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Title: “Socio – economic and cultural dimensions in the approach of local development: the role of specific resources”

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Abstract

In the general framework of the globalized world concepts such as heterogeneity and decentralization, arise in many terms. Local development came up at the late 80's and the beginning of 90's as a concept and arrangement that brought economic and institutional/political changes. It is not absolutely identical to the development of a specific spatial unit, even if some similarities can be highlighted. Local development is based on local factors and is related with the organization, reconstruction or even the creation of a spatial, socio – economic system (“territoire”). The basic goal of this dissertation is to examine these specific conditions of globalization that cause the development of small territorial units, by using two examples. The first case, concerns the industrial village of New Lanark in Scotland that was reconstructed upon social ideas by Robert Owen, a social utopian, in the beginning of 19th century and still exists having stressed cultural characteristics. The second case, concerns the eco-village of Svanholm in Copenhagen, near the village of Skibby, that is based upon the new idea of eco villages (human scale, human activities harmlessly integrated in the physical world, sustainability etc). The objective of this work is to detect and characterize the trajectory followed by these two small regions, using tools and concepts developed by recent approaches on local development such as the concepts of proximity (“relational”, “societal”, “institutional”, etc.) as well as the possible development of a “territorial specification” process based on the spatial inscription (“ancrage”) of resources (generic and specific).

Key words: globalization, local development, territorial unit, proximity, specific resources

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the general framework of the globalized world, being characterized with homogeneity and centralization, contrary concepts, such as territorial heterogeneity and decentralization, arise in many terms. Development strategies at regional and local level give more and more emphasize to the ability of own resources, their mobilization, the use of endogenous productive forces and the internal control of the development process. Local development came up in the late 80s and the beginning of the 90s as a concept and arrangement that brought economic and institutional/political changes. It is not identical to the development of a specific spatial unit, but development based on local factors. It is a form of regional development and an instrument of regional policy in which local actors – local organisations and bodies, local businesses, local initiative and enterprise – constitute the main drivers of the development process. Moreover, “local development is the sign of a new economic culture which waives the clear separation between the economic and social”, (Pecqueur, 2000, p55). It consists of a product of globalization (need for return to the place of origin, need for differentiation, and increased value of local/traditional products), and is related with the organization, reconstruction or even the creation of a spatial, socio – economic system (“territoire”).

The basic scope of this dissertation is to examine these specific conditions of globalization that could contribute to the development of small territorial units, by using two examples. The first case, concerns the industrial village of New Lanark in Scotland that was reconstructed upon social ideas by Robert Owen, a social utopian, in the beginning of 19th century and still exists having cultural characteristics (traditional sources). The second case, concerns the eco-village of Svanholm in Copenhagen, near the village of Skibby, that is based upon the new concept and practice of eco villages (human scale, human activities harmlessly integrated in the physical world, sustainability etc).

The objective of this work is to examine the trajectory followed by these two small regions, using tools and concepts developed by recent approaches on local development such as the concepts of proximity (“relational”, “institutional” proximity, direct contact) which have various definitions that refer to notions such as: space, neighborhood,

institutions, inter-individual relationships, epistemic communities, kinship and representations. More precisely, the objective is to examine to which extent these recent approaches might contribute to explain (a) the emergency and development of small territorial units, and (b) in some cases, the possible development of a “territorial specification” process based on the spatial inscription of resources (generic and specific). Emphasis will be given to the resources that can be qualified as intrinsic to the territory (historic, cultural, natural, recreational resources etc) and how they can be mobilized and developed in a given territory.

In terms of originality, this work attempts an evaluation of the extent to which new approaches and the related methods proposed, that concern the concept of identified resource and proximity, contribute to the understanding of new initiatives in local scale and local dynamics.

As mentioned above, two case studies will be examined and compared. The first one consists of a classic case of local development that follows traditional approaches (mainly traditional sources). The second concerns a new one, based on ecological ideas, that consists the driver of development. These cases show that local communities, apart from the disadvantages they may have, can find a way out (local governance) and face the current difficulties of globalization. So, this dissertation is considered to be useful for local bodies due to the fact that the present work tries to develop some alternative tools in order to better understand the potential of local dynamics. Nevertheless, we have to underline that, in the present work, the implementation of these tools remains mainly “*virtual*” due to the practical incapacity to proceed to the on-field study in the two examined sites. The “true” implementation of these tools requires the direct participation of local actors. Moreover, since new approaches that will be presented concern what is often called the French School of Proximity, it is considered that this work could contribute to a larger diffusion of alternative concepts and approaches.

Finally, as it concerns the methodological research, qualitative methods allowing the identification and evaluation of resources will be used (Duquenne, Woillez, 2009). This method is directly based on the concepts of generic and specific resources as developed by the above School (Colletis, Gilly, Pecqueur, Perrat, Zimmermann, 1997). More specifically, an evaluation methodology concerning the specific features of the

examined case studies will be used, based upon four qualitative criteria: reputation, singular originality, non – transferability, non – reproducibility. If these criteria have been to a large part defined in recent bibliography, it appears nevertheless necessary to determine, for each resource, the factors constituting each of them. It is obvious that these criteria have to be examined in detail considering the characteristics of each one of the examined resources. Due to the fact that on field study in the two selected territorial units was not possible, the key sources that have been used in order proceed to the analysis and evaluation, are the following:

- (a) Scientific journals,
- (b) Conference proceedings
- (c) Internet: web pages of libraries, web pages of two case studies
- (d) Interviews: due to the distance, some interviews will be held through email and phone in order to collect the necessary primary information.

CHAPTER 2

SETTING THE GENERAL FRAMEWORK: GLOBALIZATION AND CURRENT SITUATION

2.1. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF LOCAL AND ENDOGENOUS DEVELOPMENT

While being part of an increasingly open economy with a global dimension, it is observed that this development had, to some extent, “surprising” impacts, in the sense that it also caused a simultaneous return to development at local level.

Globalization

In recent years the idea of globalization is considered to be a major theme as it concerns politicians, academics and social actors (Casanova, 2004). Globalization consists of a multi-dimensional concept with social, economical, geographical and cultural aspects and can be categorized as following: i) technological (telecommunications and the development of new technologies), ii) economic (a new transnational financial system), iii) cultural (development of the electronic mass media), iv) political/ institutional and ideological (a new multi-polarity in a space of hierarchies and domains), and v) physical / environmental (degree of uncertainty about the future evolution of human activity)¹. According to Casanova (2004), it involves the internationalization of the fields of economy, politics and culture, a fact that makes it a complex process. Moreover, the interactions between individuals from different countries, social groups, firms, trade unions etc indicate a “process of international interconnectedness” and a “powerful and ongoing phenomenon” (Casanova, 2004, p.13).

There are two prevailing views concerning globalization. On the one hand, there are those who are in favour of it, claiming that free trade contributes to a more effective distribution of wealth for all participating countries. On the other hand, critical views on the economic dimension of globalization argue that it is a process which serves the

¹ Bervejillo, Federico (1995) as cited in Casanova, (2004, p.14)

interests of companies and rely on the possibility of establishing alternative institutions and policies with a social and environmental direction rather than purely economic. Casanova (2004) argues that even though the concept is also connected to the idea of homogeneity in terms of products, culture and preferences, there is heterogeneity in opportunities and risks in reality, as there were firms and regions that succeed and at the same time local economic structures were left vulnerable. According to Bervejillo (1995) as cited in Casanova (2004), while globalization opens up opportunities for different regions it also poses new threats. As it concerns the threats, Bervejillo refers to the marginalization or even exclusion of 'non-attractive' places, the threat for regions that play the role of 'subordinate integration' depending on external global actors, the possibility of "economic and social fragmentation, dismemberment and disintegration" for territorial units that are low-inserted in the global system and, finally, the environmental threat due to the non-sustainable development model that is imposed.

According to Amin and Thrift (2001), globalization is too often seen as an all-pervasive force, but there is still a considerable dispute on what this term might mean. In their book, *Globalization, Institutions and Regional Development in Europe*, they refer to some comments on this concept including Massey's (1991) who claims that "there is a 'dialectic' between the global and the local that in some sense what counts as a local has been transformed by globalization" and emphasize the lack of a finished theory of globalization. As it concerns opportunities, Bervejillo (1995, cited in Casanova, 2004, p.15) claims that some places can be developed due to the fact that they enjoy a better access to globalized resources (technology, capital and markets) that can increase the value of endogenous resources and emphasizes the 'global-local dilemma' that should be addressed. According to Arocena (1987) as cited in Casanova (2004), there are three ways in which the above dilemma can be approached. The first considers globalization as a threat to local and regional affairs and actors who could resist the globalization process. So, as far as international conditions remain the same, local development cannot exist. According to the second one, local conditions could play the role of an alternative that would face globalization's threat and allow local actors to regain power through an 'anti-global revolution' (political and cultural resistance). The third approach does not consider globalization as a threat, the real life situation being far more complex. More specifically, it tries to connect the global and the local with the idea that globalization can actually also be considered as an opportunity and a challenge in order

to promote local development (diversity, high quality and value of products). The challenges posed by globalization (necessary productive restructuring, structural unemployment etc) have stimulated initiatives at regional and local level whose objectives are “to facilitate adjustment processes for the local productive systems, giving rise to the local economy policy” (Vasquez-Barquero, 2000). Finally, it can be argued that globalization is a phenomenon that has an integrated dimension due to its characteristic of homogeneity and at the same time it presents some cases where heterogeneity appears to play the central role.

Globalization and Integration: the case of the European Union

At the European level, the concept of European integration and regional inequalities, in the general framework of the unique construction of the European Union, is nowadays at the centre of discussion. In this case there are, respectively, two opposing approaches. The first one argues that, on a macroeconomic level, economic integration leads to the reduction of inequalities, as its forces contribute to the diffusion of development in eligible regions (neoliberal narrative). According to the second one, although it is mostly estimated that economic integration is a positive process, it is also noted that its benefits and costs can hardly be evenly distributed on space, so some regions benefit more than others and thus increase inequalities and polarize space (Petraikos and Psycharis, 2004). As Feser (2005, p.2) claims: “regions within nations face most of the practical challenges of adjusting to the new economic order”. The three basic theories on integration are: the mainstream that is in favour of free market in order to achieve efficiency, the critical one according to which the market can have positive and negative results so there must be an integration of policies, and the heterodox that is against any form of integration. As it concerns the case of the European Union, it can be mentioned that it has followed the mainstream theory in the first decades of its creation and is now more ‘critical’ due to the disparities that have appeared, to this day, among member – states.

Another concept that has become more and more important in the European context is that of governance, that describes a process of decision – making by which decisions are implemented (Depoele, 2010). More specifically, it describes the interaction between governments and other social organizations, the relation with the citizens and the way decisions are taken in a complex world (Graham et al, 2003). An integrated definition of

the concept of local governance could be the following: “ A process of decision making (by local councils and relevant stakeholder groups) on matters of local/municipal development, the implementation and management of development plans and the provision of basic services through allocation of available resources in order to achieve agreed development goals and targets”². Local governance is about: a) who is participating in decision making, how is this process organised, and to what extent are actual decisions reflecting the community’s priority needs, b) once decisions have been made, how are they translated into action and who is involved in the implementation process, c) what resources (natural, human, material, financial) are available and how are they allocated to meet people’s needs in terms of basic services and participatory development. Generally, it can be argued that there are four basic aspects considering the above concept. Firstly, governance is conceptually broader than government as it recognizes power’s existence inside and outside formal authorities and institutions of government through the interaction of different stakeholders in a political, economic and administrative level, creating a cumulative impact on lifestyles and living standards of citizens. Secondly, it is broader than management that tends to focus on the implementation and administration functions of government. Thirdly, it consists of a process as it recognizes that decision-making is based on complex relationships between many actors with different priorities (state, local government-including traditional authorities, private sector and civil society). Finally, it is a neutral concept as actors, mechanisms, processes and institutions can produce positive or negative results, hence the notion of “good governance”. Apart from the definition of local governance, there are also many approaches that concern the concept. On the one hand, political approaches refer to the respect for the promotion of human rights, democratization and multi-party politics and policy formulation, legislation and operational procedures (policy and institutional framework, legal framework). On the other hand, practical approaches for the promotion of local governance refer to the Millennium Development Goals that offer a political basis and operational framework for further action, City-to-City cooperation, Municipal international cooperation, Local government associations and city networks and City Diplomacy³. Moreover, local governance referring to

² Definition given in: www.delzmb.ec.europa.eu/en/acp_eu/Background%20Paper.pdf

³ Information from the website:

www.delzmb.ec.europa.eu/en/acp_eu/Background%20Paper.pdf

participation of civil society requires necessary the adoption of a multi-pronged strategy involving not only the local society but also the State and the “common people”⁴.

The significance of governance for the EU is showed by the European Commission’s White Paper on European Governance, which focuses on “the need to involve stakeholders in programming and project delivery and on decentralized management in policy delivery”, one of stakeholders’ groups being targeted at a local level (cited in Depoele, 2010, p.2). The above fact is due to the EU’s principle of subsidiarity, which “implies that decisions should be taken at the most ‘appropriate level’, which quite often may be the lowest level or the local level and, therefore, introduces a ‘bottom-up’ approach to policy design and implementation” (cited in Depoele, 2010, pp.2-3). Moreover, one basic element of good governance that is defined by the EU is: “decentralization and local government reform/capacity building to promote and institutionalize participation at the local level with a focus on local power structures and resources” (CEC, 2004a, cited in Depoele, 2010, p.3).

In terms of development policy, some relevant documents that were presented by the European Commission and Member States over the past years include the following: Communication on Governance and Development, European Consensus for Development, Governance in the European Consensus on Development: Towards a Harmonised Approach within the European Union etc. Furthermore, the importance of local development and governance is, also, shown in many of its policies such as: regional policy, European Neighbourhood Policy and some other activities with local dimension such as LEADER and European Employment Strategy. LEADER provides support for the acquisition of skills, in order to conceive and implement local rural development strategies, and the implementation of integrated territorial rural development strategies. Since its creation (1991), Leader and its successors (Leader I, Leader II then Leader+) have enabled rural communities to pursue their own development strategies, and encourage the creation of international, national and regional networks of best practices⁵. As concerns LEADER+, it is one of four initiatives

⁴ See Participatory Governance and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), United Nations, New York 2008

⁵ All information are from the website:

www.delzmb.ec.europa.eu/en/acp_eu/Background%20Paper.pdf

financed by EU structural funds and is designed to help rural actors consider the long-term potential of their local region. It has also a strong focus on partnership and networks of exchange of experience in order to encourage the implementation of integrated, high-quality and original strategies for sustainable development⁶.

Other issues that are also emphasized in the development agenda and vary in definition are those of decentralization and territorial development. The concept of territorial development, in particular, in terms of spatially-based development, has a long history. Apart from the social dimension that has been analysed previously-in regional or district planning, watershed development, spatial planning (*aménagement du territoire*) or sub-national territorial units-, this concept consists of a convergence between cultural and spatial aspects of development and a ‘symbiotic’ relationship between territory, economies and territorial autonomy/decentralization. There are many definitions of territorial development. According to the European Commission and the Programming Guide for Strategy Papers (2006): “territorial development is a concept based on a multi-sectoral approach, including the sustainable management of the rural space and its economic and social links with urban centres, as well as the decentralization process and issues of local governance” and aims at “involving beneficiaries in the identification of investments and the management of resources in order to support the emergence of local development clusters, while respecting the capacity of ecosystems”⁷. Another definition according to HARDS (Heads of Agriculture and Rural Development of MS development cooperation)⁸ Discussion Paper (2008) within the European Commission is: “an approach aiming to improve regional cohesion (and ultimately overall development) of a country, by unlocking the specific potential of its different territories, thanks to more efficient and sustainable development strategies”. It could be argued that the first one concentrates more on the multi-dimensional character of the concept as well as the linkages that take place and the interaction of urban and rural space in the general framework of sustainability. The second one emphasizes on the concept of regional cohesion as a driver for the achievement of cohesion at a national level also through sustainable development strategies. The following diagram shows the

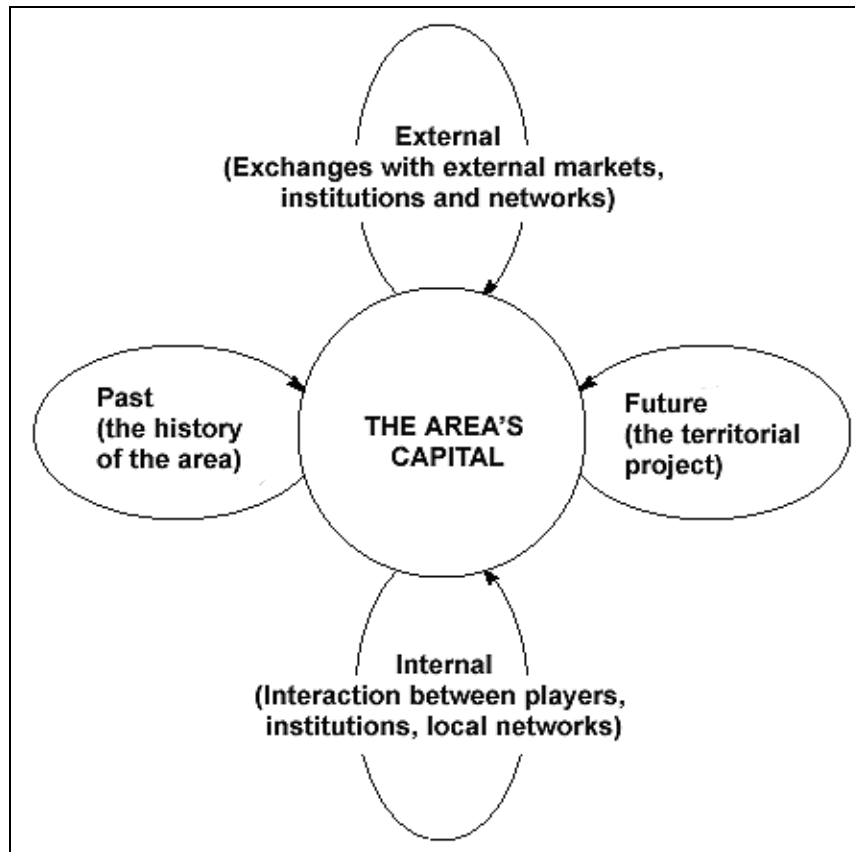
⁶ Information from the website: http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/rur/leaderplus/index_en.htm

⁷ Cited in: www.delzmb.ec.europa.eu/en/acp_eu/Background%20Paper.pdf

⁸ Cited in: www.delzmb.ec.europa.eu/en/acp_eu/Background%20Paper.pdf

dimensions of territorial development in terms of external and internal factors and the past and future of a specific area.

Diagram 1: Dimensions of Territorial Development



Source:

EC LEADER European Observatory European Commission

At a general level, EU aid priorities concerning local development are: i) To progress in its strategy towards new neighbour states, ii) To lead as an actor in sustainable development and iii) To assert the role of the EU vis-à-vis new security challenges⁹.

Local and Endogenous Development

In the general framework of globalization and an integrated world as was described above, it can be mentioned that, the neoliberal narrative and the claim that development will be diffused in all places due to the free market of the globalized world, has not

⁹ All information included in the paragraph are presented in details in the following website page: www.delzmb.ec.europa.eu/en/acp_eu/Background%20Paper.pdf

seem to be verified (Benko, Lipietz and Caceres-Dutertre, 2000). The concept of development strategies that emphasize the mobilization and utilization of endogenous productive forces are well known since 60s though became widespread in the second half of 70s (Christofakis, 2001). As Christofakis claims, ‘decentralized – endogenous’ development that was primarily formulated as a way out of the dependence of less developed countries from the developed ones in the global economy, acquired a social dimension with the appearance of the concept of local development. As a result, a ‘development from bellow model’ was founded and constructed. According to Vasquez Barquero (1991), all attempts to define the concept of endogenous development and dynamic have contributed to the improvement of planning, the development of strategy especially at local level as well as – and be may the most innovative point – more appropriate tools for analysis.

As it concerns the concept of development, it appears at the beginning of the 20th century as a process of favourable change and the ‘evolution’ from a lower to an upper stage that is characterized by general growth, increase and ‘maturation’. This kind of development was connected mainly to the concept of economic enlargement – the growth of the value of the total level of production of goods and services in an economy (Gross National Product and National Income) – with quantitative rather than qualitative data, and also to progress and innovation and therefore, to technological evolution.

The meaning of local refers not only to the specific spatial unit, but also to an activity and process that begins as an initiative of local population and bodies (Coffey and Polese, 1985). So, it is a development that is based on local factors. This kind of development consists of a form of regional development and also a new tool of regional policy, where local factors such as: local organisations/institutions, local firms, local initiative and entrepreneurship, are the basic drivers of the development process (Christofakis, 2001). These local factors refer, particularly to the social, cultural and economical features of local productive systems, apart from the geographical and physical characteristics of spatial units (Christofakis, 2001). According to the author, all spatial units have an amount of resources – economic, human, cultural and institutional – which consist the basis for their endogenous development. So, at a local level, all aspects that could enhance the productive structure (labour market, physical resources

etc) are being investigated in order to improve the local economic development and the population's standard of living.

The concepts of local and endogenous development while being closely connected are partially differentiated as the first one operates at a wider context than the second one (Christofakis, 2001). However, there is a pluralism of views as concerns the above concepts, some of those identifying them due to the major role of local factors. According to the same author, a model of endogenous development able to guarantee "the autonomy of the process of local financial system's transformation" should be based on local characteristics and the capability to control some fundamental variables. More specifically, he argues that it should be based on the following factors:

- i) On the use of local resources (raw materials, local funds, labour etc)
- ii) On the control capability of the process of local accumulation
- iii) On the capability of innovating
- iv) On the existence of (or capability of developing) productive intra-industry and cross-sectional, interdependencies and links at local level.

Moreover, he claims that endogenous development does not refer to a "closed economy" but it, basically, concerns the capability of transforming the socioeconomic system and reacting to external challenges, the promotion of social information and the capability of introducing specific forms of social adjustment at local level, in favour of all the above. Blakely (1994), claims that local economic development is, actually, a change in terms of subjects of action and activities that have to do with economic development. According to Coffey and Polese (1985), local development can be considered as a process of economic development that improves the living standard of the local population. Moreover, they argue that it could be divided in two dimensions: the economic that refers to the local entrepreneurs and their capability to organise production factors in order to be competitive, and the social and cultural one that refers to local values, traditions and institutions as driver of the development process. Stohr (1981) as cited in Christofakis (2001, p.62), introduces the political and administrative dimension in the strategy of local development, so as the spatial units to allow the creation of "a local economic framework, protecting it from the external effects and promoting the local dynamic". Weaver (1992), claims that the "development on specific

places” should include specific components (creation of new jobs, development of the services’ sector, institutional decentralization enhancement of education and local values, promotion of production decentralization and use of natural resources).

Definitively, we can admit that the concept of endogenous development is actually the capability of creating the suitable process which, combined with the “activation” of internal, local, available sources and dynamics, could improve the general living conditions of people at a certain place, which surpasses the traditional approach of economic development.

CHAPTER 3

NEW APPROACHES ON LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

3.1. PROXIMITY APPROACHES: PREREQUISITES FOR LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

In the general framework of globalization as described above, as well as the significance and attention on meanings such as local and territorial development and governance and the role of specific stakeholders in the development process, concepts such as proximity and distance gains central importance. According to Lorentzen (2007), proximity should be seen as a concept that has various dimensions-geographic proximity, societal proximity and cognitive proximity-and can be established on different spatial scales representing firms' potentials from which they may or may not benefit, depending on their resources and capabilities and their orientations. As concerns geographic proximity, the author argues that: "it is an expression of the kilometric distance that separates two actors in geographic space" (Lorentzen, 2007, p.6). If it is related to cost and time, geographic proximity represents also a constraint to interaction and learning (Torre and Rallet, 2005). Generally, the author argues that this kind of proximity depends on the development of infrastructure that diminishes the distance and therefore the availability of "societal and private resources" for investment from the actors and societies that are not equally "well resourced". So, geographic proximity "can be understood as the physical possibility of actors to interact in relation to their resources". In fact it is often mentioned that the spatial or geographic proximity enhances the access to information and to knowledge, and in this sense contributes to local development (Jaffe et al., 1993; Thompson and Fox-Kean, 2005).

Societal proximity is a more complex phenomenon and according to the authors, is defined in terms of institutional, organizational or social proximities. Institutional proximity is an assembly of agents as parties in a common space that is "formed by representations, models, and rules of the game, which are applied to thought as well as to action (North, 1990). Lorentzen (2007) claims that institutional proximity is needed

for the formation of sustainable relationships in which actors can cooperate in a meaningful way. Regarding organizational proximity, organization is a group of agents that are involved in practising a finalized activity (Kirat and Lung, 1999) and, therefore, a space where actors define their strategies and practices and imply them cooperating with each other (Lorentzen, 2007). The author claims that this kind of proximity is actually the sharing among agents that have the same goals and practices that are enabled by institutions to a larger or smaller extent, in various spatial levels-local and global-, for a period of long or short time and may be individuals as well as firms and private or public organizations.

According to Torre and Rallet (2005, p.49), organizational proximity is a relational one. The relationships that take place are, for example, production relationships, that are characterised by vertical or horizontal interdependencies (Kirat and Lung, 1999, p.30). Social proximity refers to the actors and the networks of personal relationships (Granovetter, 1985). Granovetter does not consider the role of space, and in a mobile society, collocation is not a prerequisite for social relations to emerge. Dettmann and Brenner (2010) claim that social proximity originates from the concept of embeddedness but refers directly to the individual level and considers social factors such as friendship, loyalty and trust between people, pointing out that economic activities between individuals that do not know each other or share trust are difficult or even unlikely. In other terms, the social proximity is clearly related to the nature of the relationships existing between members of a group and to what extent each member can trust the other members, facilitating the exchange of relevant information as well as their cooperation in the implementation of common project.

An important extension of social proximity's approaches is the well known approach in terms of social capital. According to Putnam (2001, cited in Lorentzen, 2007, p.11), the concept of social capital refers to "social networks and the reciprocity and trustworthiness which arise from these" and can be understood as "shared responsibility among a multitude of agents". These spatial relations may be developed at different spatial levels as the notion of social capital "is not connected to any kind of territorial determinism, but is linked to social space of any scale (Lorentzen, 2007, pp.11-12). Social proximity is an approach directly linked with spatial proximity as in order to build up social relationship there is a need for high communication frequency at the

beginning and the chance for actors to talk to each other unplanned and on different contexts (Kraut et al. 1988; Boschma 2005).

Finally, the concept of cognitive proximity enables actors and individuals to understand each other apart from being able to have a physical contact during a permanent or temporal period of time. Proximity that is related with common culture, for example, refers to the share of beliefs, world views and values among the agents and provides this kind of understanding. In terms of knowledge sharing and innovation, technological and professional proximities are also part of the cognitive one as they allow mutual understanding among professionals “that have passed comparable educations or are sharing professional experiences in comparable branches or functions” (Lorentzen, 2007, p.13).

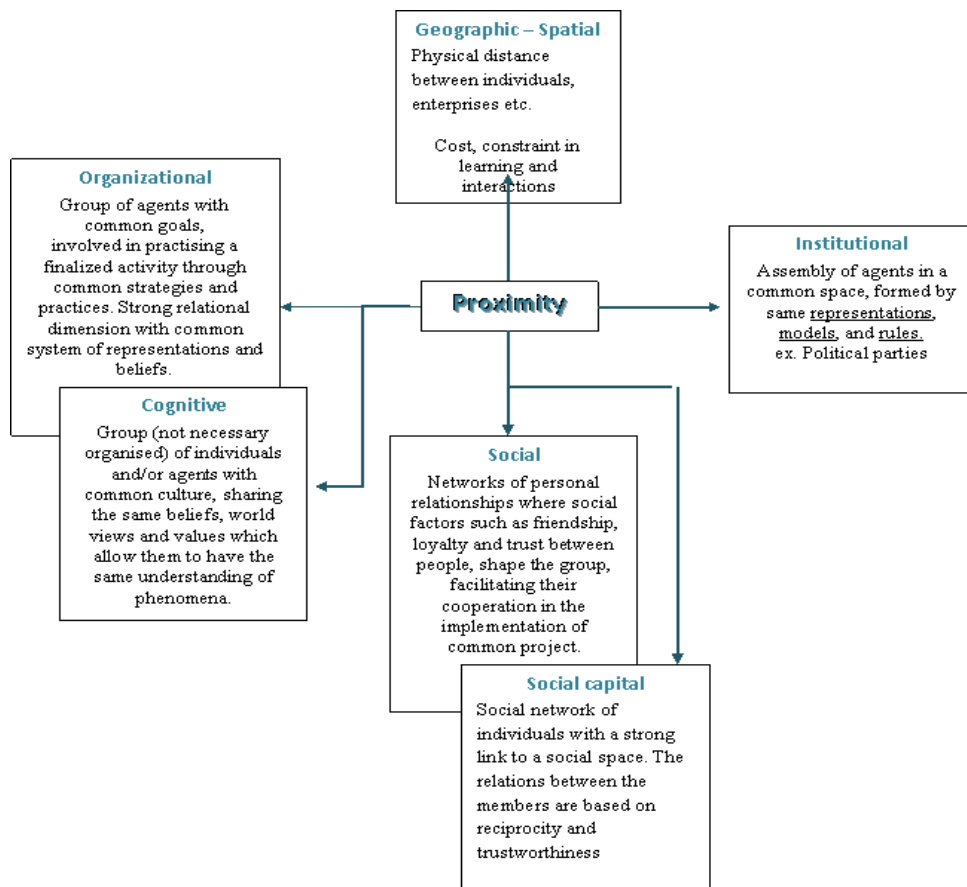
According to Gilly and Torre (2000), there are mainly two types of proximity: the geographical and organized ones which, as their name indicates, are geographical and non-geographical based respectively. The first one shows the physical distance between two entities-individuals, organizations, towns, etc- that is weighed by the cost in time and money of covering that distance and has two main characteristics: i) it is binary – need to determine whether one entity is close or far from another-and ii) it is doubly relative-social in nature regarding transport available and subjective regarding distance’s “judgment” from individuals (Torre, 2006). As it concerns organized proximity, the author claims that is understood as the ability of an organization to make its members interact in the framework of logic of belonging-interaction of members of the same firm that follow the same rules and routines-and the logic of similarity-same system of representations, beliefs and knowledge-that can be both complementary and substitutable. Regarding these two types of proximity, the author also argues that the geographical one does not ensure interaction between actors and individuals. So if does not exist with the organized one, actors are concentrated in the same area but not directly related with each other.

Proximity consists of a concept that may have many dimensions, as noted from the above analysis, with the geographical-mathematical one being more standard. Apart from that, proximity in terms of the relationships between individuals regarding their common views and beliefs is also analyzed. Organized proximity includes the concept of cognitive proximity as logic of belonging and similarity is also connected with

culture and, moreover, enables the understanding between individuals. However, the social dimension and especially the concept of social capital and the special relationships of actors involved does not seem to be mentioned or included in Torre's concept of proximity, and thus it could be argued that the first analysis could provide a more integrated view of the concept. In any case, proximities enable mechanisms that make it possible for actors and individuals to get involved in many kinds of networks - social, professional, organizational - in a specific space or time and are therefore connected to a great extent with the concept of local development as well as the potentials of local actors and agents of a specific territorial unit to coordinate their actions, especially as regards the implementation of a common project around the valorization of local resources.

Due to the difficulties to delimit clearly the above mentioned concepts of proximity, the following scheme tries to summarize their main characteristics with strong faithfulness to the vocabulary employed by the authors.

Scheme 1: Dimensions of Proximity



Source: Self Elaboration

Even in a globalized economy that is being characterized by the mobility of firms and individuals, proximity still matters (Torre and Rallet, 2005). According to the Torre and Rallet, territories are re-discovered, local systems as well as decentralization of decision-making are given more importance and people agree that decisions should be taken at a local level in a bigger extend. Regarding proximity the authors argue that it consists of a more ambiguous terms than that of localization, “concentrating in one single term the multiplicity of spatial scales within which economic actors and individuals situate their actions”. It is also related to the discussion concerning local development and peripherality (Lorentzen, 2007). According to the author the concept of peripherality is usually “discussed in terms of accessibility in relation to time and costs of transportation” (Lorentzen, 2007, p.19). More specifically, the core idea is that areas that have better access to locations of input materials and markets-core and central regions-are more productive and competitive and thus more successful than more isolated ones-peripheral regions-(Oinas, 2002; Spiekerman and Neubauer, 2002). In the latter ‘remote’ regions there is a lack of dynamic clusters and innovation activities are at a low scale in comparison to the core regions (Tödtling and Trippel, 2005). So, peripheral regions are not in command of their own social, political, technological and economic development. However, there are also “a-spatial” characteristics that influence the development of a region apart from infrastructure and spatially based economics (Copus, 2001). Local factors such as social capital, local business networks, the civil society and institutional networks, play a decisive role in the development of the regional economy (Lorentzen, 2007) as well as in the economy of a territorial unit and are linked with the concept of proximity having the characteristics of the mechanism discussed above. According to Lagendijk (1999, cited in Lorentzen, 2007, p.21), these aspects “may serve as a point of departure for the development of parallel, but linked trajectories of development that bring growth to hitherto disadvantaged regions”.

According to the above analysis, there are many types of proximity concerning the geography, organizational and institutional forms as well as the social networks that connect local agents and individuals. It can be argued that whatever the specific approach of the concept of proximity, the capacity to develop an appropriate environment for local development appears to be strongly linked with the capacity to

develop appropriate relationships between the local actors: trust, common values, objectives and so on.

3.2. RESOURCE SPECIFICATION AND TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT

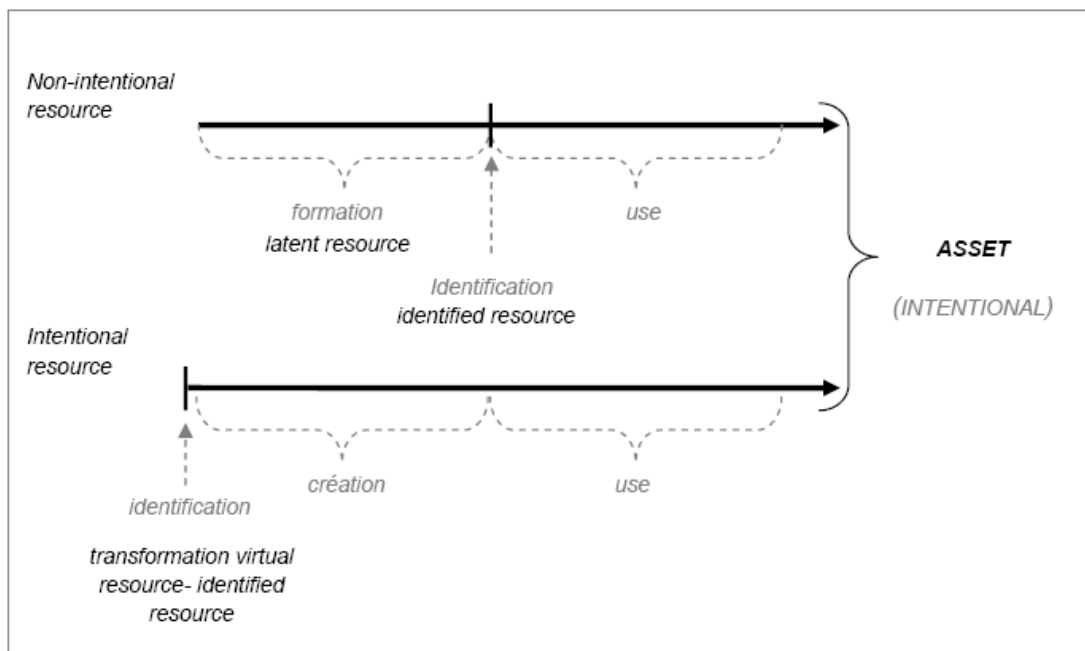
Small and isolated areas as mentioned above, due to their size and location cannot easily reach a high level of economic activity and therefore be more competitive and find their place in the market. However, there are also some characteristics like local factors (social capital, local business networks, the civil society, institutional networks), which are strongly linked with the concept of proximity, that may enable these, initially, “weak” areas to find their real potential based on their availability and resources.

The period of 1990s is dominated by approaches focused on “endogenization” of the “territory” (Samaganova and Samson, 2007). According to Samaganova and Samson, apart from the theories of Marshall (1890) and Krugman (1991) referring to the phenomenon of the agglomeration of firms in specific places, new ones emerged that tried to understand the reasons why some territories experience development and growth while others “suffer from crises”, distinguishing agglomeration of activities from territorial specification and giving special emphasis on the role of actors in the performance of a territory.

According to the above, Zimmerman and al (1998) distinguish three different situations: agglomeration, specialization and specification. Moreover, Samaganova and Samson (2007), claim that in order to have a methodological balance in analyzing social phenomena there is a need to take into account, apart from transactional and interactional dimensions of the territorial economy (Rallet, Torre, 2000, 2004), the territories’ structural characteristics (geography, history and culture) and, also, their location, embeddedness and networking “within broader ensembles”. In this general framework that is being set, the concept of territorial resources represents, not only an output of the strategies and activities of actors, but also “structural and constitutive characteristics of a territory” (Samaganova and Samson, 2007, p.2). Taking all the above into account, the authors approach the idea of the creation / construction of resources by the actors of a territory (Colletis and Pecqueur, 1993), apart from their availability and allocation, introducing the concept of built resources “originating from the combinations of strategies aiming at finding a solution to a problem” (Samaganova and Samson, 2007, p.2) that may pre-exist the production process and which generally refers to the intentionality of their genesis. According to Colletis and Pecqueur (1993,

p.497) “resources appear only at the moment when strategies combine to solve a new problem” and the term ‘strategy’ shows the actors’ intention through their interaction. However, Samaganova and Samson (2007) argue that the process of resources’ genesis, in contrary to their identification and implementation, may be either non-intentional or intentional. So, “the territorial resource is considered as the result of intentional and non-intentional human activity that may be used as an input in the production process” while territorial assets “result only from the intentional activity and represent an output of the actors’ strategies”(Samaganova and Samson, 2007, p.4). The following diagram illustrates the above statement.

Diagram 2: Intentional resources vs. Non-intentional resources: Resource-Asset transformation



Source: Samaganova and Samson (2007)

More specifically, in the case of intentional resources, where there is intentional human activity for the production of goods and services, the identification is placed at the beginning of the process when resources become “real” and identified and then created and used in productive activities. In the case of non-intentional resources, the resource is formed in a latent condition at a first level without being identified, until it is being

“discovered” at a later stage and used in production. This discovery can be the matter of chance as it can be the result of a voluntary and organized action.

The concept of territorial and built resources may explain the fact that some territories that may seem “weak” at a first stage of their economic activity, manage to find a way out and place themselves in the market. Apart from the available factors that are well known and define their specialization, there may be also, resources identified or not which are connected and specific to the territory.

The analysis of territorial dynamics strengthens the role of actors in resource creation and the distinction between intentional and non-intentional resources gives new insights as to their role (Samaganova and Samson, 2007). The idea of creating and constructing resources is directly linked with the activation of local actors and individuals and of the whole local community. According to Samaganova and Samson, there are three types of approaches to the genesis of resources concerning the role of actors: the passive approach - presence of territorial resources as a result of the agglomeration processes based on geographical proximity and a similarity of actors -, the voluntaristic approach - a typical example of the a-territorial top-down policy and possible creation of resources due to political will - and the active approach-a compromise between the above approaches where there is active participation of territorial actors -. As concerns the connection of resources to a territory, authors argue that: “while intentional resources are sometimes a-territorial, the non-intentional ones are extremely anchored within a territory” (Samaganova and Samson, 2007, p.7) and introduce a new definition of specific resources that are distinguished from the built ones in general. According to Colletis and Pecqueur (1993, 2004) as cited in Samaganova and Samson (2007, p.7), specific built resources are “anchored, non-transferable and non-reproducible elsewhere” apart from the territory where they were “constructed”. Angeon and Vollet (2004), argue that specific resources are non-transferable, they cannot be duplicated and the term refers to their “non-redeployability” or at least their redeployability in other production processes at very high cost. So, reconsidering the Zimmerman and al’s (1998) typology of territorial development (agglomeration, specialization and specification), Samaganova and Samson (2007) argue that specific resources, that are defined above, are included only in the case of specification while built resources could be in all cases.

Territorial development is conceived as a system of actions that aims at developing endogenous factors by reinforcing the potential of a territory through local resources (or locally developed resources), that are part of an integrated and global approach (Angeon and Vollet, 2004). As mentioned above, local actors and, especially, the local community, play a core role in the construction of resources and in the process of “territorialization” , through networks and relationships that proximity enables and therefore through collective action. Actors have the capacity to reveal and activate any resources in question and that supposes that they are involved in cooperation processes (Angeon and Vollet, 2004).

So, any strategy that is related to resource development or construction is perceived as a result of coordination and collective action processes. This kind of coordination has two dimensions: the organizational and the institutional (Angeon and Vollet, 2004). The first one characterizes the individuals’ relationships, describes the interaction dynamics developed between agents and is linked to the actors’ “inclination” to work together in the production of new goods and services. The institutional dimension of coordination favours consensus between different actors in the territory and creates the conditions for the materialization of the agents’ plans and the development of coherence. To sum up, the analysis of the process of resources specification in a territory, is directly related to the mechanisms by which local actors and individuals organize themselves so as to reach a collective agreement on usable resources. According to Angeon and Vollet (2004, p.9), “the ease with which resources specify territorial offer depends on the context of coordination of people involved”. The mechanisms that activate and organize local factors are actually those related to the concept of proximity as well as local governance and other forms of decentralization that enable local individuals to act under a specific strategy and plan with a specific scope and vision.

CHAPTER 4

THE CASE OF THE INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE OF NEW LANARK – SCOTLAND

4.1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Industrial revolution was the result of a number of social, economic, political and demographic reforms that “appeared” twice during a period of two centuries-18th and 19th century-and had both direct and indirect effects (Riginos, 2009). The direct effects of industrial revolution can be summed up in population’s movement to urban centres, the change in the way of production-falling of primary sector and growing of secondary one-, better life conditions (lower level of deaths and diseases) due to the increase in production and the rise of technology sector-movements and trade-and, finally, the creation of a new political system, the capitalist one, that enabled free market and the reduction of state’s power as well as social inequalities. On the other hand, over-accumulation of population in big urban centers that has caused major problems in housing and cities, over-accumulation of wealth and free trade that has lead to imperialistic “expeditions” and creation of colonies, the creation of a new class of manufacturers and the working class-past peasants, small producers and workers in secondary sector-that was working and living in terrible conditions (Engels, 1887) and, finally, the use of machines in production process that in a way alienated workers, consist of the indirect effects of revolution.

Robert Owen in theory and practice

In the general framework described above, some thinking people called “utopian socialists”, proposed a number of different forms of social and economic organization in order for the society to overcome this situation and create an ideal one, based on human happiness, through the replacement of capitalism from socialism, applying also to capitalists for the attainment of their scope. Robert Owen (1771-1856), is one of the most major of utopian socialists, due to the fact that it was the first one that referred to

the concept of workers' alienation during their job because of the 'introduction' of machines in production as well as the change and evolution of human nature and the concept of community of property and, moreover, managed to apply the above thoughts and beliefs in reality, in a small village of Scotland, New Lanark as director of village's spinning mill, creating a model community for a number of residents that reached 2.500 later on. Some of the basic aspects of Owen's theoretical framework and practice that was formed during his staying at New Lanark (1800-1825) are the following. In the sector of health and care, he secured the best granting in low prizes and put some rules in order for citizens to learn how to measure their income's spending. He, also, provided a pensioning and health system based on new workers' contribution (Owen, 1813). In education, he made an infant school-the first in Great Britain's history-and applied the 'new pedagogic method' (Paquot, 1998, p.39), forbidding any form of punishment and he proposes the extension of his educational practice to all citizens through a national plan emphasizing that: "the best governed state is the one having the best national educational system" (Owen, 1813). He, also, referred to the distinction between manual and mental work. Apart from theoretical and practical knowledge, Owen argues that education can also reach people the meanings of the terms of cooperation, altruism and collectiveness against other like competitiveness, individuality and aggressiveness (Owen, 1813). All the above consist of Owen's thesis that society can play a major role in shaping human's character and personality. In terms of labour, he reduced the working hours, secured to provide regular lunch breaks for the workers and invested on the construction of worker's housing (Hahn, 2007, cited in Mikroni, 2009). Furthermore, he occupied separately on the employment of women and children by increasing the minimum working age of active children in 10 years (Owen, 1815). All his action in the sector of labour is linked with his view that it is directly connected with human's completion and, thus, by improving working conditions people could perform better as well as reach their personal fulfillment. Finally, in terms of the city and environment, Owen reconstructed roads and houses as well as built new ones for workers and their families that were designed on basic standards of human health: they were airy and light with scant but sufficient lighting (Taylor, 1982). Moreover, houses were surrounded by green spaces and small gardens and animals were removed from the roads in order for citizens to have more green belts for themselves (Owen, 1813).

New Lanark Today

New Lanark was the first successful experiment of “peaceful cooperation between capital and labour” (Gialketzis, 2007, cited in Mikroni, 2009), but also a place visited by many workers, businessmen and politicians from UK and Europe. It is a village situated on the River Clyde and 2.2 km from the village of Lanark, in South Lanarkshire, Scotland and was founded in 1786, by David Dale, who built a cotton mill there and accommodation for workers. The choice of the sitting by Dale, was directly related to the fact that he would be given the opportunity to take advantage of hydropower from the Niagara River for the needs of the mill. As mentioned above, in 1800 and until 1825, management was undertaken by Robert Owen who had married Dale’s daughter and was also head of a cooperative. The village became, thanks to him, a successful social and industrial experiment that consisted of a model that also led to the groundwork for later cooperative ventures.

The view of village has changed in a grade scale nowadays. Cotton sector functioned until 1968 when mills closed and there was a period of recession (loss of 350 jobs) so that people left village which began to deteriorate. In 1963 the New Lanark Association was formed as a housing association and commenced the restoration of Caithness Row and Nursery Buildings. In 1970 industrial buildings and houses used by Owen and Dale were sold to a metal company – Metal Extractions Limited – but only few jobs were created and the resident population shrunk to 80. Later in 1974, due to the fact that the demolition of the village was seriously envisaged, New Lanark Conservation¹⁰ was established. This non lucrative institution reflected a common willingness of local actors to save this place and develop actions in order to restore the village and valorize all the local material and immaterial resources through tourism’s activities.

A Compulsory purchase order was used in 1983 to recover the mills and other buildings from Metal Extractions. By 2005 most buildings were restored – Trust spent 16 million¹¹ - and the village has become a major tourist attraction. In 2009 the New Lanark Association was wound up as being financially and administratively unviable,

¹⁰ It was formed as an independent registered Scottish charity dedicated to the restoration and development of the historic village and aims to preserve it as a sustainable community with a resident population and new opportunities for development.

¹¹ Beeho and Prentice, 1997

and responsibility for the village's tenanted properties passed to the New Lanark Conservation Trust. Its subsidiary companies: New Lanark Trading Ltd and New Lanark Hotels Ltd (2 private companies) help “Trust” to find the money for the reinvestment of its project, while jobs were offered to the local community in the Visitor Centre, the Mill Hotel and the self-catering Waterhouses (facilities of the village) that won a gold award from Green Tourism Business Scheme, which is the leading environmental tourism certification scheme in UK¹².

It is important to note that through the Environmental Policy and Management Plan, the Trust also intends to educate employees in reducing negative environmental impacts in their work and inform visitors about the ways they also could participate in fulfilling this scope¹³.

Today New Lanark has about 250 residents while the different activities developed during the last years have offered around 100 jobs, reinforcing the willingness of the local society to participate to the New Lanark Project. Moreover, there is being an effort to maintain accuracy by prohibiting the use of antenna TV and satellite dishes, while services such as telephone, television and electricity are provided by underground cables.

The characterization as a World Heritage site by UNESCO – inscribed in 2001 – is due to the cover of three points that are directly connected with the name of Robert Owen:

- the modeling of industrial communities that spread around the world in 19th and 20th century,
- well designed and equipped housing and public buildings that were build according to spiritual and natural needs and, finally,
- the inextricable connection of New Lanark and Owen in issues related to developmental education, factory conversion, patterns of human labor, international cooperation, garden cities, which had an obvious influence on social development during the 19th century and even beyond.

Moreover, it consists part of the RCAHMS (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland)¹⁴.

¹² Its assessment focuses on a range of areas including: waste management, energy usage, biodiversity, social involvement and communion, and natural and cultural heritage.

¹³ Information from the website: <http://newlanarkhotel.co.uk/>

¹⁴ All information concerning these certifications are available in the following websites: <http://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/> and <http://guide.visitscotland.com/>

Today New Lanark, apart from a living community, also consists in a tourist attraction providing a number of functions and facilities. More specifically:

- there is a Youth Hostel with 60 beds committed to sustainable practices in order to attract young tourists in search of alternative forms of tourism.
- The former Mill 1 from the period of Owen, has been rebuilt and opened in 1998, offering 38 rooms and also provides conferences' rooms and civil weddings, a restaurant, a fitness club and rooms for disabled.
- Mill 2 is now being used as a cafeteria and has also a Woolen Mill shop while,
- the old Mill 3 provides spectacles – New Millennium Experience – that are related to the history of the village, cotton spinning machine, lives of people living there while it also offers commercial services.
- the visitor centre has a scale model of the valley, the engine house and where people can learn more about Owen and New Lanark history. This centre has a roof garden that apart from site-seeing and leisure is often used for conferences.

Other core facilities are: the house of Owen that is now a museum recreating his office and other rooms, the school built by Owen, where the classroom has been recreated exactly as it was, a film theatre and an exhibition about the restoration of the village, millworkers' houses that have been transformed as a museum, the old village store has been restored in order to represent concretely the cooperative movement where Owen played a key role. In this place there is also a real shop with unique gifts and a Scottish wildlife trust building where there is an exhibition of unique bat booth, wildlife crafts and a superb honeybee. It should also be mentioned that an online shop is functioning that sells organic wool and specifically, an extensive range of double knitting wool and aran wool as well as blankets, scarves and educational resources¹⁵. The following figures show some of the basic facilities of the village.

¹⁵ All these activities are presented in details in the official website of New Lanark: <http://www.newlanark.org/>

Figure 1: Mill Hotel



Source:
<http://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/>

Figure 2: Owen's House



Source:
<http://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/>

Figure 3: Rows of houses



Source:
<http://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/>

Figure 4: Corra Linn Waterfalls



Source:
<http://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/>

It is obvious that all these functions offered today by the village reflect clearly how the concept of specific resources and their valorization – mainly cultural and physical in this case – is directly linked with the approach of territorial development as mentioned in the previous chapter. The role played by the New Lanark Conservation Trust - which is the reflect of a societal proximity -, cooperating also with private companies and the local society, explains that the project consisting in the restoration of the village with particular attention given to the Owen's philosophy (built resources) not only has saved this site from a possible demolition but has created at local level, a real dynamism.

4.2. EVALUATION OF THE LOCAL DYNAMICS BASED ON CULTURAL RESOURCES

As mentioned in the introduction, concerning the methodological research, there will be used qualitative methods that allow the identification and evaluation of resources (Duquenne, Woillez, 2009) and are directly based on the concepts of generic and specific resources as developed by the French School of Proximity (Colletis, G. et al., 1997). More specifically, there will be used an evaluation methodology concerning the specific features of the examined case studies-New Lanark in this chapter-that will be based upon four qualitative criteria: reputation, singular originality, non-transferability and non-reproducibility.

Criteria 1: the reputation

The reputation is refereeing to the more or less strong (even obvious) identification in the imaginary of individuals between the site in itself and the resource. For example, most of Greek people identify the Mastichochoria in the Island of Chios with the Masticha, a specific and singular tree. The fame can refer directly to the name of the place, as it is the case in France with the Roquefort. It implicitly underlies an idea of high quality that can be societal, festive, esthetic, environmental or even gustatory.

As regards the first criterion, it is generally examined on the basis of three factors: i) toponymy, ii) image/representation and iii) reputation. As concerns the first factor, the name of New Lanark from its founding – in 1786, by David Dale – was directly linked with the cotton mill that played a key role for the village (basic source of production and employment) and the advantage given from hydropower of the waterfalls that was the reason why Dale decided to place the cotton mill there. A second aspect that is connected with this factor is that the name of Robert Owen itself is directly linked with the name of the village, almost since his foundation-he arrived in 1800-and the existence of his house-now used as museum-empowers the above statement. In terms of image and representation, physic landscape-waterfalls-play an important role as it is one of the first aspects that come in mind when thinking of New Lanark. Another major aspect is the cultural one that refers to Robert Owen and, specifically, his vision as a utopian socialist and the concept of utopia as well as its direct application in the village analysed in this chapter.

Finally, the factor of reputation is confirmed by the following important points:

- (a) New Lanark has been characterized as a World Heritage site by UNESCO due to the cover of three points directly linked with the name of Owen as already mentioned: i) the modeling of industrial communities that spread around the world in 19th and 20th century, ii) well designed and equipped housing and public buildings, build according to spiritual and natural needs and iii) the inextricable connection of New Lanark and Owens' philosophy.
- (b) It is also part of the RCAHMS (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland) due to Owen's practice and vision. This well known certification reinforced the reputation of the site.
- (c) Furthermore, New Lanark Trust-being referred as **Conservation Trust**-aims to preserve the village as a sustainable community and, thus, is committed in green issues and assessed under the Green Tourism Business Scheme¹⁶, offering to this site a second certification. The Trust, also, works in partnership with Scottish Wildlife Trust as part of New Lanark World Heritage Site Management Plan and its Youth Hostel is equally committed to sustainable practices and, currently, holds a Silver award¹⁷.

Taking all the above into account, the factor of reputation in New Lanark is clearly a central one for the village.

Criteria 2: singular originality

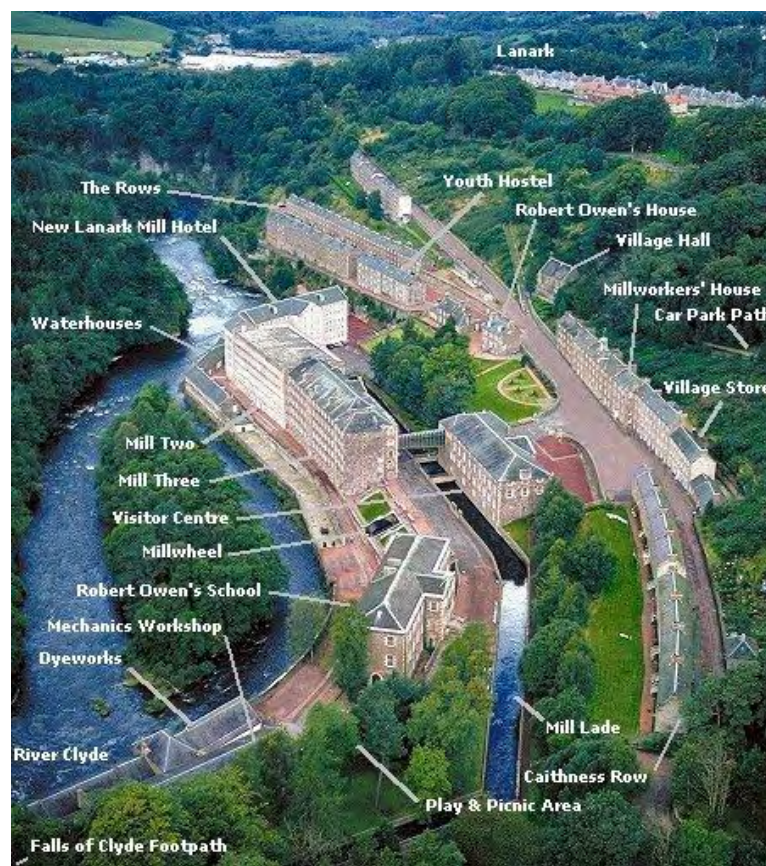
This second criterion is related to the originality of the resource and its uniqueness which can be more or less spectacular. The resource therefore presents a scarcity that contributes to its initial non market character. The evaluation of the originality generally requires an expertise based on a high qualified know-how. Nevertheless, in some case, the singularity is so spectacular so that it is perceptible by everyone. This criterion will be examined on the basis of: i) originality, ii) exemplarity, iii) spectacularity and perception. Originality is related to Robert Owen – as a personality with a unique vision and practice –, who lived and acted in the village at a specific time and period. The second and third factors actually refer to the spectacular organisation of the village as shown in the following figure. More specifically, it can be observed that there is an harmony in the way that buildings, with a special architecture, are positioned and

¹⁶ This leading environmental tourism certification scheme in UK has three levels of certification : the Golden, Silver and Bronze awards, reflecting different levels of quality.

¹⁷ All information is from the site: <http://www.newlanark.org/>

organised, in rows, ‘following’ the mill lade from where water was supplying the mills. These mills can be considered as the central buildings of the village, being at the side of the river Clyde. Another issue that plays an important role concerning these factors is the creation of Conservation Trust in 1974 due to the possibility of village’s demolition and the regeneration and reorganization of New Lanark upon sustainable principles holding its history at a high level. It can be argued that the above organisation of the village and the referent potentialities played a key role in the creation of this Trust and its activities afterwards.

Figure 5: New Lanark



Source :

<http://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/>

Criteria 3: non-transferability

The criterion of non-transferability refers to the high even prohibitory cost of a possible transfer to another place or location, as well as the significance of the place in terms of physic landscape and its history. If some resources are in facto not transferable due to

their singularity, others are more difficult to identify because their value is mainly determined by their own conditions of use as well as by a cognitive process of revelation within the territory. Non transferable resources have therefore a strong link with the territory (in French: Ressources ancrées au territoire) and are not simply localized resources. The existence of waterfalls and the facilities that are related to Owen-his house, school and village store-are highly linked with the place. So it is obvious that in any way, these resources could be transferred elsewhere in the world due to their uniqueness. We are definitively in the case of ‘de facto’ non transferable resources.

Criteria 4: non-reproducibility

Finally, the criterion of non-reproducibility concerns the ability of producing the same conditions and potentialities to another place so as to perform at the same level. This criterion, contrarily to the three other ones, is related to the well identified resource and not anymore to the potential, latent resource (Duquenne, Woillez, 2009). There is in fact irreversibility of the resource when the cost of its reassignment to an alternative use is prohibitive. Any other use that the one revealed within the cognitive process will cause a loss of productive value. In our case, we should mentioned that after the success of New Lanark, Owen himself aimed to practice the same in New Harmony in Indiana (USA) trying to apply, apart from communal and utopian principles, the idea of atheism finding residents at the opposite side, due to their need of believing and praying. Moreover, they lacked the strong belief and the commitment to carry out the mission that Owen had envisioned and, so, the community dissolved in less than three years¹⁸. He also embarked on a new settlement at Queenwood Farm in Hampshire in 1840 but there was insufficient capital and projected for 500 habitants but it never attracted more than ninety commutarians¹⁹.

The failure of Owen himself to apply the same experiment and practice in the above communities, apart from New Lanark, shows that what happened in this specific period and location, and still seems to influence the village and the residents, cannot be easily reproduced and is connected with the history as well as the future of New Lanark.

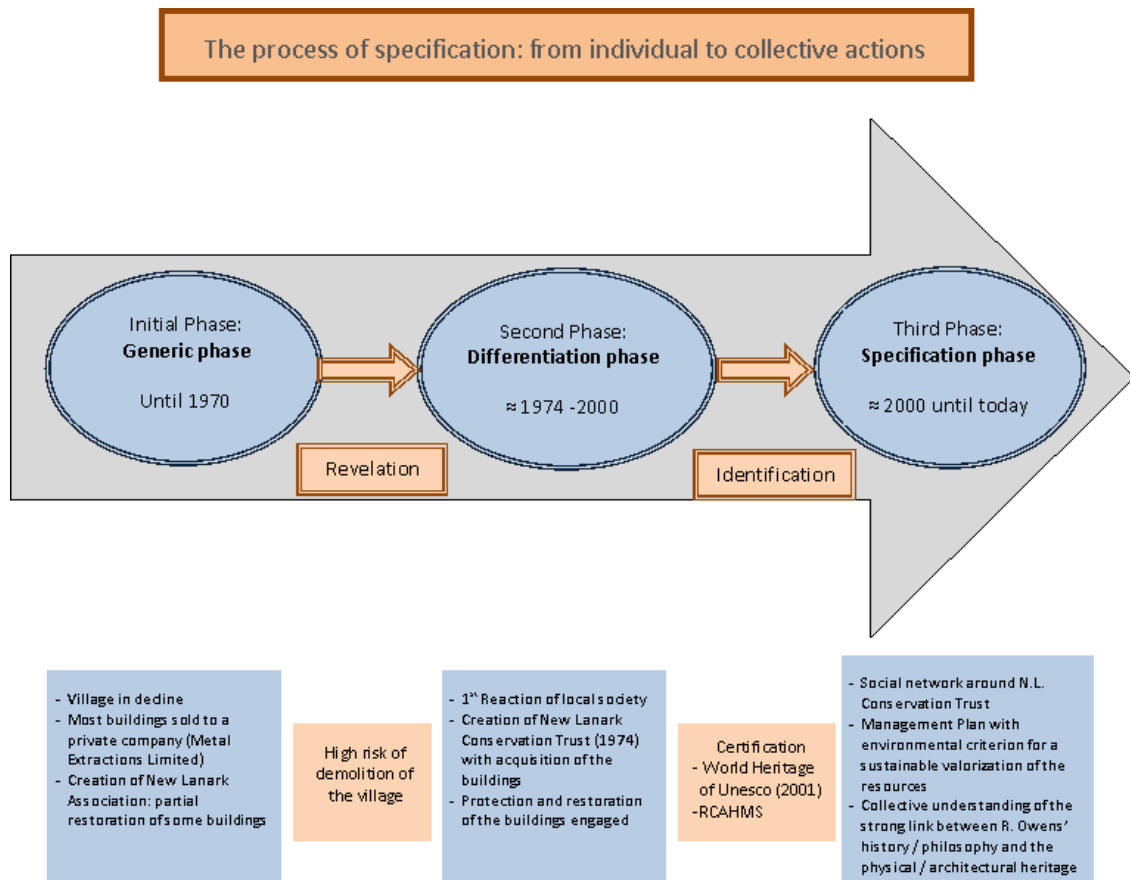
¹⁸ All information about New Harmony is from the site:

<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~hyper/hns/cities/newharmony.html>

¹⁹ Information from the site: <http://www.historyguide.org/intellect/owen.html>

As already mentioned, New Lanark consists of a specific tourist attraction. We can objectively consider that we are in presence of a built resource where local actors have valorized in common and through a collective willingness process, the local resources and more especially the historic-cultural resource of the village that is the strong link between a philosophy (in reference to Owen and the utopian approach) and the practical implementation of this approach in itself. We are in front of a dynamic process that we can summarize through the following scheme which tries to put in evidence the different phases through which the combined resources have been re-built with a progressive transformation as regards the perception of the local resources' specificity. It is almost necessary to mention that it was impossible for us – for technical and objective reasons – to proceed to the necessary on-field research through which it should be possible to evaluate precisely the role and degree of implication of the different actors concerned by this process. Despite this fact and conscientious of the above presentation's limits, it was nevertheless possible – through all the materials and information collected – to detect three main phases in the recent development of the New Lanark village and the Conservation Trust Project. These 3 phases present sufficient appropriate characteristics in order to stipulate that these phases correspond to the 3 “specification's times” proposed by M.N. Duquenne and M. Woillez – each one corresponding to a different implication of endogenous and exogenous actors.

Diagram 3: The process of specification: from individual to collective actions



Note: this figure is based on the methodology proposed by Duquenne M.N. and Woillez (2009), especially the Figure 3 of their work: “*Jeu d’acteurs et processus d’appropriation Collective*” and is a tentative of transcription of the “Specification process” to the case of New Lanark.

It is obvious that the development of the tourist activities in this well delimited territory is directly related to its own history and culture as well as its physic landscape. The success of this territory is mainly due to a cognitive process where the New Lanark Trust has a key role. This success is confirmed by the important annual flows of tourists that vary from 400.000 to 500.000 visitors²⁰, while residents are now 250-high compared to 80 in 1970 – and so there is an analogy of 1600 tourists per resident, a fact showing economic viability. The development of tourism also consists of an evidence of village’s specific valorization process. More specifically, concerning the great number of tourists, the village’s reputation and organization of buildings and other facilities, it could be argued that Trust has formed a high level of social interaction and relationship-social networks – based on cultural, immaterial resources and moreover common

²⁰ See the following websites:
<http://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk> and <http://en.wikipedia.org>

values. The restoration of buildings and the architectural heritage as well as the measures adopted for the protection and conservation of the natural environment (Environmental Policy and Management Plan) shows a rational development process. Graeme MacIver, development officer of New Lanark Trust, stated in ‘‘The Courier’’²¹ that the characterization of the village as a World Heritage Site gave place to a lot of publicity which resulted in a positive impact on the visitor numbers that are extremely interested in Scottish history in general. He also added that recent studies and researches about the impact of World Heritage Status on the surrounding area (and not only the village in itself) according to the number of visitors, have shown that this Status has contributed, in a large amount, to the local economy providing employment, first of all in the tourist sector and secondly in derivate sectors.

²¹ Website: <http://www.thecourier.co.uk>

4.3. CONCLUSIONS: STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

Examining the strengths and weaknesses in particular of the development process engaged in New Lanark, a quite recent study has proceeded to an evaluation of this territory (Beecho and Prentice, 1997), using a qualitative evaluation approach, known as the ASEB demi-grid. The ASEB analysis is an evaluation tool which considered four domains: the Activities, the Settings, the Experiences and the Benefits. On the basis of the ASEB tools it is further possible to proceed to the well-known SWOT analysis.

This study - based on a visitor survey implemented in New Lanark in 1994 and concerning forty domestic tourists, residents of the British Isles – offers some precious results and information as regards the strengths and weaknesses of the New Lanark territory. For this reason, the results of the survey have been analyzed and exploited, taking into account the recent trajectory of the village that is the period not covered by the above mentioned study as well as the main conclusions from our own analysis.

a. New Lanark Strengths

1./ The geographical localisation of New Lanark is in itself a true advantage. The village benefits of an easy accessibility with various transport means. It is not far from two of the main urban centres : less than one hour from Glasgow and Edinburgh.

2./ As already mentioned, the local resources are not only numerous but also present singular characteristics and in a large part, territorial specificities. They are strongly linked with:

(i) the history of the village and of course the personality of R. Owen. This village is well known because of the “enlightened management of the social pioneer, Robert Owen” who planned and organised 200 years ago, an new socio-economic system for the villagers, providing decent homes, fair wages, free health care and moreover innovative education system including the first nursery school in the world.

(ii) natural environment (Falls of Clyde Wildlife Reserve) and architectural heritage which gave the opportunity to the village to be recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2001. It is not surprising that in the survey undertaken by Beecho and Prentice in 1994, the visitors focused mainly on the pleasant and beautiful natural surroundings of the site, its historical context as well as its interesting exhibits. Some of them qualified the site as “a *spectacular natural and build surroundings*”. Definitely, it appears that the physical and built landscape of New Lanark plays a core role for tourists as it offers a “*pleasant day out and it also enjoyable for the children*”. For other

visitors, the village presents “*a more humane interpretation of past industrial society with a pleasant and relaxed atmosphere*”.

3./ After the long process of restoration, especially after the Conservation Trust purchased the buildings from the Metal Extractions Limited (1983), the village has developed a lot of activities, providing not only jobs for the local community but also various services and tourist infrastructures (accommodation etc) for the visitors. So we can consider that the range of attractions provided is a true advantage for the future of the village. This can also explain that some tourists are visiting the village quite regularly. The “declared” objective of the attractions, spectacles and other exhibits organized by the village is to give the opportunity to visitors to learn and acquire an experimental knowledge (insight) about local social and industrial history, through where they can compare and appreciate the past and present lifestyles. In other terms, the village invites the visitors to acquire new experiences and tries to attract different types of tourists who seek for different experiences concerning their background and motivations.

For all the above reasons, Beecho and Prentice considered that the strengths of New Lanark can be summarized in the following terms: “The village provides a range of benefits such as: learning from gaining insight into social and industrial history, appreciation of life and times in 19th century and especially Robert Owen, enjoyable time and pleasant walks in the fresh air and scenic surroundings as well as appreciation of present lives compared with past ones”. As we can see the ‘force’ of New Lanark is the presence of combined material and immaterial resources which are quite singular in the sense that they are characterized as “*scenic*”.

4./ Finally, the last but in a large part, one of the main strengths of New Lanark, is effectively the cognitive process through which the resources have been revealed and progressively specified. The development of a social network around the Conservation Trust - independent institution also supported by private companies and cooperating with national organism as the Scottish Wildlife Trust - contributes to the collective appropriation of the local resources and finally to the participation of the local society in the project implemented by the Conservation Trust.

b. New Lanark Weaknesses

As concerns weaknesses, taking also into account the results of the above survey as well as the analysis presented in this chapter, they could be summarized as follows:

1./ The history of the village is linked with a period of almost 200 years ago, a fact that may not enable visitors to have a direct feeling and understanding of people lives and working conditions. According to the survey, the majority claimed that did not benefit from being able to draw upon personal insights or memories from that period presented compared with other attractions. So, the lifestyle presented remains unfamiliar to most of them. Moreover, a large part of the interviewers that had visited a similar attraction within the past two years, claimed that New Lanark in comparison did not have much to see and do or give an ‘immersed’ feel of the past. Compared with other similar attractions a minority claimed that there was not as much action or lived ‘reality’ and there was also too many static displays.

2./ The old history of New Lanark may not also attract many of tourists that will go there due to the physic landscape and all benefits provided, mentioned above as strengths. Some tourists asked claimed that their experience was one of ‘fun’ and ‘entertainment’ not mentioning at all the educational dimension as all the rest.

3./ Buildings and the whole setting of New Lanark, as already mentioned, are considered to have a great importance for the village as well as tourists visiting it as they have both historical and cultural dimension and provide an enjoyable time for adults and children. However, according to the answers presented in the survey and considering the very high level of tourist frequency (400.000 annually which means around 1.100 visitors each day), there is a real risk that some visitors should be dissatisfied due to the affluence which can generate different kinds of inconvenient. It is interesting to note that even in 1994, some visitors mentioned that they find the village ‘too-commercial’ and ‘over-idealized’ referring in particular to the site of cars which is localized inside the village, giving wrong impression of how life used to be. The existence of cars may be also considered as contrasting to the sustainable principles that characterize “Trust’s” policy. We cannot also neglect that some interviewers (especially elder people) claimed that the difficult terrain may present possible restrictions to the undertaking of the village.

4./ Finally, the main challenge for New Lanark is effectively how this “success story” should be preserved in order to avoid an eventual depreciation of the initial philosophy of the project. At this level, we can objectively see how the specification process is not a definitive and determinist process. It is always – even if we can consider that the process has reached an advanced phase – in evolution with a risk of degradation.

As it appears, the survey implemented by Beecho and Prentice, that seeks to find out the experiences and emotions of tourists when visiting a place or location, offers crucial information and contributes to detect not only the positive aspects but also the risks that a success story can have to face. It really appears that the learning experience and the physical landscape are at the core of tourists' interest and priority when visiting New Lanark. Also, the architecture of buildings, especially after restoration as well as the organization of the village as previously mentioned, matters in great scale, create a relaxing feeling. According to the above authors, "*Clearly, New Lanark is perceived by its visitors in a substantially positive light*". They concluded in 1994 that the results of the survey "underline strengths rather than weaknesses". So it not surprising that, some years after, New Lanark became a UNESCO World heritage Site while it has received important Awards during the last years, comforting today - 16 years after Beecho and Prentice- their main results.

Taking into account the four criteria of specification as presented previously, it could be argued that the case of New Lanark covers all of them in a great scale. Furthermore, considering also the previous survey, it could be argued that this village is a case of a "specific site" with a territorial development based upon cultural resources - history of Robert Owen and architectural heritage - as well as physical one (Falls of Clyde Wildlife Reserve) that motivate tourists to visit the village. Due to the strong presence and activity of the Trust in empowering village's reputation-World Heritage Status played also a core role-as well as the sector of tourist and the occupation on green issues-Environmental Policy and award from the Green Tourism Business Scheme- it is possible to consider that New Lanark is an instructive example in order to understand how societal proximity and social networks based on common values - environmental, historical - are of great importance.

Moreover, we can characterize the recent history of New Lanark (from the beginning of 1970) as a typical case of built resources. Moreover, refereeing to Samaganova and Samson approach (2007), we can classify this specification process as a non-intentional one: the history of the village from its beginning with Owen until 1970 - date of its deep recession – correspond to the "formation of resources", that remain in a latent situation, as regards their future valorization through the Trust project. After 1974, New Lanark Conservation Trust has been created in order to prevent the village's demolition (envisaged by exogenous actors). In fact, this menace and high risk offered the

opportunity to put in light the various existing resources – cultural, natural and moreover historical – and to generate an identification process with the systematic restoration of all the buildings and their conversion in new usages. Finally, these identified and combined resources have been valorized through a tourist project with clear environmental and viable criteria, as confirmed by the awards on environmental issues and the different tourism trophies obtained by the village during the last years. If we can consider New Lanark as a successful case of territorial development, it is also because there is a high level of coordination (may be one the most important point) while Conservation Trust organizes common actions with private actors. Without the direct engagement of two private companies (New Lanark Trading Ltd and New Lanark Hotels Ltd), the whole project of restoration was definitively impossible. This common action and coordination is going to be the key factor for the future of the village and will also show its real limits concerning its continuing in time.

CHAPTER 5

THE CASE OF ECO-VILLAGES AND SVANHOLM – COPENHAGEN

5.1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Some of the basic aspects of today's social, economic and political framework are: globalization and consuming lifestyle, development-especially in terms of its economic dimension-, the existence of modern metropolis, green economy and development and the concepts of sustainability and ecology in general. More specifically, globalization as described in previous chapter is a concept that has many dimensions and in a way has caused the emergence of opposed ones such as local and territorial development and in a large part, has contributed to the reinforcement of ecological approaches. Consuming lifestyle, is directly linked with the increase of living and economic standards of the population that lived in developed countries, the correlation of 'having' and 'being' and, therefore, the perception of happiness and competitive relationships between people. Development is correlated with growth and is defined as a stage of evolution-from a low to an upper level-and is estimated in a grade scale according to mathematic criteria. Another aspect of nowadays is modern metropolis that consist the result of the transformation of industrial ones and create an environment both 'awe-inspiring' and 'excluding' for people (Mumford, 1985). Finally, the concepts of green development and sustainability introduce an alternative way of production that take into account all dimensions of development-social, economic and environmental-in order to overcome a situation of uneven development and social exclusion that economic development of past century has caused (Nikolaidou, 1993).

Theory of Eco-villages

In this framework that was mentioned above, a shift towards ecologic thinking emerges in the early 90's in order to make improvements in the existing system. Eco-villages are, socially, economically and environmentally, conscious sustainable communities

which inspire the creation of a more humane lifestyle and “maintainability” and provide residents a strong feeling of belonging to a collectivity and a team as they can participate in shaping decisions that affect their own lives but also, and community²². Eco-villages have many dimensions such as: social (development of relationships, share of common resources, promotion of employment and education, acceptance of diversity and green economy), economic (complementary currencies, local revenue generation-green businesses, councils-and voluntary simplicity) and cultural / spiritual (sense of joy and of belonging to a group and emphasis on creativity and art) (Newman and Jennings, 2008). Robert Gilman is the basic exponent concerning the theory of eco-villages, founding in 1979 in Washington the Institute of Context, one of the newer non-governmental organizations aiming at focusing on issues related to sustainability (sustainability) and publishing in 1983 IN CONTEXT, A Quarterly of Humane Sustainable Culture. According to Gilman (1986), as it concerns housing, there should be efficient use of resources both on individual buildings, and on how they are organized in space as part of a larger system. In 1991 he also claims that the basic principles concerning an eco-village are:

- i) Human scale: indicate the size in which people are able to get to know each other and can influence the direction of the community. Based on the practical elements of the modern industrial communities and cultures, it is suggested that the maximum number of such group is 500 people,
- ii) A full-figure settlement: in which all basic functions of a normal life - housing, food availability, construction, trade, comfort and society - are clearly present in balanced amounts (vision of a network of eco-villages with commercial and social relationships),
- iii) Human activities are safely embedded in the natural world: there is equivalence between humans and other life forms, so that people do not seek to dominate nature but to find their own place,
- iv) Support towards healthy human development that describes a balanced and integrated development of all parts of life - physical, emotional, mental and spiritual - which should be expressed not only in the lives of every human individual, but all of society as a whole and,

²² Information from the website: <http://el.wikipedia.org/wiki>

- v) Successful continuing in the indefinite future: that is actually the principle of sustainability that consists of a strong commitment to non-exploitation and justice towards all the pieces- human or not -in today's world and against all future lives.

Eco-village of Svanholm

Svanholm is a conscious community²³ which is located near the village Skibby, 60km outside Copenhagen, the island of Sealand, in Denmark. Svanholm evolves and flourishes since 1978 -over 29 years- when two couples decided to live in this place and invited through newspaper a number of 50-100 people and their children to form a community based on the concepts of ecology, self-sufficiency and shared economy (Adamczyk, 2009). Through this quite particular process, the community of Svanholm has been created and was composed of 83 founding members, reflecting the fact that this approach was more and more accepted in a part of the Danish society. Immediately, the founding members of the community decide to acquire the property, contracting a bank loan. However, even today, there are considerable financial constraints due to the repayment of interest. Svanholm covers an area around 1025 acres - the largest organic farm in Denmark using substantial water for its agriculture activities- (Hansen, 2009) of which 568 acres are used for crop, 321 acres occupy forest land and 136 acres are covered by meadows, several buildings, a lake and a park. Today the community is composed of 80 adults, 60 children and a variable number of guests, while the last couple of years they built more living space for around 20 new members and their children having now around 100 households²⁴. Also, 15% are foreign member-residents. Among current members of Svanholm are included: carpenters, professors, translators, musicians, farmers, educators, film makers and a member of the Danish Parliament. Most of the residents (almost half of them) work in the community in one of the

²³ It is a planned residential community in order to offer a much higher level of social interaction between members in relation to other communities. Members of a conscious community often share a common social, political or spiritual vision as well as responsibilities and raw materials.

²⁴ Information from the website: <http://directory.ic.org/1148/Svanholm>

production groups - e.g. sustainable building company - or service groups i.e., administration, kitchen, maintenance, while about half of people have jobs outside the community (Jensen, 2009). They also employ a small number of persons from the surrounding area.

Svanholm as mentioned consists of a conscious community and was influenced by both movements of hippies and the cooperative houses that appeared in Denmark in 1968 and then assimilated the basic principles of the theory of eco-villages giving more emphasis on community's ecological character in the direction of green building and sustainability in environmental as well as social level. It is now a member of Global Eco-village Network in Europe²⁵. The basic principles and views of Svanholm refer to issues such as: ideology, self-government, economy and the process of decision-making. More specifically, residents do not have specific ideology-political, religious or cultural one-but common ideals regarding ecology, public income, communal living, self-government and, basically, the concept of sustainability. Concerning self-governance is controlled equally by everyone and principles and concepts result from the whole community that may, also, adopt positive elements from the system. The highest decision-making body is communal meeting based on consensus model-in order for self-governance to function-, is held every two weeks and all members and guests can participate. Beyond the community body, there are also some groups in charge of specific questions as education, investments etc, that play a core role in proposing, informing and implementing issues relevant to their 'competence field'. As it concerns economical aspects, anyone becoming member pays in 80% of his income for taxes and common living expenses (maintenance, food, electricity, childcare, etc), keeping only 20% of it for personal use. The economic organization of the community is based on the principle of collective income but each member can recover his capital when living the community (Jensen, 2009). All members decide the amount of common fund that will be used and support the specific groups of Svanholm. Finally, other key issues are the requirements for someone to be a member of the community-being able to guarantee a reasonable level of income, not have many family members, speak Danish etc-and

²⁵ European eco-village association founded in 1996 promoting environmental protection through the concept of eco-villages which is part of GEN International-NGO associated with UN-Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) commission and part of partner of United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR).

children's nurture in order to be integrated in daily life of community-participate in activities, work and self-governance-and shape their personality and character. There is also a specific group for children up to age 6-7 years that is open to the children of the area.

Svanholm's basic economic sectors are: organic farming, animal husbandry, forestry that consist the main source of community's income ensuring self-sufficiency in milk, vegetables etc. The forest is especially important in the case of Svanholm because different activities of this community are directly dependent of the existence of it (energy production, construction). These activities enable the community to contract arrangements with farmers in Denmark and abroad and permit to supply products to major supermarket chains through a community business of organic vegetables. Forestry enables community to develop and promote construction through architects and carpenters that supply local and other industries-network-with furniture and other constructions. Svanholm have an architecture office at its disposal that builds 'sustainable houses' (using environmentally friendly building materials) for the community and the surrounding area. Towards the use of alternative energy resources, members use grid energy and other ecologically sustainable systems (Jensen, 2009). According to the author, the community produces 68% of its own electrical and heating needs through two wind generators and a 'slightly archaic wood-chip furnace'-fueled mainly wood-chips of their trees-. Due to community's isolation, there is high dependence on gasoline-fueled cars for work and leisure that is opposed to their ideas and visions and actually, 14% of its annual energy use is from driving cars. So, electrical cars are going to be supplied in Svanholm and in order to power them they have already installed a Stirling engine²⁶ from the Stirling DK company in Denmark (Jensen, 2009). The members plan to burn woodchips-almost the same amount required for the furnace-from the forest to power the engine and it is estimated that 20% of the energy produced will be converted into electric power and the rest will be used for heating hot water. The engine will burn 10-15% of woodchip and save an additional 15-20% on energy resources. There are also a power plant and installations of solar that are planted for the next year.

²⁶ A type of electric generator that converts heat energy into mechanical power by compressing and expanding a mixed quantity of air or other gas at different temperatures.

Svanholm consists one of the oldest eco-village in Denmark and with other two communities-Hjortshøj and Munksøgaard-has 60% lower average CO2 emissions compared with the national ones (Hansen, 2009). Houses are made of wood, have large windows and are, generally, airy and light, contributing mainly to economy of energy. The most significant and core building of the community is a 17th century castle in the middle of the estate, now used as a manor house converted into apartments for 30 inhabitants (Adamczyk, 2009). There is also a day-care nursery in the area of meadow, a wooden playground and a park for children, a clinic offering services such as: relaxation and physiotherapy and other smaller businesses concerning beekeeping, baking and paint courses²⁷. The following figures show some of community's basic facilities.

Figure 6: Manor house



Source:

<http://directory.ic.org>

Figure 7: Playground for children

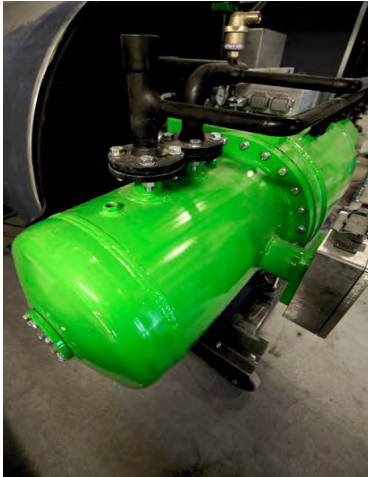


Source:

<http://svanholm.dk>

²⁷ All information about Svanholm are from its official website: <http://svanholm.dk>

Figure 8: Stirling Engine



Source :

<http://www.ecovillagenews.org/>

Figure 9: Wooden Construction



Source:

<http://www.flickr.com>

The above analysis concerning the main characteristics of the organization and functioning of Svanholm community provides useful information as regards the available resources in order to distinguish, as in the previous case, in which extent these resources are specific and integrated in an alternative and/or territorial development.

5.2. EVALUATION OF THE LOCAL DYNAMICS BASED ON ALTERNATIVE COMBINED RESOURCES

In this chapter, as well as the previous one for New Lanark, there will be used the same evaluation methodology concerning the specific features of the examined case studies-eco-village of Svanholm in this case-that will be based upon four qualitative criteria: reputation, singular originality, non-transferability and non-reproducibility.

Criteria 1: the reputation

Concerning the first criterion, as mentioned in the previous chapter it is generally examined on the basis of three factors: i) toponymy, ii) image/representation and iii) reputation. As regards toponymy, the name of Svanholm is directly connected with the concept of conscious communities that was influenced by both movements of hippies and the cooperative houses that appeared in Denmark in 1968 and consists one of country's oldest communities of this type assimilating later principles of eco-villages' concept. Another basic characteristic is that it consists of the largest organic farm in Denmark including also the area of the forest that enables members to use sustainable methods of producing energy and thus protecting the environment. Svanholm it also linked with its castle now used as a manor providing accommodation to 30 residents. Its image and representation is related with the idea of conscious communities and eco-villages (concept of sustainability), as well the physical landscape and its area of 1025 acres (forest land, meadows, etc). As it concerns its reputation, is confirmed by the fact that Svanholm is member of GEN in Europe that is part the International one.

Criteria 2: singular originality

The second criterion will be examined on the basis of: i) originality, ii) exemplarity, iii) spectacularity and perception. Originality is related to the fact that it is one of the oldest conscious communities in the country. As it concerns the idea of eco-villages that is nowadays related to, it could not be argued that is connected only with this place as it is practiced all over the world (presence of GEN International confirms this statement). However, its own large area of forest and agricultural land makes Svanholm a special case in terms of both landscape and green criteria (zero CO2 emissions from electricity). In terms of exemplarity and spectacularity, it could be argued that the whole organization of the community plays a key role. Firstly, there is the central building of

the manor, as well as other facilities mentioned above providing self-sufficiency (business of organic vegetables, ‘sustainable houses’, facilities for energy production, etc) as well as children care, relaxation and physiotherapy, beekeeping, baking and paint courses. The exploitation of physical resources-organic land and forest-seems to be at the core interest of members as they can secure self-sufficiency and sustainability at the same time. The following pictures show this special organization.

Figure 10: The community



Source:
<http://losnet.dk/ny/forside.asp>

Figure 11: Organization of livestock



Source:
<http://svanholm.dk>

Figure 12: Forest Land



Source :
<http://svanholm.dk>

Figure 13: Wind turbines



Source :
<http://www.flickr.com>

Criteria 3: non-transferability

The criterion of non-transferability refers to the high even prohibitory cost of a possible transfer to another place or location as it includes a very large area as well as a forest. So the physical resources are highly connected with the place and the community that exploits them in the general direction of sustainable way of life. The concept and principles of eco-villages can be practiced in a global scale but not physical conditions, and this consists of a non-transferable aspect in this case and in a way indicates a high degree of uniqueness.

Criteria 4: non-reproducibility

Finally, the criterion of non-reproducibility concerns the ability of producing the same conditions and potentialities to another place so as to perform at the same level. As mentioned above, the idea of eco-villages can be easily reproduced in any other place globally, in terms of its organizational form and sustainable principles. However, physical landscape cannot be reproduced in the same ease way, especially if it is a case like the one being examined. If there was a similar case as it concerns resources the criterion that would play a core role in the performance and the action of members would be the relationships being formed between community's individuals.

5.3. CONCLUSIONS: STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

Taking into account the above analysis, the basic strengths of the eco-village of Svanholm could be summarized as following:

a. Svanholm Strengths

1./ The physic landscape of the community consists of a real advantage. The existence of the forest and the whole agriculture area as already mentioned, gives to the members the opportunity to have self-sufficiency in basic products (e.g. milk, bread and vegetables), form the community business of organic vegetables (contact arrangements with farmers and major supermarket chains) and evolve in terms of ‘sustainable’ construction through their architecture office supplying local and other industries-network-with furniture and other constructions. Another main aspect is the fact that members exploit their area in order to produce energy, securing 68% of their electrical and heating needs. Apart from self sufficiency, all the above provide employment for the members of the community – almost half working in Svanholm – according also to their skills, specialization or interest, and consequently the existence from the beginning of the community of well defined production groups.

2./ In the framework of sustainability, that is one of the basic principles of the concept of eco-villages, the community has a great advantage as it produces 68% of its own electrical and heating needs through its wind turbines, is one of with other two communities having 60% lower average CO2 emissions than that of Denmark and intends to use electrical cars that will be empowered through the Stirling engine mentioned previously. Community’s architectural office also contributes to the economy of energy constructing houses mainly with local wood and large windows that are airy and light.

3./ The history of the community also has a major importance as it is one of the oldest conscious commuties in Denmark, being influenced by both movements of hippies and the cooperative houses that appeared in the country in 1968. Members of the community share the same ideology and beliefs as regards not only ecology but also income-sharing, common living and self-government. The fact that they all work together having the same goal – the ‘sustainability’ for the community – and the ideology of solidarity creates, apart from their personal life, enthusiasm and

engagement also in work. In other terms, we can consider that they have developed a true social and cognitive proximity, even if their social origins are different. Another important point of Svanholm’s history is the existence of the 17th century castle in the middle of the estate, which as mentioned, now being used as a manor house.

4./ Finally, the architecture of the community shows a specific interest as all buildings and houses as well as the park for the children are made of wood and other ecological friendly materials. There is also a special organization as concerns the installation of alternative energy resources (e.g. wind turbines and Stirling engine) as well as organic farming and animal husbandry (livestock).

b. Svanholm Weaknesses

The basic weaknesses that could be pointed out by the analysis are the following:

1./ The location of the community. As mentioned above Svanholm is 60 km outside Copenhagen and has a high dependence on gasoline-fueled cars for work and leisure due to its isolation. So, it could be argued that there is a difficulty in visiting the community as a tourist or even going there in order to live and find a job. We could suggest that the case of Svanholm could have an educational role, through the promotion of organized visits, especially for students and pupils, in order to heighten them to environmental problems. But it is clear that the lack of geographical proximity appears as a true constraint.

2./ The community has some written and unwritten rules as regards who will become a member. Because of its big debt in the bank, residents do not accept people who are considered as a “financial burden” for the collective which it’s quite contrary to the initial ideology. They could also reject someone that would take too much space, like single parents with more than one child due to the higher amount of income spending for them. Finally, every member must be able to speak Danish²⁸.

3./ The biggest challenge that Svanholm will have to face is that of sustainability not only in terms of ecological dimension but also in terms of the continuity of the community itself. Members have, until now, managed act as part of communal living, sharing their lives and income in the general direction of leaving the lowest ecological footprint, but their future social and individual interconnection will also determine at

²⁸ From the official site: <http://www.svanholm.dk/>

the highest level the future of Svanholm. As mentioned in the previous case, specification process is not a definitive and determinist process but in evolution, always with the risk of degradation.

Taking into account the four criteria of specification as presented previously, it could be argued that the case of Svanholm covers all of them in a satisfactory scale. More specifically, it consists of a special place as regards to the landscape (forest and the whole area), its history (castle and being the oldest conscious community in Denmark) and the activity of its members based on green principles. However, its reputation is related only to the fact that is part of GEN, like many eco-villages in global scale. Moreover, its principles are also the same with all other eco-villages. What may distinguish Svanholm is its practice in terms of sustainability and self-sufficiency.

So, it is a case of local but not yet territorial development that is based on alternative resources originated from eco-villages' theory that has, basically, ecological dimension. In a certain sense, it is quite difficult today to consider that Svanholm is a case of territorial development, because this site is still in its construction phase not in terms of societal identity – quite strong – but in terms of territorial identity (intrinsic link of the members to this specific site). The way people participate in decision-making as well as the fact that they have common fund, shows the importance of societal proximity and social networks in terms of trust and common ideas apart from common origin or culture. So, it could be characterized as an alternative form of local development that is based on different forms of networks and linkages between people that may have, also, different nation and background. In this case is the idea of communality and sustainability that makes people come together in a place.

Moreover, it could be characterized as a case of built resources. Refereeing – as previously in New Lanark – to Samaganova and Samson approach (2007), we can classify this specification process as an intentional one, as the identification of the resources happened in the beginning, when the couples placed there decided to form a community based on the concepts of ecology, self-sufficiency and shared economy. By inviting other people to live there, they managed to create a conscious community later that now has almost 160 members and other visitors, 'built' upon ideas that they

intended to practice. So, there it is a case where resources were created and continue to be created and used in productive activities.

The internal organization of Svanholm and the policies taken, show that is a successful case of alternative territorial development and that the structure of individual's networks (decision-making) as well as their coordination, operates at a high level. This kind of network and common action will show the real limits of the community as well as the whole 'project' named eco-villages.

CHAPTER 6

FINAL CONCLUSIONS: TO WHAT EXTENT DO THE NEW APPROACHES CONTRIBUTE TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF RECENT TERRITORIAL AND LOCAL MUTATIONS?

Taking into account the previous analysis of the theoretical framework based on new approaches referring to concepts such as: territorial development, proximity and specification of resources, as well as the presentation of two cases, we are going to provide some responses to the following questions:

1. What is the trajectory of the two cases according to the new approaches?
2. To which extent these approaches as well as the methodological research could contribute to the explanation of:
 - i) The emergency and development of small territorial units and the possible development of a ‘territorial specification’ process based on spatial inscription of resources?
 - ii) Their continuity in the future?
1. The first question has already in a way been answered in previous chapters of the two case studies.

What has a real interest in this part is the following table that summarizes the basic characteristics of both cases presented and their distinction according to their identity, resources, activities, development process, etc.

This assessment is focused on what we consider as the main topics of the new approaches of local and territorial development and in any case, can be consider as an exhaustive evaluation of the strengths and weakness of these two sites. For example, in this table, there is no mention to the geographical localization of the two sites and more specifically, their geographical proximity to main urban centers. This point has been examined in the above analysis and it was effectively underlined that new Lanark has a true advantage in terms of geographical proximity, which is not the case for Svanholm. But is it necessary for this community?

Table 1: Comparative assessment of the two examined “sites” trajectory

Topics	Territories	
	New Lanark	Svanholm
Crucial dates	1870: beginning of the village with the creation of a model community based on utopian approach (R.Owen) ≈1970: risk of demolition 1974: creation of N.L. Conservation Trust, beginning of the systematic renovation 2001: Unesco World Heritage site	1968: social contestation – hippies movement 1970’s : emergency of the theory of eco-villages based on small settlement and particular principles 1978: creation of the community with collective acquisition of the ‘site’ for the implantation of the community
Identity	High identity of the village: historical as well as cultural With spectacular landscape	Not pre-existing Members of the community are coming from different horizons
Resources (Inventory)	(a) Immaterial: The history in itself of the village The heritage of R. Owen philosophy The traditional know-how as regards cotton mills (b) Material: The landscape, The Falls of Clyde Wildlife Reserve, The buildings and their architecture	(a) Immaterial: The eco-village philosophy, based on collective management and environmental criteria The organization of the village in itself, based on a deep participative system (each member is participating to the management body) (b) Material: The forest The agricultural land The castle
Activities	Mainly touristic, providing a wide range of services and activities	Highly diversified ...
Valorization process	Non-intentional	Intentional
Actors	The Conservation Trust, an association National NGOs Private companies Local society The role of public actors and authorities is relatively limited	The local society composed of around 100 households The communal meeting, local governance
Forms of proximity	High geographical proximity to main urban centers Institutional Partly cognitive	No immediate proximity to urban centers Societal and organizational with high cognitive dimension
Degree of cooperation	Quite developed around the Conservation Trust which coordinates the Project and the actions	Excessively high because it is the fundamental principle of the eco-villages and the Svanholm community
Process of specification	Non – intentional Latent resources pre-existing and valorized through various tourist activities and actions	Intentional Few latent resources Resources are mainly built in order to promote the principles of eco-villages

We could argue that they actually consist of two different types of local and territorial development.

The first one – a more classic model – is based on cultural resources (history of the village, Owen’s philosophy), developing tourist sector in a great scale by exploiting its specific resources: most of them are material ones (landscape, buildings and architecture) and were in a latent form, until the project implemented by the Conservatory Trust became effective. Effectively, this association plays a key role and started the process of identification by restoring the pre-existing resources (historical, cultural and natural) and actually *built* new ones that were directly linked with the name and history of the village as well as Robert Owen.

Due to the existence of the Conservation Trust and its common action with the private companies, we can refer to a case of institutional proximity where local actors coordinate for a common goal: the existence and continuity of the village as well as to provide residents employment and a healthy way of living. In the construction and implementation of the project managed by the Conservation Trust, in cooperation with the local society, there is a direct and continual reference to the history of New Lanark and the philosophy of R. Owen. In this sense, we can also consider that the actual trajectory of this site includes some components of the cognitive proximity.

The second one could be characterized as an alternative model because of the type of resources that started as immaterial without a common base and actually was built from the beginning upon common ideals. It actually proposes a new lifestyle for everyone that shares the same principles as regards sustainability and communality while the first one is a place that someone prefers to visit as a tourist attraction and for learning, having a specific number of local residents.

Svanholm, apart from its alternative nature, consists of a particular type of local and territorial development due to its decision-making process and its organization: all members are involved in the decisions and actions are financed by the common fund. This case reflects an alternative form of proximity, basically close to the societal type as people have developed networks based on trust and common ideas and beliefs. Moreover, we cannot fail to underline the importance of the rules and the life model that govern the community. Finally, we can consider that we are in presence of well

developed societal and organizational proximity. The term ‘alternative’ refers to the fact that these people do not have the same origin or history but common values that are built and may reformed through the process of decision-making.

2. Concerning the second point, we could claim that:

i) As regards the first part of this question, it could be argued that for a place to emerge and develop or even ‘rediscovered’, criteria as its reputation, originality as well as non-transferability and non-reproducibility of its specific and built resources play a key role. The case of New Lanark verifies the above statement in a great scale, because its history and resources are not in themselves reproducible. On the other hand, Svanholm could be claimed to be easily reproduced in terms of immaterial resources. As it concerns its material, the type of proximity and networking actually verifies its successful performance concerning, moreover, its self-sufficiency.

Finally we can consider that, in both cases it is possible to highlight the existence of a territorial specification process. But this process is quite different: the starting point is not the same, depending on when the identification takes place (non-intentional and intentional respectively): in New Lanark, most of the resources were initially in a latent form and progressively constructed from the beginning of the village’s history (1870). These resources have been mainly identified and appropriated by the actors when they understand that there was a true risk of demolition. In other terms, following Samaganova and Samson (2007), we can assess that New Lanark is referring to a non-intentional process. At the contrary, at Svanholm, the identification process is not based on latent resources but much more on virtual resources (the idea of eco-village, the beliefs on alternative lifestyle’s model) and their transformation – identification took place from the beginning of the community’s history through an non-intentional process.

ii) The approaches that were analysed in this work provide explanations of how small places and territories may at some time, due to specific conditions and intrinsic factors (especially their specific resources), manage to develop and provide local residents a high level of living conditions in economic and social terms. The starting point of both cases – 30 years ago – shows that they are both successful cases of any type of local development (classic or alternative one). However, their continuity in time will be determined by the quality of social networks between the actors

participating or even the structure and type of their action (indirect and direct respectively). In the process of specification as well as development and continuity itself, people are those who consist of the basic subject. So, when it comes to the ‘bet’ in terms of the so-called ‘sustainability’, it does not only matter the starting point, the resources that are available and the potentials of a place, but also – and in the greatest scale – the interaction between individuals, the most vital factor in any evolutionary process.

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