of Prague. Figure 7.3 also highlights key views and vistas into and out of the historic core of the city. The key attractions and historical buildings aside, important townscape features include detailed features such as colour used in the façades, house signs, patterned setts, traditional street furniture, and the use of red tiles. Wider features include gradient and topography, the river with its bridges, and narrow streets in an extensively medieval pattern, opening occasionally into wider civic open spaces.

7.3 Primary Analysis of Resident and Visitor Questionnaires

Unlike Edinburgh, few previously conducted questionnaires of tourists or residents either existed or were available for the purposes of the study. This reflects the planning process and the more general local government arena under the Communist regime. As a result, and due to the climate of rapid change in the city, the surveys undertaken for the capacity analysis section of the thesis provide a valuable insight into the current characteristics and perceptions of the historic core's population for comparison with the technical studies and with visitor perceptions.

The overall maturity of the population of the historic centre of Prague as referred to in Chapter 4 is reflected in the bias in age structure of respondents to the resident survey, with 37.1% of respondents being aged 60 or over. There was also a noticeable absence in respondents in the youngest specified age group (only 2.9% were aged 16-25). It is unlikely that this has arisen due to different response rates between age groups, as it is possible that older people could be expected to be less likely as opposed to more likely to complete the questionnaire forms. An overall balance was attained in the gender of respondents (42.3% male, 46.5% female, 11.3% not specified). In comparing these statistics with the Old Town Edinburgh, the large share of the population in the retired age group is an important similarity, but the absence of a student population is a major difference. This may go some way towards explaining the lesser mobility of Prague respondents and their greater propensity to stay in the area in the future. Eskinasi highlights how the central city areas during the regime were often inhabited by older inhabitants or those with less means with which to relocate, as a result of policies imposed which favoured allocation of new and/or more desirable housing to younger families (Eskinasi, 1994, p.44). The continuing impact of such policies, despite considerable change since 1989, is reflected in the findings of Question 3 relating to length of residence. A majority of more than three quarters of respondents had stayed at their present address for more than ten years (77.1%).
Figure 7.4 Age Structure of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-25</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-40</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-60</td>
<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prague Resident Survey, August 1995

Figure 7.5 Length of Residence in Historic Core

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Residence</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-3 Years</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5 Years</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 Years</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Years +</td>
<td>77.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prague Resident Survey, August 1995

Figure 7.6 Economic Group of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic group</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full time permanent employment</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full time temporary employment</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part time permanent employment</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part time temporary employment</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not working due to specific reason</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prague Resident Survey, August 1995

The tenure of residences identified in the survey sample (Figure 7.7 below) mirrors recent figures of tenure change in the Czech Republic as a whole as identified by Hegedus, Mayo and Tosics (1996, p.15). The overall rise in owner occupation and drop in the state rented sector
since 1989, albeit to a more limited degree in capital cities than at the national level in the case of the Czech Republic, is reflected in the sample characteristics.

Figure 7.7 Tenure of Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenure</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owner occupied</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private rented</td>
<td>41.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Owned</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing Co-operative</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prague Resident Survey, August 1995

Question 16 of the resident survey, assessing overall levels of satisfaction, asked whether or not the respondent thought they would still be living in the area in ten years’ time. A relatively positive response was made to this question in favour of continued residence in the future - 52.1% stating they “probably would”.

Questions 4 and 5, aimed to assess the relative importance of overall factors in forming a positive contribution to the character of the area, and the role played by a number of environmental features in shaping perceptions of the environmental respectively. A generally less positive response came from residents as opposed to visitors interviewed. Despite this, very high levels of perceived importance were placed on architecture, history, cultural facilities and ambience of the area (in that order), all of which received either close to or over half of all responses indicating they were “very important” positive attributes, combined with a corresponding lack of negative responses to the same questions. Responses to these questions will be considered more fully within the context of the respective technical study reports.

Each of the questions and specific subjects to which they relate follow from pilot study work previously carried out in the city identifying key issues of concern or opportunity which have also formed technical studies undertaken in the city. All of the constituent questions within both surveys were therefore measurable also within the technical part of the analysis to varying degrees. The combination of these questions with the results of the technical studies therefore provides a multi layered view of each of the issues and their interactions within the historic core.
Of those interviewed, a relatively high proportion originated from western Europe. This sample contrasts with the actual majority of tourists originating from the rest of central and/or eastern Europe, and is likely to reflect the both greater likelihood of English speakers to respond, and the translations available for use in the interviews (French, German, Spanish). A large number of respondents were a similar age group to the interviewer, possibly indicating a slight bias, although not to the exclusion of other groups. This could have occurred due to there being more young people walking around, (unconscious) personal preference of the interviewer to relate to the same age group, or that some older people were less likely to stop, as was often the case. The interviewer did also get talking informally with young people whilst doing observations of pedestrians and traffic movements, and a number of questionnaires were completed at these times.

These aspects of the sample may explain why a relatively high proportion of interviewees named youth hostel accommodation in Question 3, with a further large response for the private rented room sector. However, despite the lack of accurate data on private rooms, there is evidence that Prague does have a high proportion of its accommodation within the lower end of the accommodation market. The levels of accommodation in Prague as compared to Vienna are illustrated in Figure 7.8. In broad terms the sample could therefore be considered representative in terms of accommodation being used by the interviewees.

Figure 7.8 Compared Hotels and Bedspaces by Grading in Prague and Vienna 1993

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Prague</th>
<th>Vienna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>Bedspaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*****</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>****</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>***</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>9071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>10288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>38266</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: EKONOM, 9/1994, p.32

The popularity of the city for short breaks was confirmed, with just over a quarter (26.5%) of respondents staying for more than one week. Relatively few of the remaining interviewees were staying for one night only. Over half of those questioned had been on a guided tour of the city
(67.6%), with a very high proportion having visited other European Historic cities in the past 5 years. The latter statistic implies a relatively sophisticated average respondent in terms of their tourist activity and also relates to a wider more global trend of the rising popularity of the European historic city as a destination. Cross tabulation of responses shows that higher proportion of the total number of tourists who had not visited any other European historic cities in the last five years were from the Czech, Eastern European, African or Asian groups. No real difference between age groups in terms of responses to this question was identified through cross tabulation.

Overall respondents were relatively positive about the environment, similar to the pattern encountered in Edinburgh. Of the characteristics mentioned as contributing positively to the overall character of the historic centre of Prague, the majority were enthusiastically greeted with a response of "Very Important", and to a only slightly lesser degree this was also often the reaction to the naming of key features of the area. These responses will be investigated more fully when combined with their related technical indicators.

7.5 The impact of tourism on the aesthetic and environmental quality of the historic core (Issue 1)

Design related policy in the historic core has been and remains very different to that in Edinburgh. During the communist years, little new development was undertaken in the historic core. Of the new buildings put into gap sites prior to the revolution, many were of a modern character, like Edinburgh in the 1960’s and earlier 1970’s, although in Prague this style also carried on until the end of the 1980’s. Relatively little effort was made to ensure compatibility with the historic fabric in design terms. The amount of such development was relatively small and, due to the characteristics of communist planning and development described in Chapter 4, the overall quality of the built environment, at least in historic terms, remains high.

Under communism, the lack of a strong commercial market meant that significantly less pressure for advertisements arose than in Prague’s western counterparts, aside from the communist regime’s own style of icons and signs which were of course an important part of the townscape. At the same time, the lack of a need to cope with the pressure of this aspect of a commercial market means that there are few or at least inadequate provisions within the planning system itself to control and guide adverts, the demand for which has burgeoned since the transition in line with the entrepreneurial sector. Although all of the official planning policy statements and related publications (such as the summary document for Prague 2000) fully recognise the value of the built environmental quality of the historic core, there is little material about design aimed at applicants and developers or more proactive improvement schemes.
Figure 7.9 Location of Townscape Study Areas

Mostecka
Krizovnicke námesti
Karlova
Staromestske Namesti
Around the Old Jewish Cemetery
Townscape study No.1 Karlova

Karlova links the Charles Bridge with Staroměstské náměstí, crossing through the heart of Staré město. Several instances of inappropriate advertising and shopfronts were observed on the street, which contains many key historic buildings. Land use change influenced by tourism is also dominant in the area, with many souvenir shops, exchange bureaux and restaurants.

The photograph to the right illustrates the temporary advertising aimed at tourists which has even intruded on the fine quality of the baroque statues at the doorway to the Clam Gallas palace,
Townscape Study No.2

Klášovnické náměstí / Charles Bridge

This square is one of the larger remaining open spaces in Staré Město and Mali Strana, with the classic view across the Vltava to the castle overlooking the Charles Bridge. Like many areas in Staré Město, the square was formed in medieval times but rebuilt during the Baroque period. The fifteenth century Gothic Old Town Bridge Tower on the Charles Bridge was the earliest building in the square, whilst the Knights of the Cross Church was built in the seventeenth century and refurbished in the early half of the 1980's. The eastern side of the square is enclosed by the Clementium building, with St. Saviour's Church in its corner - a fine example of early baroque architecture. The bronze statue of Charles IV forms a focal point of the square. The square underwent restoration work in the early 1970's, when many of the Charles Bridge's most valuable sculptures were replaced by replicas and stored in the national gallery for the purposes of preservation.

Despite its qualities, it is a barren and disused area, apart from tourists spilling over from the route linking Karlova with the Charles Bridge. The ground is covered by an area of dead grass surrounded by a trim of broken concrete. There is no street furniture for stopping pedestrians. The square is bordered to the east by a busy road with limited provision for pedestrian crossing - the results being a hazardous bottleneck (the traffic flows through the square are monitored in section 7.8)

This square has potential to ease the congestion experienced in what is a key pressure point in the historic core for tourist overcrowding. Developments on the southern side of the square have included the Charles Bridge Centre, one of the earliest office / commercial combined developments which has been completed in the historic centre. As a result, although the buildings themselves have been refurbished and put into use, and a small marina area has also been cleared up on the adjacent banks of the Vltava, the square has not been improved as part of the overall plan. The small commercial units along the southern façade are in exclusive tourist use, further polarising tourist pedestrian traffic through the square to this side.
The thirteenth century Old-New Synagogue, one of the oldest buildings in the city today, is one of the best preserved synagogues remaining in central Europe today. The Jewish cemetery has survived and contains some 20,000 tombstones, the area a haunting reminder of the overcrowded conditions once faced by ghetto-ized Jewish residents in many cities in central Europe. The Pinkas Synagogue is also adjacent to the Jewish Cemetery, and there is a permanent exhibition illustrating the terrible fate of the Jewish population in the camp of Terezin north of Prague at the hands of the Nazis during the holocaust housed in the Klaus synagogue close to the gates of the cemetery. These gates are the focus of tourist activity in the area. Since the post 1989 surge of tourism in the city, the area has had to streamline and manage tourist users to prevent congestion and ease the physical erosion of the soil in the cemetery. In October 1994, Vaclav Havel officially opened the Jewish Museum incorporating a number of the synagogues and the cemetery as symbols of the Jewish culture which are now run and managed by an independently run self sufficient organisation. The specific layout of attractions is detailed more fully in section 7.8.

A number of stalls line the high wall along the southern side of the street between the Old-New Synagogue and the cemetery providing a good stimulant of on-street activity. Most of these stalls and the other shops in the immediate vicinity cater specifically for tourists, and given the lack of a great deal of everyday through traffic and concentration of tourist pedestrian users, the area has developed a character dominated by tourism. This is quite surprising given the large resident population, and the dominance of tourism reduces substantially away from the main streets - only around the corner everyday life goes on as usual and there are shops selling everyday goods - the main streets around the cemetery aside, the Jewish Town as a whole appears to have the highest degree of everyday activity within the historic core as a whole. Relatively few tourists are likely to stray far from the central focus of tourist activity, however, reinforcing the dominance of tourist activity around the attractions.
The earliest development of Staroměstské náměstí as a market place occurred in Romanesque times, with the square being the focus of development on the left bank of the Vltava from then on. The square is one of the limited areas to have benefited from the meticulous but high centralised and narrowly prioritised approaches to conservation as undertaken by the socialist government between the war and 1989, whilst only a stone's throw away, one block to the rear neglected buildings crumble.

Many of the current buildings have Gothic foundations which were extensively built over during the Baroque period, leaving mostly baroque pastel coloured façades, interspersed with a number of Gothic and renaissance buildings. The House at the Stone Bell, the House at the Cock and the Volfin House at the corner of the town hall tower are two Gothic houses which have survived relatively intact, whilst the Gothic Old Town Hall, only the tower of which remains. The rest having been bombed during the war, dates from the fourteenth century. Another notable building is U Minuty (At the Minute) close to the town hall clock, which displays a restored graffiti work of a rare high quality which had previously been covered over by a baroque façade. The nine spired Church of Our Lady Before Týn, which was built over the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, towers over the square forming one of the most famous landmarks of the city. Some arcading exists around the sides of the square. St. Nicholas's church in the north eastern corner of the square is a large white prominent church which was built in the eighteenth century and is an excellent example of baroque architecture. The Golz Kinsky Palace in the north eastern corner of the square today houses part of the Collection of the National Gallery. The finer grain of the early Gothic form of building layout remains on the southern side of the square, hidden by baroque façades, whilst the northern side was extensively rebuilt during the late 19th century rebuilding of Josefov and northern Staré Město.
Mostecká is the narrow street which connects Malostranské náměstí with the Charles bridge. Several instances of unsympathetic alterations to properties, tourist shop fronts and inappropriate advertising were noted in the street. Mostecká lies at the heart of the Royal Mile, and is directly adjacent to the main tourist attraction of Prague - the Charles Bridge. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this has resulted in almost complete erosion of the original townscape quality of the frontages. The street is also only semi pedestrianised, with the western end being congested with parked cars at all times. Pedestrian congestion further exacerbates the unsympathetic townscape features. Although many of the adverts and signs are temporary, the change of land use here (with McDonalds, several change shops and souvenir outlets) has all but destroyed the original character of the street.
7.5.1 Technical Indicator: Townscape Studies

Figure 7.9 shows the location of the townscape studies which were undertaken in the historic core, which focused on tourist impact on quality of the built environment, whilst 7.10 - 7.14 highlight key aspects of the area.

7.5.2 Perceptions of the Quality of the Built Environment

In terms of perception studies relating to this issue, each questionnaire assessed the perceived levels of importance of each of the main environmental constituents as contributions to the overall character of the historic core of the city. Overall, unlike in Edinburgh, residents appeared to place greater weighting on each of the factors than visitors. The visitor responses recognised a more limited range of importance as compared to residents. Both groups placed very little importance on the contribution of modern buildings to the area. Building materials were similarly disregarded by visitors, and viewed as more important, although not to the degree of other features, by residents. Residents viewed churches and spires as being the most important feature, whilst visitors placed most importance on the squares and open spaces in the area. In general it can be concluded that where residents appeared to recognise detailed environmental constituents such as building materials and cobbles as being important, greater emphasis was made on the more striking features of the river and bridges, and the views over the city by tourists, despite historical architecture being a likely motivating factor for visiting the city in the first place.

Figure 7.15
Contribution of Specified Features to Perceived Environmental Character of the Historic Core - Visitors and Residents Responding “A Lot”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Visitor %</th>
<th>Resident %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Street Pattern</td>
<td>52.7(5)</td>
<td>84.3(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cobble Streets</td>
<td>51.6(6)</td>
<td>56.7(5=)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squares / Open Spaces</td>
<td>72.3(1)</td>
<td>55.7(5=)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River / Bridges</td>
<td>66.3(2)</td>
<td>85.7(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Views over City</td>
<td>59.2(4)</td>
<td>82.9(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churches and Spires</td>
<td>60.3(3)</td>
<td>91.4(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building Materials</td>
<td>6.5(7)</td>
<td>42.9(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Buildings</td>
<td>3.8(8)</td>
<td>7.1(8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prague Visitor Survey, Prague Resident Survey, August 1995
In terms of more specifically questioned parts of the townscape, each questionnaire assessed the level to which it was perceived that souvenir shops eroded the visual quality of the centre. Of residents responding, 34.3% agreed strongly that tourist shops spoilt the character of the area, with a further 37.1% agreeing -resulting in a cumulative percentage of 71.4% perceiving their visual impact as negative. A similar view that the shops were having a negative visual impact was indicated by visitors questioned, of whom nearly a quarter (23.9%) agreed the shops spoilt the character, with a further percentage (9.8%) agreeing strongly, as compared to significantly smaller percentages either disagreeing or disagreeing strongly.

Figure 7.16
“Do advertisements spoil the character of the historic centre?”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Visitor %</th>
<th>Resident %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree strongly</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree strongly</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prague Resident Questionnaire, Prague Visitor Questionnaire, August 1995

In terms of the perceived impact of advertisements and shopfronts on the character of the historic centre, responses from residents were, on the whole, more critical than those voiced by visitors, as shown in Figure 7.16, with 70.0% agreeing or agreeing strongly that they spoilt the character of the area, as compared to 39.2% of visitors. It should also be noted that quite a considerable number of visitors actively felt that there was no negative impact made by advertisements and shopfronts. Residents of the historic core have clearly experienced greater increase in the provision of advertisements than many visitors, especially from western countries including Edinburgh where acceptance of advertisements may be more prevalent given the established nature of such features of the built environment. This underlines the value of perception studies in reflecting cultural aspects of tourism impact and capacity.

In terms of potential improvements relating to these aspects of the environment as perceived by both groups, whilst residents were more critical of the impact of advertisements, they were not fully supportive of increased control of advertising, being either happy with the current provisions, or actively in support of having less controls, perhaps underlining public suspicion of intervention in development activity through the planning system, identified as a post-socialist characteristic (as mentioned, for example, by Hague and Prior 1991). Visitors indicated more consistent results, with more than half advocating greater control of advertising.
(despite not being too critical of their impact) and a greater proportion of respondents wanting more as opposed to less control on new buildings in the area. Again, this essentially pro-conservationist stance may similarly be influenced by the more general characteristic of the group in terms of their inherent interest in the historic architecture as a key part of the city’s attraction as a tourist destination.

Figure 7.17
Potential Improvements to the Historic Centre

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Improvement</th>
<th>Visitor More %</th>
<th>Visitor Less</th>
<th>Visitor No change %</th>
<th>Resident More %</th>
<th>Resident Less %</th>
<th>Resident No change %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Controls on new buildings</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising controls</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prague Resident Questionnaire, Prague Visitor Questionnaire, August 1995

In bringing together the policy background with the technical and perception studies relating to the aesthetic quality of the built environment, a less positive picture emerges than was the case in Edinburgh. The townscape studies repeatedly identified a number of negative aspects of the townscape, many of which had clearly arisen since 1989. The piecemeal erosion of the quality of the environment was seen as being at a significant level, and this is could be considered more ominous in light of the decaying nature of many of the historic buildings in the area due to the years of communist neglect. Though not exceeding capacity, the historic core of Prague could be viewed as having established a trend since 1989 which potentially will threaten this aspect of the area’s capacity, and the change is largely linked to tourist activity in the area. Tourism related advertisements for currency exchange facilities and attractions, modern signs in gaudy colours, parodies of the city’s monuments and histories in adverts and posters are more than commonplace throughout the historic centre. The literature is increasingly turning its attention to the cultural implications of such trends, going beyond impacts in physical and aesthetic terms. Sykora, for instance, discusses the changing nature of “consumption landscapes” since the transition in Prague, stating:

"The agents of commercial capital are very sensitive to the differentiation between affluent and poor, between foreign visitors and native people. They are also sensitive to the differentiation in taste. A large number of foreigners seeking the spirit of Kafka’s Prague, have given impetus to quite a few ‘Kafka black theatres’. Harvey writes that “through the presentation of a partially illusory past it becomes possible to signify something of local identity and perhaps do it profitably”. Unfortunately, such commercialised cultural heritage
"has nothing to do with a real local culture which is rapidly being replaced by new cultures constructed to meet the expectations of relatively rich outsiders." (Sýkora, 1994 p.1160)

A further key finding is the relationship between residents' perception of there being townscape deterioration, and their lack of support for a strengthening in control policy and powers to remedy the problem. This could be interpreted as highlighting an underlying lack of public support for the planning system as mentioned in Chapter 4. Overall, the findings of the technical studies were backed up by relatively negative perceptions of the impact of tourism on the otherwise high quality built environment, on the part of both visitors and, to a greater degree, residents.

7.6 The impact of tourist activity on the transportation network and parking provision in the historic core (Issue 2)

Chapter Four highlighted key aspects of transportation policy in the historic core of Prague both under communism and since 1989. The importance of public as opposed to private means of transportation, which was a key feature of communist planning, has provided the historic core with one of its more favourable features. The historic core is well linked by public transport to the rest of the city through the metro system, there being two stations within the area, and a further three or four on its edges. A tram system also links Hradčanské through Malá Strana to Staré Město and a number of bus services link the periphery of the area to the rest of the city. Road access to the city centre is presently limited, due to both the positive aspect of high levels of traffic control within the area, as well as the incomplete communist road plans for the city's inner ring road.

Traffic in Prague is steadily rising (40-50% per annum since 1989), at a slightly lesser rate than overall levels of car ownership (Plicka, 1993). Traffic in the 2570 km total street length in the city as a whole, is concentrated on around 75% of the total (quite an even spread). In 1990, there were 570,000 personal car journeys made in the city, with a further 90,000 made by lorries (Plicka, 1993). These changes have meant that transportation in the city has become a considerably more complex issue than that previously dealt with by the city's planners.

Transportation policy responses since 1989 have not yet put forward a strategic planning policy which is of sufficient strength to effectively manage transportation in and around the historic core, although the PRAHA 2010 document states an intended commitment to the issue in forthcoming policy making through "......development of transportation infrastructure with accent on integrated transportation system and preference for public transportation instead of individual transportation" (Turba, 1996, p.4). The extent to which this is implemented through effective planning policy and practice is yet to be seen, Turba going on to state:
7.18 The Transportation Network in the Historic Centre of Prague

TRAM SYSTEM

Tram routes:
- existing
- under construction
- historic core

PEDESTRIANS AND CYCLISTS

pedestrian zones and streets
leisure time pedestrian routes
proposed routes for bicycling

GARAGES IN THE CITY CENTRE
(capacities in personal cars)

Existing garages
- A: 240
- B: 240 (undergr.)
- C: 140 (undergr.)
- D: 140 (undergr.)
- E: 140 (undergr.)
- F: 140 - 10 coaches (undergr.)

Garages prepared and proposed (all underground)
- 1: 100
- 2: 100
- 3: 100
- 4: 100
- 5: 100
- 6: 100
- 7: 100
- 8: 100
- 9: 100
- 10: 100
- 11: 100
- 12: 100
- 13: 100
- 14: 100
- 15: 100
- 16: 100
- 17: 100
- 18: 100
- 19: 100
- 20: 100

Source: Plicka (1993)
"...Prague requires the progressive restriction of individual car transport in the direction toward the centre, combined with the offer of two city and express rings, and with the "park and ride" system. There is, however, a negative influence of the fact that most Prague inhabitants own a car and want to use it but no Borough cares for the construction of Prague express ring without which the overburdened City Centre cannot be relieved." (Turba, 1996, p.6)

7.6.1 Technical Study of Transportation in the Historic Core

The transportation network within the historic centre of Prague is illustrated in Figure 7.18 Traffic within most of the historic centre is restricted with there being few possibilities for through traffic and a number of streets and squares being either partially or fully pedestrianised (see the following section for further discussion of this issue). Further pedestrianisation is planned for the historic centre of Prague (Wood and Turkington 1995).

The first technical indicator investigated under this subject heading aimed to identify tour operators and coach parking in the historic centre. Tour operators were found to predominantly concentrate on pedestrian tours, particularly as many of the main attractions are within pedestrianised areas. Notwithstanding this, a number of the major operators used some form of transport to provide a drop-off / pick up service for tourists at strategic points around the edges of the core area. Very few buses or other such vehicles traversed the centre of the city - with a train tour being one exception. Figure 7.19 documents the frequency and mode of transport of those found to be operating in August 1995.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Operator</th>
<th>Mode of transport</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IFB Bohemia</td>
<td>Minibus pick-up/drop off / walking</td>
<td>Hourly between 1.30 am and 3.30 pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golden Town Tours</td>
<td>'Novelty Breadvan' tour</td>
<td>Daily at 10am and 1pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akasi</td>
<td>Minibus</td>
<td>Four tours daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barta</td>
<td>Walking</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central European Adventures</td>
<td>Walking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Tours</td>
<td>Four separate Prague walking tours</td>
<td>Four times daily for each tour (16 daily total)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koala Leisure Tours</td>
<td>Minibus drop-off</td>
<td>5 tours daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Walking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Premiant Tours</td>
<td>Minibus and pedestrian</td>
<td>6 tours daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedok tours</td>
<td>Bus pick up from hotels / walking</td>
<td>2/3 tours daily</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey by the author, August 1995
The spatial characteristics of guided tours in the area, defined by their published routes, are clearly shown in this illustration to be highly centralised and confined (perhaps predictably) to a limited number of key attractions. As was the case in Edinburgh these findings are not comprehensive, as many hotels/holiday package tour operators will also conduct tours of the area. Furthermore, as they are not based in the centre itself, it is less likely that they will exclusively use pedestrianisation as their mode of transit. However, the contribution of tours to traffic problems in the centre is considered on the whole to be small given the predominance of pedestrianisation around the most popular attractions. Their contribution to pedestrian congestion is of greater significance, as will be discussed more fully under the analysis of the next issue.

7.6.2 Perceptions Relating to Transportation in the Historic Core

A reversal of preferences in the perceptions of residents and visitors was found in responses to questions about both traffic levels and the provision of parking in the historic centre. A strong feeling that there was too much traffic in the centre emerged in the residents' responses, whilst the converse, although to a less extreme degree, was true of visitor responses. Whilst visitors were also unlikely to hold extreme views on parking provision, with around one third being indifferent, a similar number either agreeing or disagreeing and very few responding in the extreme, the majority of residents were clearly dissatisfied with provisions with the majority disagreeing or strongly disagreeing that there was sufficient provision.

Figure 7.20
"Do you feel that there is too much traffic in the historic centre of Prague?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Visitor %</th>
<th>Resident %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree strongly</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>52.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree strongly</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prague Resident Questionnaire, Prague Visitor Questionnaire, August 1995
Figure 7.21
"Do you feel that there is sufficient car and coach parking provided in the historic centre of Prague?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Visitor %</th>
<th>Resident %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree strongly</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>48.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree strongly</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prague Resident Questionnaire, Prague Visitor Questionnaire, August 1995

In terms of the degree to which it was perceived that tourism was accountable for traffic problems in the historic centre, Figure 7.22 illustrates responses. A considerable proportion of both visitors and residents felt that tours made no significant difference to traffic problems in the area, although this was more strongly supported by visitors than residents, with a greater proportion of residents than visitors feeling they formed part of the problem. A correspondingly low number of respondents in both groups felt they were the main problem.

Figure 7.22
Guided Tours as Contribution to Traffic Problem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Visitor %</th>
<th>Resident %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main problem</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of problem</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>41.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No significant difference</td>
<td>70.1</td>
<td>48.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prague Resident Questionnaire, Prague Visitor Questionnaire, August 1995

A summary of transportation technical and perception studies highlights a number of key findings. The communist inheritance can be seen under this issue as having contributed positively to life in the historic core of the city particularly through its public transport network. Despite this, the lack of a strong transportation policy since 1989 has already caused problems which are recognised in terms of residents’ perceptions in particular. Trends establishing themselves in the post socialist period indicate the need for planning intervention if the situation is not to deteriorate rapidly in line with the shift in emphasis from public to private modes.
It should be noted, however, that the perceived and actual impact of tourism on the problems beginning to arise has been identified as minimal by the data. This is likely to be as a result of generally high levels of non tourist traffic in the area, given the characteristics established of the visitor sample. Despite this, potential loss of resident population as a result of high levels of dissatisfaction has repercussions for the continuing balance between tourist and non tourist use in the area - and the overall capacity. Residents comparing the transportation problems with the pre revolutionary period are likely to expect artificially high standards which were accepted in the controlled situation of the communist regime. Visitors, however, would have been more likely to have less optimistic views to begin with, if using transportation standards of cities in non communist countries where traffic is an established problem, as a basis for their perception of Prague where the issue is still developing as a problem.

7.7 The impact of tourism on pedestrian comfort in the historic centre (Issue 3)

Planning policy in the historic centre is clearly in favour of pedestrian use as opposed to vehicles. Many streets and open spaces have been fully pedestrianised and this has continued to grow in the post 1989 years. However, the effectiveness of such measures has been limited by the lack of a strategic overview which has meant that pedestrianised areas are often linked by more hazardous / less pedestrian friendly streets e.g. at museum and Charles Bridge. Compared to Edinburgh there is a far greater absolute area of pedestrianised space and this is also true when judged as a proportion of the case study street area as a whole.

Street character as a defining attribute of the city as a tourist destination is an important element in the marketing of Prague. The city’s lively historic streets and squares form the image of the city as a tourist destination. The positive attribute of the historic centre's street ambience was widely recognised by respondents to both surveys - 74.3% of residents, and 90.8% of visitors considered ambience an important or very important element of the character of the historic centre of Prague. The contribution of the medieval street pattern and cobbled streets was similarly repeatedly recognised by respondents, with 84.3% and 55.7% of residents stating they respectively contributed “a lot” to the historic centre.

7.7.1 Technical Indicator: Classification of Street Use

The previous description of Prague’s environmental capital identified the distribution and character of tourist attractions in the historic centre (section 7.2). For the technical indicator relating levels of pedestrian use of streets, the focus of tourist attention (for methodology see Chapter 6, section 6.7.1) was used to identify streets for observation. Instead of the straightforward identification of the main shopping streets, as used in the case of Chester, the
eight streets were chosen for observation in the standardised way applied to the Edinburgh case study streets. On this basis, the following categories were identified:

Figure 7.23 Classification of streets by tourist use and overall levels of use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Street</th>
<th>Weekday User category</th>
<th>Weekday Tourist category</th>
<th>Saturday User category</th>
<th>Saturday Tourist category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nerudova</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostecká</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karlův Most</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karlova</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staroměstské nám</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pařížská</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celetná</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husova</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Street use category
A: quiet-busy
B: busy, comfortable
C: busy, uncomfortable
D: highly congested

Tourist use category
1: low
2: low-medium
3: medium-high
4: high

Figure 7.24 illustrates the locations of each of the streets included in the classification exercise, whilst Figure 7.25 shows areas currently pedestrianised. In short, street activity was found to be (predictably) concentrated, with a broad correlation between congestion and high levels of tourist use emerging. In addition to the streets observed in more general terms throughout the historic centre, the main tourist attractions and the 'Royal Mile' route dictated the spread of the network of primary tourist streets. There were relatively few instances of tourists using routes in the more peripheral areas away from attractions. Public transport was additionally an important influence on the level of use, with access to metro stations precipitating a high level of usage by tourists and non tourists alike. The most important contributing factor to overcrowding was the guided tours operating on foot in the area, which had the effect of keeping large numbers of slow-moving people together, exacerbating their impact on pedestrian flows.
Figure 7.24 Classified streets in Prague

1. Nerudova
2. Mostecká
3. Karlův Most
4. Karlova
5. Staroměstské nám
6. Pařížská
7. Celetná
8. Husova
Figure 7.25 Pedestrianised areas in central Prague

Pedestrianised areas
Semi pedestrianised areas
7.7.2 Perceptions of Pedestrian Crowding

The relatively high spatial concentration of visitors as observed is likely to account to a large extent for the strong preference for reduced numbers of pedestrians revealed by the perception studies. Similarly, the findings point towards a strong support for business generated by tourism and the resulting income gained from the industry as a social characteristic of the resident respondent sample. Cross tabulation of responses of both groups provide some evidence that the perceived likelihood of either a return visit to the city or continued future residence may be influenced to a certain degree by views on overcrowding, and this was particularly true in the case of the resident sample.

In terms of the visitor sample, although no respondent stated they would “definitely not” be returning to the city, of those who stated that they would “probably not” be returning, attitudes tended to be more negative in recognition of the problem of overcrowding (Figure 7.26). A similar pattern emerged for the resident sample, with a greatest proportionate awareness of overcrowding being found in the group who would “definitely not” be living in the area in the future. Despite the seemingly high levels of satisfaction with street ambience by both groups, when questioned about perceived levels of pedestrian comfort in the historic centre, both groups clearly felt that there was overall a relatively high level pedestrian use of streets. Residents more frequently felt that it was too busy - 60.0% residents as opposed to 23.9% of visitors - whilst visitors once more took a relatively positive view of the situation. An additional 55.4% of visitors considered the historic centre to be “busy but comfortable” - resulting in a cumulative total of 79.3% of visitors surveyed identifying one of these two categories. The residents’ responses resulted in an even more definitive recognition of the issue with a cumulative total of 91.4% responding with these categories. Only one resident and no tourists felt that the historic centre was too quiet.

Figure 7.26
Perceived level of Pedestrian Comfort in Historic Centre as a Result of Tourist Users

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Visitor %</th>
<th>Resident %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overcrowded, uncomfortable</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busy, but comfortable</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too quiet</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prague Resident Survey, Prague Visitor Survey, August 1995
Following from this, the potential improvement of the area through changes in number of tourist users, as illustrated in Figure 7.27, reducing numbers was strongly supported by visitors questioned, whilst residents were relatively happy with current levels of use. Very few respondents of either groups viewed an increase in numbers of tourists on the streets of the historic centre as an improvement. This cross over from perceptions of crowding being recognised as more of a problem by residents, to visitors advocating reductions in numbers more strongly, could be attributed to the high degree of concentration of tourist street use by visitors to a relatively small number of streets in the area, or could be linked to visitors wishing to be better integrated with the everyday life of the area.

Figure 7.27
Changes in Tourist Numbers Using Streets as a Potential Improvement to the Historic Centre

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Improvement</th>
<th>Visitor More</th>
<th>Visitor Less</th>
<th>Visitor No change</th>
<th>Resident More</th>
<th>Resident Less</th>
<th>Resident No change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourists in streets</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>77.2%</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>34.3%</td>
<td>47.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prague Resident Questionnaire, Prague Visitor Questionnaire, August 1995

As shown by both the technical and perception studies, pedestrian use of the streets of the historic core of Prague is a relatively negative aspect of the area in terms of its capacity. Despite this, street life forms an important constituent of the overall attraction of the historic core. This underlines the importance of this aspect of planning within the capacity of the area as a whole in terms of tourism. A further aspect of the findings under this issue relates back to the first issue of townscape quality. Again, residents appeared initially dissatisfied in terms of pedestrian congestion, but this was followed by their being less likely than visitors to advocate change through imposing more stringent controls. This aspect is also interesting when attitudes of residents in Prague are compared to their more conservative counterparts in the Old Town of Edinburgh. Both of the groups' characteristics link with the respective cultural perspectives of planning as discussed through the history in each area. Tourism was clearly an important element of pedestrian capacity levels, not least due to the exacerbating factor of guided tours operating in the area.

7.8 Acute concentration of tourist activity at key pressure points and the resulting intensification of tourist impact (Issue 4)

As mentioned in the analysis of the previous two issues, the success of measures to accommodate tourists through the provision of pedestrianised areas has been limited due to the lack of a strategic overview being assumed by planners. This has resulted in a number of
pressure points where capacity is clearly already being exceeded. In addition to this, the sheer volume of tourist numbers in the historic core, and the cultural importance of some of its attractions has meant that pressure is also concentrated at a number of other locations. This issue seeks to define more clearly the scale of such pressure and on this basis discuss the implications for overall levels of tourist capacity. The findings in Edinburgh identified some areas of pressure which were problematic but required only improved management of tourism in spatial terms to remedy their impact. Current planning and development relating to tourism already under way in Edinburgh’s Old Town was seen as likely to ensure a decrease in such areas of concentrated activity, not least through the provision of new attractions in more peripheral areas away from the Royal Mile.

The attraction of Prague, like many other European historic cities, lies in the overall townscape, environment and atmosphere of its historic centre, as opposed to there being one or two defined attractions to which visits are primarily orientated, with visits to the city centre being a fortunate by-product. Despite this, in any historic city a number of key attractions can be identified which are the focus of attention of visitors. In Prague, these include the Hrad complex, St. Vitus Cathedral and the Golden Lane, the Charles Bridge, Staroměstské náměstí, and the Old Jewish Cemetery in Josefov. The previously detailed townscape studies and street classification have highlighted the centrality of the King's Way, which links these attractions with the exception of the Jewish Cemetery, in the overall pattern of tourist activity in the historic core (Prague’s key tourist attractions were illustrated in Figure 7.1). As discussed more fully in the townscape studies, difficulties with acute overcrowding arise partly as a result of the ‘human scale’ of the historic core of Prague – a feature which in turn is a crucial part of the attraction of the city. This is therefore an important issue for the historic city in more general terms, where its defining characteristics have special implications for accommodating tourism in capacity terms.

Observations were made around a number of focal points in order to assess whether or not their highest levels of tourist activity generated either damage to the physical fabric of any part of the historic centre, or whether there were seen to be significant knock on effects on the efficient use of the area. The Hrad Complex and Staroměstské nám. were both found to benefit from the relief of the tight medieval street pattern in both locations, providing extensive areas of open space to ease pedestrian congestion at peak visiting times. Within both areas, however, emphasis on single attractions did appear to exacerbate the problem at the local scale. In the case of Staroměstské nám., for instance, visitors waiting for the astronomical clock on the side of the Old Town hall to chime on each hour often caused congestion in the flows of pedestrians through the square. In the case of the Hrad complex, the Golden Lane, a narrow street with miniature houses where Franz Kafka lived for part of his life, and where the royal alchemists
7.28 Traffic flows monitored
were fabled to live, was found to be one of the most consistently crowded parts of the city, at least during daylight hours.

The Charles Bridge was observed as being the subject of far greater pressure than any other attraction in the city. Crossing the Vltava, and in the centre of the King’s Way, the bridge is visited and walked across by virtually all visitors to the historic core, often several times per visit due to its own interest and its natural role as a link between Staroměstské nám and Malá Strana. The sixteen arch bridge, built to replace the Judith Bridge in the second half of the 14th century, is often referred to as an ‘open air sculpture gallery’ as the result of the 30 assorted baroque sculptures which line its parapets. The bridge is entered under a Romanesque Tower at the side of Malá Strana, with a Gothic Tower at the Staré Město end.

Although severe overcrowding is now virtually a fact of life on the Charles Bridge at peak times of tourist use during the summer months, actual physical decay is limited given its stone construction and the lack of a need to accommodate non tourist use which is effectively accommodated at the neighbouring crossings. The most problematic effect of the use of the bridge as the city’s key visitor thoroughfare was found to be on the approach at Křižovnické nám. As illustrated in Figure 7.28 which highlights the flows which were monitored, the road traffic passes perpendicular to the bridge along Křižovnická, which in turn is required to be crossed by anyone entering or leaving the King’s Way in Staré Město, the usual tourist route, to cross the bridge. A traffic count was made on three occasions the results of which are detailed in Figures 7.29 - 7.32 below.

Figure 7.29
Sample 1: Monday 14th August 1995 (09.00 - 10.00)
Vehicles passing point of observation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quarter / Time</th>
<th>N &gt; S</th>
<th>E &gt; N/S</th>
<th>S &gt; N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 09.00 - 09.15</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 09.15 - 09.30</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 09.30 - 09.45</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 09.45 - 10.00</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>579.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personal observation on above date
Figure 7.30
Sample 2: Wednesday 16th August 1995 (17.00 - 18.00)
Vehicles passing point of observation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quarter / Time</th>
<th>N &gt; S</th>
<th>E &gt; N/S</th>
<th>S &gt; N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 17.00 - 17.15</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 17.15 - 17.30</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 17.30 - 17.45</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 17.45 - 18.00</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>861.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personal observation on above date

Figure 7.31
Sample 3: Saturday 19th August 1995 (15.30 - 16.30)
Vehicles passing point of observation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quarter / Time</th>
<th>N &gt; S</th>
<th>E &gt; N/S</th>
<th>S &gt; N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 15.30 - 15.45</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 15.45 - 16.00</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 16.00 - 16.15</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 16.15 - 16.30</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>861</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personal observation on above date

Figure 7.32  Average Flows (Vehicles per hour)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N &gt; S</th>
<th>E &gt; N/S</th>
<th>S &gt; N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>527</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>711</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personal observation on above date

These high rates of through traffic contribute to extreme pedestrian discomfort throughout the day and over the full course of the week, allowing for little respite. The observed use on the week day was substantially lower, although the difficulties faced by crowds of tourists of crossing at this point never disappeared. The results indicate high traffic flows for the use of relatively narrow street space which is more pertinent in turn due to the high volume of people crossing at this point. These figures point towards an acute problem of capacity being breached within a small, but nevertheless important, area due to its centrality. The traffic counts conducted for this study are clearly limited, in that a wider assessment of flows in the location which could be seen as denoting a single capacity level do not exist. However, the constant nature of flows, and the observation of the degree of congestion which this caused during the count periods, both point towards the area being a significant pressure point on these terms.
The Jewish Cemetery, amongst a number of other remaining synagogues within Josefov, is an important destination for Jewish visitors to the city. The cemetery symbolises the overcrowding experienced within the area - the former Jewish ghetto of the city which was one of the oldest in central Europe. The small cemetery contains over 12,000 graves which were piled in several layers due to the previously chronic space limitations. The cemetery clearly has the most fragile properties of all the attractions of the historic centre. Where the Charles Bridge is unlikely to suffer significant erosion as it was constructed in stone, the cemetery is an unpaved pocket of greenery. The very nature of its formation lies in the layering of graves and earth, and the onset of mass tourism has already had a significant impact.

Figure 7.33
Numbers of visitors passing through the gates exiting the cemetery over one hour on Sunday 27th August 1995:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14.00 - 14.15</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.15 - 14.30</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.30 - 14.45</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.45 - 15.00</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Visits</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personal observation on above date

Although this is a limited sample, it does illustrate the constant flow of substantial proportions of visitors to the cemetery, from which there was little evidence of a break. The physical erosion of the ground within the cemetery has accelerated since 1989 with the huge numbers of visitors to the city trampling around the cemetery. A well organised management scheme has been put in place, drawing together and directing tourists through the key attractions of the Jewish Town. As a result, where once this was a quiet haven left relatively intact, where visitors could wander quietly, visitors are now guided around the edges in orderly queues to view it. The flows of tourists around the main focus of attractions in the area, as organised by the scheme are illustrated in Figure 7.34.
The cemetery has consequently taken on the aura of a tourist attraction, losing a significant measure of its authenticity as a result. The impact in terms of the visitor experience is disappointing when compared to the respite from the tourist crowds which it held for many, even in the earlier post 1989 years. This could be considered an example of part of this historic city becoming a museum piece and has implications for capacity in practical terms as with the previous pressure point, but also for more far reaching socio cultural values. The erosion of the soil has now been contained within the peripheries of the cemetery and this conservation of a non-renewable resource outweighs to a certain degree the perceived negative impact of tourism management on its cultural and religious meaning and significance. nevertheless, capacity levels are clearly being exceeded if not in the physical sense, but in the intangible element of cultural significance / ambience, which each of the physical elements add up to.

A second indicator of this issue which was used, related to the location of tourist accommodation in and around the area.

"Hotel development usually took the form of upgrading existing accommodation and constructing a few new four or five star facilities. In the few hotels available during the early days following the revolution, occupancy rates made it look as though operating a hotel was a license to print money. These rates, however, have recently fallen back to more realistic levels owing to the greater supply of rooms and a world wide recession that has made visitors a little more thrifty." (Prague Post Real Estate February 16-22 1994)
Since the post 1989 period, the growing number of entrepreneurs in the city have clearly become eager to capitalise on the income which tourists generate. Partly as a result of the inefficiencies of the communist system in terms of tourist facilities, the accommodation sector of the industry has expanded at such a high rate that occupancy rates in Prague Hotels dropped from 73.5% in 1992 to 60% in 1993 (Prague Post, May 3rd, 1994). Within this time period total hotel bed spaces increased from around 10,000 to 40,000. This continues to increase, with several new hotels under construction, and with many of the large multinationals, notably the Ritz-Carlton looking for sites. Over provision at the top end of the market has also aggravated the continuing shortfall in accommodation in the middle sector, two to three star range.

There is a relatively low number of beds for visitors to the city included within the case study area. Appendix 2 provides a list of the top 38 hotels in the city by size, of which only six are within the historic centre. The demand for budget accommodation, as is likely to be found in any historic city, and particularly in central and eastern Europe where cost could be considered a prime reason to visit, is provided for to a certain extent by several hostels / budget hotels which have sprung up around the main tourist area more recently, although these have tended so far to change from season to season. Figure 7.35 provides a comprehensive mapping of accommodation in the historic centre as at August 1995. Those hotels which do exist in the centre are small scale, with many catering to the more exclusive end of the tourist market.

Developers in the historic core have often been acting on the behalf of the large international firms in attempting to acquire property for refurbishment, with each of the largest hotel groups having been keen to enter the market in Prague. The Hilton chain, after a number of abortive attempts to develop sites in the city centre, including the site of the Slovanský Dům which reached relatively advanced stages before being abandoned, have more recently resorted to taking over the already established Atrium Hotel, the largest in Prague.

In late 1994, Vaclav Havel himself intervened in a recent application by the Four Seasons group to build a 180 room hotel on a site at Alšovo nábř. only 200 metres from the Charles Bridge (Prague Post Dec 14-20, 1994). The application was in the very early stages, however the required size of the hotel, compared with the relatively limited plot size was considered by many to indicate that the building would have to be of a considerable height. Havel was moved to write an open letter to Prague's city hall authorities, protesting against the development on the grounds of the likely impact a building of such a height would have at this sensitive location. In response, Dr. Pirkl of the PUPP argued against such condemnations as he felt it demonstrated a lack of confidence in the authorities to take an appropriate approach to such a proposal. Given that the objection was raised prior to any concrete proposals being either prepared or submitted, such anxiety at this stage could be said to represent a popular
preservationist backlash against a number of similar developments which have sprung up since 1989. There is clearly a perception arising in the wider population of the city that land use change associated with tourism is no longer necessarily the "good thing" which it was accepted as in the earliest post revolutionary years. This in turn has further implications for a discussion as to the capacity of the area in terms of concentration of tourist activity.

In summarising the combined issues of the acute concentration of tourist activity, and the wider spatial characteristics of tourist related services and facilities, a common theme of loss of identity emerges. This is present at the most local level in the case, for example, of the Jewish Cemetery where overcrowding obscures the original reasons and cultural significance of visiting the attraction in the first place. Loss of identity is also clearly a potent force at the wider level of the historic core as a whole, as illustrated by the dynamics of the hotel and accommodation development market. These impacts relate closely to threats identified by the European Green Paper on the Urban Environment, with mass consumption and internationalisation threatening to distort the previously intact identity of the case study area.

There may be a number of reasons this has had a greater impact in the case of Prague than that identified previously in Edinburgh. Firstly, the sheer volume of visitors to Prague's historic core is significantly greater, in both relative and absolute terms. Secondly, the built heritage is more comprehensively intact, and is therefore already more keenly receptive to change than in Edinburgh where this has been occurring on a more prolonged and consistent basis. Finally, and perhaps most fundamentally, Czech identity is only beginning to re-establish itself in the days following communism. At the same time, where international influences were previously stifled, they are now being welcomed enthusiastically within the city. The combination of a precarious cultural identity with strong international influence is a threat which could be seen to apply to many other post socialist cities, and which is clearly fundamentally exacerbated by tourism.

7.9 The Impact of Tourism on Retail Diversity in the Historic Core (Issue 5)

Retail policy in the historic centre of Prague prior to 1989 was clearly very different from that required in west European cities, given the lack of a comparable commercial market. This has meant that since 1989 retail in the city centre has grown as a key land use, with little or no strategic guidance to regulate or direct its impact. Given the built up nature of the historic core, retail development so far has mainly taken the form of change of use and / or renovation of existing premises. As a consequence, this sector of activity has been an important catalyst for regeneration, but at the same time has brought about considerable land use change in the
centre, which has positive and negative implications for the character of the area (as discussed more fully in Chapter 2).

At the same time as retail is growing in the centre, a number of development projects have been programmed to build out of town retail facilities. Retail provision on the periphery of the city follows the pattern of development established in the second half of the 1980's in the UK, and which has characterised retail development in Edinburgh. The 1990's, however, has seen a reversal in this trend of retail location in favour of more sustainable practice, at least in terms of national and some local policy commitments. The case study of retail in Prague therefore has further implications when considering the degree to which post socialist historic cities are assuming the same capitalist model of urban development which has characterised cities in the west.

The case studies have similar status in terms of their retail role within the overall market of each city. The main focus of activity within Prague, peripheral developments aside, has been largely concentrated in the neighbouring Nove Město, and in particular Wenceslas Square which has maintained highest rental values and levels of demand. This is directly comparable to the case of Princes Street in Edinburgh. At the same time, each of the historic areas have had high levels of investment in retail terms through accommodating smaller units of specialised retail outlets, which are particularly dependent on the tourist / leisure shopper. Both areas also maintain substantial residential populations which in turn require an element of non specialised retail provision in the form of shops selling everyday goods. The balance between provision for residents and tourists is therefore a capacity issue shared by the case study areas.

7.9.1 Technical Indicator: Study of Retail Activity in the Historic Centre

As with the Edinburgh case study, retail outlets in the historic centre were observed and coded according firstly to IRS coding, and secondly to illustrate dominant user groups in terms of distribution between residents and tourists. Figures 7.35 and 7.36 illustrate results.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IRS Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Empty unit</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household shopping</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essential shopping</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convenience shopping</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal shopping</td>
<td>736</td>
<td>72.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1017</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personal Research, August 1995
7.36 Retail outlets in Case Study Area by observed user category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>User Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Empty unit</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist user</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist-resident user</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral use</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident-tourist user</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident use</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1017</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personal Research, August 1995

Categorisation according to both sets of criteria illustrates the high degree of tourist dominance in retail outlets in the city, with very few outlets catering for resident or resident-tourist use, and a similarly low number catering for household or essential shopping. The spatial distribution of tourist outlets in the area was relatively widespread although patterns of extreme clustering around tourist attractions were noted, as was the case in Edinburgh. Many of the non tourist outlets, and those selling non luxury goods were located within Josefov, reflecting the relatively higher level of residential use in the area and continuing sense of community. Non tourist outlets were also mainly found in the most peripheral streets in the case study area, where relatively low tourist user numbers were observed. As a result, the retail survey illustrates the rapid progress of the area towards tourist domination, and within overall trends, the high degree of concentration of tourist activity within the area.

7.9.2 Perceptions of Retail in the Historic Core

Questions 7.1 and 7.2 of the residents survey related to perceptions of retail facilities in the area. The resident sample indicated a strong perception of there being too many souvenir shops in the area, compared to a great lack of shops selling every day goods. Further dissatisfaction with retailing in the area in terms of its physical and visual impact, was also indicated by a significant number of respondents who either agreed or agreed strongly that advertisements and shopfronts detract from the character of the area (70.0%). Of the visitor sample, 71.7% stated that shops were either a very important or important part of the overall character of the area.

In bringing the technical and perception studies together, a picture of tourist domination of retail outlets in the historic core to the point of breaching capacity, emerges. Where the situation was problematic in Edinburgh, it is clearly worse in the case of Prague both in technical and perceptual terms. As was the case in Edinburgh, tourists remain unconcerned...
about the lack of balance in retail provision, whilst residents were clearly dissatisfied with the situation.

7.10 **Tourism as a Stimulus for the Reuse of Historic Buildings in the Historic Core (Issue 6)**

Figure 7.37 notes opportunities for redevelopment, gap sites and derelict buildings as observed in the historic centre of Prague, where there was no indication of current or proposed development activity.

A fuller examination of the key forces influencing development in Prague in the post communist period has been undertaken in Chapter 4. The opportunities and difficulties which are endemic to a society undergoing a transition from State Control to the free market, highlight the relatively dynamic nature of development activity in the historic core of the city. The additional need for considerable investment to compensate for the lack of maintenance in many buildings and to supplement short supply of commercial property in a climate of extremely high demand further contributed to the high levels of activity in the historic centre. Given the legislative and fiscal constraints which have been gradually lifted by the government, but of which some remain, this period of activity is currently still gaining momentum, more than seven years after November 1989.

Once more, this issue is based on a very different policy context from that described in the previous case study of the Old Town of Edinburgh. Prior to 1989, despite commitment of planners to conservation, as described more fully in Chapter 4, this was not followed through in financial or institutional provisions to support the cause. The result was considerable decay, which has persisted since the transition, not least as a result of the lack of further financial resources being available for instigating improvements to the built environment. Other factors such as restructuring of ownership rights make the conservation agenda even more difficult to fulfil. Despite this, inward investment which was previously restricted prior to 1989, has acted as the main catalyst for refurbishment and conservation in recent years, with a number of large scale schemes having improved areas of historic buildings. The extent to which this investment is linked to tourism is an important consideration which was taken account of through the technical indicator of historic buildings in tourist related use.
Figure 7.37 Opportunities for development and renovation in the historic core
7.10.1 Technical Indicator: Historic Buildings in Tourist Use

The city has a relatively limited number of purposely planned tourist attractions within buildings. The Jewish Museum and Synagogue / cemetery complex is a relatively unique example within the city of such an attraction. Other buildings in tourist use, apart from conversions into pubs and restaurants and shops used by tourists, included a very limited number of buildings used for accommodation purposes, the Hrad Complex and a small number of churches. Otherwise, a large number of buildings were in temporary use as classical concert venues. The income and physical improvements generated by tourism is clearly a welcome contribution towards the obviously expensive maintenance / refurbishment costs of buildings in the historic core. However, the lack of guaranteed permanent use of many of the cases where this has occurred and seasonality of the tourism market limits to a certain extent the positive aspects of tourism linked redevelopment schemes.

The reuse of historic buildings for tourist related activity has repercussions for capacity levels where land use becomes dominated by tourist use, and the original functions and identity of the area become increasingly obscured. Tourist use of the area appears to be growing as quickly as the residential base of the area is declining. However, given the extensive nature of the historic built environment, the neglect which has led to considerable demands on resources, and the observed opportunities for redevelopment, the reuse of historic buildings for tourism in Prague is clearly a positive element of the development dynamics of the area, which is unlikely to threaten capacity levels for some time yet. This is further unlikely in the short term as development potential is not fully being exploited due to the lack of financial and proactive planning approaches to conservation in the city to date. However, the lack of such controls also means that new development has not and is not being appropriately guided to mediate its impact on the area. The loss of meaning and the more indirect effects of tourism as a catalyst for redevelopment therefore remains an important longer term capacity issue.
7.11 Overall Capacity Levels - comparing the issues

Figure 7.38 brings together the results of the data collection as detailed above for each issue.

Figure 7.38 Amalgam of Capacity Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Perceived capacity</th>
<th>Technical capacity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Townscape</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Transport</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Pedestrian congestion</td>
<td>B-C</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Spatial concentration of activity</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Retail diversity</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Reuse of historic buildings</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>B-C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Categories
A - no indication of progression towards capacity
B - minor indications of progression towards capacity
C - major indications of progression towards capacity
D - at capacity
E - exceeding capacity

The combined results of the capacity analysis highlight a situation considerably more negative in capacity terms than that of the Edinburgh case study. At the same time some positive aspects of planning and development relating to tourism in Prague were highlighted by the study. Transportation and tourist impact on the system was significantly less problematic than was the case in Edinburgh, not least due to the inheritance of communist led measures including the relatively strong emphasis on public transport. At the same time, it should be noted that car ownership rates are rapidly rising and may offset the relatively positive results seen in this case. The mode of tours in the case of Prague (i.e. predominantly walking based) also helped to mediate the impact of tourism on the transportation network. The increasing vehicular pressure should be limited to a certain extent by the extensive areas of pedestrianisation in the historic core. In turn however, the success of these areas depends heavily on a reduction of current pressure and overcrowding brought about by the popularity of pedestrian based tours.

The lack of a clear policy making framework in Prague since 1989, whilst the planning system goes through a transition, combined with the strong current of mass tourism as a new factor in the historic core, has led to capacity being threatened in a number of ways. Lack of policy making equivalent to the proactive approach identified in the case of Edinburgh, has meant that in both perceived and technical terms the townscape of the area is being steadily eroded.
through piecemeal deterioration of environmental quality. The same can be said of retail in the centre, although this situation was at least perceived as being marginally less critical than was the case in Edinburgh.

The spatial concentration of activity was identified as highly problematic in the case of Prague. Again, the lack of a strategic planning approach meant that relatively successful aspects of the historic core in accommodating tourism (i.e. pedestrianisation) were negatively influenced by areas where tourist activity levels were so acute that environmental degradation occurred and in turn that the visitor experience and resident quality of life were threatened to a significant degree. The re-use of historic buildings was viewed as not yet a threat in terms of capacity levels, although it should be noted that this situation had largely resulted from the sheer extent of the historic fabric in need of investment as opposed to effective policy making. In terms of tourist land use competing with non tourist use in the centre, the technical study revealed an instability in the former market which could be viewed as problematic in the future. Further, the proportion of land use accounted for by tourism was already high when compared to unrelated business use.

The implications of the combination of issues for the scenarios to be discussed in the next section address a number of aspects of capacity. The relationship of the strategic planning system was found to be at the root of capacity levels being breached or approached. The analysis also revealed a number of instances where perception of a capacity problem was not followed up by support for strengthening of planning control on the part of the residents. The combined impact of these factors has already led to extensive loss of meaning in the historic core, which is not necessarily attributable to a single aspect of the analysis (perhaps best illustrated in the case of the Jewish cemetery). This therefore has further implications for the scenario discussions as an issue in its own right.

7.11.1 Options for Change

As with the Chester study, a number of options on which the future of the centre of Prague could be based have been evaluated: minimal change, trend change, selective change and managed reduction. Options are defined for each ten year period up to 2025, with an outlook for 2025 onwards. Chapter 5 identified key departures from the method of analysis used by the Chester study, as well as factors against which each option was evaluated.

The use of scenario writing was discussed in the previous two Chapters. It should be further noted in the case of Prague that the transitional nature of planning, the tourism industry itself and even the wider context of these constituents is an important element of the scenarios.
discussed. What may have been suggested as a future occurrence prior to 1989 would certainly no longer be supported as possible scenarios in the light of the dramatic nature of post socialist change. At the same time, scenarios put forward in terms of the current framework for tourism planning in Prague have a limited accuracy given the shifting nature of the constituent parts. Making this explicit from the beginning however, ensures that currently assessed scenarios maintain a value in terms of their role as a tool for further discussion of the capacity analysis, and for providing a systematic basis for the comparison of results undertaken in the next Chapter. Following from this, the timing of the developments within each of the scenarios has taken account of the important external factor of EU membership being attained early in the next century. This has, however, been accounted for in a relatively simplified sense (i.e. speeding up of inward investment).

7.11.2 Option One: Minimal Change

The Chester study based this option on a strategy of implementing only existing planning commitments, followed by restraining growth through policy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure 7.39 Option 1: Minimal Change</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% total pedestrians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% total retail floorspace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist traffic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given the lack of policy and the predicted slowing of growth of tourism in the city owing to the wearing off of the original novelty value as a destination, a policy of non promotion of tourism, with only current proposals being implemented and further restriction of growth through policy would be likely to lead to a decline in numbers, although given the considerable momentum of current growth, it is unlikely this would occur for some time yet.

It is likely that accommodation growth will continue in order to account for the overall persisting shortage in accommodation of levels found in western cities, although it is additionally likely that the main period of growth in this market has already passed and that development of this sphere will be of a considerably less rapid nature. Provision of accommodation is likely to decline at a later stage due to the saturation of the market through high growth rates resulting in a situation of oversupply. It is likely that present levels of
demand for retail space in the area would not be sustained under this scenario, with a reduction in activity as a whole likely in the relatively short term as a result of the degree of saturation and high turnover rate of tourist related businesses already established. Tourist related traffic would be likely to remain relatively stable given its minor role as a concern in the historic core, whilst numbers of tourists as a proportion of all pedestrians using the centre would only start to decline later as the centre slowly begins to resume its former role as the centre of everyday life for many in the wake of tourism dominating the area, as it is likely to continue to do at least in the short term.

As outlined above, present opportunities for development and redevelopment in the historic centre are extensive, particularly given the considerable demand for refurbishment of the large stock of buildings neglected prior to 1989, with financial support not as yet having emerged since. This level of opportunity is unlikely to be equalled in many other European historic cities which are often restricted in terms of opportunities for development and vacant sites owing to the fine grain of development and long standing conservation activity. It is likely that growth under this scenario would be accommodated, although in the latter times of reducing numbers, alternative land use would have to be identified in order to continue to fund redevelopment - this may be assisted somewhat by gaining EU membership as a catalyst for further inward investment. It is likely that in this scenario, tourism, as one of the many demands for space in the area would at first continue to bring about an increase in land values in the historic centre which although reducing in the longer term, would never disappear completely. However, it should be noted that this would only be a small part of an inevitably growing development market in the historic core which is bringing about considerable social and physical change. The continuation of the role of tourism as a catalyst for development activity within the historic centre should, however not be underestimated within this option for change, given wider importance of tourism as an activity within the historic city in Europe as a whole, as identified in the literature.

It is likely that any further growth, no matter how small and even if it is for a limited time period, will result in improvement of the built fabric, but at the same time, environmental problems of disuse may follow in the later period should alternative land use not be actively promoted from the outset. However, on a more negative note, wider environmental problems identified in the literature would be likely to persist. Pedestrian crowding is already exacerbated by tourists using the historic centre, and a highly concentrated pattern of pedestrian use is also currently resulting in a substantial deterioration of the visitor experience of the city at peak times. This option of minimal change, with policies of restriction may constitute a situation of too little control too late, with reduction of numbers occurring naturally at a certain point
where the capacity is reached. The lack of any new initiatives to provide further attractions or accommodation outwith the most central areas will ensure that such a process continues.

Given the anti control ethos, and strength of entrepreneurial motivation which is highly influential in the city and in terms of defining the remit of planning at present, it is clear that such a scenario would be unlikely to be achievable in any case. This highlights the considerable difference in this case study, when compared to the more cautious treatment of the historic city in the UK as illustrated in the Chester study and indeed in the findings of the capacity analysis in Edinburgh as related in the previous study.

7.11.3 Option 2: Trend Change

This option is based on continuing growth in tourism and related development in line with current trends.

Figure 7.40 Option 2: Trend Change

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Tourists Accommodation</td>
<td>Continuing growth</td>
<td>Continuing growth</td>
<td>Decline</td>
<td>Decline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Tourists Accommodation</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>Decline</td>
<td>Decline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Tourists Accommodation</td>
<td>% total pedestrians</td>
<td>Increasingly large share</td>
<td>Increasingly large share</td>
<td>Loss of non tourist pedestrians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% total pedestrians</td>
<td>Increasingly large share</td>
<td>Increasingly large share</td>
<td>Loss of non tourist pedestrians</td>
<td>Lower tourist use, re-emergence of non-tourist pedestrians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% total retail floorspace</td>
<td>As existing</td>
<td>Increase in units</td>
<td>Saturation of Units</td>
<td>Reducing proportion of shops - closures not replaced by other shops due to displacement of resident population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist traffic</td>
<td>Increase in tours using streets / increasing demand for coach parking</td>
<td>Increase in tours using streets / increasing demand for coach parking</td>
<td>Drop in demand for tours, but continuing high level, relaxation in pressure for expansion of coach parking provisions</td>
<td>Guided tours reduced to only a few operators, coach tours withdrawing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A continuation in current rates of growth in the city of Prague of tourism is likely to result in further rapid progress towards and over capacity limits in the historic centre. As a result, numbers of tourists could only sustain growth in the short to medium term, followed by a rapid decline in the popularity of the historic centre as a destination. Growth would foster further development of accommodation initially, although this would quickly reverse to become decline, as a result of the falling off of visitor numbers.
It is possible to envisage the city centre becoming even more dominated by tourist use, with virtually all pedestrians in the centre being tourists and all traffic except that which is tourist traffic steering clear of the area. The worst scenario in the case of the retail market would be a total loss in functions owing to the eventual drop in tourist numbers, in combination with resident out migration as a likely result of excessive tourist exploitation of the area.

Again it is important to view tourism as only part of the overall development activity going on in the historic centre, although it is also likely that continuing growth of the proportions currently being experienced will result in displacement of both the resident population and the business function of the centre. This pattern is already emerging to a certain extent as a result of restrictions to development in the centre, with out of town retail and business use becoming an increasingly popular solution to the problem of location.

The environmental capital of the historic centre is already under threat, with further pressure being potentially disastrous, particularly for the identified pressure points where capacity limits are already being breached. Tourism growth on the other hand may foster the reuse of historic buildings, although early breaching of capacity levels and subsequent reductions in numbers may take away such a function before it becomes established. As with the previous scenario, therefore, whilst improvements to the built fabric itself may benefit, wider environmental problems are a more immediate threat to capacity levels.

7.11.4 Option 3: Major Change

This option is based on the active promotion of Prague, with high levels of state subsidy for tourist development, provision of new attractions in and around the city, and the growing provision of accommodation.
Figure 7.41 Option 3: Major Change

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Tourists</td>
<td>Acceleration of already high growth</td>
<td>Decline</td>
<td>Decline</td>
<td>Low tourist levels with potential revitalisation in the longer term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>High growth</td>
<td>Decline</td>
<td>Decline</td>
<td>Stabilising of limited core accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% total pedestrians</td>
<td>Tourist pedestrians dominating street use</td>
<td>High to medium proportion of tourist users</td>
<td>Medium proportion</td>
<td>Medium proportion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% total retail floorspace</td>
<td>Tourist shops exclusively using historic centre</td>
<td>Decline in tourist shops</td>
<td>Decline in tourist shops</td>
<td>Empty units - supply exceeding demand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist traffic</td>
<td>Exclusion of non tourist traffic, high levels of illegal coach parking</td>
<td>Less pressure on transport and coach parking infrastructure</td>
<td>Levelling off of guided tour operators empty coach parks</td>
<td>Quiet roads and empty coach parks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This option would almost certainly result in major decline in tourism in the centre within an even shorter time period than that predicted in the option for trend change. If planning was to continue to lack strong policy guidelines and scope for control of development as is currently the case due to the transitory nature of the system, the above capacity problems would be even more likely to occur. Stringent controls would be required in order to promote a balance in land use within the area, and to promote non tourist land use as a catalyst for redevelopment. It is likely that the initial period of high growth as a result of tourism being promoted at a high level, which would result in the exertion of extreme pressure on key areas of concern, including the townscape, pressure points of spatially concentrated activity - in short the centre would be overtaken with tourist use. The problems of such pressure would probably result in the quick decline in the tourist industry in the city, with the recovery of the industry in the longer term being even more questionable as a result of the damage which rapid expansion would inflict, both in physical terms, and in the perceptions of potential visitors and certainly return visitors.

The city would in this case be less able to recover from the damage inflicted in the surpassing of capacity levels, particularly if aided by increasing state subsidy. Proportions of tourist pedestrians would remain high only as a result of lack of residents in the area as opposed to the actual volume of visitors. The currently volatile retail market and growth in supply of units would be unlikely to recover from the damage in the foreseeable future. The townscape will initially suffer from exploitation for tourism, and would subsequently be faced with the problem of lack of use or investment in the fabric. Excessive tourist growth would exert further pressure for land use change in the historic centre for tourist use, with the decline in numbers leaving many areas and properties vacant. Business is likely to resort to locating outwith the
centre due to the high land values brought about by tourist demand and the impact of tourism in terms of physical congestion and degradation.

7.11.5 Option 4: Selective Change

This option is based on the deliberate targeting of groups of tourists in order to increase numbers and reduce impacts in the area. In the case of Prague a similarly strategy of reducing seasonality and targeting business users is envisaged as achieving this goal. A further strategy of promoting the city as a gateway to the rest of the country is also currently lacking in the strategic direction of tourism. Such a strategy would require considerable governmental support.

Figure 7.42 Option 4: Selective Change

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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Tourists</td>
<td>Increase in business tourists / higher end of tourist market</td>
<td>Increase as before</td>
<td>Increase levelling off</td>
<td>Maintenance of rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedspaces / sector</td>
<td>Increase in hotel / high end of accommodation, decrease in supply of private rooms</td>
<td>Increase as before</td>
<td>Stabilising core of accommodation</td>
<td>Further establishment of core accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% total pedestrians</td>
<td>Continuing high % of tourist pedestrian users</td>
<td>Decrease in % of tourist users</td>
<td>Medium proportion</td>
<td>Medium proportion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% total retail floorspace</td>
<td>Increase in luxury goods shop, decrease in small units selling souvenirs</td>
<td>Stabilising of core retail facilities with further decrease in souvenir outlets</td>
<td>As existing</td>
<td>As existing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist traffic</td>
<td>Increase in guided tour operators, pressure for coach parking</td>
<td>Congestion due to guided tours and coach parking</td>
<td>Streamlining of guided tours - lower number, overall higher quality</td>
<td>Stabilising of market</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the above table shows, an increased selectivity of targeting of tourist groups using the historic core would result in the overall stabilising of a currently volatile tourist market. Current key issues such as the unstable retail market would benefit considerably through selective marketing at the higher end of the market and the provision of higher class shops.

Such development would be likely to benefit the townscape quality of the area, in the finding of long terms uses for historic buildings and the loss of the environmental degradation found in the technical studies to have resulted from cheap and unestablished retail market and related
advertisements and shopfronts. Such a strategy could further ensure support for the development of accommodation in the historic centre with possibilities that this would lead to finding further uses for historic buildings. Decentralisation of tourist activity within the city and to other places outwith Prague itself, as well as moves towards evening out seasonality patterns of visitors to the city, would both help ease pedestrian congestion. Transportation and pressure for coach parking is likely, however to persist given the high propensity for such tourists to be time limited and need to use coach tours.

Such development could bring with it the by-product of population displacement from the centre due to continuing rising demand for space and buildings and the accompanying rise in land values. However, given the high number of development opportunities already existing in the area, the effects of tourism on this process may only come about in the longer term. It should also be noted that depopulation and gentrification may already be threatening the continuing vitality of the population in the historic core, and that tourism may prove a relatively minor influence in far wider trends of depopulation/gentrification of the historic centre.

7.11.6 Option 5: Managed Reduction

This option starts from premise that the area is at or has already exceeded its capacity and that as such tourism would not be promoted and development pressure would be redirected where possible away from the case study area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure 7.43</th>
<th>Option 5: Managed Reduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Tourists</strong></td>
<td><strong>1995-2005</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levelling off of growth</td>
<td>Stabilisation of growth to steady level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bedspaces / sector</strong></td>
<td>Slowing growth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>% total pedestrians</strong></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>% total retail floorspace</strong></td>
<td>Decreasing from high to medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tourist traffic</strong></td>
<td>Reduction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ironically, but perhaps owing to the closeness of the historic centre of Prague to its tourist capacity, this option would be likely to produce the most stable future. If the option was to encourage tourists to other destinations in and around Prague, as well as further afield in the country, this establishment of a gateway to a wider range of towns and attractions would be likely to boost overall numbers. Within the area itself, however, it is likely that numbers would
reduce prior to stabilising relatively early on. The threats that current growth levels have on the continuing quality of the historic area's built fabric would reduce considerably in this scenario.

Providing that the role of reduction does not persist for too long, the land values in the centre should stabilise after an initial period of uncertainty due to decline, before being afforded the chance which they have not yet had to increase at a more steady and realistically rate. With pressure easing on key attractions and degrees of pedestrian crowding due to tourist use reducing, it is more likely that visitors would be happy to visit the city in peace. It is crucial that controls, however, are lifted after a period of initial decline at the correct point prior to a total loss in the function of the historic centre.

7.12 Conclusions on Capacity Analysis in Prague

The perception and technical studies underlined a number of key trends and issues which have arisen as a result of tourist use within the historic centre of Prague.

* Overall higher levels of dissatisfaction with tourist impact on the part of residents than visitors;

* High incidence of tourist related activity and development having negative impact on the townscape as a result of high tourist numbers, active entrepreneurial sector and low levels of control;

* High levels of pedestrianisation and accessible public transport limiting negative impact of tourist traffic;

* Many tour operators running tours on same routes bringing about pedestrian discomfort, at times reaching a critical level;

* Tourist domination of retail outlets in the historic area, with spatial concentration of tourist outlets around key attractions and low supply of resident outlets;

* Low maintenance of historic fabric which has been occurring for an extensive length of time and relatively new nature of commercial property market providing high level of development and redevelopment opportunity;
Large numbers of historic buildings in tourist use, although this is generally of a temporary nature;

High degree of concentration of tourist activity, with strong correlation between high proportion of tourist use and street congestion.

The entrepreneurial forces which have evolved very quickly since 1989, would clearly be of a sufficient scale to continue to cater for the continuing growth of tourism at the rate at which it has occurred since the Velvet Revolution. There is no denying that tourism forms an important catalyst boosting the growth for entrepreneurial activity, particularly in the centre of Prague. At the same time, a considerable amount of inward investment, particularly on the part of international hotel chains, has benefited the city in the upgrading of tourist facilities to reach western standards. This has only recently been emerging following the gradual pace of relaxation of controls on international investors in the city, and the complicated and lengthy process in the clarification of land and property ownership through restitution.

An appraisal of the option for minimal change would point towards the status quo followed by reductionist policies being too late to alleviate problems of tourism already found by the study in the case study area. The option for trend change would similarly allow for the built environment and key issues to deteriorate sufficiently to bring about early decline in tourists going to visit the historic centre as a result of an increase in the pressures identified as concerns by both the perception and technical studies. The option for major change would be likely to result in the most disastrous decline in tourist attraction of the historic city as a result of pressure, from which it is unlikely that a renewal in popularity could be reached.

The remaining two options point towards finding a more useful option for the city in the future. Managed reduction would alleviate problems sufficiently to stop loss of tourism due to environment impacts. Similarly selective change, if properly targeted could provide more valid future for the area. All of the options for change indicate the likely impacts on the population of the area, with varying degrees of impact being likely as a result of each. Ivan Plicka, the former chief architect of the city identified one of the resulting problems now emerging as being social in character due to the displacement of the established resident population:

"...the continuing preservation of the historic core of this city is suddenly in grave danger because of the changes in social structure encouraged by the restitution of state confiscated property and privatisation. Many ancient buildings are occupied by elderly people paying nominal rents and inevitably the whole character is being threatened by modernisation and 'fools with money'."
The reaction of the resident population to each proposed option for change in turn, plays a fundamental role in further shaping the future of the historic core of the city. The complex nature of incentives and disincentives for residents to stay in the historic centres of central and eastern European cities such as Prague, as a result of issues other than tourism alone, further complicates the processes of change, in a way which underlines the integral role of the cultural, social and political background of a city in assessing its capacity limits.

All of the above factors underline the need for urban capacity analysis which specifically deals with the problems of tourism in historic cities, with its implementation in Prague being as valid, if not more valid, as in western cities such as Edinburgh. The analysis has covered a broad range of issues identified as constituting key impacts of tourism in Prague. The wider implications of development pressure, commercial activity, social polarisation etc., as dealt with by theorists underlie this more practically oriented exercise. The study has sought to examine tourist capacity of the historic core of Prague and, in concluding, explains these symptom through isolating their cause as far as possible. The linkage of physical impacts with wider social issues is an important part of this in order to provide the results with relevance for practice.

The next chapter (Chapter 8) aims to compare the results of the capacity analysis carried out in each city in order to assess key attributes of the role of the planning system in each instance, as well as wider institutional, political, economic, social and cultural influences. The findings in Prague illustrate the importance of the planning system's background in determining its impact on development and activity at the local level. In Prague, for instance, the current dismantling of controls was supported repeatedly by residents, who at the same time tended not to support the suggestion of an increase in planning powers. This is an important social / political issue as previously identified in the literature relating to post socialist planning. Public support aside, there is much potential for the Czech planning system both in terms of increased powers of control to ensure a balance in development and in its capacity in actively promoting and guiding redevelopment opportunities. Planners in Prague have inherited extensive and high quality environmental capital in the historic core of the city, which requires substantial investment to fully capitalise on its potential to boost the country's competitiveness at the supranational level.

Despite current environmental problems, capacity levels also potentially have scope to be alleviated through the ability of the area to accommodate change due to previous non-investment. All of these issues highlight the fundamentally important role of the planning system in the post socialist historic city, and in particular the relationship which it adopts with
its market. The scenario writing above, would perhaps have benefited from the addition of a further dimension of each of the options within the future of interventionist or non-interventionist planning system. The comparative nature of the study highlights key questions about the institutional and planning contexts within all of this. As a result that next Chapter will bring out key aspects of each case, and will discuss the capacity analysis findings in terms of what they indicate as being most effective practice.
Chapter 8
Chapter 8
Comparison of Tourist Capacity Analysis in the Old Town of Edinburgh and the Historic Centre of Prague

8.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 showed that cross national planning research has been questioned by some, and supported by others. Before the fall of the ‘Iron Curtain’ Castells (1977) suggested that an east-west comparison in particular was not valid due to fundamental discrepancies in the respective contexts. Szelenyi (1983), Pahl (1977) and Harloe (1981) countered this assumption, through suggesting that such an approach is all the more necessary within planning research as a whole. Harloe (1981) in particular asserted that the validity of comparison and transferability of results has to be addressed through carrying out empirically based comparison as opposed to its dismissal at the theoretical level untested. On a more practical level, in devising an approach which might solve this problem, Sharpe (1975) for instance identified the need to isolate the planning systems of the two countries through minimising non process variables in comparing either countries with maximum similarities or in narrowing the focus to limit other influences. White (1978) also put forward a number of approaches aimed at reducing the “incomparability of contrasting cultural-political systems” (Wang, 1991).

This study has sought to address this issue of comparative research through applying a standardised framework of data collection to the comparative case studies - essentially through a two tiered methodology. As illustrated in Figure 8.1, the primary aim was to undertake a comparative study of planning in the historic city centres of Edinburgh and Prague. In focusing the aims and objectives, this distinct aim evolved, firstly through addressing the relationship between planning and conservation, and eventually through focusing on the relationship between planning, conservation and tourism, as a result of the need to undertake a problem orientated approach to the comparative study. Figure 8.2 illustrates the relationship between this overarching aim of the thesis and its secondary
methodological focus within this, of undertaking capacity analysis exercises in a standardised methodology in each city as a means of aiding the comparison.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, it was anticipated that this structured framework for comparative data collection would address some of the fundamental difficulties which are encountered within comparative research. The results of the capacity analysis exercise show that amongst these difficulties, the concern of being unable to separate the planning system from its context is an important area which this methodology has addressed through the application of a consistent methodological framework in case studies with diverse contexts. Figure 8.3 illustrates the nature of capacity analysis in terms of combining theoretical and pragmatic strains of thought, which in turn is helpful in ordering the conclusions of comparison of the case studies.

Following from these overall aims, this chapter initially highlights contextual similarities and dissimilarities in the local government and planning systems as well as the specific nature of conservation and tourism planning in the respective case study areas. This is followed by a comparison of the findings of the capacity analysis and the problems and opportunities of each city. Specific planning tools relating to each of the areas of concern and opportunity will be discussed within this comparison of results. The conclusions focus the findings both in terms of the literature relating to comparative planning research and capacity analysis methodologies, and the theoretical issues relating to the European historic city. Chapter 9 will then explain the contribution of the study to the field of research.
Figure 8.1 Methodological development of the thesis - stage 1

![Diagram of Methodological development of the thesis - stage 1]

Source: Compiled by Author

Figure 8.2 Methodological development of the thesis - stage 2

![Diagram of Methodological development of the thesis - stage 2]

Source: Compiled by Author

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Figure 8.3 Capacity analysis as a means of ordering pragmatic and theoretical constituents of comparative research

THEORETICAL: CAPACITY LITERATURE

"There are set limits at which a capacity can be defined."

INTERFACE

"Information about land use and the perceptions of an area's users are primary components of planning effectively for that area."

PRAGMATIC: PLANNING PRACTICE

EDINBURGH

CAPACITY ANALYSIS - EDINBURGH

COMPARATIVE EVALUATION

CAPACITY ANALYSIS - EDINBURGH

PRAGUE

Source: Compiled by Author
8.2 The symbiotic relationships between planning, conservation and tourism - comparison of case studies

The respective political and institutional contexts of Edinburgh and Prague, as well as national planning frameworks, shape planning at the urban and local / case study level. Chapters Three and Four described the context of each case. The political aspects of both planning systems and the wider cultural and social differences created by their respective histories, are very important and complex areas for consideration in an east-west comparison. While such difficulties were fully acknowledged in the literature before 1989, the research for this thesis has demonstrated the continuing relevance of this historical legacy. While it is common to talk of ‘transition’ this may be misleading if it implies an irreversible progression to some standardised Anglocentric model of a market-based planning system. This section therefore aims to clarify key similarities and differences in the context of each case study, and the respective planning systems, prior to discussion of the capacity analysis results.

The comparison of Edinburgh and Prague highlights a number of fundamental differences in the contexts within which the planning systems exist. For example, the 1996 reorganisation of Scottish local government to form unitary authorities differed from the increasing fragmentation of authorities in Prague since 1989. Population coverage of authorities also varies considerably between the cities. Prague’s municipalities now cover the most fragmented region of local government in the Czech Republic, and span a wide scale of population sizes, as detailed in Chapter 4. Partly as a result of this, the assignation of substantial powers to relatively small / localised public bodies in Prague contrasts with local government in Edinburgh in the post 1996 reorganisation period.

At the time of writing it is too soon to say how effective the new Edinburgh council will be, although it is clear that in both pre and post reorganisation structures the units had significantly larger population than that of the Prague municipalities. Despite fragmentation of local governance in Scotland, and the effect this may have on locally led planning action, the units are larger and the system more centralised than is the norm in
other member states within the European Community. Thornley summarises the inconsistency of the situation in this sense, stating that "this greater local autonomy and flexibility is set within even greater central government constraints" (1996, p.202). It is arguable that the organisation of local government in the Czech Republic, particularly as it relates to planning, has a great deal more in common with the rest of Europe than the UK. Regardless of the compared merits of either system, however, both case studies now need to re-address their planning systems in compensating for the potentially negative effects which both political and institutional backgrounds could have on effective planning.

Comparison reveals that central government is more interventionist in development planning and control in Scotland. In part this is explained by the differing degrees of establishment of each planning system. Central government participation in Prague remains restricted to forming legislation, and aspects of administration and management carried out through various departments of the Ministry of the Economy. As shown in Chapter 3, in the case of Edinburgh, planners are made aware of government policy through subject specific National Planning Policy Guidelines (NPPG’s), and are also informed of legislation and statutes through Circulars and are advised further through Planning Advice Notes (PAN’s). Although these central government tools, particularly NPPG’s have come under criticism for a variety of reasons (see the fuller discussion of this in Chapter 3) they do provide dissemination of legislation and a more strategic national outlook for planning authorities to refer to. These are lacking in Prague. The lack of comparable guidance and advice from central government in Prague, as well as the loss of the former strategic tier of planning which was carried out by the now abolished regional authorities (kraj), is likely to exacerbate the over-concern with detail which characterised the Czech system before 1989, but at the same time could be seen as offering the opportunity for the local level to gain real autonomy, should planning be carried out in an appropriate way which overcomes institutional shortfalls already described for this level of government.

These organisational issues also raise important questions about the nature of development plans. In Scotland, following reorganisation, as the currently adopted
structure plans and local plans become outdated, they will be replaced with plans covering the same two tiers despite single tier organisation. The responsibility for the preparation of structure plans in the future is currently less clear than that of local plans, with options including voluntary joint working between neighbouring authorities (also enforceable by the Scottish Office as covered by the legislation), or alternative options including central government preparing regional strategies. However, concerns have been raised as to the growing shift in power from local level to central government in Scotland in terms of planning intervention. This has also arisen as a result of the loss of the strategic tier of planning in the 1996 reorganisation, with the consequent issue of public accountability which it raises also being an important concern for planners in Scotland. In response to this, it is claimed by the Scottish Office that central policy and guidance is formed on the basis of local government consultation and therefore represents a consensus of local views (S.O.En.D., 1994).

The Prague authorities are only equipped to deal with planning at the local level, with no explicit strategic guidance. The new planning framework for Prague incorporates three layers of plan including the strategic plan, the master plan and zoning regulation plans, each accounting for ascending degrees of detail and localisation. The inclusion of a strategic plan which aims to provide a statement of key targets for the city, brings the physically oriented Master Plan in line with a more cross European model of development plan which takes into account the full range of issues such as social structure, economic characteristics etc. which affect planning in a less direct way. This model was decided on after extensive consultation on overseas planning systems, including the UK, which was undertaken by a partnership of practitioners and a large UK planning consultancy, sponsored by the British Council’s Know How Fund.

The strategic emphasis of planning in Prague has therefore, through this restructuring process, more recently begun to gain strength through the preparation and process of discussion leading to the final production of a city wide strategic plan. Despite the benefits which the provision of a strategic plan for the city would have in principle, the actual effectiveness of such a plan in coping with the current considerable demands on the system, is as yet still to be proven. Apart from the fundamental problems being faced by
planners on wider terms, such as a lack of public and political support and low prioritisation of public resources, the lack of a strategically oriented tier of planning authority, in addition to the significant level of fragmentation of local government, does not appear conducive for the implementation of such a plan in a coherent and effective way.

In the case of the UK, in light of the transition undergone by the planning process through the Thatcher years, some of the literature has taken up the issue of the changing nature of development plans in response to this transition. Hayton, for instance details the changing nature of local government planning, not least through increased partnership between central government and the private sector in regeneration projects during the course of the 1980’s and 1990’s:

“If, therefore, the statutory planning system of development plans and development control is to survive in anything like its present form, it may need to place far more emphasis upon implementation and developing creative partnerships with those who have the resources to implement” (Hayton, 1996, p.97).

In addition to structural features of development planning in each case, the legal status of development plans is a further important area of interest within a comparison of the two systems. The status of the UK development plan has been strengthened through legislation since the beginning of the 1990’s, although implementation of its policies and recommendations remain essentially discretionary in practice, particularly when compared to the more rigidly administered zoning plans of other European countries. Although approval / adoption has tended to be slow, this system is designed to cater as much for the needs of the plan user (predominantly developers) as the planning authorities themselves in that a certain degree of flexibility is maintained.

In contrast to this aspect of Scottish planning, the Czech model, in common with a number of other European countries, allocates detailed land use zones at the most local level of plan for a number of areas within the city in which stated development types must legally be abided to in the issuing of planning permits. Apart from the current plan for the
city of Prague being out of date due to its pre 1989 origins, and despite improvements to
the structure of plans in order to widen the role of the planner, the Czech framework
remains inefficient in dealing with the demands of a commercial property market,
primarily due to the lack of legislative framework in the Czech Republic which either
supports or advises on development plans accommodating this aspect.

This role of the planning system in mediating the different interests involved in strategic
planning goes beyond discussion of the development plan itself. Conceptualising the role
of planning in each case on a consistent basis further highlights key differences in the two
cities. In the UK since the end of the 1980's, local government has increasingly been seen
as playing an 'enabling' as opposed regulatory role, within the political culture fostered
through Thatcherism. Measures were introduced during the 1980's, such as relaxation of
planning controls in depressed areas with the aim of stimulating economic growth through
reducing controls in selected areas in combination with providing fiscal incentives. Figure
8.4 demonstrates this as a continuum between interventionist and non-interventionist
approaches to planning.

Figure 8.4
The continuum of the relationship between planning and the market - Edinburgh

![Continuum of Planning and Market](image-url)
As Figure 8.4 illustrates, prior to the 1980’s in Edinburgh, local authorities were considerably more active within the development process, particularly in terms of instigating development. They often relied on extensive land and / or property ownership, had direct powers of intervention, and were particularly supported in terms of their regulatory powers through conservation as part of the process.

During the course of the 1980’s this role changed. Controls were dismantled. Although this often occurred in economically or environmentally depressed areas as opposed to historic cities, the wider emphasis on deregulation in favour of the free market was a pervasive influence on the approach taken. The role of participants in the development process who either promoted or facilitated economic development particularly became increasingly important, with these bodies effectively overtaking local authorities as the main proponents of development by the end of the decade.

Following the 1980’s, there has been some restrengthening in the process, as illustrated in the shift back up the continuum towards intervention in Figure 8.4. In the UK, the ethos of the free market being left to operate outwith the confines of traditional planning restrictions, has changed somewhat since the end of the 1980’s, with the growth in interest in the issue of sustainability. However, the way in which these aims relate to each other, and effective management of their differing requirements through the planning system has not yet been fully addressed in terms of planning practice to date. Thornley states:

“Whereas throughout the period both development promotion and environmental protection are accepted as aims, in the 1980’s the emphasis was on opening up the planning process to a degree of market acceptance, whereas the agenda for the 1990’s has been on trying to graft onto the system a greater concern for sustainability. However, the guidance assumes that it is possible to combine both economic efficiency and environmental goals, and it side-steps the question of inherent conflict. There is also considerable ambiguty in the policies, leaving much still to be resolved through practice.” (Thornley, 1996, p.197)
The Old Town of Edinburgh could be seen as a microcosm of these changes which occurred at the national level. In particular, the approach to conservation has evolved to involve far more than just controlling and advising on development affecting listed buildings and conservation areas. Conservationists have begun to assert themselves on a different basis in order to respond to the changing relationships between planning and investors in the environment. More recently the Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust has acted as a key vehicle for co-ordination of the increasingly multiple nature of participants in the development process. Changes at the national level in Edinburgh therefore had clear effects at the local level. This, and the implications of the emphasis on economic development for tourism in the area, is discussed more fully later.

As shown in the second continuum (Figure 8.5) in Prague, a similar shift towards deregulation of planning controls which occurred over a considerable length of time in the UK, came about virtually overnight after 1989. Prior to the revolution, a fully interventionist process operated under conditions of close to full state ownership of land and property, stringent guidance of development through the five year economic plans, the lack of a speculative development market, and suppression of private property interests. At the local level in the case study area, conservation operated in a highly prioritised state led and technically based approach, whilst there was little tourism or impacts from it to contend with. Interaction between the three elements remained highly fragmented, due to the lack of any real need for co-ordination of interests under these conditions.

Figure 8.5 The continuum of the relationship between planning and the market - Prague

Source: Compiled by Author
The changes in 1989 brought about the deliberate popular and political shift away from the heavily controlled past through the dismantling of controls and facilitation of enterprise where possible, and a rejection of the concept of planning itself, which arose as a result of associations of the term with communism. A key question arising from this is therefore how quickly the Czech Republic and other former eastern bloc countries will return to supporting planning intervention, and what form such planning intervention might take. It is possible that aspirations towards EU membership may bring about a return to planning values, particularly owing to the notorious environmental degradation in northern Bohemia which will need extensive assistance to be overcome. In addition, the situation in Prague differs considerably from Edinburgh, in that the planners dealing with developers are only now learning the dynamics of a free property market, and in the light of considerably international interest, particular in the historic centre, the resulting position of planning has been weakened considerably.

"Whereas Town Planning in Western Europe has always had to deal to some extent with the private sector and market forces (Healey and Nabarro eds 1990), town planning in the East has been seen as just one cog in the mighty machine of state activity - the private, market sector is assumed to be working at an inconsequential level." (Hammersley, Maier and Westlake, 1993, p.1).

So where previously there was no real need for an integrated approach to planning, conservation and tourism in Prague, since 1989 so far any moves towards this have been superseded by the dominance of the market. Development control is in the front line of negotiation between planning and the market. The development control system in Edinburgh varies considerably from that of Prague, and is perhaps the feature of each process which most clearly encapsulates the variance in capacity of each system to deal with the market. Despite advocating freedom of the market in theory, led by a highly Thatcherite government, the Czech development control system remains more unwieldy than those of its west European counterparts. As shown in Chapter 4, applying for permission to place a building, together with building regulations, involves submission of a large number of detailed statements, maps and plans, which is then followed by an
excessively long period of consultation with statutory bodies, and a relatively short time for public consultation, prior to eventual decision making, after which on completion of the building, a further inspection and certificate of approval is required.

In the UK, developers often complain about lengthy planning procedures, although in comparison to the Prague system, the UK development control process appears almost negligent in its haste. The system still commits to approving applications within eight weeks, and if this is not achieved, the applicant is legally free to submit an appeal to the Secretary of State for Scotland. The process in Scotland benefits in terms of timescale from the option to apply for outline permission, where it is possible for authorities to approve developments in principle only, prior to later approval of reserved matters. This has proven particularly useful for large scale developments, saving a considerable amount of time and effort which would be required by both sides if a full application were required. Through simplifying the process, whilst maintaining a degree of control, the outline planning permission concept allows for more efficient running of the market as well as planning powers of control than the stringent system in operation in Prague.

Effective planning guidance of the property market in Prague is further weakened by the instability of the market itself in this time of transition. Perhaps most worrying, the bureaucratic controls which were considered appropriate during the communist era are being bypassed rather than replaced by a more efficient system. This default threatens the continuing quality of the historic built environment. Emerging public private partnerships are being afforded greater strength particularly as a result of public sector gains in land and property ownership through restitution. As a result such partnerships could be considered to be key area which, if developed effectively, could help Czech local government re-establish its role in shaping the built environment despite overall dismantling of controls.

Within the context of the changing role of planning within the development process, the Edinburgh case highlights the important role of agencies such as Lothian and Edinburgh Enterprise Limited (LEEL) and the Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust (EOTRT). Such changes are, however, unlikely to be unique to the Edinburgh context. In Prague the lack
of local government's institutional strength in strategic terms, and the inherent shortage of public sector finances within the region as a whole following the transition, mean that planning is likely to be operating in a situation where private sector finance and investment form the main catalysts for development, and consequently regeneration and maintenance of the historic built fabric. The role of the development plan and the development control system in both cases, as co-ordinators of this increasingly diverse range of actors in the urban development sphere, is therefore crucial if some degree of strategic direction is to be maintained. Transfer of practice between Edinburgh, where the development plan has become a more flexible, up to date and simplified element of the process, and Prague where plans were previously highly detailed and relatively immutable is therefore clearly of interest.

In terms of a further dimension of the multiplicity of participants in the development process, Chapter Four showed that public attitudes to planning in Prague and political responses to the transition have resulted in popular rejection of planning principles where they are equated with communist control through the all encompassing five year economic plan mechanism. As a result, some of the earliest reforms following the transition have dismantled controls, many of which have not been replaced with more market friendly mechanisms of control, leaving a policy vacuum. For example, enforcement powers and procedures illustrate differences which arise as a result of the different planning histories of the cities. Where the powers afforded to authorities in the UK remain an important part of the process (in fact gaining strength as related in Chapter 3) the Prague authorities have suffered a significant loss of powers in this field since the transition, not least in the case of enforcement of development in conserved areas and or affecting protected buildings. Once more this could be considered to be directly equated with public attitudes and subsequent political pressure in reaction against the strict and overwhelming controls of the communist past.

Public participation and the degree of government intervention is a further area which lies at the heart of a comparison of the local government framework of the two systems. Public participation was not part of the Czech system prior to 1989, whereas in Edinburgh there is a long history of not only public participation in planning, but also in
highly organised civic groups representing public opinion in an increasingly sophisticated manner. Indeed in Edinburgh’s Old Town the public were ahead of planners and politicians in calling for conservation in the 1970’s and early 1980’s. At the European level, “transparency” (Healey and Williams, 1993) of planning services is an important principle, not least within the requirements of the sustainability debate. This aspect of the Czech planning system is an area in need of rapid development in order to ensure a more democratic and relevant response. Both case studies illustrate a democratic basis for the running of local government, although actual accountability to, and empowerment of, the public varies considerably. Comparison with Prague depicts the UK system in a good light, though many studies underline the shortfalls in this area in the case of the UK as compared to other west European countries, not least in the limited nature of participants being reached by the process. Thomas for instance highlights this, stating that planning participation is often criticised as being effective in expressing the views only of the more vocal predominately male middle class (Thomas, 1996, p.187).

In line with this aspect of the important role of public perceptions of, and participation in planning, the changing attitudes to conservation over the years in each case study area go some way towards highlighting compared attitudes to the historic city at present. In Edinburgh, Chapter 3 described a steady and consistent growth in support for conservation to the point where it has been described as stifling new developments. Nevertheless the conservation movement in the city has received popular and political support and continues to form an important part of policy making, with an escape having been made from any plans put forward for comprehensive redevelopment for the centre, and new housing in the post war period of a modernist form taking place almost exclusively on the edges of the city. Civic groups have always played an important part in conservation within Edinburgh and the area-led approach (defined as “pragmatic approach” by Skea, 1993) has characterised the conservation process. Although the Old Town was neglected until relatively recently, conservation, at least in principle, has long been consistently supported publicly and in policy making.

In Prague, popular opinion was supplanted throughout the post war period up to the Velvet Revolution by political will, with conservation of a limited number of monuments
being prioritised by the communist government within the political doctrine which shaped all areas of development. As described more fully in Chapter 4, initial neglect of the historic centre of the city it terms of its conservation during the 1960's was overtaken by regard for the contribution of a well conserved built heritage to the overall image of the city which fostered the highly centralised approach to buildings, particularly those considered to be of value along the length of the royal route. As such, in comparison to Edinburgh, conservation of the built heritage which existed was not a key factor in determining policy, but the emphasis was instead on the end product of a built heritage worthy of admiration in itself. The overall approach to conservation in Prague differed from the Edinburgh case, not least in the more technically / architecturally based approach which was in keeping with communism's underpinning principles of scientism, as opposed to the issue being integrated within mainstream planning concerns.

The differences in historical emphases in conservation in the case studies have resulted in different systems for carrying out conservation. In the Czech Republic for instance, the communist past has left a legacy of conservation being directed by a central body and implemented at the local level by a distinct conservation agency for the city as a whole. This contrasts with the incorporation of conservation as a mainstream planning concern or function of the local level statutory planning authority in the case of Edinburgh. Wider planning trends (as discussed above) have also led to agencies becoming involved in channelling private funds into improving the historic built environment in Edinburgh (e.g. the work of the Old Town Renewal Trust) as an important ongoing part of the conservation process. Prague has not as yet responded to the changing relationship of planning and development with the market through implementing such changes to the old system of architecturally based conservation.

In the post revolutionary period, two extreme elements of cultural attitudes within Prague - entrepreneurship and national pride in the country's capital - are presently at odds and their interplay is likely to shape the future of the historic centre. At the same time, Edinburgh has undergone a considerable length of time within the influence of the UK "heritage debate" which in turn has influenced attitudes to the city since the early 1970's. Both cities currently have a strength in the exceptional quality of their historic fabric,
although Prague is clearly in need of considerably more investment to redress years of neglect, and has a lot to learn from the Edinburgh case about enabling investment as opposed to controlling change as the primary catalyst for conservation. Differences in conservation approaches will be considered within the results of the capacity analysis later in this chapter.

In terms of tourism, the case studies have a number of features in common. Both cities share historical significance at least in national terms, with its manifestation in the built fabric forming the main basis of their attraction. Equally, both cities, although to varying degrees, rely on their cultural activities to further stimulate their respective leisure and tourism markets. In the case of Edinburgh this is important not least in terms of the annual Edinburgh International Festival, whilst this is also the case in Prague through the slightly less renowned although still important Prague Spring music festival, as well as the city offering wide range of ongoing cultural activities in an organised manner as an important part of the marketing of the city to visitors. As a result, the cases could be considered to be competing directly for the same sector of the tourist market.

However, the concept of ‘sustainable tourism’ clearly involves a more developed approach than a purely promotional role for planners, despite the fact that this has often dominated approaches in the past. Figure 8.6 illustrates some of the interconnected elements of the concept, focusing on the negative effects which a lack of co-ordination between the various aspects can have.
Tourism is a long established function of the Old Town of Edinburgh, accounting for a significant share of the economic base of the city. By way of contrast, and as discussed in the previous chapters (particularly Chapter 7), Prague has only been subjected to full scale market driven tourism since 1989. Numbers of tourists visiting Prague in the mid 1990's are considerably higher than those of most other historic cities in Europe including Edinburgh, even when the overestimation produced by data discrepancies on the part of the Czech authorities is taken into account. Much of this surge in tourist interest has been attributed to the novelty factor of visiting a former communist country, as well as the accessibility of the country as a result of its central European location, and affordability due to the continuing favourable exchange rates for western visitors. Domestic tourism in Prague also continues to flourish due partly to the lack of affordability of visiting western countries for those within the central and east European region - another symptom of the lagged and locally specific nature of the transition.
Figure 8.7  Methods of intervention in the interaction of aspects of tourism in the historic city: Edinburgh

![Diagram showing methods of intervention in Edinburgh]

- Proactive approach in mediating impact of economic development in terms of design policy (e.g., shopfront info / policy);
- Policy making aims to safeguard residential amenity of area;
- Fostering of dialogue between investors, decision makers and community (BOTRT);
- LEC role in training and matching of economic and social resources through labour market / indigenous business support.

Figure 8.8  Methods of intervention in the interaction of aspects of tourism in the historic city: Prague

![Diagram showing methods of intervention in Prague]

- Entrepreneurial exploitation of culture;
- Economic gain has precedence over culture conservation still concerned but not enabled by system constraints;
- Planning recognises value but use of culture for economic gain viewed as equally important;
- Residents less priority than profit;
- Resident population little participation in economic / investment potential in area;
- No policy intervention to address this.

Source: Compiled by Author
Chapter 6 demonstrated that the management of tourism in Edinburgh has considerably greater planning related policy emphasis and resource backing than is presently the case in Prague. Through agencies including the Scottish Tourist Board and Scottish Enterprise (which maintains close links with the industry owing to its importance within the overall economy) Scotland as a tourist destination is relatively proactively marketed and managed. Activity is carried through to the local level by LECs and area tourist boards, whilst the planning process plays a significant role in drawing together the activities of all these agencies in preparing policy.

Each of the case studies demonstrated its own model of intervention in this interactive process, which in turn can be broadly summarised graphically. Figure 8.7 illustrates the basic forms of intervention which have been highlighted in the case of Edinburgh. Planning has often been able to intervene in a variety of ways, although these are often conservation led and focus on detailed decision making at the local level (i.e. in cultural-economic and cultural-environmental mediation). Regeneration projects have also gone some way towards linking social and environmental concerns, although it is fair to say that such projects have more recently been overtaken by the dominance of the economic/environmental dimension. This reflects the wider changes defined above in terms of the relationship between planning and the market, with the emphasis on enabling economic development.

In terms of shortfalls of the Scottish system in providing a framework for planning for tourism, there are no up to date strategic or nationally approved specifically planning orientated policy guidelines or advice notes on which policy can be based. It could be said as a result that the planning policy making response to the impact and management of tourism is carried out in a relatively ad hoc manner, with responses varying according to the characteristics of the areas concerned. Strategic policy is principally carried out through the Scottish Tourist Board itself, and this has generally been an effective tool in managing resources at least in terms of supporting the cause in principle. More recently, ventures set up in response to a growing awareness of the environmental implications of tourist activity have indicated a greater commitment to carrying through principles to
everyday practice. However, as highlighted in Chapter 3, to date such activity has focused on natural and rural resources, as opposed to having any real implications for the historic urban environment.

By way of contrast, as shown in Figure 8.8, the case study of Prague illustrated little in the way of tourist policy making or management which was appropriate to address the implications of mass tourism. Since the transition, within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Economy, the Czech Tourist Centre has been established with the role of the strategic promotion of the Czech Republic abroad as a tourist destination, although it is too soon to assess its achievements. Such an agency could be seen, however, as only playing a minor role in shaping tourist activity within the capital, with entrepreneurial activity being the primary influence in manipulating tourists and visitors. There was found to be no strategy for the level of the city of Prague itself, aside from the inclusion of the topic within workshops leading to the formulation of the strategic plan (Turba, 1996). Given the high volume of tourists, this has resulted in the unchecked and ad hoc growth of tourism, which at times surpassed the physical capacity of the centre of Prague. At the same time areas on the edges of the city and throughout the rest of the country, saw little or no knock on effect of visitors using Prague as a gateway to visiting places further afield within the Czech Republic, although a limited number of more well known destinations (such as the World Heritage Sites of Telč and Český Krumlov) are now gaining momentum through the effectiveness of locally as opposed to strategically originating promotion and marketing.

In summary therefore, the case studies represent two different contexts within which the capacity analysis framework has been applied. As a result, a number of general differences and similarities could be anticipated. The more organised nature of planning in the Edinburgh case compared to the currently transitional nature of the Prague system is highlighted by this comparison. Deregulation is a common contextual theme, although this is a considerably more radical factor in Prague than past trends have been in Edinburgh (where they are also now reversing to a certain extent). In a sense the close nature of these features underline the value of Sharpe’s law of ‘maximum similarity’ (1975) in comparison between two, as the shared nature of the issues and problems being
faced by the systems in each case study allows for greater focus on contextual and institutional differences. This will be discussed more fully in the concluding chapter.

Changing institutional contexts in each case study raise further common problems including loss of the strategic tier which is confirmed as a common feature of moves towards deregulation. Cultural differences relating to the respective systems are also an important factor - not least in the fundamental difference between active civic groups in Edinburgh and rejection of the system in Prague, which was confirmed in some of the findings of the resident questionnaire. This, combined with lack of experience in, and tools for, dealing with the market and its development activity, means that it could be anticipated from the contexts of the case studies that a higher level of uncontrolled activity relating to tourism would be found. However, both case studies exist within a wider European context where the value of the city in competition is important, and within this the significance of historic built fabric is an important component. In addition the wider cultural significance of the historic city, not least due to the national significance of both cities as capitals of “dispossessed nations” (Ascherson, 1990), means that conservation is likely to remain a high priority in both. Differences at the implementation stage may be overridden therefore by the wider context - the extent to which results are similar may therefore relate to these themes.

Figure 8.9 synthesises the interactive process in each city in terms of pre and post their respective ‘transitions’ as defined above.
Figure 8.9  Synthesis of relationships between planning, conservation and tourism

Prague - pre 1989

Prague post 1989

Edinburgh - pre 1980's

Edinburgh post 1980's

Source: Compiled by Author
The first Edinburgh model shows tourism as a separate function from planning and conservation. At the same time there was linkage between planning and conservation, although full integration of their aims was not really achieved. In the second model for Edinburgh, this relationship evolved, to show tourism more closely related, although still not attaining full linkage with either conservation or tourism. Planning and conservation remain linked, with both also taking a more active role in integrating tourism. The secondary planning element representing the work at the local level of the EOTRT is introduced as a separate element which contributes towards greater linkage of all three aspects (represented as “P2” in the diagram).

The model for Prague illustrates similar changes. Prior to 1989 (economic based) planning was an important and active process, which basically operated on a completely separate trajectory to tourism and conservation. Tourism and conservation both played a minor role, maintaining their own distinct trajectories which neither linked between them, nor with planning. Following 1989, tourism has assumed as far more important role, although the dominance of market concerns has meant that it has missed linking fully with conservation or tourism. Conservation is a more compatible element in terms of its relationship with planning and tourism, although the system does not yet have the capacity to attain proper proactive co-ordination. Planning has begun to look to both conservation and tourism, but has not yet fully linked with the concerns due to the incomplete nature of the reforming system, the lack of experience in dealing effectively with the market, and the dominance of dealing with the problems left by the communist regime as a priority.

Both of these models are meant as tools for discussion. At the risk of over generalisation, they highlight key trends in each city. The implications of these contrasting planning frameworks in defining tourist capacity of each city have been quantified through the capacity analysis which was carried out in each case study area. The following section compares the results of this exercise, and thus connects outcomes to policy approaches. It identifies where capacity findings have resulted (a) from features of the planning / tourism / conservation process in each case and (b) from external factors outwith this interrelated process.
8.3 Comparison of context related results and primary findings of the perception studies

The spatial distribution of the key tourist attractions within each case study indicates a number of similarities which might be expected of any historic European city which evolved around the basis of a castle and fortifications on the top of a hill. As tourism venues, both cities benefit considerably from the dramatic emphasis brought about by their topographical features. The castle in both case studies is the focal point of tourist activity, with each being surrounded by more minor historic buildings, many of which also have architectural value and associations with specific architects, schools of design and / or people and events from the past. Given the status of both cities as national capitals, the heritage is further supplemented by the cultural value of areas which include national political and administrative buildings and historic universities. The central axis of both cities in terms of tourist attractions is made up of a route which links the castle to further buildings of royal connection - Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh and the former Municipal House at the Powder Tower in Prague. This leads to each city having a route from which tourist activity branches out, but which forms the crux of such activity. The historic legacy of the area is not only an important part of the attraction of the area for tourists, but is an integral part of the identity of the area as a place of residence.

Figure 8.10 Compared responses as to intended future residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Edinburgh Residents %</th>
<th>Prague Residents %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, definitely</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>52.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably not</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely not</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know / no response</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Edinburgh Resident Survey, November 1995
Prague Resident Survey, August 1995
As Figure 8.10 shows, relatively similar responses were provided by the resident samples when questioned about perceived future residence in the area. A greater proportion of Edinburgh residents felt they would either probably or definitely not be living in the area in ten years time, perhaps reflecting the established pattern of high levels of mobility in the Old Town of Edinburgh which characterises the city’s market based housing system, in comparison to the traditionally settled nature of residency of the historic centre of Prague. The continuing lack of mobility of the population of Prague’s historic core, provides evidence of how a comparable housing market has yet to establish itself in the historic core, which in turn underlines the uneven and halting nature of the region’s transition to a market economy.

When these figures are cross tabulated against the length of residence the area, a clear picture emerges in both case study areas of the greater the established length of residence, the more likely it is that future residence is expected to be maintained. For instance, whilst five sixths of Prague historic centre residents of 0-3 years felt they would still be in the area in ten years time, close to two thirds of the same group in Edinburgh felt they would not be. Similar responses from those who had been in the area for ten years or more were however identified in the larger proportion of those in Prague stating that they would be living in the area in the future, whilst this was even more pronounced in the case of Edinburgh where 24 of the 29 respondents in that group felt they would be there in the future. In summary, both areas have two clearly identifiable groups of residents, those who are highly mobile, have been to date and are likely to continue to do so in the immediate future, and those who have a history of long residence in the area which is intended continue. These groups were however more distinctive in the case of Edinburgh where more extreme responses were noted than in Prague.

The results highlight another aspect of the nature of perceptions within urban capacity analysis. The nature of the responses, and differences between the groups, point towards the distinct agendas of the area’s users. Within the resident sample, variance is likely to have occurred between perceived future residence due to other social characteristics of the respondents. For instance, elderly residents in Prague are less likely to feel that they would be moving from the area, as a result of their relatively weak position within the
new private housing market, as opposed to being the result of an affinity with the area due to its historicism, or a positive outlook on the impact of tourism.

In terms of the primary visitor perceptions, the perceived likelihood of future visits to the area by the sample in each case study area was assessed. Figure 8.11 compares the results which illustrate similarly positive results were found from both groups in answer to this question, with the largest proportion of both (close to half) saying that they probably would be returning, and a further proportion of just under one third saying that they definitely would be. Whilst residents’ intention in terms of future residence on the area may be influenced more by their attitude and position within the housing market (as highlighted earlier), the likelihood of visitors returning to the area is more likely to stem from the ability of planning and conservation to manage wider influences in an effective way, thus ensuring the continuing attraction of the area.

Figure 8.11 Perceived Likelihood of Future Visit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Edinburgh Visitors %</th>
<th>Prague Visitors %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definitely</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>50.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably not</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know / no response</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Edinburgh Visitor Questionnaire, July 1995
Prague Visitor Questionnaire, August 1995

In contrast to the similarities in the results from this question, however question 22 of the visitor questionnaire conducted in each city assessed overall perceptions of the degree to which tourism and everyday life in the respective areas had attained a balance. This question, perhaps above most, represents the central issue of perceived capacity. Figure 8.12 illustrates compared responses:

Figure 8.12 Perceived Degree to which Tourism Dominates the Case Study Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Edinburgh Visitors %</th>
<th>Prague Visitors %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourism Dominates</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>81.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Balance</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyday Life Dominates</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Edinburgh Visitor Questionnaire, July 1995
Prague Visitor Questionnaire, August 1995
As clearly illustrated by the above figures, in terms of perceptions of visitors at least, Edinburgh had attained a better balance, though there is little room for complacency. However, in the case of Prague, very few felt that "a good balance" had been attained. In terms of the bearing of the perceived balance between tourism and everyday life on the propensity to return to the case study areas, no real correlation was identified following further cross tabulation of the two groups of respondents. Despite policy makers' awareness of this facet of the historic city as a tourist destination therefore, it can be concluded that neither sample of visitors was sufficiently concerned with the issue of touristification to be deterred from intending to return to the city in the future.

This would suggest that touristification is not an issue in terms of choices being made by tourists. However, tourist choices are likely to be more complex than such conclusions from the results might account for. For instance, the likelihood of returning is also influenced by the degree of satisfaction of visitors in terms of the expectations of destination being met by the reality of the experience. People currently visiting Prague are likely at least in part to be there due to the previously relatively high degree of unavailability of the city for international tourists. Balance between tourism and everyday life is important part of the attraction of a historic city in terms of a more fulfilling visit of a different nature to this 'curiosity driven' popularity which Prague is still currently enjoying. This aspect is therefore a more subtle aspect of the longer term capacity of the city to accommodate and generate tourism, and in turn is vital in ensuring its enduring success as a European destination within an increasingly competitive market.

### 8.4 Comparison of more detailed aspects of the capacity analysis

Having established contextual similarities and differences and the wider results of the perception studies, the following section seeks to compare not only more detailed aspects of the perception and technical studies, but also to establish the role which planning has played in defining those results. The discussion of detailed aspects of planning policy for each issue is a more systematic approach to this aspect of the process than that which was taken in the Chester study. Given the comparative nature of the study, however, it is
necessary to allow for conclusions to be drawn in the comparative sense which take into account the context of each case study. Comparisons of the results of the capacity analysis in each case study highlighted further some of the contextual features of the respective processes as defined above. Figure 8.13 summarises key policy responses which relate to each of the issues included within the analysis.

Figure 8.13 Compared policy measures relating to each issue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Edinburgh policy summary</th>
<th>Prague policy summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Townscape</td>
<td>strong controls and a proactive approach to urban design in the Old Town with extensive provision of advice and guidelines</td>
<td>awareness of issues on the part of conservationists although no proactive guidelines etc. provided and wider difficulty with structure of development control system further limiting effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>concerns about environmental impact of traffic as well as need to address high levels of congestion becoming increasingly important; traffic management scheme in Old Town / Royal Mile recently undertaken - not entirely effective with congestion persisting;</td>
<td>strong disincentives for private vehicles with good public transport linkage of the area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedestrian comfort</td>
<td>pedestrians and cyclists gaining priority in the city centre over traffic; policy not comprehensive, with few areas completely pedestrianised</td>
<td>high levels of pedestrianisation in the historic centre, although often linked by problematic areas e.g. poor crossings / bottlenecks (Krizovnicke Namesti)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acute spatial concentration of activity</td>
<td>policy has focused on decentralisation of city centre functions in last decade, although awareness of need to maintain the vitality of the city centre remains, although not necessarily focusing on the Old Town (see retail)</td>
<td>decentralisation of land use increasingly emerging predominantly due to market demand uncontrolled by planning as opposed to conscious planning decisions; restitution creates special complexities in the existing built up areas, and itself is likely to steer developers to less complicated greenfield land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail diversity</td>
<td>awareness by planners of problem of domination of tourist shops (referred to in development plan), although studies have shown insufficient spending power of local population to support much non leisure shopping; no specific policy proactively addressing the issue</td>
<td>no policy specifically addressing retail diversity in the centre; entrepreneurial activity encouraged and not effectively guided by planning system at present;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-use of historic buildings</td>
<td>actively encouraged through policies as a much preferred alternative to demolition / neglect; also reinforced through instruments of statutory protection</td>
<td>although encouraged and enforced through statutory protection, building stock historically neglected under communism and requiring more proactive promotion to redress balance of neglect; again restitution and rent controls (as detailed more fully previously) are important factors which are complicating the process</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following section of this chapter takes the comparison of the initial findings a step further in order to provide a further insight into the compared impact of tourism on the historic cores of the case studies. In short, this part of the comparison seeks to define...
similarities and differences arising within the findings, and explain why these have arisen. In taking account of the need to identify and address non planning influences within cross national research, the comparison of the findings therefore defines whether results vary as a result of process related issues or non process related issues. Figure 8.14 illustrates the way these elements relate to the rest of the urban capacity analysis methodology undertaken, and the comparative conclusions. Process related issues include those which are directly linked to the respective planning, conservation or tourism management contexts of the case studies. Non-process related elements are those which relate to the specific context of the case study which is influenced by a number of factors including social, cultural, political, economic, physical or economic factors. It should be noted at the outset, however, that this is a relatively arbitrary framework, in the sense that a result can have arisen as a combination of both process and non process features. Despite this, however, the aim is to identify dominant (as opposed to exclusive) reasons as to why similarities and differences in the results of the two case studies may have arisen.
Figure 8.14 Comparative evaluation of urban capacity analysis
8.4.1 Process Related Features

The case study findings can be accounted for at least in part by the interrelated processes of planning, conservation and tourism. The relationship between planning and the market, and the ability of the system to respond to the impact of development pressure, are important features of a comparison between the two cities as outlined at the outset of this chapter. This is supported by the comparison of the capacity analysis of the impact of tourist activity on the aesthetic quality of the built environment. The townscape studies and related perceptions pointed to a clear instance of the different impact of diverse planning approaches to an issue shared by a tourist-historic city.

Despite the relatively subjective nature of the townscape studies in their role as a technical exercise, quite a conclusive picture emerged which highlighted this issue posing a greater problem in Prague than was the case in Edinburgh. Shopfronts and advertisements, particularly of tourist related shops and services, were on the whole detracting from the quality of the built environment more in Prague than in Edinburgh, in terms of both their frequency and more descriptive detail within the townscape studies of their location and impact on the historic fabric. The findings of the technical study were also supported by the perception studies relating to the issue. In the case of Prague, residents clearly felt that this was a greater problem than their contemporaries felt about the Old Town of Edinburgh. Both visitor groups were less critical of this aspect as compared to their resident counterparts, although in turn the Prague visitor perceptions were more negative the Edinburgh visitor views.

Figure 8.15 “Do advertisements and shopfronts spoil the character of the Old Town?”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Edinburgh Residents %</th>
<th>Edinburgh Visitors %</th>
<th>Prague Residents %</th>
<th>Prague Visitors %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree strongly</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree strongly</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know / no response</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:
Edinburgh Visitor Questionnaire, July 1995, Prague Visitor Questionnaire, August 1995
These findings correspond with the policy making in each city for this issue as identified within the capacity analysis. In Edinburgh, a relatively proactive stance has been taken which aims not only to control advertisements and shopfronts in the Old Town, but furthermore actively encourages sensitive approaches to design and townscape through proactive assistance and advice to applicants. In comparison, advertisement controls in Prague have been largely remiss since 1989 through the course of a period which saw an unprecedented surge in advertising in the city. In the latter case however, the need for controls of this type has more recently been recognised and as a consequence the principle has been included as a future aim within the development control process (Interview with Josef Stulc, May 1994), but have not as yet been effectively implemented. In light of the presently high levels of development activity in the historic core, and given the inappropriate nature of the development control process, many developments, changes of use and conversions have proceeded unchecked. Developments which are bypassing the system are generally of a small scale but their cumulative impact is significant. In short therefore, the contrast in policy between the case studies (i.e. relatively well established and robust in market terms in Edinburgh and lacking in coherence and unresponsive to market activity in Prague) would appear to be reflected in the results of the capacity analysis.

Taking the interaction between planning and the market a step further, the reuse of historic buildings illustrates the important role which the multi agency approach has played in responding to development trends in Edinburgh, a feature which Prague has yet to develop. The Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust has played an important role in the active promotion of development opportunities in the area through its annual action report. Derelict sites are highlighted, together with recommended uses, in an effort to link the role of the developer with the requirements of the more formal regulative role of the planning process. Furthermore, the Trust as well as bodies such as the Cockburn Association have been able to administer grant aid, with latter having a financially autonomous Trust fund which is used in conservation projects. Housing Associations have also played an important regeneration role within the area, illustrating the shift away
from local authorities as key urban regenerators. At the same time, such an approach has ensured that there is no over reliance on the private sector to instigate conservation projects in the area, thus contributing to a lack of dominance of tourism a function of historic buildings in the area.

In Prague refurbishments and development activity in the area are dominated by the private sector, with a large share often directly linked to tourist use. This is despite high levels of demand for all types of commercial land use as a result of the lack of a market during communist times. Although tourist dominance of land use through redevelopment is not yet at capacity in the historic centre of Prague, a worrying trend has clearly emerged which again has resulted from the lack of an appropriate means of managing the market in a climate of deregulation as well as the overly bureaucratic development control system. The results show the impact of different policy responses by the respective processes.

Another process related feature which has determined the compared findings of the capacity analysis is the strategic approach to planning within the case studies. The issue of pedestrian congestion and in particular the findings in Prague illustrate the way in which the lack of a strategic overview of planning in the city has exacerbated the impact of tourism in pedestrian capacity terms. In the case of the perception studies, fewer Prague residents felt that pedestrian comfort was acceptable in the area as compared to residents in Edinburgh (as well as both visitor groups). Within the comparison of the visitor groups, again a more negative viewpoint in the case of Prague was identified.

Congestion in the Old Town of Edinburgh was identified at peak times of activity, whilst recent improvement works on the Royal Mile as well as the more general policy emphasis within the Central Area Local Plan in favour of pedestrian users, have gone some way towards remediying problems arising mainly due to temporal and spatial concentrations. In Prague, considerable areas of pedestrianised streets and the relatively copious physical capacity of a number of squares and open areas in the historic centre went some way towards limiting the negative impact of tourism on pedestrian comfort. Nevertheless the city had considerable problems of congestion at areas joining the relatively pedestrian
friendly areas. This partly resulted from the medieval street pattern, and problems were to a certain extent shared in the case of Edinburgh. Indeed, the constraints of this physical characteristic is shared by many other historic cities (CEC, 1990).

In Prague what might have been more successful policy making in the respect of provision of pedestrianised areas has not been co-ordinated - resulting in the more negative perceptions and technical studies. In short, this issue illustrates the need for a stronger policy lead and strategic overview in decision making for the area. On a more positive note, all of the perception studies noted ambience and open spaces as an important positive aspect of the environmental capital of the area. Street patterns and the sheer volume of visitors were the main causes of congestion where it occurred in Edinburgh. The struggle for primacy between traffic and pedestrians, not radically addressed by policy to date, continues and has the potential to put pressure on capacity levels in the future. Whilst policy has played an important part in the conclusion that the Prague case was nearer capacity in terms of pedestrian activity, it should also be noted that common features of the historic city influencing the analysis again emerged. This included the attraction of open spaces for visitors and intricate nature of the historic street pattern.

The acute concentration of activity also illustrates the importance of the strategic / co-ordination role of the planning process. This was identified as a more negative feature of Prague as compared to Edinburgh (capacity levels C/D-E and A/A-B respectively), and again this could be explained by the contrasting policy relating to this issue in the case studies. Both cities had a low number of bedspaces within the case study areas as compared to the likely high proportion of tourists using the area. Both of the resident samples were considerably more aware of noise in the area than the visitor samples appeared to be, although a significantly higher number of residents in Prague felt that noise levels had reached the level of being intrusive. Some of the negativity emerging within the perceptions is likely to be attributable to the social interface between tourists and residents.
Despite this, significant differences were identified within the more objective technical studies which cannot be wholly attributed to differences in the overall scale of the tourist industry in each case. The acute concentration of activity arising within the centre of Prague was considerably more problematic than in the Edinburgh case (capacity level C/D-E in Prague as compared to A/ A-B). The contrast between the findings is likely to illustrate the higher level of expectation amongst the Edinburgh residents (which existed grown over a longer period of time) that such levels of tourism will be occurring in their area, as compared to the recent nature of mass tourism in Prague. However, of particular interest in the context of this study, the contrasts and similarities of the findings could be seen to also highlight the impact of lack of strategic planning to mediate its impact in terms of dispersing areas of acute concentration.

8.4.2 Non Process Related Features

Some important differences between the cities apart from their planning systems have influenced the outcome of a comparison of the results of the capacity analysis. An example of the consistent nature of some of the issues affecting historic cities in Europe within which tourism plays an important part was found in the retail survey work and related perception studies. Figures 8.16 and 8.17 illustrate compared coded findings of the retail survey in each area. The IRS classification produced broadly similar results in terms of the undersupply of household and essential shopping in both areas, in favour of the majority of units providing personal shopping or services. This a result of the broad nature of the IRS coding system for the purposes of a study focusing specifically on the more narrow definition of the tourism on retail provision. The second classification system, however provides a further insight. The Prague retail survey highlighted a considerably greater proportion of outlets which were predominantly and/or fully tourist orientated.

As illustrated in the mapping of retail location characteristics in the respective capacity analysis chapters, both cities have a high level of clustering in spatial terms of tourist related outlets around visitor attractions, with both cities having a number of streets close to the key areas of interest almost exclusively catering for tourist needs. Location of
tourist related outlets was slightly more centralised in Edinburgh than in Prague. In the perception studies, the Prague resident sample was most critical of over provision of tourist shops. However, the Edinburgh resident sample was also more negative than either visitor sample. Very few of any group felt that there were too few shops of this type in the respective case study areas. This led to quite similar results in the outcoming capacity levels with C-D/D in Edinburgh and C/D in Prague).

The relatively consistent perceptions and findings of the technical studies illustrate the degree to which this is an issue shared by cities across Europe and which is not necessarily directly influenced by the local planning system or by the nature of the local market. For example, in comparing the wider retail characteristics of Prague and Edinburgh very different levels of demand, supply, investment and regulation emerge. Despite other contextual differences, not least the lack of an established market in Prague until relatively recently, the retail characteristics of the case studies (i.e. dominance of specialist shopping, small outlets etc.) are remarkably similar. The high degree of tourist related outlets demonstrates the significant relationship between tourism and leisure shopping, as opposed to more local planning policy responses. A further similarity which outweighs slight discrepancies between levels of provision of each of the shopping categories is the consistency between the perceptions of the user groups. This is likely, at least in part, to have arisen due to the vested interests of the groups as opposed to more objective perceptions of the issues.

Figure 8.16 Compared IRS Classification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Edinburgh %</th>
<th>Prague %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Empty unit</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household shopping</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essential shopping</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convenience shopping</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Shopping / Services</td>
<td>73.9</td>
<td>72.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Research by Author, 1995
In addition to this example of wider influences on the historic city overriding local planning responses, the different histories of planning in each city have led to different impacts of tourism on the respective transportation systems, which is at odds with what may have been expected in light of policy making relating to the issue in each case. Comparison of the perception studies is relatively inconclusive in that whilst Prague residents were more critical than those in Edinburgh, Edinburgh’s visitors were considerably less satisfied with traffic in the case study. It should be noted, however, that a significant number of all groups did perceive there to be a problem with traffic levels being too high, and that this issue had one of the most consistently negative response from all of the groups.

In questioning each sample as to whether they felt that there was sufficient car parking available in the area, residents appeared to be altogether more satisfied with levels of provision. 68.7% and 88.7% of the Edinburgh and Prague samples respectively replied that they felt levels were acceptable or very acceptable. The least satisfied group with this aspect of transportation was the Prague visitor respondents, the majority of whom felt that there were insufficient spaces available. The transportation context, as identified by the technical study, clearly forms an important part of the effectiveness of each case study area in accommodating tourist related traffic. The case study areas each have distinctive networks. In Edinburgh, despite previous proposals for central ring roads etc., and the relatively long running importance of the car within the city given its west, as opposed to east, European status, the centre has remained relatively uninfluenced by traffic in terms of its built form. As a consequence, traffic flows through the predominantly medieval

---

**Figure 8.17 Compared observed user classification**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Edinburgh %</th>
<th>Prague %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Empty unit</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist user</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist-resident user</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident-tourist user</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident user</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Research by Author, 1995
street layout can often be congested. More recently, however, following growing recognition of the sustainability agenda, moves have been made in support of pedestrian priority and public transport into and within the city centre, through measures outlined in Chapter 6 (Section 6.6)

In Prague, the importance of the historic centre in terms of its employment share within the city as a whole throughout and since the communist era, has acted as a catalyst for the metro system being built in the early 1970's and for its continued importance and efficiency. The system remains accessible to residents as well as visitors, and there are a number of metro stations within and on the edges of the historic core. The efficiency and lack of physical impact of this mode of public transport contrasts with the dominance of buses in Edinburgh, although the different scales of the case study areas should be taken into account due to its influence on what choices are available to planners and transport planners. Despite buses in Edinburgh being afforded higher priority within the network as a whole through policy making in the past few years, when compared to Prague the system is both less efficient and more detrimental to the quality of the environment, as highlighted within the capacity analysis. Whilst policy making has specifically addressed the issue in Edinburgh, its impact does not equal the positive influence of the historically determined dominant mode of transport and infrastructure provision in the case of Prague. As the Prague planning system has not yet addressed growing car ownership through policy making, this situation is however, likely to change. Despite this, within the scope of this evaluation, the issue of transportation represents the importance of planning history in determining the assessment of current capacity and in mediating the impact of more recent policy making.

The importance of cultural differences between the case studies was continually underlined through the comparison of the perception studies, not least in that the Prague residents were repeatedly more negative in their responses than their Edinburgh counterparts. This may also be attributable to the differences in actual numbers of visitors. The nature of the tourist industry was therefore an important factor determining the outcome of the capacity analysis. A further relatively consistent finding related to differences in public attitudes to the planning system. Prague residents often perceived
there to be a problem, but this was not followed by support for increased intervention on the part of the system, due to popular cultural rejection of it because of associations with the controls of the former regime. In contrast, Edinburgh residents were often stressing the need for planning controls where a problem was perceived (for example comments on traffic and car parking). These socio cultural differences between the two resident samples are also supported in the lack of similar discrepancies between the visitor groups who originated from a mixed national background. In short the data proves that perceived levels of capacity did not necessarily follow objectively assessed capacity levels, but were influenced (at least in the case of the residents) by wider socio-cultural values.

8.5 Compared Scenarios and Conclusions on Capacity

In summarising the conclusions which were reached on capacity, the position of each city in terms of development opportunities, as compared to the impact of tourism already made, has been examined. As a result, each of the options for change, as diagrammatically summarised at the end of the respective chapters, characterised where the case studies vary or are similar in terms of more holistically evaluated capacity levels.

The first option of Minimal Change indicated a relatively similar future for each city, with the main difference being in the sharper peak and a period of decline followed by recovery in Prague as compared to Edinburgh. The similarity of the overall pattern in this case, however, belies the reasoning behind each scenario. The rise in the short term in the case of Edinburgh was as a result of implementation of extensive tourism related proposals which have occurred as a result of the proactive response of planners, developers and entrepreneurs to tourism. The anticipated decline in Edinburgh under this option was due to the likelihood of a relatively early loss of competitiveness due to the highly competitive nature of the industry. In the case of Prague, growth was expected to continue, although decline would occur at a certain point in a dramatic way owing to capacity being breached. A recovery from the decline was anticipated as being more likely for Prague than Edinburgh under this option for change because of the relatively new nature of the attractions and hitherto unexploited nature of the city in terms of tourist use.
The second option of **Trend Change** produced a less similar pattern for the two case study areas. In Edinburgh it was anticipated that there was sufficient capacity to continue patterns of growth in the Old Town for some time yet, although there would be a point in the foreseeable future where capacity would be breached if trends of growth were to continue, and it is likely that decline would follow. The Prague equivalent option brought about a sharper initial growth based on trends to date, with early decline due to capacity being breached dramatically, and with little chance of recovery from this if the trends were to continue. Again this option illustrates possible consequences of Prague being closer to its capacity than Edinburgh.

The third option represents the scenario of **Major Change** in each case study area. Within this context, it was anticipated that both case study areas would reach capacity, although this was suggested as being likely to happen earlier in Prague than in Edinburgh, given current capacity assessments and the magnitude of visitor numbers which this would generate. It was considered unlikely that either case would recover from the growth which such a scenario would generate and the likely impact that this increase would have on the quality of the historic city as a tourist destination.

A relatively optimistic view of the future was suggested for both case studies under the option of **Selective Change**. In Edinburgh where such policies are already being put forward and implemented quite effectively, growth would be likely to level off at an early stage to eventually sustain a steady but limited continuing increase in the future, whilst in Prague, selective targeting of tourist groups and redressing seasonal imbalances would be likely to bring about a more sustained and steady growth, given previous neglect of a strategic overview of this type.

The greatest variation in options for change was found in the likely outcome aiming for the **Managed Reduction** of tourism. The impetus which Prague already has in terms of tourist growth should be able to withstand reductionist measures, as well as benefit from them, so that growth, at a modest but steady rate would continue well into the future under this scenario. In the case of Edinburgh, the relatively stale nature of tourism in the city, and the acknowledged need for active promotion of tourism in order to sustain
growth in the future, indicate a likely decline in the future should a reductionist stance be taken.

In summarising the comparison of options for change as put forward for each city, therefore, it is clear that both current capacity levels as well as current policy, make each case study unique, and the future would be likely to vary accordingly. This level of the assessment, taking the straightforward comparison of results a step further, emphasises the need to take into account the full range of features of an area in assessing capacity levels and future options as a result. For example, when carrying out the analysis, the importance of developing a good understanding of the scale, nature and trends within the local tourist market in each case is illustrated in the scenario writing. In short, the comparison of the results illustrates the importance of scenario writing in allowing the capacity analysis to become something more than a narrowly defined planning exercise. The results were influenced by the planning contexts of the city, but at the same time, a wider variety of further influences, including the tourist market characteristics, socio-cultural features of the resident population, past planning and development activities etc. were identified as potentially fundamentally altering the outcomes of the analysis as accounted for through the use of discussing options for change.

8.6 Conclusions

This chapter has compared key aspects of the findings of the capacity analysis carried out in each city. Having set the different contexts in an explicitly comparative form, the further discussion of the capacity analysis showed that similarities and differences in the findings had arisen as a result of the way in which planning operates in the respective cities, and owing to a range of wider influences present in each case. The following Chapter forms conclusions resulting from this comparison in terms of their methodological implications for carrying out research of this type. In addition to this, the meanings of the results for policy making in the cities will be discussed, as well as linking the findings to the more fundamental ongoing debate about the nature of the historic city in Europe.
Chapter 9
9.1 Introduction

The thesis originally set out to investigate whether tourism was likely to be a sustainable function for the contemporary European historic city in the context of the new Europe. The process of engaging in research had the effect of both broadening and deepening the central concerns, so that the findings now relate to the three main themes. The first is the fundamental proposition of the research that historic cities were an important element in the European urban system, and that in turn part of this role was their attraction (either actual or potential) as venues for tourism. Secondly, a further proposition was that such tourism could provide investment to conserve the historic urban fabric, but at the same time it also brings threats to its continuing success (e.g. excessive numbers of visitors, degradation of the townscape, homogenisation of socio-cultural identities and displacement of existing residents and businesses). Thirdly, the research was based on the outset on the presupposition that lessons could be learned (and responses formulated) by viewing these issues in a consciously European context, not least in relation to possible moves to harmonise European planning systems and to advance the European Union's level of involvement in urban affairs and conservation of the built heritage.

The decision to explore these concepts through basing the study on a comparison of Edinburgh and Prague has led to some anticipated and some unanticipated consequences. In terms of those which were anticipated, the comparison has highlighted the increasing significance of tourism in European historic cities and in particular the dramatic upsurge in Prague after 1989, pointing to a convergence between the formerly separate experiences of "tourist-historic" cities in East and West Europe. That increasing significance has been evident within the findings in several respects including increasing numbers of visitors, tourist related developments, and the restructuring of agencies and policies for tourist development.

The research underlined the Europeanisation of the issue of tourism in the historic city, with Prague opening to the west, whilst Edinburgh consciously positioned itself within the European tourist market. There has been some European Union interest in the issues, through a faltering progression towards embracing urban policy or seeking harmonisation. However, the need for
more comprehensive and cohesive approach at this level than has been adopted to date has been confirmed by the comparison, with the scope for convergence whilst ensuring heterogeneity of places being an aspect for further consideration.

In addition, there were several unanticipated outcomes from the research. Through focusing on capitals of what had been (in different ways) ‘stateless nations’ the cultural dimension, symbolism, and meanings of the historic cities came to the fore. Thus the evaluation of tourist impact reached beyond technical analysis, and extended the range of relevant impacts. In turn, this showed that the notion of ‘tourism as a sustainable function of the historic city’ was more complex, and its evaluation consequently more problematic, than had originally been anticipated. As a result, a number of methodological conclusions can be made in relation to the balance between qualitative and quantitative elements, and about the use of perception studies and scenario writing.

As a result, the conclusions of the research about tourism as a sustainable function of the European historic city have led to a set of reformulated questions which are addressed within this Chapter. These are:

* Where does the balance lie between specificity of each place and scope for convergence between them?

* How can the relationships between planning, conservation and tourism be interpreted and explored further? (including in terms of policy making in the cities)

* How can the sustainability of tourism in historic cities be defined and analysed? (this has led further discussion of the methodological approach of capacity analysis)

* How can such research be conducted in a way that compares and interprets experiences, practices and perceptions of east and west Europe? (given the identified specifically European nature of the issues).
9.2 The dynamics of European historic cities - scope for convergence whilst maintaining identity

By applying the assumptions and methodology of urban capacity analysis to Edinburgh and Prague, the thesis has highlighted the extent to which different historic cities in different parts of Europe share common threats and opportunities as a result of tourism. However, the detail is unique to each city, reflecting the combined influences of the legacy of the built fabric; the form, intensity and nature of development pressures; and the practice of town planning and conservation. Notwithstanding these individual identities, historic cities as a collectivity embody Europe’s economy, history and culture, and hence are of European significance. These complexities make it difficult, and arguably misleading, to find simple answers about whether tourism is a sustainable function of the contemporary European historic city, the question which originally inspired the research. Even the moves towards European integration point to contradictory possibilities - they could result in homogenisation and loss of identity if conservation of ‘Euro-historic places’ became a significant European policy aim.

The research findings do make some contribution to the setting of these trends and possibilities, and to addressing the questions about the sustainability impacts of tourism in our historic cities. Europe’s built environment is imbued with religious, national and local values and symbolism which define places and their people. Such meanings can themselves be dynamic, and may not be universally shared (in particular, as the research shows, tourists and residents may not ‘see’ the same things). The conclusion is that attempts to define sustainability in historic cities must be sensitive to this dimension.

Both case studies illustrated the significant relationship between the historic city and nationalism and national identity. In both cities the castle is a major tourist attraction, but as McCrone et al (1995) recognise it is also an especial focus for contested meanings of nationality:

"When the Communist regime fell in Czechoslovakia in 1989, the rallying cry of the crowd was "Havel to the Castle!" Havel was a reference to the leading dissident who was to become president. His entry into the castle potently represented the overthrow of the old regime. Edinburgh castle does not have the same evocations for Scottish nationalists, although since the castle authorities, that is to say, British army, installed in 1992 a bigger flagpole from
which to fly an even bigger Union flag, there has been adverse comment in the press about this uniquely Scottish icon appearing to give undue political support to the British Union." (McCrone et al, 1995, p.185)

The issue for sustainable tourism then is not how many tourists can fit into the castle, but whether the form and scale of the ‘tourist attraction’ swamps all other meanings. The recommendation is therefore, that planning in Europe’s historic cities has to understand, and seek to conserve, the uniqueness of each place. That uniqueness is best understood ‘bottom up’, i.e. from the local, urban and national populations; but it is the uniqueness which ultimately is the key attraction for tourists also. It also follows that any European level action to support historic cities needs to be strongly driven by local partnerships, and not from officiadom in Brussels. The thesis therefore negates the views of critics (most notably Hewison, 1987) who question the values of historicism and heritage. Overall, the historic city benefits from people’s need to be acquainted with their roots. Nevertheless, conservation needs to be more than protection; instead it should be a key part of a dynamic planning process that manages and monitors the change that is essential to the life of the historic city.

The research has therefore identified findings both for and against the hypothesis that tourism is a sustainable function of the historic city. The influence of tourism on increasing homogenisation of cities is one immediately apparent threat confirmed by the research. Similarly, the lack of an effective market oriented planning response was found to have had a negative impact on the built environment as well as the wider quality of life in the historic centre of Prague. On the positive side, however, values such as urban vitality, impetus for development, gaining finance for construction and conservation etc. are all benefits of tourism which point to a more sustainable future for the historic city. The key to sustainability lies in mediating the impact of tourism to ensure the correct balance is attained between the positive and negative.

Tourism is, and is likely to remain, both profitable and problematic for the historic city in Europe. The industry is susceptible to externalities and is an unreliable means of sustaining the wider economy of an area on a permanent basis. The conclusion therefore is that priority should continue to be made in policy making to sustaining the historic city as a city, before its consideration as a tourist attraction. Maintaining this focus is very important, and this was confirmed through the perception studies which showed the sensitivity of residents to tourist impact. Likewise, the options for change for each city recognised the negative effects which
Depopulation would have on sustaining the quality of life of the area. Utilising tools such as capacity analysis, to gain a better understanding of the sense of place of an area and its unique set of values and characteristics, helps towards appropriate policy making.

Tourist activity itself forms an important part of the sense of place of a historic city through maintaining interest, vitality and atmosphere. Tourism is a growing industry which can offer opportunities to replace those which have been lost over the years due to changes in urban organisation (not least decentralisation of many activities to the city edge). The results of the capacity analysis, particularly when compared, showed that despite problems arising due to the very historicism which makes the place attractive to visitors in the first place, planning has an important role which can be effective in ensuring that tourism does not exceed capacity.

The capacity analysis highlighted evidence, both actual and perceived, of where problems were arising in the historic city as a direct, and sometimes indirect result of tourist activity. In Prague for instance, pedestrian congestion was identified in the technical and perception studies as detracting substantially from the quality of the built environment of the historic core. In Edinburgh, transport congestion was an already existing problem which has been exacerbated by the impact of tourist traffic. Further problems common to both cities included the balance between tourist related and non tourist related retail provision, and the appropriate use and reuse of historic buildings. The capacity analysis, in short, identified a number of issues where tourism may not have been at capacity at the time of the analysis, but the direction of development was progressing towards overcapacity. The separation of features which have arisen from planning systems in each, from those where a situation has arisen in the face of planning policy, added further credence to the hypothesis that some problems resulting from tourism are going to occur in historic cities despite planning intervention, and due to the very historicism which bring attraction to the area in the first place.

A major conclusion therefore is that instead of asking whether tourism is sustainable in a historic city, we should ask whether it is heading towards less or more sustainable future. In respect of the two cities, the conclusion is that Prague is heading towards an unsustainable future, whereas Edinburgh, though facing threats, has policies and institutions that are heading towards a sustainable future. As outlined in the following section, capacity analysis can provide a means of both establishing a comprehensive understanding of each area being considered, as well as scope for discussing this in the more complex terms which are required. Full awareness of the unique characteristics of each place is a prerequisite to effective
planning, as illustrated in the importance of the local context of each case study in determining the outcome of the examination of tourist impact.

Further research relating to the nature of the European historic city, and to the sustainability of tourism as a function of it, could address a number of questions. The role of the European level of policy making needs further clarification, as the results confirm its importance, but have also indicated a need to be sufficiently robust to take on board localised idiosyncrasies. Further investigation of the cultural and social value of the historic city and ways in which it has been eroded and/or strengthened by tourist exploitation would also be important. The way in which the cross national approach proved to be a good means of highlighting the uniqueness of each historic city as well as shared issues and problems, supports the need for further research of this type which draws from as wide a range of case studies as possible.

9.3 The interaction of planning, conservation and tourism in Edinburgh and Prague - lessons for the European historic city

The thesis has explored tourism in the historic city, and the role of the planning process. How effective has planning been in managing the pressures for tourism and conservation in Edinburgh and Prague? The capacity analysis highlighted the impact of the respective systems.

* The townscape of Prague is closer to capacity due to tourist impact, than that of Edinburgh. This has largely arisen as a result of the lack of a coherent approach to design.

* The transportation network in Edinburgh is nearer capacity than in Prague. One of the reason is the historic approach to transportation and traditional modal share within each city (although the different spatial characteristics and scales in the cities are also factors). Planning policy has to date not played an important role in influencing transportation policy, highlighting the specific nature of the historic city in accommodating this aspect of urban activity.

* The spatial concentration of tourist activity and pedestrian congestion were problems for both cities, with issues arising due to shared characteristics of the case studies defined by their historic nature. However, the Prague case was found to be nearer
capacity for both of these issues due to the lack of a strategic approach to planning in the city.

* Retail diversity is a further shared problem. The very different approaches to retail development through planning policy, and the different markets which characterise the cities have been overridden by more fundamental issues arising due to the historic nature of the case study areas. Tourism was identified as an important influence in the type of retail outlets provided, with both areas supporting a relatively high proportion of small / specialised units, and residents in both cases also complaining about the deficit of non tourist related outlets.

* The re-use of historic buildings is an important positive feature of tourism in both cities, although in Prague lack of proper management of this aspect of planning and conservation (compared to Edinburgh) may lead to problems in the future.

These findings raise the question of where transfer of practice and exchange of experience may be of greatest value. For example, practice in Edinburgh which assumes a proactive role in advising on shopfront design and controlling advertisements may be considered overly restrictive within the overall atmosphere in Prague of the shedding communist inherited controls. However, securing long term viability through maintaining the future attractiveness of the city for investment is likely to be a key foundation for establishing continuing quality of life in the historic core. Edinburgh’s experience therefore illustrates that lifting controls is not the most effective means of sustaining investment, and that maintaining a proactive approach to design in particularly within the sensitive historic built environment can be effective.

Both case studies similarly have something to learn from the confirmation that securing retail diversity in a tourist-historic area is inherently difficult. The perception studies demonstrate the importance of this issue to residents and, as highlighted within both scenario discussions, this in turn has implications for the continuing success of both areas as living environments. Both cities therefore have to look beyond policy making at the local level to address this issue, perhaps viewing the local retail market more strategically to ensure a better range of outlets can be provided.

Following this, in terms of reviewing the more fundamental nature of the approaches taken, the thesis contributes to the ongoing discussion about planning and its relationship with the market.
Both case studies illustrate planning going through a transition from market regulator to a market enabler. In Prague prior to 1989, investment was guided through the development plan process, with little or no pressure from any other sources which questioned the development plan. This changed rapidly with the collapse of the communist regime, so that in the mid 1990's there is not only a policy vacuum, but also provisions which still exist are being bypassed by development. In the case of Edinburgh, the background to the case study illustrated a growing shift in the role of planning in the city as a part of wider dismantling of interventionist powers of planners as well as the wider public agencies during the Thatcher years. Both of these situations and the comparison between them, highlight the inherent linkage of planning with its context, including social, political, economic and institutional influences.

The comparison of the case studies illustrates the different responses to such change which planning can and has assumed. Tourism in the historic city is a good illustration of the impact of the free market on the built environment, not least due to both cities being very popular tourist attractions, which in each case has generated high levels of related entrepreneurial activity. The mediation of the pressure which tourism can exert on a place has been tackled very differently in the cities. In a sense, it is difficult to provide a conclusive analysis of the effectiveness of the response in Prague, due to the transitional nature of the system at present. However, early signs of the system being unable to effectively manage such pressure were identified through comprehensive survey work and the perception studies required for the capacity analysis.

The Edinburgh case illustrates the value of securing an integrated approach to planning in dealing with the complex issues within the historic city, in part through its imaginative use and co-ordination of agencies involved in the development process. At the national, regional and even urban level, tourism in Edinburgh remains a separate function from the more closely associated areas of planning and conservation. However, at the local level, the Old Town Renewal Trust provided a vehicle for closer integration of the issues in response to the specific character of the Old Town where conservation and tourism are so important. This is a good illustration of an effective planning response to what, essentially, has been a disempowerment of traditional bodies and an increase in the freedom of the market. Clearly, such an approach has particular value for an area such as a historic city where there is a multitude of issues to be addressed by the planning system and greater sensitivity of the environment to change. The Edinburgh case is a good example of how planning can assume a predominantly enabling role and still maintain a degree of strategic intervention - a role which Prague can clearly gain from...
taking into account. However, the continuing more conservative role which the city's civic groups (in particular the Cockburn Association) have played, should be underlined as a useful counter to progressive change in the area which has gone some way towards ensuring that a balance is struck between conservation and preservation.

Further proactivity in response to the growth in prominence of the market was confirmed as having been effective through the capacity analysis in the Edinburgh case. For instance, intervening in the market through guiding developers more fully about design requirements was an important and effective part of planning activity which is distinct from the tradition role as regulator of development. Such measures had not been taken on in the Prague case, and the vacuum which this has left in terms of a lack of middle ground for negotiation with developers and investors in the built environment has already led to substantial erosion of the quality of the built environment, as well as having more long term implications in terms of threatening the quality of life of the residents of the historic centre. The value of exchange of information, provision of advice and strengthening of co-operation which has been worked towards in the Edinburgh case could also be considered applicable in a wider sense, given that many of the problems and opportunities which such an approach can respond to are shared by both the case studies and historic cities in general.

In addition to the changing role of planning and its relationship with the market, the study identified a number of instances where maintaining a strategic overview as a traditional role of planning which has more recently been eroded in both case studies, would benefit the historic city. The importance of planning looking beyond the city in managing tourism became clear, and the potential increase in importance of the role which planning has within the process of tourism planning was confirmed. Tourism planning has traditionally focused on the economic side, with maximising income and encouraging visitors being primary aims. Beyond the activities relating to short term gain, planning can become involved, not least in managing the other side of tourist impact - i.e. its more negative influences. Both examples illustrated rhetorical commitment to this, but on the ground activity often did not fulfil the full demands of this principle. One of the main reasons for this in both cases was the tendency for planners to compartmentalise tourism planning as a more economic development oriented issue. Little evidence arose of a good awareness at the city level of the strategic planning implications of tourism. Again through the EOTRT, local level co-ordination and management was a more positive example of this aspect which is currently lacking in Prague. No European historic city can afford to stand still in the increasingly competitive world market, and strategic tourism
planning is clearly an important element of a strategy in response to this which has not been fully capitalised on by either Edinburgh or Prague.

As well as being more able to respond and work together with the market, the synthesis of the elements of planning, conservation, and tourism through a single, locally based, all-encompassing type agency such as the EOTRT, overcomes traditional barriers which have existed between the fields. Clearly tourism and conservation are just two of a wider range of issues which planning has to address. As shown by the problems highlighted within the capacity analysis, Prague's historic centre demands a similar response which can address the full range of issues in a coherent manner. Reorganising existing government is already an onerous task, although the transitional nature of such organisations could be seen as an advantage in securing an appropriate response. In addressing such organisational change, as has been highlighted by the thesis, the historic city should be recognised as involving an ever-increasing level of plurality in participants shaping its development in the future. An important conclusion from the thesis is that this new regime of urban development, highlighted particularly well by case studies of historic cities, requires governments and planners to readdress the identity of planning, establishing a new role to respond to these new challenges.

A number of related issues have potential for further research. Firstly, investigation of the relationship between planning and the market in light of widespread changing contexts is of interest, in terms of the role of planners as mediators, the changing nature of the development plan within this context, and other structural responses of the system to such change which can go towards accommodating the increasingly multifaceted nature of participants in the development process. Research which examines case studies with different relationships with the market would therefore be of value. Further investigation of the role of planning in establishing dialogue and bringing together the different actors and issues in complex areas such as historic cities would have relevance for planning across Europe in response to widespread restructuring. In a similar vein to agency-based research of this type, research which leads to further information about the relationship between tourism planning and promotion would also be of use, seeking ways in which traditional compartmentalism can be avoided. Within the current widespread climate of disempowerment of planning in its traditional sense, ways in which its strategic guidance can be maintained should be investigated, with the comparative approach being a good means of investigating this. As shown in the comparison of western and east European historic cities, cross national research
between case studies which relate as differently as possible to the market are a good way of allowing for such issues to be highlighted.

9.4 The methodology of urban capacity analysis

The thesis repeatedly underlined the value of urban capacity analysis but also its complex and multi faceted nature, as means of analysing the sustainability of tourism in historic cities. The research demonstrated that defining capacity as a single threshold or fixed limitation is inappropriately simple. Given that one of the primary advantages of urban capacity analysis is its ability to bring together a wide range of issues in a comprehensive and clearly defined way, it seems appropriate that this strength in terms of data collection is followed through and given full cognisance by appropriately structured analysis and conclusions.

Technical, quantitative thresholds can be established and assessed for some aspects of capacity. For instance, the level of air pollution can be measured accurately on the ground, can be compared against national and international standards and targets and cross tabulated against perceptions of air quality. If a small group of key indicators could be agreed and measured in this way, urban capacity analysis could be a precise exercise, although there would still be problems of combining / weighting different indicators. However, other aspects of capacity analysis are clearly not as easy to assess in these terms. For instance, whilst it is a straightforward procedure to survey all retail outlets and compare perceived levels of satisfaction with diversity, assessing them further against a widely defined level of acceptability is not possible. This problem becomes yet more complicated in dealing with less clear technical evaluations - for example the observation of levels of pedestrian congestion requires a degree of discretion, whilst again there is no further set limit against which the results can be judged on totally objective terms. At the same time however, the evaluation of pedestrian levels was subjective only to the extent that this was necessitated by the limitations of resources and time of the research work being carried out. Notwithstanding this, the importance of carrying out targeted perception studies is underlined. The combination of technical studies with perception studies is both an important part of the research and a key recommendation arising from the thesis.

Following from the focus of recent debate in the literature as related in Chapter 5, the perception studies carried out in both cities formed a more important part of the study than had previously been the case, not least in the methodology used in Chester itself. The outcomes of
the comparison of the results have underlined the importance of this aspect of the analysis in establishing socio-cultural influences on the planning context of each case - an important influence within the formulation of the options for change. The use of questionnaires has illustrated the potential value of perception studies to a project of this nature, whilst at the same time highlighting a number of problems and issues which their use inherently incurs.

Whilst perceptions are possible, indeed necessary, to quantify within a comprehensive study of this type, areas where caution should be exercised must also be recognised. The study, particularly through highlighting the differences in perceptions of user groups of the historic city, illustrates the need to take into account the distinctive agenda of each group concerned, in terms of their expectations of the historic city. Perceptions of residents as compared against tourist perceptions sometimes varied as widely as more fundamental differences which were identified between the two case study areas themselves. This illustrates the different meanings of the city for each group as a whole and the way their use of the city influences the perceived problems of the area. For example, car parking, air pollution, noise and transport emerged as being more of a problem for residents than visitors, whilst visitors proved consistently more tolerant of facilities catering for their own needs.

Perception studies augment technical results, adding a further dimension. They allow important qualitative impacts to be explored, e.g. in relation to the genus loci of a place. They also suggest new research questions, e.g. the degree to which original meanings of the built heritage are eroded, and evaluating, where possible, loss of identity and atmosphere etc. All of these are important elements which can have a fundamental influence on capacity levels, but which can all too easily be bypassed within a more rigid and less qualitative approach to the methodology and scope of the conclusions. Perception studies also allow analysis to go beyond a set of technically based (i.e. professionally perceived) values, incorporating the diversity of perceptions of different groups and actors, each having a distinct agenda which combine to cumulatively influence an area’s capacity. This highlighting of the multifaceted nature of capacity as a concept, leads to the conclusion that the notion of one single quantifiable capacity is inherently reductionist. This has implications for the application of urban capacity analysis in practice, given that planning is based on a set of definitive variables - capacity analysis requires more than this if it is to have real meaning.

The approach taken in the perception studies had both strengths and weaknesses, the consideration of which is of interest in developing the overall methodology. Within the scope of
the field work, priority was given to attaining a sample which was simple enough to compare in a systematic manner, at the expense of gaining in depth evaluation of the views of groups consulted. The international nature of the visitor sample also played an important part in deciding the format for evaluating perceptions, in that a relatively simple series of questions was essential to overcome problems with language. As a result, a simple standard pro forma was used across all of the groups. This strengthened the comparison between samples, and allowed for cross cultural views to be taken into account. On a more negative note, the pro forma could be viewed as having only gone part of the way towards ascertaining in-depth views and opinions. There is clearly considerable scope for exploring this area further, particularly due to the importance of gaining a full understanding of perceived capacity levels to complement the technical studies, as outlined above. Perception studies have a role not only as a secondary element guiding the capacity analysis (as has often been the case in previous studies), but also in defining capacity in their own right. However, a considerable degree of caution should be applied to conclusions stemming from research of this type, with a full understanding of bias in views caused by external factors such as cultural and social identities being a vital component of the evaluation. Comparison of the findings of the resident perception studies for each city underlined the importance of this, for example in the different responses to future measures which could be undertaken by the respective planning systems.

Furthermore, it is accepted that the study only touched on the views of groups other than residents and tourists within the scope of the study. Despite this, references to previous research carried out relating to business users and employers in the Old Town of Edinburgh in particular, highlight the potential additional value of such an exercise in order for the process to be as comprehensive as possible. The importance of considering the input of all user groups of the historic city is further underlined by the central role of the development market context of each city in assessing capacity levels. The study demanded the use of detailed on the ground information relating to development opportunities in each area. Necessarily, however, the capacity in terms of opportunities available was only identifiable when such research was considered within the context of both demands for development in each city and policy directions dictating location of development in spatial terms.

The methodology for this study was devised in order to account for a particularly challenging cross national research situation, and was limited by available time and resources. There is clearly scope to develop the methodology further on the basis of the findings, for example through using focus groups or open-ended interviews or other more qualitative approaches to
perception studies, which can allow more explicit linkage and exploration of views of stakeholders and the technical indicators. A further possibility for development of the methodology on these terms includes more in-depth analysis of underlying national and socio cultural influences in perceptions, particularly in terms of the cross European nature of the issues involved. In short, there is a wealth of possibilities for further research, which go beyond the scope of this thesis.

Previous studies (e.g. Arup, 1993, Glasson et al, 1996) raised the question of defining boundaries of the study area, and isolating the issues to be discussed. The scope of the thesis was considerably more limited than was the Chester study (upon which the methodology was based). At the same time, the sectoral focus of the thesis was also more closely defined to focus on a single aspect of capacity (i.e. tourism). Refining the scope of the study in this way allowed for the inclusion of a finer grain of detail, as well as being at least partly dictated by the confines of conducting a single person exercise in cross national research within the timescale required. However, throughout the course of the work, the fact that no place can be considered without relating to its context became clear, and repeated references had to be made to the wider city, region, and even national contexts. Despite this, maintaining a focused / fine grain approach was advantageous in gaining a fuller understanding of the less tangible elements which made up a place. For example, sensitive places such as the Jewish cemetery were discussed in relatively high degree of detail, with reference being made to atmosphere and sense of place which might otherwise have been difficult to firstly monitor, and secondly discuss within the course of the analysis.

In contrast with the difficulties of narrowing the geographical focus, the diffuse nature of tourism itself as a subject of a study, as well as debates as to the range of planning, means that no hard and fast rules exist or in fact should do, in terms of defining sectoral coverage. The sectoral focus, where it concerns tourism should therefore be viewed as having relatively arbitrary boundaries in order for the character of the subject to be taken account of. Like the contribution of perception studies in gaining a better understanding of socio cultural influences, the use of characteristics of the tourist market within the options for change highlighted the need to develop understanding of tourism in the past, present and future as part of the capacity analysis.

There is scope for formalising how these different scales can be addressed within a comprehensive urban capacity analysis exercise. Options, such as building in a cascading
algorithm or other means of incorporating stages with diminishing levels of detailed should be explored, although again this is an area requiring further research which goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

Much of the above discussion about the outcomes of the research indicate that the use of scenario writing is an effective way of responding to the continual assertion that capacity is far more than a single closely defined limit or threshold. The flexibility, and the scope which such an approach provides for including contextual references and external influences, are two of the main factors supporting such a view. The exercise in scenario writing in the two cities brought together all the influences on the outcomes of the capacity analysis to provide a more sensitive set of conclusions than the examination of each issues in isolation would have been likely to achieve, accounting for both process and non process related features.

If the conclusions of such an exercise are to play a part in developing policy making, there is clearly a need to go beyond defining capacity in terms of a description or stock taking exercise which concentrates on the situation at a single point in time. Again scenario writing holds strength in its ability to incorporate past, present and future directions of capacity. There is scope to involve some more formalised forecasting models into the scenario writing, in an effort to add rigour without sacrificing flexibility, and allowing for depth of interpretation. Again this is an area worthy of further research.

In addition to the use of scenarios, drawing from comparative case studies also allowed for more contemplative analysis which seeks to fully address the complex range of issues involved within the concept itself. Given the changing global economic, social and institutional context which is shared by European historic cities, and the similarity of the impact which wider restructuring trends of this type have and are having on them, addressing the capacity of historic cities with a specifically European orientated viewpoint is also advantageous. In a more practical sense, cross national research clearly can contribute much to the analysis through mediating subjective conclusions and adding a further layer to the analysis which helps to limit some of the difficulties of defining capacity levels.

Apart from the need for their direct linkage and comparison with technical studies in order to set a standard framework of assessment, perceptions of groups need to contrasted and considered within the context of all users of the city. At the same time, the use of the comparative element in the capacity analysis exercise played a fundamental part within the city
of forming a framework against which work carried out in this difficult to quantify field can form more informed conclusions on capacity. What is capacity after all? Who is to say where a limit can be drawn? There is real scope to learn from places where capacity has been surpassed or where the course currently being followed in one city has already been followed in another. This study's experiences clearly support the need for comparison as an integral and necessary tool for capacity analysis. Further research is needed as to how such an approach can best be achieved, not least in terms of which specific cases have the most to learn from each other.

Comparative analysis proved a particularly useful tool in the evaluation of the capacity of each city and the proposition of options for change. The comparison highlighted policies which characterised each city and as a result the forming of future scenarios was substantially improved through the relativity involved in quantifying such a grey area. The Chester study felt that comparison would have proved more useful in their study if used at a later stage as opposed to in the early formulation of contextual/background data. The experiences of this study supports this view. The value of evaluating options for change is less in their quantification and more in their related meanings. However, the use of comparison could be strengthened by an increase in the number of cases under consideration. Further research is needed to compile information at the European scale to encompass as many historic cities as possible, even if only used for contextual purposes. Comparison between Edinburgh and Prague, two capital cities which are major tourist destinations of their respective countries, is facilitated by these similarities. Further comparisons with other cities should be confined within the broad classification of cities by their “type”, and the criteria for defining need to be made explicit. This is again a task for further research rising from the thesis.

9.5 Lessons for the methodology of comparative planning

In terms of comparative planning methodological debates, the rule put forward by Sharpe (1975) of maximum similarity in order to allow for closer comparison of the planning system itself has been disputed. In contrast, the idea of maximum discreteness of focus has been supported, in that in isolating the impact of tourism in the cities as a subject for investigation, it is proposed that the differences in the backgrounds and the related planning responses were highlighted. This supports the value of taking a problem orientated approach as put forward by White (1978).
A further secondary question emerging from the original themes of the thesis demands exploration of ways in which research can be conducted which takes account of the differences and similarities in experiences, practices and perceptions within east and west Europe. The study has revisited the methodological discussion within comparative planning relating to the specific problems and benefits associated with carrying out a comparison between east and west. It revealed both the continuing relevance of some of these traditional problems (e.g. data availability, language etc.) but also new problems.

Firstly, in updating the discussion through focusing on Prague several years after the collapse of communism in 1989, a number of points of interest have arisen. The pace of change and the frictions of the past make acute the need for a model of assessment of the urban impacts of Socialist planning under conditions of 'transition'. The Prague case study has illustrated the unsteady nature of the transition and the uneven nature of its impact within the region to date. Not least, the varying implications which the change has had for different groups within society was a recurring theme within the research findings. For example, the transition has led to a considerable change in the historic centre for its residents, and in turn the perception studies showed they considered these changes to have had quite a negative impact. At the same time a different sector of society has clearly taken on board the entrepreneurial opportunism which has characterised the transition, and the impact of their activity (amongst incoming investment and development) was also illustrated within the capacity analysis. Despite the complex nature of the transition, a number of themes emerged through discussion of the impact of tourism in Prague, which are likely to also be of relevance at the wider level for the other post socialist countries.

The thesis has shown that establishing a new planning system in Prague has been a difficult task, due to both the fast moving nature of the transition, and to wider problems such as public acceptance of its role within the post socialist society. The issue which is often raised within recent literature (e.g. Hague and Prior, 1991) relating to post socialist countries, of the popular rejection of planning since the transition due to its associations with the former regime, was confirmed by the perception study of the Prague residents, and was particularly highlighted when the results were compared to the Edinburgh resident perception study. In the Prague case, whilst there was a high level of dissatisfaction with a number of aspects of capacity (often also confirmed as unacceptable within the technical analysis), in the more normative sense responses repeatedly rejected planning as a concept associated with the old regime, through lack of support for increased powers of authorities to control or restrict development or tourist
associated activity. There is clearly scope for further research on other groups of society and in other locations (for example in the peripheral housing estates or in the former socialist boom towns) in order that this aspect can be more fully understood and addressed.

A further aspect of the contribution of the study to cross national research, related to the development of methodologies in the field. Practical aspects of data collection, access to information, and distributing questionnaires, although obviously improved in post socialist times, remains imbued with difficulties which do not only stem from more general limitations of cross national research such as language barriers and distance from source data. The experiences in Prague illustrated that the authorities there remain behind those in Edinburgh in terms of gathering, analysing and disseminating their own data. Agencies allowing access to the information was a further issue which arose, where this became more obvious due to the lack of up to date related literature or commissioned studies. In carrying out capacity analysis or indeed any planning or policy, baseline data is an important element. Post socialist countries have to address their inheritance of data collection which had not previously been aiming to achieve an accurate picture. However, no legislative barriers now exist to improving practice along these lines, and it is likely that local government, not least through its dealings with the market, is likely to rapidly assume a more effective and better organised position in this respect. Similarly however, issues arising from local government reorganisation in the UK, such as reductions in staff and other resources, indicates a possible decrease in effectiveness in supplying such information in the future. This could be considered a further theme of convergence which is linked with other similarities in the changing role of local government in the case studies.

As shown by the experiences of the research, caution should be applied to the use of secondary data within the cross national context. Secondary data sources have played an important part in capacity analysis, the Chester study, for example, being highly dependent on information already gathered by the city and county authorities. In adopting the comparative element within the analysis, the use of such data, particularly if the comparison is cross national, should be carried out with this in mind. The experiences of the research, not least due to one of the case studies being located within a former socialist country, meant that a considerable amount of judgement was required in translating data into conclusions about capacity levels. The narrowing of the sectoral focus of the analysis to address tourism only, also added to difficulties with comparing data as, complications through comparison aside, many
disagreements exist within the field including the most appropriate criteria for defining 'tourists', and ways of calculating visits to a place.

The discussions centring on east-west comparisons have been found to remain at least partly valid, despite the transitions which the region is going through. Given the fundamental differences, particularly in terms of political and public attitudes towards town planning, which were defined in this study in comparing the systems of Edinburgh and Prague, it can be asserted that the communist past will be an important element of planning in these countries for quite some time yet. Despite the transition to a free market economy, the planning past has not been obliterated overnight in physical terms, and continues to shape attitudes towards planning and development today, albeit in the sense of a backlash as opposed to support for previous practices. East-west cross national planning research can therefore, highlight the features of each system. The supranational identity of the new Europe makes such understanding especially important.

Further research which develops both the exchange of knowledge between east and west Europe, and the methodological aspects of the research findings, could assume a multitude of approaches. In terms, however, of priorities for future research of this type, the east-west dimension could be explored further through focusing on a number of issues which were raised by the findings. The role of agencies and institutions are at the heart of many of the questions which have arisen since the transition - participant based cross national research would therefore be of interest, not least if carried out in considerably more depth than this study was able to allow for within its scope. Public attitudes to planning are also important. In particular the cultural associations of planning with communism in the east could be investigated further to evaluate ways of overcoming this misconception through allowing for public participation and developing transparency of the planning process which does not yet appear to have become effective. Linking again to the social side of the research, the differentiation between social groups which has arisen since the transition is also of interest. In addition to east-west comparison in investigating such themes, intra regional comparisons within central and eastern Europe would also be of value.

Above all, the thesis has demonstrated the benefit of incorporating comparative research within the methodology of capacity analysis, as a means of exploring results in a comprehensive and more discerning manner. The evidence shown here underlines the value of further research involving multiple case studies which have the scope to illustrate the full diversity of issues, as
well as the shared characteristics which are the foundations of the contemporary European historic city. Historic cities represent a complex interaction of issues and actors which are both directly attributable to the character of such cities, but which are also influenced by planning responses being taken in each local situation. Comparing cities in east and west Europe is an effective way of exploring the extent to which the context of the historic city is shared or unique. East-west comparative research can be problematic in methodological terms, and is required to bridge fundamentally different historic approaches and current socio-cultural, economic, political and institutional contexts. Despite such issues, there is a need to continue work in this field if European planning knowledge and practice is to meet the needs of the New Europe of the new millennium
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Appendix 1
To the Respondent

November 1995

Dear Sir/Madam,

Residents Questionnaire - Edinburgh Old Town

The enclosed survey is being carried out as part of a research project at Heriot Watt University / Edinburgh College of Art, here in the city of Edinburgh. The questionnaire has been sent to you, as a resident of the Old Town, in order to assess your view of tourism in the area. The same survey has been distributed to residents in Prague, in the Czech Republic, and it is hoped that the results of both cities, when compared, will inform us of the most important opportunities and problems caused by tourism in cities across Europe, providing a uniquely international perspective.

I would therefore be grateful if you, or anyone else in your household would spare the time to complete the questionnaire, and then to return it by post, using the reply-paid envelope provided.

Your reply will be treated in total confidence, and may provide a clearer picture of your views, as a resident of the area.

Thank you very much in anticipation of your co-operation.

Yours sincerely

Fiona Simpson
Research Student
5. (a) How much do you feel the following features contribute the overall character of the Old Town of Edinburgh?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>A lot</th>
<th>A little</th>
<th>Nothing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The closes and wynds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The cobbled streets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The tenements</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The steepness of the slopes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The views over the west of Edinburgh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The height of the buildings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The stone used in the buildings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Modern buildings in the area</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Anything not mentioned (please state)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

5. (b) Had you consciously noticed any or all of these features before they were mentioned to you? (Please mark those which you were previously aware of with a *)

Yes, all of them  
Yes, some of them  
No, none of them  
Don’t Know

PART C: PERCEPTIONS OF ACTUAL STATE OF TOURIST IMPACT

6. (a) Which description do you feel best fits the number of tourists on the streets of the Old Town?

Very crowded   Busy, but uncomfortable   Neither too busy   Too quiet, with nothing happening

7. (a) How do you feel about the souvenir shops on and around the Royal Mile?

There are too many   About the right amount   There should be more

(b) If you think there are too many, do you think the shops spoil the character of the Old Town streets?

Yes, strongly agree   Agree   Disagree   No, strongly disagree

(c) How do you feel about shops with everyday goods on and around the Royal Mile?

There are too many   About the right amount   There should be more
EDINBURGH OLD TOWN RESIDENTS’ SURVEY
SUMMER 1995

SECTION A - RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS

1. Are you: (please tick appropriate box)
   - 16-25
   - 26-40
   - 41-60
   - 60+
   Male [ ] Female [ ]

2. Is your home: (please tick appropriate box)
   - Owner Occupied
   - Private rented
   - Local Authority Owned
   - Housing Association

3. How long have you lived at your present address? (please tick appropriate box)
   - 0-3 years
   - 3-5 years
   - 6-10 years
   - 10 years +

SECTION B: PERCEIVED CHARACTER OF HISTORIC AREA

4. If you were recommending living to the Old Town of Edinburgh to a friend, which of the following would you think it would be important to mention as being a positive feature of the area? (Please tick the appropriate box)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parks and Open Areas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other parts of the city</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edinburgh’s surrounding Countryside</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cultural facilities (museums, theatres etc.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Facilities (pubs, restaurants)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weather</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Street Atmosphere / Ambience</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shops</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sense of community</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
16(a). Do you think that you will still be living in the Old Town in 10 years time?

[ ] Definitely
[ ] Probably
[ ] Probably Not
[ ] Definitely Not
[ ] Don't know

(“Would Like to”)

(b) Do you think that this will be as a direct result of your views about any of the above environmental conditions? (If yes, please specify by ticking box):

- Tourist Crowds
- Tourist Shops
- Everyday Shops
- Traffic
- Carparking
- Cost
- Advertisements/shopfronts
- Pollution
- Noise
- Litter

PART D - POTENTIAL IMPROVEMENTS TO THE HISTORIC CITY

17. Finally, looking into the future, please state by ticking the most appropriate box, which of the following changes would improve the standard of living in the Old Town for you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change</th>
<th>More</th>
<th>Less</th>
<th>No change to current state</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) People in the streets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Tourist Shops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Non-Tourist Shops</td>
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<tr>
<td>(iv) Parking Availability</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(v) Traffic Restrictions</td>
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<tr>
<td>(vi) Guided Coach Tours</td>
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<tr>
<td>(vii) Controls on advertising</td>
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<tr>
<td>(vii) Controls on new buildings in and around the Royal Mile</td>
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<tr>
<td>(viii) Tourist accommodation available in, or very close to the Royal Mile</td>
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</table>

18. Please indicate which of the following groups applies to you:

- In full time, permanent employment
- In full time, temporary employment
- In part time, permanent employment
- In part time, temporary employment
- Unemployed
- Student
- Retired
- Not working due to specific reason

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR ANSWERING THE QUESTIONNAIRE
8. **Do you agree that there is too much traffic on the Royal Mile?**

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<tr>
<td>Yes, agree strongly</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disagree Strongly</td>
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9. **How much do you think guided bus tours contribute to the overall traffic levels on the Royal Mile?**

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<tr>
<td>They are the main problem</td>
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<td>They form part of the problem</td>
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<td>They don’t make a significant difference</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don’t Know</td>
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</table>

10. **Do you agree that there are enough places for coaches and cars to park on near to the Royal Mile?**

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<tr>
<td>Yes, agree strongly</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Neither Agree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disagree Strongly</td>
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</table>

11. **Do you feel that the Old Town is a particularly expensive place to live, in terms of the rent you pay, or your house price?**

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<th>□</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, it seems an expensive place to live;</td>
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<tr>
<td>It seems neither an expensive nor cheap place to live</td>
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<tr>
<td>It seems a cheap place to live</td>
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</table>

12. **Do you agree that advertisements and shopfronts in the Old Town spoil the historic character of the area?**

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<tr>
<td>Yes, agree strongly</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
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<tr>
<td>No difference</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Disagree Strongly</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. **Do you feel the Royal Mile and the immediately surrounding area has poor air quality?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>□</th>
<th>□</th>
<th>□</th>
<th>□</th>
<th>□</th>
<th>□</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes, very polluted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quite polluted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hadn’t noticed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not really polluted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>definitely not</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. **Do you feel the Royal Mile and the immediately surrounding area is noisy?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>□</th>
<th>□</th>
<th>□</th>
<th>□</th>
<th>□</th>
<th>□</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, the noise is very intrusive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is quite noisy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but doesn’t bother me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadn’t Noticed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely not</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. **Do you feel there is a lot of litter on the Royal Mile and the immediately surrounding area?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>□</th>
<th>□</th>
<th>□</th>
<th>□</th>
<th>□</th>
<th>□</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, there is a lot of litter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some litter, but</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadn’t Noticed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It seems quite litter free</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely not</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>its is extremely litter free</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Location: ........................................
Time: ........................................
Weather: ......................................

SECTION A - RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS

1. Where do you come from? ..............................................................

2. Are you:

☐ 16-25  ☐ 26-40  ☐ 41-60  ☐ 60+

3. What type of accommodation are you staying in?

☐ Hotel
☐ Guest House / B&B
☐ Self Catering
☐ Youth Hostel
☐ Private room
☐ Caravanning / camping
☐ Friends / relatives

4. Where is your accommodation? ......................................................

5. How long will your visit to Prague last?

☐ One night
☐ Two nights
☐ Three nights to one week
☐ One week
☐ Two Weeks
☐ Two weeks +

6. Have you been on a guided tour of the city? Yes ☐ No ☐

7. During this trip, will you/have you visited anywhere else in the Czech Republic, where you have stayed or will stay for at least one night? Yes ☐ No ☐
8. Have you visited any other European historic cities towns in the last five years?

Yes □
No □

9. If you were recommending a visit to Prague to a friend, which of the following would you mention as being an important positive feature of the city?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks and Open Areas</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other parts of the city</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prague's surrounding Countryside</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural facilities (museums, theatres etc.)</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Facilities (pubs, restaurants)</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street 'Ambience' / general atmosphere</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shops</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local People</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. (a) How much do you feel the following features contribute the overall historic centre of Prague?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>A lot</th>
<th>A little</th>
<th>Nothing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) The medieval street pattern</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) The cobbled streets</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) The squares/open spaces</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) The river / bridges</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) The views from the castle</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi) The height of the buildings</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) The stone used in the buildings</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(viii) Modern buildings in the area</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ix) Anything not mentioned (please state)</td>
<td>................................................</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 (b) Had you consciously noticed any or all of these features before they were mentioned to you? (Interviewer to mark those which he/she was previously aware of with a *)

Yes, all of them □
Yes, some of them □
No, none of them □
Don’t Know □
## PART C - PERCEPTIONS OF ACTUAL STATE

### 11 Do you think you will return to Prague?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Definitely</th>
<th>Probably</th>
<th>Probably Not</th>
<th>Definitely Not</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 12. (a) Which description do you feel best fits the number of tourists on the streets of the historic centre of Prague?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very crowded</th>
<th>Busy, but comfortable</th>
<th>Neither too busy</th>
<th>Too quiet, with nothing happening</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 13(a) How do you feel about the souvenir shops in the historic centre of Prague?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>There are too many</th>
<th>About the right amount</th>
<th>There should be more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### (b) If you think there are too many, do you agree the shops spoil the character of the Old Town streets for visitors?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes, strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>No, strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 14(a) Will you be visiting other attractions outwith the city centre, or close to Prague?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### (b) If yes, please specify

### (c) If not, is this because

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No desire to, I have seen enough of the city</th>
<th>Not enough time during visit</th>
<th>Don’t know which other attractions are available</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 15. (a) Do you agree that there is too much traffic in the historic centre of Prague?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes, agree strongly</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree Strongly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 16 (a) How much do you think guided bus tours contribute to the overall traffic levels in the historic centre of Prague?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>They are the main problem</th>
<th>They form part of the problem</th>
<th>They don’t make a significant difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
17 (a) Do you agree that there are enough places for coaches and cars to park in the historic centre of Prague?

☐ Yes, agree strongly  ☐ Agree  ☐ No difference  ☐ Disagree  ☐ Disagree Strongly

18 (a) Do you agree that advertisements and shopfronts in the historic centre of Prague spoil the historic character of the area?

☐ Yes, agree strongly  ☐ Agree  ☐ No difference  ☐ Disagree  ☐ Disagree Strongly

19 (a) Do you feel the historic centre of Prague has poor air quality?

☐ yes, very polluted  ☐ quite polluted  ☐ hadn’t noticed  ☐ not really polluted  ☐ definitely not polluted

20 (a) Do you feel the historic centre of Prague is noisy?

☐ Yes, the noise is very intrusive  ☐ It is quite noisy but doesn’t bother me  ☐ Hadn’t Noticed  ☐ Definitely not too noisy

21 (a) Do you feel there is a lot of litter in the historic centre of Prague?

☐ Yes, there is a lot of litter  ☐ Some litter, but no more than in most other cities  ☐ Hadn’t Noticed  ☐ It seems quite litter free  ☐ Definitely not its is extremely litter free

22. Do you feel that overall, there is an even balance between tourism, and everyday life in the historic centre of Prague?

☐ No, I feel that tourism dominates everyday life  ☐ No, I feel that tourism is not as important as the everyday life of the area  ☐ I feel that there is roughly a good balance between tourism and everyday life
23(a). Do you think that you will return to visit Prague again?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definitely</th>
<th>Probably</th>
<th>Probably Not</th>
<th>Definitely Not</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Would Like to)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Do you think that this will be as a direct result of your views about any of the above environmental conditions? (If yes, please specify by ticking box):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environmental Condition</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourist Shops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyday Shops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carparking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist Crowds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertisements/shopfronts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pollution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noise</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PART D - POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENTS TO THE HISTORIC CITY AS A TOURIST ATTRACTION

23. Finally, looking into the future, which of the following do you think you would like to see more or less of in the historic centre of Prague?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Improvement</th>
<th>More</th>
<th>Less</th>
<th>No change to current state</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) People in the streets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Tourist Shops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Non-Tourist Shops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Parking Availability</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) Traffic Restrictions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi) Guided Coach Tours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) Controls on advertising</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(viii) New buildings in the historic core</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(viii) Accommodation available in, the historic core</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thank you very much for sparing the time to answer these questions. I hope you enjoy the rest of your visit to Prague.
Vážený pane (paní).

Dotazník pro občany - pražské Staré město

Tento průzkum probíhá jako součást výzkumného projektu na Heriot Watt University/Edinburgh College of Art ve městě Edinburgh ve Velké Británii. Tento dotazník Vám zasíláme jako obyvateli městského centra Prahy proto, abychom zjistili Váš názor na turistický ruch v této oblasti. Stejný dotazník byl zaslán i obyvatelům Edinburghu; jsme přesvědčeni o tom, že srovnáním výsledků z těchto dvou měst získáme informace o nejdůležitějších možnostech a problémech způsobovaných turistickým ruchem v evropských městech, které budou výhledově v mezinárodním měřítku velmi cenné.

Byl bychom proto vděční Vám či jinému členu Vaší domácnosti, kdybyste si našli čas na vyplnění tohoto dotazníku. Přikládáme frankovanou obálku a dovolujeme si Vás požádat o odeslání vyplněného dotazníku poštou.

Vaše odpovědi budou zpracovány jako důvěrné; věříme, že nám pomohou získat jasnější představu o Vašich názorech na město, jako obyvatele jeho historického jádra.

Předem děkujeme za Vaši spolupráci.

Srdečně,
Fiona Simpson

[Podpisy]
Průzkum mezi obyvateli pražského Starého města - léto 1995

Část A - Údaje o respondentovi

(zachrtněte, prosím, příslušné políčko)

1. Je Vám let:
   - 16-25
   - 26-40
   - 41-60
   - nad 60

2. Je Váš byt:
   - obydlený majitelem
   - v nájmu od soukromé osoby
   - ve vlastnictví státu
   - majetek bytového družstva

3. Jak dlouho bydlíte na stávající adrese?
   - 0 - 3 roky
   - 3 - 5 let
   - 6 - 10 let
   - déle než 10 let

Část B: Charakterizování historického jádra města

4. Pokud byste bydlení v historickém jádru Prahy doporučoval nějakému příteli, co z následujících věcí by podle Vás mělo být zmíněno jako důležité pozitivní prvek této oblasti?

Velmi důležité/důležité/nedůležité

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historie</th>
<th>Architektura</th>
<th>Parky a volná prostranství</th>
<th>Další části města</th>
<th>Krajská kolem Prahy</th>
<th>Kulturní zařízení (muzea, divadla)</th>
<th>Společ. zaříz. (hospody, restaurace)</th>
<th>Podnebí</th>
<th>Atmosféra ulic, prostředí</th>
<th>Obchody</th>
<th>Pocit společenství</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.(a) Nakolik podle Vás přispívají následující prvky k celkovému charakteru historického jádra Prahy?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Středověké rozložení ulic</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(iv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(v)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(viii)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ix)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**mnoho** | **málo** | **níjak**

5.(b) Zaznamenal jste vědomé některé z těchto prvků ještě před tím, než byly zmíněny? (Označte prosím ty, jichž jste si byli vědomi, hvězdičkou)

Ano, všech  
Ano, některých  
Ne, žádných  
Nevím

---

Část C: Chápání stávajícího stavu dopadu turistického ruchu

6.(a) Jaký popis dle Vás nejlépe odpovídá množství turistů u ulicích historického jádra?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>velmi plno,</th>
<th>plno, ale ani moc plno,</th>
<th>příliš klidno, až nepříjemně příjemně ani moc klidno nic se neděje</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.(a) Jaký je VÁš názor na obchody s upomínkovými předměty v historickém středu města?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>jich příliš</th>
<th>je jich správný</th>
<th>mělo by jich být mnoho počet více</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</tbody>
</table>

(b) Pokud jich podle Vás je příliš mnoho, souhlasíte s tím, že kazí ráz ulic v historickém jádru města?

Ano, silně souhlasím  
nesouhlasím  
Ne, silně nesouhlasím
(c) Jaký je Vaš názor na obchody se zbožím denní potřeby v historickém středu města?

je jich příliš je jich správný mělo by jich být mnoho počet víc

8.(a) Souhlasíte s tím, že v historickém středu je příliš hustý provoz dopravy?

ano, silně souhlasím ani nesouhlasím, nesouhlasím silně souhlasím ani souhlasím nesouhlasím

9.(a) Nakolik podle Vás přispívají k celkové hustotě dopravy v historickém centru vyhlídkové autobusy s průvodci?

představují hlavní jsou části níjak výrazně nevim problém problému

10.(a) Souhlasíte s tím, že je dost místa pro parkování autobusů a osobních aut v historickém centru?

ano, silně souhlasím ani nesouhlasím, nesouhlasím silně souhlasím ani souhlasím nesouhlasím

11.(a) Máte pocit, že historické centrum je je zvláště druhým místem pro bydlení – pokud jde o Vámi placený nájem nebo cenu Vašeho domu?

ano, je nezdá se mi na bydlení ani zdá se mi zde velmi drahé, ani laciné laciné

12.(a) Souhlasíte s tím, že reklamy a vývěsní štíty (průčelí obchodů) kází historický rám této oblasti?

ano, silně souhlasím nemá vliv nesouhlasím silně souhlasím nesouhlasím
13. (a) Je podle Vás v historickém středu města znečištěné ovzduší?
ano, velmi dost nezjišťuji není zvlášt určitě není
znečištěné znečištěné

14. (a) Je podle Vás centrum města hlučné?
ano, velmi hlučné, ale nezdá se mi určitě není nijak
rušivě neobtěžuje mě to zvlášt hlučné

15. (a) Je podle Vás v historickém středu města příliš mnoho odpadků?
ano, hodně jsou tu, ale není nezdá není jich vůbec tu
odpadků jich víc než ve se mi tu moc nejsou
většině jiných měst

16. (a) Myslíte si, že za deset let ještě budete bydlet v historickém jádru Prahy?
určitě ano možná (rád bych) asi ne určitě ne nevím

(b) Myslíte si, že k tomu dojde v přímé souvislosti s některým z Vašich názorů na výše uvedené okolnosti?
(Jestliže ano, specifikujte prosím zaškrtnutím příslušné položky)
        Davy turistů                   Drahota
        Obchody pro turisty             Reklamy, pručelí obchodů
        Obchody s denními potřebami     Znečištění ovzduší
        Dopravní ruch                    Hlučnost
        Možnosti parkování              Odpadky
Část D - Potenciál zlepšení prostředí v historickém centru

17. Nakonec pohledněte do budoucnosti a označte prosím u následujících položek, které změny by pro Vás mohly znamenat zvýšení úrovně bydlení v historickém centru města:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>víc</th>
<th>méně</th>
<th>bez změny oproti současnému stavu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Lídé na ulicích</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(ii) Obchody pro turisty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(iii) Neturistické obchody</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(iv) Možnost parkování</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(v) Dopravní omezení</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(vi) Okružní jízdy s průvodci</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(vii) Omezení reklamy</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(viii) Omezení novostaveb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ix) Možnosti ubytování turistů</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. Označte prosím, do které z následujících skupin patříte:

- Trvalé zaměstnání na plný úvazek
- Přechodné zaměstnání na plný úvazek
- Trvalé zaměstnání na částečný úvazek
- Přechodné zaměstnání na částečný úvazek
- Nezaměstnaný
- Student
- Důchodce
- Nepracuji z určitého důvodu

VELMI VÁM DĚKUJEME ZA VYPLNĚNÍ TOHOTO DOTAZNÍKU

GABRIEL GÖSSEL
Hrsoňova 5
PSČ 118 00
Tel: 53 1625
1. Woher kommen Sie? ..............................................

2. Wie alt sind Sie?
   - 16-25
   - 26-40
   - 41-60
   - 60+

3. Was für Unterkunft haben Sie?
   - Hotel
   - Gastenhaus / Pension
   - Für Selbstversorger
   - Jugendherberge
   - Privatzimmer
   - Camping / Wohnmobil
   - Mit Familie / Freunde

4. Wo ist Ihre Unterkunft? ...........................................

5. Wie lang ist Ihr Besuch in Prague?
   - Eine Nacht
   - Zwei Nächte
   - Drei Nächte bis eine Woche
   - Eine Woche
   - Zwei Wochen
   - Mehr als Zwei Wochen

6. Sind Sie auf eine Stadführung gegangen?
   - Ja
   - Nein

7. Haben Sie, oder werden Sie, in einem Ort außer Prag, in der Tschechischen Republik, übernachten?
   - Ja
   - Nein

8. Haben Sie andere historische Europäische Städten in den letzten fünf Jahren besucht?
   - Ja
   - Nein

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspekt</th>
<th>Sehr Wichtig</th>
<th>Wichtig</th>
<th>Nicht Wichtig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Geschichte</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Architektur</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Parks und offene Flächen</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Die umliegende Landschaft</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Die kulturelle Einrichtungen (Museen, Theater, etc)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Soziale Einrichtungen (Lokale, Restaurant, etc)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Das Wetter</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Straßen Stimmung und allgemeine Atmosphäre</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Geschäfte</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Die Einwohner</td>
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</table>

10.a) Ihre Meinung nach, wie viel tragen die folgenden Aspekten zu dem historischen Stadzentrum Prag bei?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspekt</th>
<th>Viel</th>
<th>Etwas</th>
<th>Nichts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Das Mittelalterliche Straßenmusster</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Die Straßen mit Kopfsteinpflaster</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Die Plätze und offene Flächen</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Der Fluß und die Brücken</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Die Ausichten von der Burg</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Die Höhe der Gebäuden</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Der Baustein der Gebäuden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Moderne Gebäude in der Gegend</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Jenige Sache noch nicht erwähnt bitte angeben</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
10.b) Sind Ihnen diese Aspekte aufgegangen bevor sie im Fragebogen erwähnt wurden?
- Ja, alle
- Ja, einige
- Nein, keine
- Weiß nicht

11. Werden Sie Prag wieder besuchen?
- Auf jedem Fall
- Vielleicht
- Wahrscheinlich nicht
- Auf keinem Fall
- Ich weiß nicht

12. Was halten Sie von der Menge Touristen in Prag?
- Zu viele Touristen, unbequem
- Belebt, aber bequem
- Nicht zu belebt aber auch nicht zu still
- Zu still mit nichts los

13.a Wie gefallen ihnen die Souvenir Geschäfte in dem Stadtzentrum Prag?
- Es gibt zu viele
- Die richtige Zahl
- Es sollte mehr geben

13.b Wenn Sie meinen daß es zu viele Geschäfte gibt, finden daß diese den Charakter der Altstadt für Besucher verderben?
- Ja, sehr viel
- Ja
- Nein
- Nein, überhaupt nicht

14.a Haben Sie vor, andere Sehenswürdigkeiten auserhalb das Stadtzentrum Prag, oder in der Nähe von Prag, zu besuchen?
- Ja
- Nein

14.b Wenn Ja, wo gehen Sie? ..................................................

14.c Wenn nein, warum nicht?
i) Keine Lust, schon genug gesehen
ii) Nicht genug Zeit
iii) Ich weiß nicht welche Andere Sehenswürdigkeiten es gibt
iv) Irgend einen Anderen Grund
15. Glauben Sie daß es zu viel Verkehr im historischen Stadtzentrum Prag gibt?
   - Ja, viel zu viel
   - Ja
   - Nicht zu viel
   - Nein
   - Nein, überhaupt nicht viel

16. Wie viel tragen die Buß Stadtführungen zu den Verkehr in dem Stadtzentrum Prag bei?
   - Die sind das Haupt Problem
   - Die tragen etwas zu dem Problem bei
   - Die machen nicht viel unterschied

17. Finden Sie das es genug Bus und Auto Parkplatze in dem Stadtzentrum Prag gibt?
   - Es gibt mehr als genug
   - Es gibt genug
   - Es gibt nicht genug
   - Es gibt viel zu wenig

18. Stimmen Sie zu das die Reklame und die Ladenfassaden, den historischen Charakter des Stadtzentrums verderben?
   - Ich stimme sehr zu
   - Ich stimme zu
   - Ich finde es macht keinen Unterschied
   - Ich stimme nicht zu
   - Ich stimme überhaupt nicht zu

19. Wie finden Sie die Qualität der Luft in Prag?
   - Sehr verschmutzt
   - Ziemlich verschmutzt
   - Die Qualität ist mir nicht aufgegangen
   - Nicht besonders verschmutzt
   - Überhaupt nicht verschmutzt

20. Finden Sie daß historische Stadtzentrum Prag laut?
   - Ja, der Lärm ist sehr belästigend
   - Es ist laut aber es stört mich nicht
   - Mir ist nicht aufgegangen
   - Es ist auf keinem Fall zu laut

21. Finden Sie daß es viel Papier und Abfälle in dem historischen Stadtzentrum Prag gibt?
   - Ja, es gibt sehr viel Papier und Abfälle
   - Es gibt Papier und Abfälle, aber nicht mehr als in anderen Städten
   - Es ist mir nicht aufgegangen
   - Es scheint wenig Papier und Abfälle zu geben
   - Es gibt kein Papier und Abfälle
22. Finden Sie daß im Allgemein es eine Balance gibt zwischen dem Turismus und das altägliche Leben im historischen Stadzenturm Prag?
   - Nein, Turismus dominiert das altägliche Leben
   - Nein, Turismus scheint nicht so wichtig wie das altägliche Leben zu sein
   - Ja, es gibt eine gute Balance zwischen Turismus und das altägliche Leben

23.a Werden Sie wieder Prag besuchen?
   - Auf jedem Fall
   - Vieleicht
   - Wahrscheinlich nicht
   - Auf keinem Fall
   - Ich weiß nicht

23.b Ist Ihre Meinung direkt von den folgenden Aspekten beeinflusst? (bitte alle relevante abhaken)
   - Turistenmenge
   - Turisten Geschäfte
   - Altägliche Geschäfte
   - Verkehr
   - Parkplätze
   - Preis
   - Werbung / Ladenfassaden
   - Luftverschmutzung
   - Lärm
   - Papier / Abfälle

24. Würden Sie in der Zukunft mehr oder weniger von den Folgeden sehen?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mehr</th>
<th>Weniger</th>
<th>Keine Veränderung</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Menschen in der Straße</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Turisten Geschäfte</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Altägliche Geschäfte</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parkplätze</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verkehrs-beschränkungen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bus Stadtführungen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Werbung-beschränkungen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Neue Gebäude in dem historischem Kern</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unterkunft in dem historischem Kern</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Vielen Dank für Ihre Hilfe und viel Spaß in Prag.
1. ¿De dónde es Vd.? ........................................

2. ¿Cuántos años tiene?
   - 16-25
   - 26-40
   - 41-60
   - 60+

3. ¿Qué tipo de alojamiento tiene?
   - Hotel
   - Pensión
   - Autoabastecimiento
   - Albergue de juventud
   - Habitación particular
   - Camping / Caravana
   - Con amigos / familia

4. ¿Donde está su alojamiento? .................................

5. ¿De cuántos días es su estancia en Praga?
   - Una noche
   - Dos noches
   - Entre tres noches y una semana
   - Dos semanas
   - Más que dos semanas

6. ¿Ha participado en una visita acompañada?
   - Si
   - No

7. ¿Ha pasado, o va a pasar la noche, en alguna otra parte de la República Checa durante este viaje?
   - Si
   - No

8. ¿Ha visitado alguna otra ciudad histórica en Europa durante los últimos cinco años?
   - Si (¿cual?).................................
   - No
9. ¿Cuáles de las siguientes cosas le parece importante mencionar si alguien pregunta sobre los aspectos positivos de Praga?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Muy Importante</th>
<th>Importante</th>
<th>No Importante</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>La historia</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La arquitectura</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>Los parques</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>Otras partes de la ciudad</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>El campo circundante</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilidades culturales (museos, teatros etc)</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>Facilidades sociales (bares, restaurants etc)</td>
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<tr>
<td>El tiempo</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>El ambiente por la calle</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>Las tiendas</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>La gente de Praga</td>
<td>...</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

10.a ¿Cuánto contribuyen las siguientes cosas al centro histórico de Praga?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mucho</th>
<th>Un Poco</th>
<th>Nada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>La red de calles medievales</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>Las calles adoquinadas</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>Las plazas</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>El río y los puentes</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>Las vistas desde el castillo</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La altura de los edificios</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>La piedra usada en la construcción de los edificios</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los edificios modernos en la zona</td>
<td>...</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alguna cosa no mencionada</td>
<td>.................................</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10.b ¿Ha sido consciente de algunos de dichos aspectos antes de que fueron mencionados en este sondeo?
- Si, todos
- Si, algunos
- No, ninguno
- No se

11. ¿Va a regresar a Praga?
- De todos modos
- Posiblemente
- Quizas no
- Definitivamente no
- No se

12. ¿Cuál de los siguientes mejor describe la cantidad de turistas por el centro histórico de Praga?
- Muchos y demasiados
- Muchos, pero no demasiados
- Ni muchos ni pocos
- Demasiado pocos y una falta de ambiente

13.a ¿Qué le parece las tiendas de recuerdos por el centro histórico de Praga?
- Hay demasiadas
- Más o menos una cantidad buena
- Deben tener más

13.b ¿En caso de que le parece que hay demasiadas tiendas, está de acuerdo con la afirmación que las tiendas estropean el carácter del centro histórico?
- Si, muy de acuerdo
- De acuerdo
- No de acuerdo
- Totalmente en contra

14.a ¿Tiene previsto visitar alguna atracción fuera del centro histórico o cerca de Praga?
- Sí
- No

14.b ¿Sí ha contestado "sí" que atracciones va a visitar? ..........
.................................................................

14.c ¿Sí ha contestado "no" es porque...
- ¿Ya ha visto bastante de la ciudad?
- ¿No tiene bastante tiempo durante este viaje?
- ¿No sabe que otras atracciones hay?
- ¿Alguna otra razón?
15. ¿Esta de acuerdo con la afirmación que hay demasiado tráfico en el centro histórico de Praga?
   - Si muy de acuerdo
   - De acuerdo
   - No de acuerdo
   - Totalmente en contra

16. ¿Hasta qué punto son los autobuses de visitas acompañadas que contribuyen a los problemas de tráfico en el centro histórico?
   - Los autobuses son la mayor parte del problema
   - Son una parte del problema
   - No tienen mucho que ver con el problema

17. ¿Está de acuerdo con la afirmación que hay bastante aparcamiento para autobuses y coches en el centro histórico de Praga?
   - Si, muy de acuerdo
   - De acuerdo
   - No de acuerdo
   - Totalmente en contra

18. ¿Está de acuerdo con la afirmación que las fachadas de las tiendas y los anuncios desprecian el carácter histórico del centro?
   - Si, muy de acuerdo
   - De acuerdo
   - No de acuerdo
   - Totalmente en contra

19. ¿Qué le parece la calidad del aire en el centro histórico de Praga?
   - Muy contaminado
   - Contaminado
   - No me he dado cuenta
   - No muy contaminado
   - Definitivamente no contaminado

20. ¿Le parece que hay mucho ruido en el centro histórico de Praga?
   - Si, el ruido es muy intrusivo
   - Hay ruido, pero no molesta
   - No me he dado cuenta
   - Definitivamente no hay mucho ruido

21. ¿Le parece que hay mucha basura y papel por el centro histórico?
   - Si, hay mucha basura y papel por el centro
   - Hay basura y papel, pero no más que en otras ciudades
   - No me he dado cuenta
   - Parece que hay poca basura y papel
   - Definitivamente no hay mucha basura y papel
22. ¿Le parece que hay un balance entre turismo y la vida cotidiana en el centro historico de Praga?
- No, el turismo domina la vida cotidiana
- No, el turismo no es tan importante que la vida cotidiana
- Sí, me parece que en general hay un buen balance entre el turismo y la vida cotidiana

23.a ¿Va a regresar a Praga?
- Definitivamente
- Posiblemente
- Quizás no
- Definitivamente no
- No se

23.b ¿De los siguientes factores hay alguno(s) que directamente influye su decisión?
- Las multitudes de turistas
- Las tiendas turísticas
- Tiendas cotidianas
- Trafico
- Aparcamiento
- El coste
- Las fachadas de las tiendas
- Contaminación
- Ruido
- Papel / Basura

24. ¿En el futuro le gustaría ver más o menos de las siguientes cosas?

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<th>Más</th>
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GRACIAS POR SU TIEMPO
Appendix 2
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hotel</th>
<th>Rooms</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hotel Atrium, Pobrezni 1, 180 00 Prague 8</td>
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