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FROM PLANNING TO MANAGEMENT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE SITES: CONTROVERSIES AND CONFLICTS BETWEEN UNESCO WHL MANAGEMENT PLANS AND LOCAL SPATIAL PLANNING IN SOUTH-EASTERN SICILY

Abstract. The paper investigates the relationship between the preservation of cultural heritage and planning in UNESCO World Heritage List (WHL) sites, with special reference to the relation between Management Plans and other (local and regional) planning instruments and policies able to influence the promotion of sustainable and responsible development. This will be explored through a case study related to South-Eastern Sicilian UNESCO sites (in particular Syracuse). The analysis of this case study will point out the challenge of integrating different management and planning regimes – which mainly refer to a performative model – in a (still) very conformative planning system. The paper will show how supranational protection tools and models often lose their efficacy in relation to local planning systems.

Key words: UNESCO Management Plan, Sicily, natural and cultural heritage, planning efficacy.

1. INTRODUCTION

This article aims to investigate the relationship between sustainable development and planning in UNESCO World Heritage List (WHL) sites. Its focus is the relationship between WHL Management Plans (MP) and other (local and regional) planning instruments and policies able to influence the promotion of sustainable and responsible development. This will be explored through the case study of the site *Syracuse and the Rocky Necropolis of Pantalica*. The analysis of this case study will point out the challenge of integrating different management and planning regimes – which mainly refer to a performative model – in a (still) very conformative planning system. The paper will show how supranational policies often lose their efficacy in relation to regional and local planning systems, being in opposition to such systems. The selection of the Sicilian case study is particularly appropriate un-

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der this perspective, as it represents significant or even extreme example of the gap between the supranational performative approach of the UNESCO WHL MP model and the conformative nature of the Sicilian planning system; at the same time, the case of *Syracuse and the Rocky Necropolis of Pantalica* highlights difficulties in the use of standard procedures and guidelines for local contexts and specific purposes.

The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (World Heritage Convention), adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1972, established a unique international instrument that recognizes and protects both the cultural and the natural heritage of outstanding universal value (UNESCO, 1972). Through these systems of protection, WHL contributes to sustainable local and regional development (Rössler, 2006). Most nations are certainly interested in promoting monuments and sites for the WHL in order to improve prestige and economic growth in the form of tourism: a country obtaining a place on the WHL can be compared to a restaurant receiving a Michelin star (Brattli, 2009, p. 37). A large literature shows how tourism benefits from the UNESCO WHL label. Yet, simultaneously, UNESCO promotes awareness of world heritage sites and advocates principles of sustainable tourism (Drost, 1996; Evans, 1999; Jones and Munday, 2001; Lyon, 2007). This raises important questions. Yet, the implicit assumption that UNESCO WHL 'automatically' promotes sustainable development is questionable.

Brattli (2009) suggests that the use of a common world cultural heritage – in an actor-network context where multiple and even conflicting interests take place – has first and foremost a rhetorical purpose. The rhetorical purpose of the UNESCO label is evident in the 'sustainable' attribution that is often awarded to all the tourist activities which are developed in the UNESCO sites, notwithstanding the nature and impacts of each activity or initiative. Therefore, if the convergence of the targets of the 1972 UNESCO Convention and the WHL with activities promoted at local or global level are not taken for granted, what is the role of planning instruments and policies to facilitate integration and reconciliation? Which are the strategies implemented by the planning system in order to manage and improve a sustainable approach? On the other hand, does the UNESCO heritage label (and its related policies and management plans) guarantee international and global control over local changes and planning decisions?

2. PRESERVATION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: THE CONTESTED ROLE OF THE WHL MANAGEMENT PLAN

Potential conflicts between sites' preservation and development have gradually become objects of attention for UNESCO, with an increasing focus on management as a solution (UNESCO, 2002, 2005). In order to outline the importance of proper

heritage management, in 2002 the WH Committee adopted the Budapest Declaration where Member States are invited to support the protection of heritage, trying to assure a proper balance among preservation, sustainability and development. The general strategy of the Management Plans (MPs) is based on the conservation of listed sites for future generations, thus applying the sustainability principle to the management of cultural heritage. With the *Operational Guidelines* of 2005 it is compulsory to submit the MP for new sites entering the list (UNESCO, 2005). This plan is then extended to all sites, including those already inscribed. The Convention requires the governments to encourage MP preparation for all the WHL sites, including older WHL sites, which had no MP (Blandford, 2006, p. 356). Such obligation has been strengthened after the negative experiences in some cases, at world level, because of the lack of adequate management systems.

Consequently, the submission of a MP has been a prerequisite of WHL inscription, in order to guarantee an effective and efficient work of goods' protection and management. The MP is intended to specifically reveal how possible conflicts can be solved and how conservation of a candidate site will be managed, administered and monitored in the future (Blandford, 2006, p. 356). The MP is not only involved in the protection of goods/objects, but also in their management because one of the several targets to achieve is the integration of the management of protected goods into the life of the economic and social community they belong to (Solar, 2003).

When the good is not protected or managed according to the established terms and when the state does not have to solve a problem or cannot solve a problem, the Convention establishes the possibility to remove such item from the List, depriving it of the title of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV); to this end, there are provisions regarding regular inspections. The UNESCO World Heritage Committee, in considering site nominations, has put increasing emphasis on the requirement for MPs as a 'vital long-term framework for the ongoing management and conservation of the OUV of sites' (Blandford, 2006, p. 356). Thus, UNESCO avoids a position where countries which do not take their responsibilities seriously can undermine the system itself.

Starting from the values which led to the inscription on the UNESCO's WHL, the MP arranges a management system that carries out an integrated analysis of the site status, spots the changes in action, assesses future scenarios that can be reached through targets and possible interventions and also assesses their impact on the locality. It also chooses the strategies to attain prefixed goals and verifies their achievement using indicators which are monitored systematically. Consequently, a strategic MP leads to the formulation of projects that are incorporated into the annual work programme; many of these measures can be found in the development plans covering the sites (Lyon, 2007). The two fundamental elements in a MP are thus its strategic aspects and its operating features. The MP, as Palo

(2007) states, should not be intended only as an instrument of protection and pres-ervation as an end in itself, but should establish an effective management model for historical, cultural and natural resources. This model should also be able to address the choices on urban and economic planning for the development and en-hancement of a wide area. Within this perspective, the MP represents the connec-tion between different planning instruments and policies in order to: (a) preserve over time the integrity of values leading to the registration within UNESCO's WHL; (b) combine the protection and preservation through the integrated devel-opment of local economic resources such as tourism; (c) involve numerous actors (even those having opposing interests) in a common and local decision-making process (Feilden and Jokilehto, 1998; UNESCO, 2005; Blandford, 2006); for ex-ample, the MPs can address issues arising when visitor numbers and conservation demands are in conflict (Evans, 1999).

This aspect underlines how the interrelation among the MP and other (local and regional) plans is on the one hand necessary and on the other hand problema-tic, due to the diversity of planning systems in each country. This is also the reason why the UNESCO World Heritage Committee does not submit a single model of MP. Each national and local reality has to spot the most adequate configuration for this instrument, in the light of existing laws and specific cases (Wheatley, 1997; Pedersen, 2002; UNESCO, 2005). In our experience, this difficult relationship between supranational and local levels is to be ascribed primarily to the different, and even opposing, nature of planning models, that is performative versus con-formative. Mastop and Faludi (1997, p. 820) borrowed from Barrett and Fudge (1981) the distinction between performance and conformance: 'Conformance means concurrence between the original plan and changes in the outside world. Performance has to do with the way in which a strategic plan holds its own during the deliberations which follow its adoption'.

In some European countries (Italy included), plans and policies at a broader level – Provincial or Regional – treat local implementation in terms of 'confor-mance', meaning that plans (or even projects) at a local level must conform to the broader strategy of the 'general' plan. The main 'nature' of the plan is, conse-quently, regulatory, usually through a land-use zoning design. Scholarly literature (Alexander and Faludi, 1989; Mastop and Faludi, 1997; Faludi, 2000) as well as many examples highlight the limits of conforming planning. This is mainly due to the difficulty of plan implementation in the context of 'putting together' (in a con-forming, top-down approach) multi-level collective strategies within a growing plurality of local visions, ideas or projects of spatial development. On the other hand, the EU – and also UNESCO – has developed territorial (spatial) governance processes based on a principle of 'performance' (Janin Rivolin, 2008).

In the case study we will analyze the gap between performative and conforma-tive approach that is at the base of the difficulties in the implementation of WHL

MPs. However, there are also other sources of conflict, notably the general conflict between conservation and development (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996).

Nowadays – in Sicily as in many other places in the world there is a great risk of loss (or of great variation) of local identity. This loss is a consequence of a substantial homologation of places and sites, due to a great acceleration of the transformation processes. The increasing urbanisation, with its models of standardized development, foreign to local times and contexts or only aiming at the consumption of soils and the utilisation of irreproducible resources, is clashing with the preservation of cultural, historical, artistic and environmental heritage.

Another source of conflict is due to the difficult relation between procedures and contents of the WHL MP and those of local and regional planning systems. The status of World Heritage Site is a material factor in planning policy and development, and it is also crucial in the decision-making process on planning applications affecting the sites (Lyon, 2007). But these factors are differently considered in each national context.

In Italy, the National Ministry for Cultural Activities and Heritage, during the Conference held in Paestum (May 25/26, 2004), has developed and submitted a MP model in order to show local authorities how to connect it to the reality of managing their actual sites. The Italian Law introduced the MPs of UNESCO sites through the Law February 20, 2006, no. 77 'Special measures for the protection and the fruition of Italian cultural, landscape and natural sites, inscribed on the World Heritage List, under the protection of UNESCO'. This law identifies the Advisory Commission for the management plans of UNESCO sites and local tourist systems, established at the Ministry for Cultural Activities and Heritage. The Commission approves the MPs for the WH Italian sites and ensures the contents of the different MPs proposed in relation to the sites. In reality, the MPs differ in their site nature and in their internal structure and dialogue ability with other plans.

The MP represents, within the Italian law, a flexible instrument able to create a dialogue with plans of different nature (local and regional, regulative and strategic) to guarantee the site protection and its development as a cultural and tourist resource. However, some problematic aspects emerge. The first is that the competent Ministry is the Ministry for Cultural Activities and Heritage which, in Italy, is not in charge of the land use planning. The second problem is that MPs have been basically implemented in Italy as established by UNESCO, without any compliance with the Italian planning and protection system. In fact, Italian MPs – apart from dealing with sites which widely differ in features, size and issues – are forced to tackle a planning system that is highly fragmented because of the competences and the plurality of regional planning laws. In Italy, regional planning laws are very different from each other and do not often present the flexibility required to comply with the MPs needs, as they still refer to regulatory policies and instru-

ments and as they are far away from a more strategic, development-led approach. In such contexts, the limits of conforming, statutory planning regard the disappointing results in implementation due to the difficulty in reconciling multi-level collective strategies to a plurality of local plans or projects of spatial development (Janin Rivolin, 2008, p. 168).

3. SYRACUSE AND THE ROCKY NECROPOLIS OF PANTALICA: THE CONTROVERSIAL INTERACTION BETWEEN WHL MP AND LOCAL PLANNING SYSTEM

Sicily is a meaningful example of the described situation. Sicilian planning law, which dates back to 1978, implements basically the Italian legislation of 1942, giving a central role to PRG (Piano Regolatore Generale),[1] according to a conformative approach. The PRG essentially governs the land use for the Municipal area, in a temporal effectiveness of twenty years.

In relation to their conformative nature, planning tools covered by the 1978 law are inappropriate compared to the multi-level supranational planning that has a predominantly conformative nature. The PRG is therefore an instrument that nowadays refers to obsolete and outdated laws and planning models.

Regarding this context, it is difficult that the WHL MPs can be considered efficient instruments of interpretation, preservation and 'development' of the past values.

Currently in Sicily there are five sites included in the UNESCO WHL:
   – The Archaeological Area of Agrigento (1997);
   – The Villa Romana del Casale in Piazza Armerina (1997);
   – The Aeolian Islands (2000);
   – The Baroque towns of the Val di Noto (2002);
   – Syracuse and the Rocky Necropolis of Pantalica (2005).

These sites differ significantly with regard to their nature and size, and to the type of institution responsible for managing the site.

Entering into the merits of the structural, political and technical factors that make complex the execution of the WHL MPs in their local application, the case study of Syracuse, 'Syracuse and the Rocky Necropolis of Pantalica', was selected. The reasons for this choice are manifold and are based on two main issues:
   1. Timing and execution status of MP;
   2. The peculiarity and the international significance of the site.

As regards the first aspect, the chosen case study is the first of UNESCO sites in Sicily for which, as required by the application guidelines UNESCO (2005),

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[1] In the Italian planning system, the PRG is the main urban-level planning tool ruling the land use.

the MP was prepared on the occasion of the nomination for its inclusion in the WHL. In addition, a long time has passed since the site approval (2005) (in fact the 5-year duration of the plan has been exceeded) to allow a full analysis of the effects of this instrument (Lo Piccolo *et al.*, 2012).

As regards the second aspect, the site represents a 'historic urban landscape' (Rodwell, 2010) of outstanding value recognized internationally.

Compared to the planning and development models of this land, however, some conflicts come to light: they do not concern only the inconsistency/gap between the safeguarding policies and enhancement policies. For its structural features, due to the high level of anthropisation, Syracuse is the place where the line of conflict between preservation and transformation is historically very subtle (Trigilia, 1985). Where the 'dichotomy between recognized beauty and violated beauty is the recurring theme of all those […] who from the 18th century to nowadays come across this reality' (Lo Piccolo, 2007, p. 152).

In addition, the case of Syracuse shows a considerable gap between the performative WHL MP model and the conformative model of the local and regional planning system. Although this gap is not found exclusively in Sicily, but can easily be found in other contexts, it makes the MP a passive instrument, only able to implement the actions promoted by other planning instruments, without introducing significant elements of innovation. And when that happens, the role of the MP is weak, if not downright questionable (Lo Piccolo, *et al.*, 2012).

In 2005, UNESCO recognized the 'Outstanding Universal Value' of the 'Syracuse and the Rocky Necropolis of Pantalica' site and declared it a 'World Heritage Site'. In relation to the declaration of the site, UNESCO, referring to specific criteria (Jokilehto, 2008), has motivated the reasons for its decision stating that:

> […] the sites and monuments which form the Syracuse/Pantalica ensemble constitute a unique accumulation, down the ages and in the same space, of remarkable testimonies to Mediterranean cultures. The Syracuse/Pantalica ensemble offers, through its remarkable cultural diversity, an exceptional testimony to the development of civilisation over some three millennia.[2]

The UNESCO site consists of two different parts: Syracuse and the Pantalica Necropolis. These areas on the whole represent a heritage of exceptional historical value, witness of the continuous development and integration of different models of territory's anthropisation, starting from the Neolithic age, continuously for nearly four thousand years, until our days (Trigilia, 2007). The boundary of the site related to the Syracuse area includes, in the Core Area, the entire island of Ortygia (Syracuse's historic centre) and the areas of Epipoli, Acradina, Neapolis, Castello Euriolo, Scala Greca and the Dionigiane walls. The Buffer Zone includes

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[2] World Heritage Scanned Nomination, July 15, 2005, Decision of the World Heritage Committee.

the areas of the 'Porto Grande', 'Porto Piccolo', part of the coastal system and urban development areas of the 19th century.[3]

The other part of the UNESCO site is the Necropolis of Pantalica which, within the Core Area, features over 5,000 tombs dug into the rock, dating back to a period between the 13th and 7th centuries B.C.[4] The Buffer Zone is affected by the presence of the Pantalica nature reserve, established in 1997. Therefore, it is a site that presents components of archaeological interest of different ages (Neolithic, Greek, Hellenistic, Roman), components of architectural interest (from the Middle Age to the Baroque), and elements of natural and landscape interest.

Table 1. Articulation zones of the 'Syracuse and the Rocky Necropolis of Pantalica' site

Denomination	Core zone	Buffer zone	Total
Necropolis of Pantalica	205.86 ha	3,699.70 ha	3,905.56 ha
Syracuse			
Epipolae, Achradina, Tyche and Neapolis, Euryalus Castle, Dionysian fortifications and the Scala Greca area	635.96 ha	874.45 ha	1,510.41 ha
Ortygia	56.64 ha	945.25 ha	1,001.89 ha
Total	898,46 ha	5.519,40 ha	

Source: Syracuse (2004), p. 9.

However, in relation to the development model followed by the city, in particular from the post-war time to nowadays, evident conditions of conflict related to the generated effects on the heritage and cultural landscape come to light.

The understanding of the recent transformation processes of Syracuse cannot be separated from an analysis of the role that, starting from the second half of the 20th century, the settlement growth and industrial complexes have had in this area. The permanent feature of these transformation processes is the mis-recognition of the richness and value of the cultural heritage (Lo Piccolo, 2007). Comprehension of these recent transformation processes in Sicily cannot be separated from a close examination of the role that, historically, the building industry and housing revenue have played in the economy of the region. While in the rest of Italy the

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[3] Ortygia Island offers unique testimony on the development of Mediterranean civilisation for over three thousand years, returning much of the history of Sicily, from the Greeks to the Romans, from the Byzantines to the Normans, from the Aragonese to the Bourbons. On the island, which is the compact and layered core of the city founding, established in the 8th B.C. by the Greeks from Corinth, the Temple of Athena, in particular, converted into a cathedral in the Christian age, still shows the architectural and decorative layers made on the Hellenistic structure in Byzantine and Norman times, until reaching the late Baroque age. In the area of the Neapolis, the Greek Theatre, built in the second half of the 5th century B.C., was almost continuously used up to the present day.
[4] The Necropolis of Pantalica constitutes the largest system of catacombs in the world, second to Rome's one.

building industry played a leading role in the economic recovery after the war, in Sicily, as in most of Southern Italy, this sector became exceptionally important, as a consequence of the fragility of the productive and social systems in this region and the pathology that this fragility yielded. An analysis of the housing market, land prices and production costs reveals economic mechanisms which are in some ways 'anomalous' consequences of the marginal and underdeveloped context as well as a building industry that is strongly dependent on the mafia system.

The indifference shown towards land regulations in the past, as with the over-lapping of private goals and interests with local government policies, contributed to producing a growth in urbanisation which was only partly due to the attempt to meet the need for housing. This growth may instead be interpreted as a privi-leged opportunity for the production and distribution of income. With a lack of significant productive activities and adequate development, and the presence of a predominantly assisted economy (Marcelloni, 1978; Guarrasi, 1994) the tertiary residential character of many towns and cities has given rise to urbanisation that is very little, if at all, regulated by planning instruments and actions. The legal and illegal building on countless areas of high naturalistic-landscape value, together with the density of residential housing has not only jeopardized the environment, but has staked a heavy claim on its future.

The growth of the city has been typified by urban complex events, character-ized by a constant alternation of good planning tools, in terms of content and technical aspects (Lo Piccolo, 2007), made inoperative and/or overturned by the charge to hold back the 'physiological' building development of the city, through the constant recourse to the use of 'varianti urbanistiche' (zoning modifications).[5] This phenomenon is the result of prevailing of the private business interests and financial lobbies on a weak and often unprincipled public administration, which has pursued firstly a development based on the industrial model, and then on that of mass tourism,[6] proved alien to local social and economic context, and in

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[5] The Italian planning system provides the possibility that plans can be modified through zoning modifications named 'varianti urbanistiche'. It is however common practice in Italy the use of this instrument to adapt the existent plans to the occasional private interests.

[6] The territory in which the site falls shows a significantly increased of hospitality's offer in recent decades, especially in terms of quantity; nevertheless it needs to address flows and tourism demand towards a more sustainable, responsible and innovative tourism. The current offer, in particular, is based on a cultural short and fragmented chain, weak in terms of system services and innovative contents compared to the central role of cultural heritage and it collides with a strong national and international competitiveness in the market of tourist destinations of cultural interest. The province of Syracuse in Sicily is second only to that of Messina for the number and level of hotel. In 2012 it counts four 5-star hotels (in 2005, the year of introduction of Syracuse in the WHL, it was one), thirty four 4-star hotels (in 2005 they were fourteen), forty eight 3-star hotels (in 2005 they were forty three), sixteen 2 star-hotels (in 2005 they were seventeen), nine 1-star-hotel (in 2005 they were sixteen). The four 5-star hotels are all in Syracuse; two of them in Ortygia. However, a significant increase of tourists does not correspond to the increase of the 4 and 5 stars hotels. In 2012, for number of tourists, the province of Syracuse (1,249,936) comes after those of Messina (3,464,271),

many cases fatal to the natural and historical heritage. All this has allowed an un-controlled urbanisation, beginning with the post-war period and characterized by a widespread growth (Mertens, 2012), with serious forms of building speculation and widespread phenomena of illegal buildings (Agnello and Giuliano, 2001).
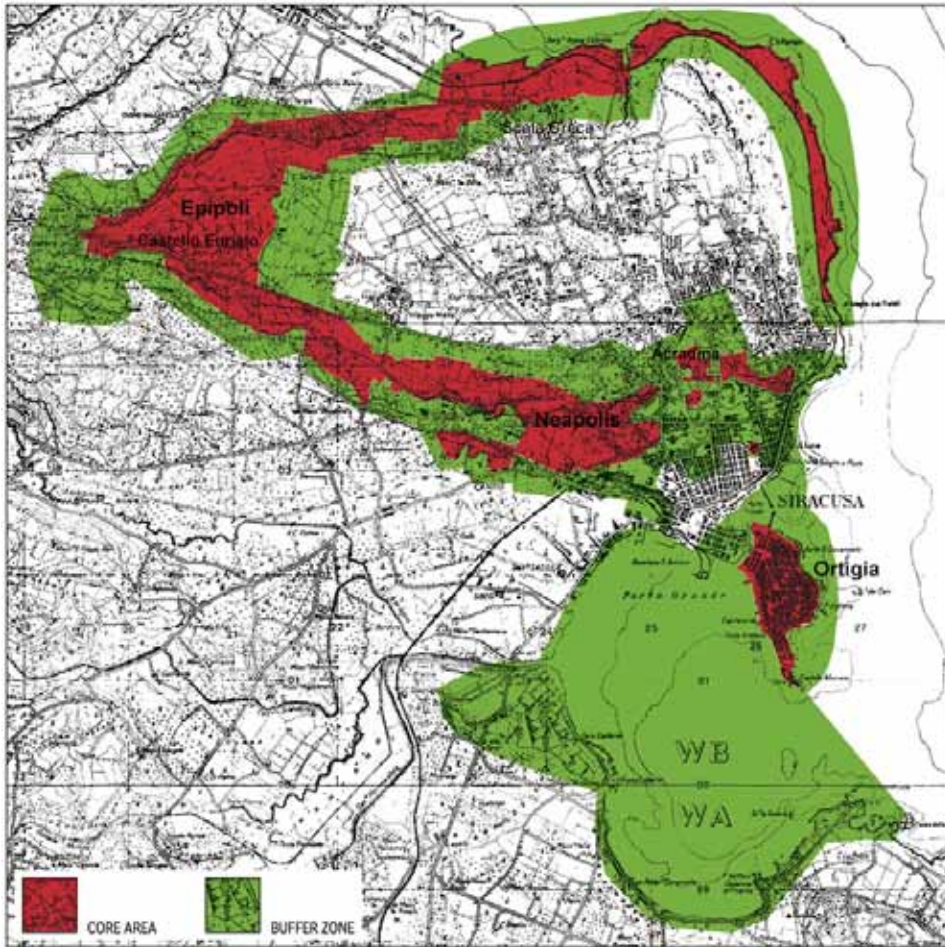

Fig. 1. Zoning of the site (Syracuse)

Source: Syracuse (2004)

Initially, to this growth has corresponded the gradual abandonment of Ortigia and then, starting from the 1990s, the requalification process of the 'Piano Partico-lareggiato' (detailed and executive plan) approved in 1990 (Pagnano1989; Cann-

arozzo, 1989). In these years, several projects of urban regeneration were enabled, with incentives for creating renovation and economic revitalisation initiatives. Ortygia Island was then involved in a process of renewal that, even through the localisation of key administrative functions, has reinstated centrality to the island that has returned to be inhabited by the Syracusans (Liistro, 2008). This process resulted in the reactivation of the housing market, also thanks to the significant presence of foreigner investments, increasing significantly real estate values and causing consequences that this entails (Cannarozzo, 2006).

The WHL MP operates in a context in which the enhancing of the archaeological heritage (necropolis, archaeological areas and historical urban network), identity element of the city, still nowadays remains a lacking goal (Lo Piccolo, 2007).
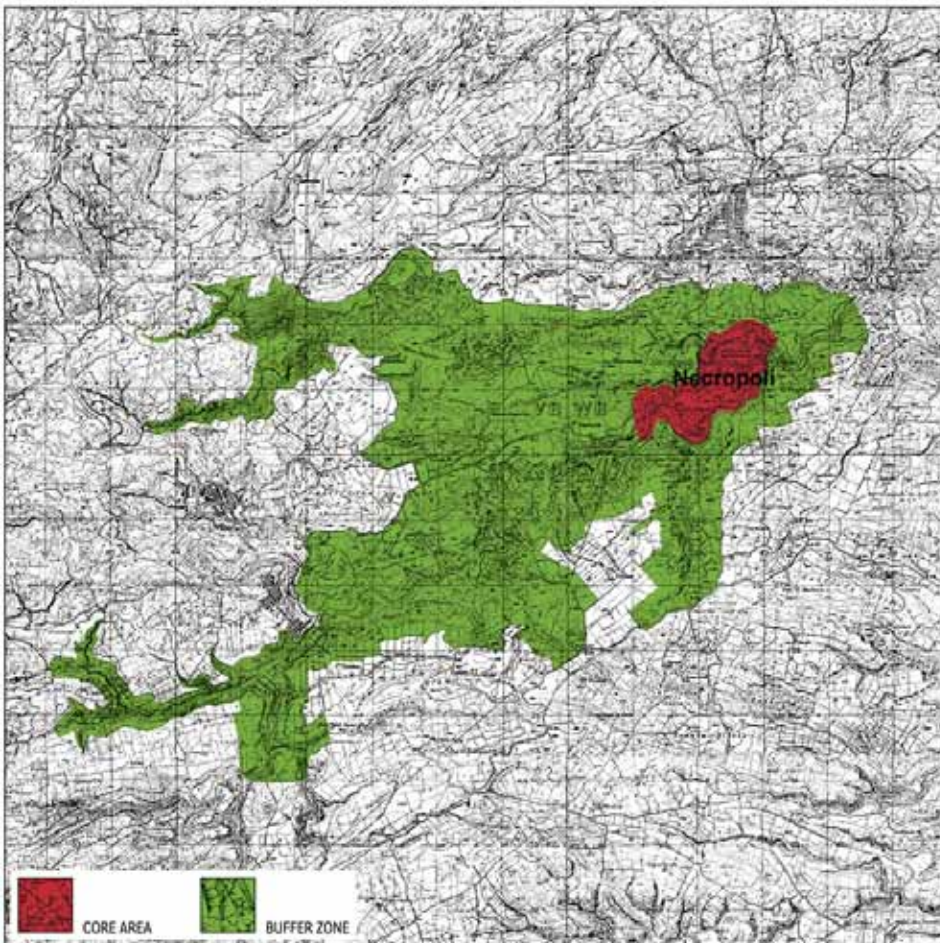
Fig. 2. Zoning of the site (Pantalica)

Source: Syracuse (2004)

The WHL MP aims to act upon this heritage through preservation and valorisation interventions, promoting a sustainable development that integrates safeguarding actions with expectations of socio-economic growth of local communities.

To achieve these objectives, the WHL MP has been divided into three sublevels: (1) the plan for the protection of knowledge and preservation; (2) the plan of cultural and social promotion; (3) the plan of socio-economic and cultural valorisation.

In relation to the above mentioned objectives and intervention strategies, the WHL MP appears a wider-ambition instrument. However, if we look in detail at its specific actions, the MP choice seems clear: to introduce measures already put forward by other existing plans, rather than to build from scratch a coherent system of innovative policies.[7]

In particular, the instruments from where the actions and interventions of the WHL MP are borrowed follow below:

– The Piano Integrato di Sviluppo Sostenibile (LDPP – Local Development Partnership Program);

– The Programma di Recupero Urbano (LDPP);

– The Programma di Iniziativa Comunitaria (PIC) URBAN (LDPP);

– The Programmi di Iniziativa Comunitaria (PIC) Leader II and Leader Plus (LDPP);

– The Patto Territoriale dell'Agricoltura (LDPP);

– The Progetto Integrato Territoriale (PIT) Hyblon-Tukles (LDPP);

– The Piano di Risanamento Ambientale (ERP – Environmental Rehabilitation Plan);

– The Programma di Riqualificazione Urbana e Sviluppo Sostenibile del Territorio (PRUSST) Akrai e Ecomuseo (LDPP).[8]

In fact, the presence of actions already undertaken by other existing plans and the lack of an innovative political system appear as a serious weakness, mainly due to two factors. Firstly, the clash between the performative model of the WHL MP and the conformative nature of local plans, the consequence of which is that the WHL MP becomes the recipient of actions and forecasts of other plans. Paradoxically, the result is an 'inverse', and totally inefficient conformity, which is that of the WHL MP compared to the other existing local plans (Lo Piccolo *et al*.,

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[7] This choice is explicitly declared by the MP and it is related to the need to build a relationship with the previous development actions. Syracuse (2004), pp. 34–36.

[8] Among the instruments approved at territorial scale, in temporal order, after the MP are: the Schema di Massima of the Piano Territoriale Provinciale (PTP) of the Provincia of Syracuse; the Piano Paesaggistico; the Programma S.I.S.Te.M.A. (Sviluppo Integrato dei Sistemi Territoriali Multi Azione). Among the instruments at urban or sub-urban scale there are: the PRG (the main urban-level planning tool which rules the land use); the Piano Particolareggiato Operativo of Ortygia (detailed and executive plan); the Programma di Riqualificazione Urbana di Ortigia (LDPP); the Progetto di Territorio (LDPP); the Progetto Integrato d'Area di Siracusa (LDPP); the Programma Comunitario TERRA-Progetto DIAS (LDPP); the Agenda 21 Locale (LDPP); the Piano Strategico (LDPP).

2012). Secondly, WHL MPs, at least in Sicily, have not been able to generate and/or distribute economic resources, such as local development programmes (Lo Piccolo and Schilleci, 2005), and are therefore considered less effective instruments in the local political agenda.

> The new instruments (and related funds) are considered to be income generating and demand supporting instruments; that is, they implement distributive and re-distributive policies and have considerable financial resources at their disposal. In contrast, town-planning policies are essentially perceived as regulative or, even worse, as restrictive. In many cases a real clash between the former and the latter can be perceived. On the one hand, local development policies have distributed considerable financial resources in a context of fiscal crisis and serious economic deficiency in local administrations, and have therefore imposed themselves with the 'supremacy of money'. On the other hand, traditional town-planning policies have not been understood by local communities and authorities as real opportunities for guiding and stimulating development and have often been put into practice in a bureaucratic way (Lo Piccolo and Schilleci, 2005, p. 86).

In addition, looking specifically at the outcomes of these plans, emerges an urban context significantly affected by changes in physical, economic, social and environmental components. However, some critical issues emerge. Although the island of Ortygia in the last twenty years has attracted the interest of planning and programming, the activated instruments, especially the older ones, have resulted in the realisation (sometimes only partial) of 'punctual' interventions that did not follow an unitary and organic project (Lo Piccolo and Schilleci, 2005; Lo Piccolo, 2007). It shows, in fact, the evident imbalance between the localisation of recovery interventions carried out in the proximity of archaeological or historic-monumental interest areas or the seafront and inland areas, which are still characterized by serious condition of physical and social degradation. Added to this is the growing investment by individuals and real estate companies, not governed by the public action, which determines the progressive replacement of traditional socio-economic network with commercial and tourism activities. This phenomenon, accompanied by the progressive disappearance of neighbourhood services (especially for children and the elderly), is causing the loss of the minimum requirements to ensure the habitability.

It is, however, in relation to PRG forecasts that there is major criticism related primarily to two different aspects: the different nature of the instruments and the difference among the forecasts. With regard to the first aspect, the main problem is the difference between the 'times' of the PRG and the MP. The MP (2005), which has a 5-year time horizon, relates to a PRG which was started to the late 1990s, completed in 2002 (three years before the MP), adopted in 2004, approved in 2007 (three years before the time horizon of MP) and in force for the next twenty years. Related to the conflicting conditions with the forecasts of the PRG, it should be noted that as early as 2004, during the elaboration of the candidature of the site to the WP List, was adopted a PRG with evident conflicting choices with the site perimeter. About

such conditions of conflict nothing has been done, due to the non-conformative character of the MP, and in relation to its alleged normative non-validity.[9]

This conflict among the forecasts is further compounded by the different nature of the instruments. The conformative PRG, which mainly deals with the regulation of land use, prevails on the MP which has a performative character, causing in this way its ineffectiveness. However, the most serious conflicting conditions between MP and PRG mainly relate to a distorted vision of promoting tourism development, with serious effects on high-quality soil consumption (coastal areas and inland agricultural areas) and impact on the environment and the landscape.

Among the forecasts of the PRG that determine the most serious conflicting conditions we find:

The building of a shopping mall to Epipoli at the former Fiera del Sud, on the UNESCO site. The PRG allows the possibility to increase by 20% the areas intended for commercial activity.

The creation of huge new residential areas in the Buffer Zone (in Epipoli and Tremilia) of the UNESCO site.

In addition to these actions, the PRG allows building permissions for a great deal of the land in the south of Syracuse, especially along the coastline that, although outside the perimeter of the UNESCO, due to its environmental, landscape and cultural and historical features should also be preserved for the purposes of a more sustainable tourism. Finally, other serious conditions of conflict relate to the creation of two new marinas (one for the big cruise ships, authorized in 2007 and already partly realized, and one for the boating, 2008) within the Porto of Syracuse, that falls within the Buffer Zone of the UNESCO site and has been declared a Site of National Interest.[10]

The different aim of these instruments (planning instruments of land use and socio-economic programming instruments), their different nature (conformative and performative) and the different articulation and duration have not allowed the MP to devise long-range operations and, consequently, effective action. The MP cannot take decisions on land use, nor enable economic investments.

The principle of integration on which the MP is based, therefore, refers exclusively to the collection of actions from other plans and programmes, and not the creation of clear and shared reference frameworks, from which emerge new

[9] In this respect, the Regional Administrative Court (TAR) of Catania in 2008 has recognized the effectiveness and substantive skill of the MP, but no change to the PRG was made and, therefore, the conflicting conditions remain.

[10] These interventions are provided as variants of the master plan of the port, which rules the use of land and sea in the port area. In relation to the first intervention, after complaints presented by several environmental groups and the starting of a judiciary survey, the regional Department of Beni Culturali e Ambientali revoked the permissions. Therefore, the works are currently still suspended. In relation to the second operation, the project is taking into consideration some adjustments according to some remarks highlighted by the environmental impact assessment.

Fig. 3. The 'Grande Porto' of Syracuse and the interventions of the project for large ships (A) and for boating (B)

Source: Master Plan of the Porto of Syracuse, 2007

actions and effective intervention strategies. Due to the inefficiency of the MP, the presence of UNESCO site not only fails to represent real added value to local economies, but goes against the level of preservation that derives from it, causing thus abnormal and contradictory interpretations of the past values.

4. CONCLUSIONS

If the aim of this contribution was to understand if and how to implement the actions of the WHL MP when a site is included in the WHL, the analysis made in the case of Syracuse, according to previous researches (Lo Piccolo *et al.*, 2012), shows that the implementation of the plan actions is underestimated (or even non-existent), because the main objective of the process is to get into the list of UNESCO sites. The inscription in the WHL is generally considered a contributing factor to the rise in popularity of the site, in its 'appeal' and consequently in promoting tourism. In the case of Syracuse, growing tourism offer, together with directly or indirectly linked forms of speculation, could impair the value of cultural heritage for which the site has been included in the WHL. To this real risk does not correspond a significant increase in tourism flows and economy. On the contrary, the process of replacement of traditional handicraft and commercial activities in Ortygia, together with the process of construction of coastal strip and internal or close interventions to the UNESCO site, show how the presence of UNESCO site has been an accelerator of the forms of pressure without the effective promotion of development actions, or – even less – the implementation of safeguarding actions. The inclusion of a site in the UNESCO WHL involves not only the recognition of its universal value but, above all, a strong assumption of responsibility in its safeguard (Badia, 2011).

In the analysis of the Syracuse case study, the first questions were: how much do the WHL and the Management Plan influence the planning system, shifting it towards a 'sustainable' approach? and how does the MP orient or collaborate with other planning instruments/systems (and *vice versa*) in order to enhance more effective and sustainable tourism policies? Also, according to previous analysis (Lo Piccolo *et al.*, 2012), the WHL MPs have a slight influence on those tourism policies addressed to increasing and qualifying tourism flows and economy.

According to UNESCO, the WHL MPs should act as a 'guide' for management of the site, like a governance instrument of safeguard policies, conservation actions, enhancement strategies of the UNESCO site (Sibilio Parri, 2011). This would require integration of the plan with other instruments of planning and programming, according to a holistic and coherent vision of preservation and development. However, this does not occur in many national and regional contexts,

such as Sicily, where the local very conformative planning regime clashes with the performative approach of the WHL MP model. In fact, the latter applies in practice through the promotion of non-binding spatial policy programmes and the consequent promotion of initiatives and projects which prove themselves capable to 'perform' (Alexander and Faludi, 1989; Faludi, 2000) an agreed collective strategy, while local planning systems and instruments are still based on a conforming approach and a (formal) regulatory tradition. If the 'implementation gap' between plans and interventions in the real world are inevitably endemic (Mastop, 1997), a conformative approach in the implementation of supranational guidelines and plans in local contexts is destined to fail. The reason is that local plans will look at a plan such the UNESCO WHL MP as a statutory plan, and here all the differences at the normative level arise, impeding any real fulfilment. On the contrary, in a performative approach 'the prime concern should not be with whether or not the plan is followed, but with whether the plan plays a role in those decision situations in which it was meant to be used' (Mastop and Faludi, 1997, p. 820). In fact, the ability of a WHL MP to affect the existing planning tools in national contexts depends on two main issues: (1) the level of responsibility of national and local authorities in the identification of intervention strategies and the effectiveness of their operational capability in the implementation of the interventions; (2) the level of integration of the MP with the local legislation relating to urban and regional planning. The paradoxical result is that in the case of Syracuse, as well as in other Sicilian sites (Lo Piccolo *et al.*, 2012), MPs, rather than take a 'leading role' in promoting innovative strategies and actions, become a 'collection' of goals and actions deriving from other pre-existing planning/programming tools, according to a process of 'inverse' conformity.

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