

In terms of cultural change for both eastern and western borders, this research presents the growing regional trans-national identity, as well as the feeling of regions in flux where the threat and the possibility of challenging local norms exist. Attitudes and beliefs influence behavior as much as the material realities. Reactions to the local impact of global change differ markedly on the two borders examined in this research.

In particular, memories of old borders seem to be stronger in the east than in the west. Border changes were more recent in the east and there is still a strong feeling of loss and anger at those changes which led to a disconnection from their previous urban centers as well as their current isolation. In the west, Burgenland belonged to the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and was poorer there than it is under Hungary today. Burgenland is now more prosperous than rural western Hungary. History plays little role in the mindscape of those in western Hungary and there is often little interest in contact between villages on either side of the border. These villages must learn that they are now all part of the European Union.

Henriette Dahan Kalev

Ben Gurion University of the Negev

CULTURE, URBANISM AND PLANNING, Edited by Javier Monclus and Manuel Guardia, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

The book brings together the three concepts that according to the editors represent main trends in urban planning during the last 15 years. Globalization and Post-modern ideas led to new ways of thinking about cities and their destiny in the global competition they are forced into. They argue that while urban planning up to the late 1960s was dominated by an enlightenment worldview, new trends are emerging during the last years concerning the ways in which cultural considerations are introduced into urban planning and how time is perceived both as a source of legitimizing urban planning and as a source of planning ideas. The new paradigm is strongly associated with the idea of the compact city. This idea seeks to revive inner cities' environments with new definitions of culture that abolish distinctions between high and everyday life cultures and develop sensitivities to cultural divergence. Under the enlightenment worldview, culture was perceived in terms of high culture being dealt separately from the city of daily life, which was planned according to economic considerations. Under globalization, culture is recruited for the project of inner city revitalization as well as for other spectacular projects, but economic considerations continually are considered through introducing the idea of cultural economics.

The book brings together 15 urban historians who try to unravel different aspects of the changes in urban planning since the 1970s. They demonstrate their arguments with more than a dozen of cities from Europe, North America and Latin

America, providing a cross cultural analysis of new trends in urban planning. It is striking that many of the trends are quite similar for all cities and even many of the ideas are diffused from their origin to other cities by a global community of private investors, architects and developers.

The book is divided into three parts. The first one presents the triangle of culture, planning and urbanism. It deals with characterizing main transformations in these three aspects that are brought together in urban planning practices. The second one concentrates on the emergence of the conservation of urban heritage whether as inner city quarters, capital monuments or other sections of the city. The discussion raises several problems associated with the attempt to conserve urban heritage. The third one deals with planners' strategies to promote city images by attempts to either brand them or plan them as spectacles or as fun areas.

Hebbert and Sonne opens the first section by identifying three styles of recruiting the past for the sake of urban planning. First, the past is perceived as a stock of urban and architectural ideas, forms and textures that makes good cities. Second, the past as a means to evoke sense of place by recruiting local heritage for the forming of unique cities rooted in local traditions. Adopting an organicist developmental method Geddes is frequently referred to as a source of inspiration for this view of urban planning. His method of detailed survey that focuses also on city histories and heritage and his idea of selective surgery that views the city as a drama in time in which each generation constructs new urban layers preserving past layers as much as possible. This model gains support since the 1970s' stimulating re-evaluation of Geddes' work. Third, the past as cyclic waves of rise and fall of urban civilizations is analyzed as it is represented by scholars like Mumford and Vance. The authors argue that modernist planners tended to adopt this model, justifying thus their disregard to the past and their belief in their power to create a new future based on scientific knowledge and professional legitimacy.

In my view the authors' critique of modernist urban planners is taken too far. New research shows that modernist urban planners never gave up on developing sensitivity to local cultures. This is demonstrated in a collection of articles edited by Umbach and Huppauf (2005) who show that even Le Corbusier did not lose sensitivities to local heritage in urban planning, but he also regarded exposing contemporary materials important.

The second article in the first section, written by Freestone and Gibson, characterize the transitions in planners' perceptions of culture. They define five main periods in the twentieth century. The first one opened the century with the idea of 'city beautiful'. In this period a clear distinction between high and low cultures has been maintained. Low culture has been regulated by economic forces as part of the spontaneous dynamic of the city. In contrast, high culture was planned in highly segregated areas as part of the larger plan of building representative boulevards with decorated house fronts and open parks. Opera and dance halls, theatres, and museums were constructed in zoned areas with the aim of educating the public. Through

the three next stages the concept of culture has been widened to community centers in which creative activities for the general public were offered, concern for monuments and areas of importance to the national heritage has been preserved, and monumental projects like cultural capitals, expo centers etc. were introduced. The last stage that started during the 1980's widened even further the concept of culture to entertainment places etc. introducing the idea of cultural economy. Amusement centers, art centers, commercial centers and heritage places as well as community centers, all were subjected to economic considerations involving private investors in transforming cities from industrial to cultural centers in the postmodern global economy.

In this reality planning becomes cultural planning including an emergence of an extended conception of culture, which does not distinguish between high and low culture, and which encourages cultural diversity and incorporates culture within the economic process. This new way of urban planning is best demonstrated by Ward in his article on "cities are fun". He shows how private investors used the public nostalgia for traditional market streets in order to transform abandoned port areas into centers of entertainment and shopping. The compound of an aquarium, cultural centers and shopping centers lead the transition of Baltimore from the industrial era to the postmodern era. Private capital worked in cooperation with public one, although most of the risk has been put on the public sector which subsidized and reduced tax payments to the private investors. The concept appeared to be so successful that economic institutions were founded in order to diffuse the idea to dozens of cities around the world.

The twentieth century is characterized also by the establishment of capital cities with their monumental government and symbolic cores. More than hundred national capital cities were planned during the last century, reminds us Gordon, in addition to many regional capitals that emerged as the result of decentralization of power in several states. The article highlights the main cultural landscapes planed in these cities.

The main topic that is covered in the book relates to the conservation of traditional city centers. Several articles deal with the problematic of conservation but it seems that Piccinato's article on conservation in Italy is the pivotal one. Her historical account of urban conservation in Italy exposes the main dilemmas of conservation activity. Her article, as well as Kolbe's article on Scandinavia and few others, emphasize the significance of public reactions to at least three waves of massive destruction of inner old cities to the emergence of urban conservation. The first one relates to the impact of the industrial revolution and the opening of roads, rails and transport terminals on the destruction of medieval, renaissance and baroque landscapes. The second one relates to the massive destruction of cities, mainly in Europe, during the two world wars, and the third one relates to the massive destruction of old quarters as part of the modernistic rebuilding of cities. Despite this, Piccinato shows that as early as 1883 the first voices for urban conservation begun to be heard. In 1913

Giovanoni called to preserve whole sections of the city and not only monumental buildings. In the 1970s a young architect, Cervellati, suggested a conservation plan for Bologna that became the cornerstone for conservation plans. He suggested four principles: public participation, involvement of property owners, planning for the existing population maintaining the stability of the place, and public subsidies to ensure owner profitability with population stability. The article, as well as the other ones, show that in all cases the public sector failed to contribute its part, thus exposing conservation plans to the manipulation of capital.

Scarnato's article exposes one of the more difficult dilemmas of inner city conservation plans. Two main dilemmas are raised. First, while European past landscapes are preserved, appraising thus European identity, these landscapes alienate the present population that in many cases is constituted of migrant workers who invest these landscapes with different set of meanings. An ethical question thus arises: whose identities should the landscape represent and how can planners bridge the gap between representing identities of marginalized groups and those of nation building groups. In addition, when the private sector becomes involved in these projects, they promote tourism as a mean to make profit. The invasion of millions of tourists to quarters of several thousand inhabitants and the transformation of the landscape to serve tourists creates homogeneous quarters that lose their unique landscapes and their ability to promote sense of place and identity.

The last important question the book raises relates to the development of cultural planning methodologies. This is the core question raised by Young who suggests incorporating cultural considerations in planning based on intensive survey. Reminding Geddes' survey, Young suggests studying tangible and none tangible aspects of culture with the participation of the public and with emphasizing the divergence of cultures, especially marginalized ones. He adopts the Australian endeavor from 1995 to survey culture in its broader meaning by identifying places which are loaded with symbolic meanings, heritage, sentiments and local folks of different communities. At first stage socio-cultural groups were identified and at the second one the places they are attached to and their meanings were exposed. The planners hoped to re-legitimize marginalized cultures, to promote intercultural tolerance and respect to the 'other', and to lead mobilization of public investments to the development of cultural places and conservation policies. Despite this, Young correctly concludes that many questions remain open to criticism and we did not develop yet a systematic methodology for cultural urban planning.

The use of other methodologies in conservation projects is referred to by Piccinato. She mentioned attempts to analyze the morphological structure of urban tissues as a base for the implementation of preservation policies. Viewing morphology as the articulation of mature cultures, scholars of the Venice school developed typologies of different morphologies. The analysis of morphological types became a standard procedure in conservation plans, in reconstructing the landscape in accordance with these types, in identifying the main types that deserve preservation and in securing

representation to the variety of types.

To sum up, the fifteen articles differ from each other in topic, approach and style but still some main conclusions are crossing many articles. The introduction of culture into planning is based on an extended definition of culture, which does not distinguish between high and low cultures, community, leisure and representative cultures and which intend to promote multi-culturalism. Preservation is perceived to be a major lever for the restoration of sense of place in cities, both in the national level and the level of local communities. The preservation movement should be understood as a response to three waves of massive destruction of heritage landscapes in the inner city.

The articles fail to identify the public need for sense of continuity and rootedness in the post-modern and global reality of time fragmentation as it is analyzed by Jameson. The attempts to conserve urban quarters and monuments by using public investments failed due to shortage of public capital. Attempts to incorporate private capital into the process since the 1970's opened to investors doors to manipulate the situation for their benefit. While the public sector took the risks, investors transformed the plans into a source of capital accumulation. They managed to transform the cultural plans into economic commodities aimed mostly for tourists while they enjoyed public subsidies, tax reduction etc. Successful projects diffused within less than a decade to dozens of cities around the globe via the mediation of global development companies and global planners associations.

References

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Izhak Schnell
Tel Aviv University

TOURISM AND BORDERS: CONTEMPORARY ISSUES, POLICIES AND INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH, Edited by: Helmut Wachowiak. Aldershot: Ashgate 2006.

Tourism and Borders is one of only a few works published that combine issues of political geography and tourism. In this book, the tourism experience in the complex spatial context of border areas is reviewed. The objective of the book, as explained by the author, is to "present contemporary study findings and research issues related to explorations in the dynamic relationship between tourism and borders" (p.2), a research area that has gained increasing attention and has been explored more closely in recent years.