32 SPATIAL FIXES AND FLOWS, DEVELOPMENT AND LOCAL/GLOBAL NEXUS: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE LANDSCAPE RESEARCH AGENDA

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INTRODUCTION

The uniqueness of every place and region reflects the availability and conditionality of local and global material and immaterial assets, systems and networks, such as natural cycles and social systems, natural and human resources, physical and social capital, modes of production, distribution and consumption, information and communication streams, and so on, among others. Natural and social assets, systems and networks are distinguishable as spatial fixes and spatial flows, the former being "literally fixed in and on the land in some physical form for a relatively long period of time" and/or "rendered geographically immobile" (Harvey, 2003:15, in Arrighi, 2003: 3),[1] and the latter ones being physically detached, mobile and/or fluid, horizontally and vertically flexible (Santos, 1994).[2] Changes in spatial fixes and flows, provoked by prevailing local and global "hegemonic and counter-hegemonic" agents (Harner, 2001) and forces of "friendly and hostile Nature" (Santos, 1994), are reflected in constant (re/de)generation of the uniqueness of places and regions that are, ultimately, recognizable by their traditional, modern and/or hybrid territorial identities (Haesbaert, 1997).

Landscapes are pivotal in the recognition of territorial identities. Natural and cultural landscape qualities are basic ingredients of cartographic and other visual records of places and regions, and serve as a basis for territorial diagnoses. Landscape features can determine our "sense of place" (Massey, 1995; Rose, 1995), or our territorialized reckoning and emotions, given that, "according to geographer Pierce Lewis, "the cultural landscape is our unwitting autobiography", because it reflects in tangible form our tastes, values, aspirations and fears" (Rubinstein, 1999: 23). By providing support to the spatial fixes and by integrating them with spatial flows, landscapes are both the custodians and witnesses of the local/global (re)production and/or consumption of material and immaterial features of territorial identities. Last but not least, natural and cultural landscape qualities can warn us about threats to, and advise us about opportunities for the (re)affirmation of biophysical, sociocultural, socioeconomic and other identity features of places and regions. In sum, "the landscape is the medium through which place identity is constructed... (and) …is both representation (an ideal

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[1] For a critical assessment of Harvey's perspective on "spatial fixes", see: Jessop, 2004.
[2] For a comprehensive discussion on "spatial fluxes", see: Haesbaert, 1997.

that imparts meaning) and materiality (the reality of lived conditions) (Mitchell, 1991a)" (Harner, 2001: 660).

The unique landscape-related and other territorial identity features are vanishing as places and regions increasingly become environmentally, economically and culturally affected by "deterritorialisation" and "multiterritoriality" (Barel, 1986), "reterritorialisation" (Haesebaert, 1997) "glocalization" (Benko, 2000), or even by "annihilation of space by time" (Harvey, 2002), if not by the "end of territories" (Badie, 1995). Nevertheless, in spite of, or as a reaction to, the homogenizing effects of globalisation, marked by the growing asymmetries between the local and the global at the expense of the local, the territorial identities of many places and regions are still extremely important as immediate sources of comfort, self-recognition, self-esteem and hope for a better future, not just to social groups and/or economic and other agents who still have not entered, or who already lost, the local/global battle (Castells, 2003), but especially to those who believe that a global integration, recognition and/or valorisation of local natural and social uniqueness is indeed necessary and desirable (Albino, 1997).

The issue of changing landscapes as part of territorial identity and sustainability concerns in the present era of the globalisation of economy and culture has gained momentum over the nineties on the development research and policy agendas,[3] especially when addressing the peripheral, lagging and rural areas of Europe.[4] For example, in Portugal, there has hardly been a regional and local development policy, a programme or a project in which it is not argued that losses in territorial identity, such as landscape degradation, depopulation and lagging traditional economy, are a consequence of the weakening position, marginalisation and/or exclusion of places and regions from global assets, systems and networks.[5] Moreover, it has been reiterated that lagging regions need to combat negative effects and make efforts to attract positive effects of globalisation, with special attention to the protection, strengthening and reaffirmation of territorial identities in order to contribute to the competitiveness of the local/regional economy and culture in the globalized market of goods, services and ideas.

However, the pro-identity rhetoric has not been matched with practice in many places and regions: degradation and destruction of natural and cultural landscapes and other territorial identity features have taken place far more frequently and at a much larger scale than their effective protection and/or enhancement. The conflicting territorial

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[3] The relevance of diversity and autonomy of regional and local development in the context of globalisation has been strongly voiced across social sciences since the nineties. See, for example, Agnew, 1999, 2000; Haartsen et al., 2000; Massey and Jets, 1995; Amin and Thrift, 1994; Hadjimikalis 1994; Massey, 1991.

[4] In relation to the peripheral and lagging regions of the EU, one of major arguments has been that an increased competitiveness of localities and regions on the globalized market of goods, services and ideas, can be decisive for achieving sustainable "local development engineering" (Cosgrove, 1998; Commission européenne, 1994).

[5] Most rural areas in Portugal have suffered from the declining of small-scale agriculture, under-utilisation or abandonment of cultivable land, lacking investments in economic and social infrastructure and services and, especially, in productive activities, as well as from the continuous weakening of demographic vitality and depletion of endogenous human resources, often referred to as "human desertification" (Animar, 2001, 1998; Barreto, 2000; Oliveira-Roca, 2000, 2004; Cavaco, 1992). All this has been accompanied by fading cultural traditions and arbitrary adoption of new identities.

claims and asymmetrical power-relations between, for example, private and public spheres, small and big producers and consumers, local and global agents of social change have indeed seriously undermined prospects for sustainable development at local and regional levels. Quite symptomatically, the Portuguese language has become enriched by the word *descaracterização*, which perfectly defines what became notorious across the country: loss, defeat, abuse, waste and disregard of the authentic, typical, unique and/or recognisable natural and cultural landscapes (Roca, 2004).

It is argued in this paper that the gap between the pro-identity rhetoric and practice reflects the lack of an adequate conceptual and methodological framework for the translation of landscape-related and other territorial identity concerns into development policies and their instruments. This limitation could be overcome, it is argued, if the complex, ambiguous and subjective concept of territorial identity were operationalized, that is, transformed into what it is not now: an analytical category, equipped with instruments for the recording, assessment and monitoring of the consumption and (re)production of the existing and emerging local and global spatial fixes and flows that are reflected in the uniqueness of places and regions.

The structure of this paper is three-fold: salient issues that may explain the gap between the pro-identity discourse and anti-identity reality are highlighted and discussed in the first part; the second part brings forward a proposal for a conceptual and methodological framework for the study of the relationships between landscape-related and other changes in spatial fixes and flows on one side and, on the other, globally conditioned local and regional development; finally, arguments in favour of operationalizing the pro-identity concerns and for enriching landscape research agendas are given in the third and concluding sections.

PRO-IDENTITY RHETORIC AND ANTI-IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

Why is there such a gap between the pro-identity rhetoric and the reality of local/global asymmetries in the (re)production and consumption of spatial fixes and flows, and, ultimately of territorial identity features? The reasons are many, but attention needs to be paid to at least the following two: first, the diversity of meanings that are attributable to the notion of territorial identity and, consequently, the ambiguity of interpretations about its significance in local/regional development; second, the prevalence of top-down approaches to local/regional development and, consequently, lack of awareness about the role of the development stakeholders in (re/de)generating territorial identities.

Conceptual ambiguities

Diversity of meanings attributable to the notion of territorial identity is very broad, ranging from generic references about "uniqueness", "singularity", "specificity" and/or "authenticity" of local/regional material and immaterial assets, systems and networks, to the more refined suggestions regarding dichotomies such as "traditional *vs*. modern", "extroverted *vs*. introverted", "networked *vs*. isolated" places and regions, endowed, or

not, with "capacities", "potentials" and/or "comparative (dis)advantages" for gaining and/or loosing from local/global interdependencies.[6]

Nonetheless, in spite of such a miscellany of possible meanings, the affirmation of territorial identity has been brought to the pedestal of a panacea for local/regional development sustainability in the era of the globalized economy and culture.

In Portugal, the pro-identity rhetoric has had a very prominent place in the preamble of the National Regional Development Plan 2000-2006 with the argument that "harmony between modernity and tradition means, both territorially and geostrategically, combining the generalised cosmopolitan living patterns with the valorisation of collective identity" (MP, 1999, Chapter III: 10), which corresponds to the general philosophy behind the EU development policy for the lagging countries and regions, especially in rural areas. For instance, the objectives of the EU Initiative LEADER II, enthusiastically introduced in rural Portugal in the nineties, were mainly based on the idea of enhancing "local territorial potentials" and "richness of local and regional heritage" and, in order to be eligible for the EU financial support, all local development initiatives had to incorporate "awareness-creation among the population about territorial identity and prosperity" (DGDR, 1997: 218-219). Along the same lines, the First European Conference on Local Development and Social Cohesion, held in Serpa, Portugal, in 1995 adopted a Final Declaration which emphasized that "the valorisation of local cultural identity and environmental protection should become useful instruments in creating new activities, generating employment and retaining and attracting people" (CEDLCS, 1995: 4). Likewise, at the Portuguese National Assemblies and Fairs of Local Development Agencies, held in Amarante in 1998 and in Tavira in 2001, strong quests were made in favour of the "valorisation of cultural identity", "building local self-esteem", "strengthening local diversity", "encouraging community feeling", "mobilising active local citizenship" and "enabling decentralised development" (Animar, 1998), as well as calls for "reaffirmation of local identities in all of its dimensions" in order to "combat exclusion and massification generated by globalisation" (Animar, 2001).

However, when territorial identity features are complex mixes of old and new fixes and flows, and they are not clear in factual and verifiable terms, how can development policy makers and other agents of socio-economic change determine exactly which identity feature needs to be "strengthened", "preserved", "diversified", or made "more competitive", so that it becomes developmentally relevant? Which quantiqualitative references (benchmarks) should be used to monitor and evaluate, for example, changes in natural and cultural landscapes and other material and immaterial identity features in

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[6] In academic and public discourse, the "identity" of places and regions is frequently and *a priori* associated with the socio-cultural sphere, less frequently with dominant natural resources and environmental qualities, rarely with local economy and politics and virtually never in a comprehensive manner, i.e., embracing all spheres and sectors of life. Important contributions to the clarification of the complexities inherent to the interpretation of the concept of territorial identity as a local and regional development issue were provided, for example, by Rose, 1995; Ilbery *at al*., 1995; Agnew 1999; Haartsen *et al*., 2000; Haesbaert 2004.

order to distinguish, compare or predict "desirable" from "unwanted" ones in relation to local/regional development objectives? And, even if the nature of local development issues at stake and the needs for (un)modified territorial identity were defined, who should be the legitimate "guardians" of identity features, that is, which institutions or individuals are capable and, above all, entitled to cope locally with the (un)favourable forces of globalisation? The difficulties in answering such questions lies at the core of the conceptual-methodological constraints to the bridging of the gap between pro-identity rhetoric and reality.

In short, the need to care for and to promote identity has been accepted as a *conditio sine qua non* for sustainable development, or, as Albino suggests, "local identity must be operationalized into a development resource. The strategy of local development should be based on the appreciation of ancestral typicality as a means of encouraging further evolution of new local innovations" (1997: 113). The true challenge is, therefore, to find ways and means for functional (*i.e.*, in practical and not only conceptual terms) integration of territorial identity-related concerns in local/regional development options and initiatives.

Macroscopic underestimations

Regarding the controversy of the pro-identity rhetoric within the global-local nexus, two conceptual and analytical limitations need to be highlighted. First, the prevailing macroscopic, top-down perspective in the interpretations of locally experienced conditions and consequences of globalisation, and too little insight from the grassroots level, *i.e.*, from the perspective of the qualities of the local natural environment, economy, or culture. Though "commentators seem sure that there is a "dialectic" between the global and local, that in some sense what counts as the local has been transformed by globalisation" (Massey 1991, in Amin and Thrift, 1994:1), most often empirical evidence has not been sought at territorial levels lower than a single country or groups of countries (e.g.,, the success-stories of Ireland and of the "Asian Tigers", or failure-stories of Argentina and almost entire Sub-Saharan Africa) on the basis of top-down approaches, based on national and international aggregate data and secondary sources of information. Understandings based on the grassroots-level primary data on impacts of globalisation at intra-country, regional and local territorial levels, have been lacking.[7]

The second limitation largely stems from the first one and has to do with the "underestimation at present of the literature on the local-global nexus in terms of the role of people and their organisations as social agents affecting change" (Hadjimichalis,

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[7] True, geographers, sociologists, industrial economists and business analysts, political scientists and others have explored effects of globalisation on local cultural identities, local business strategies, local industrial agglomerations, local political struggles, etc. (Amin and Thrift, 1994), but such contributions tend to cover only sporadic and isolated cases, rely on secondary sources of information and remain confined to monodisciplinary interpretations. For a critical discussion of conceptual-methodological issues related to sociospatial embeddedness of economic action in industrial firms and their business and of, shifting identities of economic actors and the role of context in exploring economic behaviour, see: Yeung, 2003.

1994: 249). Too little effort has been made to divert from a tendency to interpret economic growth and changes in social, cultural, political and other spheres of life primarily from the perspective of systems and institutions, and to ignore the fact that every institutional setting is being run and/or used by individual stakeholders and that, consequently, all activities affecting territorial identity are necessarily subjective. However, it must be borne in mind that the definition of development objectives and means to achieve them are also highly subjective and, above all, that "development is more than economic growth: it is the realization of the full potential of a place's resources, the most important of which are its people. For people to achieve their fullest potential, they must recognize who they are and envision possibilities for the future. They must have a strong identity with their community and with place" (Harner, 2001: 678). In this context, more light needs to be brought to the issue of "whose identity or identities are we talking about, and who determines the regional identity of an area" (Groote *et al*., 2000: 2).

To corroborate this discussion, it is worth pointing to the main findings of an exploratory survey on individual interpretation of territorial identity and globally conditioned development in rural Portugal (Roca, 2004). First, it was confirmed that landscape features are ranked highest on the scale of territorial identity priority concerns amongst local development activists (LDAs). In fact, changing landscape features are central, both explicitly and implicitly, in LDAs' assessment of local development capacities and potentials, the desirable and adverse local effects of globalized economy and culture, as well as of the role of local and global development stakeholders. Not surprisingly, the LDAs unanimously supported the common pro-identity rhetoric, but disagreed on specific, more tangible and subtle topics and dilemmas, such as whether local factors, and not only global, cause and perpetuate negative territorial identity features and underdevelopment, or whether to accept the trade-offs between modernisation and tradition, at the expense of the latter, in the name of social and economic progress.

Furthermore, according to the same survey findings, it seems that globalisation has not yet significantly contributed to local identities in rural Portugal, that is, LDAs reported that the traditional local fixes and horizontalities related to cultural values, lifestyles, social institutions and economic structure, still dominate over recently emerging new identity components that are synonymous to global flows and verticalities, such as consumerism, alternative tourism, rurbanization, or immigration of foreign professionals. Likewise, the weak presence of components such as commercial agriculture, external investments, modern industrial technology and international firms show that "networked regions" and local "embededness" of globalized economic agents (Todtling, 1994) are still not a reality in rural Portugal. Moreover, the LDAs' assertion that telematics is not yet notable as an identity component of rural Portugal corroborates similar findings from other peripheral countries and regions (Ilbery *et al*., 1995).

The survey also revealed that all of the most strongly present identity components related to cultural traditions, human resources and structure of the economy seem to have been more negatively than positively affected by globalisation. In fact, LDAs pointed to the imminent loss of certain features that are commonly considered as "uniquely Portuguese", thus representing potentially competitive local development assets, such as the traditional cultural landscape, traditional events and habits and collective memory. On the other, more reassuring side, some moderately present local identity components - such as rare oases of preserved cultural landscapes, commercialisation of agriculture, external marketing of local products, international tourism and local cultural production, as well as potentially linked to all these identity features, the increased creation of new employment opportunities - seem to be much more positively than negatively associated with impacts of globalisation. Furthermore, weakly present but desirable, dynamic, innovative and/or potentially competitive identity components, such as environmental conscientiousness, people's self-esteem and entrepreneurial spirit, human resources development, modernisation of agriculture and external investments also seem to be much more positively than negatively associated with globalisation.

Finally, LDAs' opinions were divided on the prospects for the affirmation of territorial identities as a means of increasing the competitiveness of local/regional culture and economy. Approximately one half of LDAs had a quite sceptical attitude (mostly due to the lack of human resources, technical guidelines and administrative legal, financial and other incentives), while the other half expressed enthusiasm about grasping with identity features that have been negatively affected by globalisation, as well as about strengthening the neglected desirable identity features, especially the recuperation and preservation of cultural landscapes, the promotion of the external image of the territory and external demand for local products, preventing the exodus of the youth and attracting new residents, encouraging the adoption of telematics, favouring organic farming and preventing the degradation of natural resources especially forests and soils. In a way, this is in line with the expectation that "territorial mobilisation" should emerge in defence of local priorities against globalisation (Hadjimichalis, 1994).

In sum, these findings point to the relevance of territorial identity as a development resource and confirmed the conceptual-methodological controversy that prevents bridging the gap between the pro-identity rhetoric and the globally conditioned development reality. The (re)affirmation of territorial identity calls for its effective integration in development policies and interventions. To make this possible, more profound, empirically confirmed and policy relevant grounds for the understanding of "the continued salience of places as settings for social and economic existence, and for forging identities, struggles, and strategies of both a local and global nature" (Amin and Thrift 1994: 9) need to be laid down, or, in other words, the concept of territorial identity should be operationalized.

THE IDENTERRA MODEL

The challenge of transforming territorial identity into an analytical category is two-fold: first a conceptual-methodological model for the study of identity of places and regions as an issue of development* needs to be designed, and, second, methods and tools for recording and assessing empirical evidence of changing identity features in the context of power relations among development stakeholders* need to be devised.[8] An attempt in this direction is the IDENTERRA conceptual-methodological model for the study of territorial identity and developmental sustainability*.[9] According to this model, the first step to be taken is the disaggregation of the three key concepts - "territorial identity", "development stakeholders" and "local/global nexus"- by decomposing them into discernible and measurable components. The next step is functional integration of macroscopic ("desk") and grassroots ("field") research methods and tools. The basics of the IDENTERRA model for transforming territorial identify into an analytical category, including working definitions of the terminology promoted by the model, are outlined below.

"Territorial identity"

Every territorial unit, such as a place and a region*, is characterized by specific spatial fixes* and flows*. Spatial fixes consist of structural and dynamic elements of the natural heritage*, population* and human-made economic* and cultural heritage* in a given territory. Specific sets of spatial fixes compose natural (primary or modified, preserved or degraded, etc.) and/or cultural (agricultural, industrial, rural, urban, mixed, etc.) landscapes*.

Spatial flows consist of natural (bio-geo-physical) and social relations, movements, activities and interactions within horizontal (territorial) and vertical (functional) networks and systems that determine the functioning of the natural environment on the one side and, on the other, of the economy, society and culture*. Specific sets of spatial flows are reflected in people's lifestyles*

In this context, according to the IDENTERRA model, the study of changing territorial identities calls for integrated studies of landscape- and lifestyle-related spatial fixes and flows (Fig. 1).

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[8] For working definitions of the terms marked with (*) see the Glossary of Terms, after References.

[9] This model has been developed at the CEGED – Canter for Geographic and Development Studies of the Universidade Lusófona, Lisbon, in the framework of a research project entitled "IDENTERRA – Territorial Identity in Regional and Local Development: the Oeste Region of Portugal", with the following objectives: first, to create a conceptual-methodological framework and tools for providing empirical evidence about the role of local and global development stakeholders in producing and consuming territorial identity and, second, to test this framework in the Oeste Region, located NW of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, where the global competitiveness of local environment, economy and culture, as well as the pro-identity rhetoric have been placed high on local development agendas (http://ceged.ulusofona).
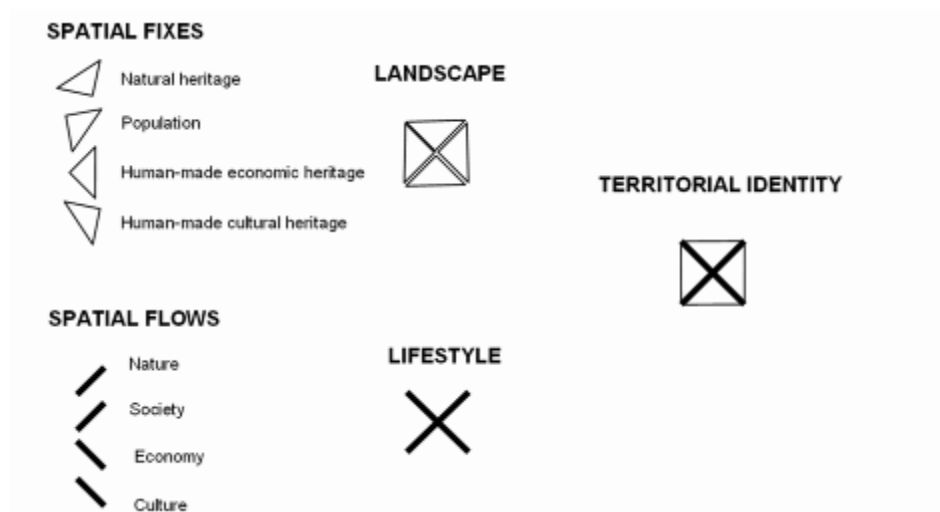
Figure 1: Analytical disaggregation of territorial identity.

However, to claim that territorial identity features are objectively mirrored in landscapes and lifestyles is but partially true. Another important dimension of territorial identity is its image and interpretation, or, according to Harner, "landscape is both the representation and reality, both symbol and form, both image and actual lived conditions. The representation of landscape – the ideal that seeks to naturalize power relations – confronts the reality of the material world in specific place." (2001: 663). The same landscape- and lifestyle-identity features have different meanings to different people, and their changes reflect diversity the of their representations and prevailing relations among their consumers and (re)producers, both the local and the global ones. Consequently, the IDENTERRA model proposes that at least two basic dimensions of territorial identity should be distinguished in development research, policies and interventions: the objective, or factual, undisputable and/or certifiable identity, and the subjective, or perceived, interpreted and/or imagined identity.

The objective territorial identity is made of visible and hidden (implied, implicit, underlying, etc.) spatial fixes and flows, both material and immaterial. They are recordable and verifiable through data and images of natural and cultural landscape features, including geo-symbols*, metonymic symbols* and mnemonic signs* in the case of fixes, and, in the case of flows, of bio-geo-physical, socio-economic, cultural, technological, political and other activities, relations and meanings that define people's lifestyles.

The subjective territorial identity can be studied from the point of view of two basic sets of spatial fixes and flows: first, those that practiced and/or experienced (in the real life) and, second, those that are claimed and/or pretended (in the mind). The experienced and pretended fixes and flows of the subjective territorial identity can be identified and assessed from the point of view of differences in the sense of place and power-relations

among different development stakeholders (Haesbaert 1997; Haartsen at al., 2000a; Harner, 2001).

As shown in Fig. 2, the IDENTERRA Model distinguishes the experienced from the claimed subjective territorial identity.
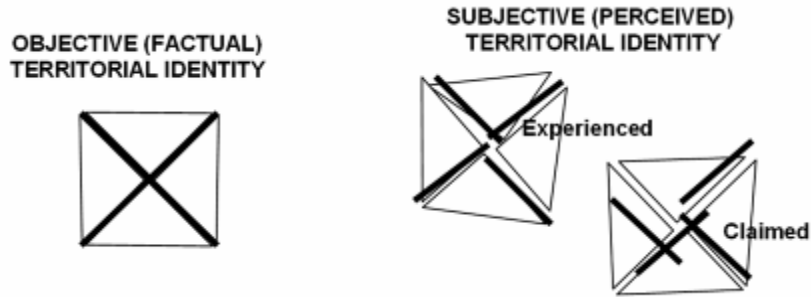

Figure 2: Objective and subjective territorial identities.

Clearly, the materialization of the pretended identity usually results in consumption and/or (re)production, thus in (re/de)generation, of the objective territorial identity features.

"Development stakeholders"

The IDENTERRA model envisages identification of a wide range of actual and potential individual and institutional stakeholders[10] and their categorisation on the basis of their knowledge, attitudes and practice (KAP) with regard to the landscape and lifestyle qualities of a territory in which they live and/or operate (Fig. 3). The KAP-related analyses can bring about distinctions among stakeholders in terms of their sense of place and active relation to territorial identities. For example, they could be categorized as "concerned *vs*. unaware", as "consumers *vs*. (re)producers", as "protectors *vs*. destructors", as "conservative *vs*. innovative", etc. in relation to specific landscape- and lifestyle-related identity features.

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[10] In the aforementioned survey in rural Portugal, several dozen stakeholders were identified, such as the following (listed were alphabetically): artists (folk and pop); civil society activists (environmental protection, human rights, etc.); development activists (by type and experience); employees (by sectors of activity and qualification); entrepreneurs (by sectors of economic activity and size); journalists (local/regional mass media); land-owners (by size and land-use); new residents (national and foreign); political leaders; pupils and students; religious leaders; residents working in another territory; retailers (big, medium, small); retirees; return migrants (by origin); teachers and professors (by area of specialty); small industrial producers (by type and technology); subsistence farmers (by type and technology); tourists (national and foreign); unemployed. The identified institutional stakeholders were: cultural institutions (museums, theatres, libraries, etc.); educational institutions (schools, universities, etc.); enterprises (by sectors of economic activity and size); financial institutions; governmental institutions (local, regional, national); information/communication enterprises; international institutions; local/regional development agencies; mass media establishments; modern civic associations; producers' associations and cooperatives (by sectors of activity and size); religious institutions; retail companies; tourism and leisure industry firms; traditional civic associations; transport companies (Roca 2004).
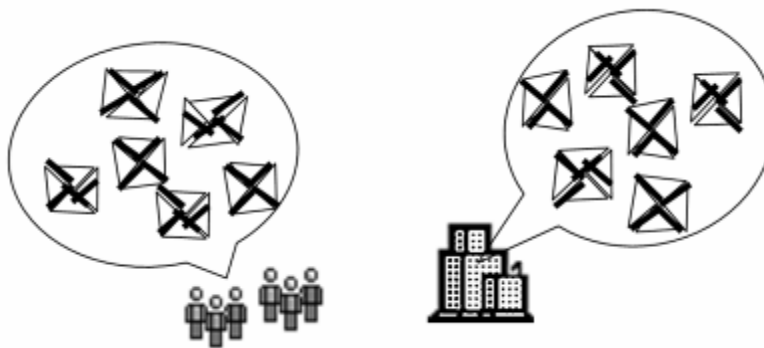
Figure 3: Individual and institutional stakeholders' KAP on territorial identities.

Furthermore, stakeholders can be stratified according to several spatial and temporal criteria, such as, for example: by the time of presence in a given territory ("old" *vs*. "new", permanent *vs*. temporary; disappeared *vs*. emerging),[11] by the geographical area of origin (endogenous, exogenous, mixed), and by the scope of their operations (local, regional, national, international, mixed). Yet another distinction among the stakeholders needs to be made in terms of the development actors* and development agents*: while all contribute to development, the role of the latter ones may be crucial (Roca, 1998).

"Global/local nexus"

The IDENTERRA model is intended for the study of why and how "competing groups continually contest the dominant morphology and symbolism, thereby reshaping the social and physical space" (Harper 2001, 663) in the era of globalization*, or, in other words, the study of the role of development stakeholders in relation to the natural, social, economic, cultural and other processes that occur within the local/global nexus and have impacts on local landscapes and lifestyles. To this end the global/local nexus can be disaggregated into globalized spatial fixes and flows and their impacts on the territorial identity components, specifically in terms of

> - effects on local natural environment, such as: destruction *vs*. conservation of natural resources and landscapes; degradation *vs*. recovery of natural resources and landscapes; loss *vs*. revalorisation of natural resources and/or landscapes; conflicts *vs*. synergies between the economy and natural resources management; lack *vs*. increase of the competitiveness of natural resources and landscapes; etc.;

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[11] Special care must be given to the establishment of adequate time-frames in accordance with the requirements of the studied issues, availability of data, analytical methods and selected instruments. For example, in Portugal, the key time benchmarks used are 1991 and 2001 Population and Housing Censuses, years of major political events (e.g., the fall of the fascist regime with the "Revolution of Carnations" in 1974, and the joining of the EU in 1986) and periods of implementation of national and EU economic policies, programmes and initiatives (e.g., those related to local/regional development, social development, environmental protection, or decentralization), as well as years of the implementation of crucial development projects (e.g. inauguration of freeways, opening/closing of industries, universities, etc.).

- effects on local society, such as: social innovation *vs*. stagnation; segregation, marginalisation, and/or exclusion *vs*. cohesion, integration and/or inclusion; lack *vs*. promotion of knowledge and qualifications; spirit of dependency *vs*. entrepreneurial spirit; population aging versus rejuvenation; consumerism *vs*. environmental conscience; social crises versus synergies; etc.;

- effects on local economy, such as: stagnation *vs*. growth; traditional *vs*. modern means of production; lack *vs*. diversification of activities and products; lack *vs*. adoption of innovations and entrepreneurship; lack *vs*. access to external markets; lack *vs*. access to external investments; external dependence *vs*. self-sufficiency; etc.; and

- effects on local culture, such as: loss of *vs*. preservation and/or recuperation of urban, rural and other cultural landscapes; homogenisation and standardization *vs*. diversification and revitalization; xenophobia *vs*. multiculturalism; traditionalism *vs*. modernism; localism *vs*. cosmopolitism; imitation *vs*. creativity; isolation *vs*. networking in cultural diasporas; etc.[12]

Theoretically, the globalization could have no effects on any aspect of territorial identity (thus reflecting a total isolation of such places or regions from the rest of the world) on the one side and, on the other, all territorial identity features could become totally absorbed (if not eliminated) by the homogenising affects in all areas of globalization. As shown in Fig. 4, this conceptual framework could serve as basis for empirical studies at the grassroots level about the changing role (*i.e.*, interests, power-relations, practice) of individual and institutional stakeholders in (re/de)generating of territorial identities along the scale from the "situation 0" (*i.e.*, total isolation, no change) to the "situation 1" (full integration, utmost alteration) of places and regions in terms of environmental, economic, societal and/or cultural processes within the local/global nexus.
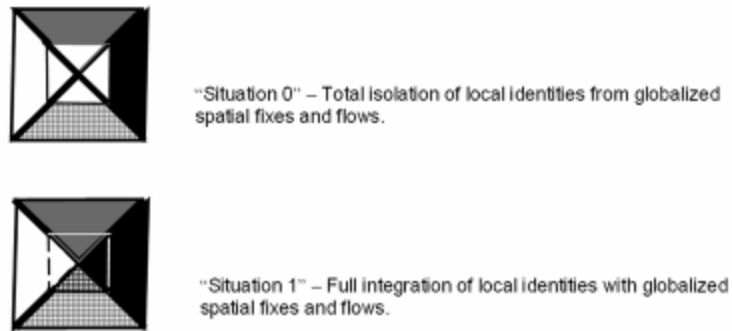

"Situation 0" – Total isolation of local identities from globalized spatial fixes and flows.

"Situation 1" – Full integration of local identities with globalized spatial fixes and flows.

Figure 4: From the isolation to integration of territorial identities within the local/global nexus.

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[12] Besides the aforementioned effects of globalisation on local natural environment, economy, society and culture, the IDENTERRA Model is open to the study of other processes that mark the local/global nexus. For example, in the Portuguese context, it is important to explore globalisation effects on local politics and governance, such as, centralization *vs.* decentralization, authoritarianism *vs.* participation, isolation *vs.* inter- and intra-regional integration, individualism *vs.* civil society, spirit of local and regional dependency *vs.* empowerment, etc.

The analytical disaggregation of the global/local nexus can facilitate the assessment of the change from the traditional to the modern (or, post- and neo-modern) landscapes and lifestyles, that is, the transition from the isolated pockets of endogenously controlled and externally impermeable natural, social, economic and cultural territorial identity features to their increasing permeability and integration or, in other words, "the growing similarities and/or homogeneities between local territorial identity features and those emanating from global economic and cultural hierarchies" (Haesbaert, 1997: 42).

Integration of macroscopic and grassroots methods

The IDENTERRA model aims, essentially, at promoting a better understanding of development issues marked by a multitude of cross-cuts between endogenous and exogenous, local and global, individual and collective, natural and social, economic and cultural, etc. Therefore, research on such complex issues must face the challenge of selecting, testing and adapting the existing analytical methods and instruments and of creating new ones, as well as detecting and/or creating complementarities in their use[13]. It is presumed that this will help place a balanced importance on the following methodological approaches:

- the "top-down" approach, based on indirect, macroscopic and/or remote sensing methods, realized as desk-studies of secondary sources of data and images,[14] and

- the "bottom-up" approach, based on direct, participatory and grassroots methods, realized through field-studies of primary sources of data and images, collected *in situ* and *ad hoc* (Fig. 5).[15]

As part of the top-down approach, diagnostic studies of changing objective identity features materialized in natural and cultural landscapes and lifestyles need to be elaborated in order to (i) explore the scope and intensity of changes in local spatial fixes (natural, human and material resources and heritage) and flows (bio-geo-physical, and socio-economic systems and networks) and their linkages with global physical and human conditions, as well as (ii) to identify probable development stakeholders (local and global, old and new, consumers and producers, etc.) and their power-relations.[16]

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[13] An interdisciplinary team of researchers is required, composed of specialists such as physical and human geographers, natural and cultural landscape analysts, socio-economists, cultural anthropologists, architects and urban planners, as well as specialists in the application of geographical information technologies.

[14] These include a wide range of data such as, for example, those from satellite images, aerial photographs and thematic cartography related to fixes of the objective territorial identity, as well as those from national and international statistics related to both fixes e flows of the objective territorial identity. Data collected from public opinion polls and surveys (by phone or mail) related to fixes and flows of the subjective (both, experienced and pretended) territorial identity, can also be considered as part of the macroscopic approach.

[15] Such information can be obtained directly from different development stakeholders by means of KAP-interviews, focus group discussions and other participatory methods. Also, photographic and audiovisual records can be collected in the field, as well as other primary data and information through direct observation methods, drawings, mapping, gathering of "informal documentation", such as unpublished technical reports, local monographic and diagnostic studies, carrying out discourse analyses based on public speeches and policy statements, local written and oral literature, folk and pop-culture products, etc.

[16] The macroscopic identification should be confirmed and/or complemented by in-depth studies of local and regional stakeholders by means of grassroots methods.

The bottom-up approach should be applied mostly to assess the subjective identity features on the basis of field-surveys of the stakeholders' KAP in relation to the objective spatial fixes and flows (landscapes and lifestyles) and to their relations with other stakeholders. The KAP case studies, both exploratory and in-depth, and comparative analyses should be carried out at different territorial levels (*i.e.*, local community, municipal or inter-municipal) and in different functional contexts (social, economic, cultural, environmental systems and networks).[17]
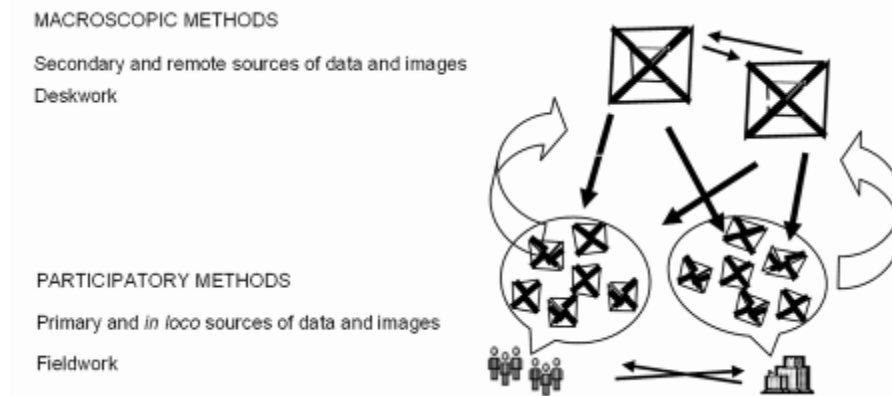

Figure 5: Integration of macroscopic and participatory methods.

The integration of top-down and bottom-up approaches, methods and instruments could enable detection and assessment of the existing and potential conflicts and synergies (e.g.,, rural-urban, entrepreneurial-social, or economic-environmental) among local and global development stakeholders in consuming and (re)producing landscape- and lifestyle-related territorial identity features. This cross-cutting of macroscopic and grassroots sources of data should shed greater light about how exactly "landscapes become materialized discourse of different social interests (Schein, 1997) so they are always a compromise" (Harner, 2001: 663), or how to achieve the "recreation of local identities in all of its dimensions… (in order to)…combat exclusion and massification generated by globalisation" (Animar, 2001).

OPERATIONALIZING IDENTITY/DEVELOPMENT CONCERNS

The potential relevance of the application of the IDENTERRA model lies in the possibility of operationalizing the concept of territorial identity in policies of territorial development*. For example, search for empirical evidence of changing landscape- and lifestyle-related territorial identity features can reveal different levels of topophilia, *i.e.*,

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[17] The KAP surveys can be precious for detecting complementarities and disparities between cognitive and behavioural spheres among specific stakeholders, as well as in comparative analyses between different stakeholders, both individual and institutional ones. Development policy relevant analyses of specific landscape and lifestyle issues can also be made by contrasting the results obtained from KAP surveys on these issues with objective, factual data on the same issues obtainable from secondary sources of information.

"the affective bond between people and place or setting" (Tuan, 1990:4), or the sense of territorial belonging to a place or region of residence, work and/or leisure. Certain types of topophilia can be strategically important in encouraging/discouraging cohesion/divergence among the existing and potential endogenous and exogenous forces (e.g.,, real estate investors, transnational entrepreneurs, etc.) in the economic valorisation of elements of natural and cultural heritage in territory.

Having in mind that places and regions are the real and immediate space of life to many people and activities of many institutions, the development policies that aim to (re)affirm local and regional identities should reinforce topophilia among development individual and institutional stakeholders, as a means of making them more directly responsible for:

- promoting the environmental and sociocultural conscientiousness;

- protecting the heritage materialized in natural and cultural landscapes;

- encouraging the constructive social relations and the community spirit; and

- strengthening of the local self-esteem and the feeling of economic and cultural security.

In fact, local and regional development agents could actively promote topophilia on the basis of the empirically verified knowledge and understanding of how people define and interpret the space of their residence, activity and/or leisure, how they identify themselves with that space, how would they like to change it, etc. On the basis of this knowledge, governments, schools, associations and other agents, worried about the global effects on local natural environment, economy and culture, could develop norms, incentives and activities at local and regional levels that would set the grounds for:

- democratising the protection/affirmation of natural and cultural landscapes;

- integrating the management of development interventions in natural and cultural landscapes;

- geo-referencing the alterations in natural and cultural landscapes induced by local and global forces/processes; and

- the institutional and human resource capacity building for the (re)valorisation of natural and cultural landscapes.

There is all reason to believe that besides favourable effects from the point of view of the cohesion among local and regional forces, strong topophilia among local development stakeholders could favour compatibilities with globalized forces in the process of (re)valorisation of territorial identities. Furthermore, given that topophilia mirrors very well the level of people's satisfaction with natural, social, economic, cultural, political and other parameters of the well-being in a territory, ultimately, a stronger sense of territorial belonging should be complementary to the strengthening of the attractiveness of specific places and regions.

The assessment of place attractiveness[18] could, in fact, be another useful outcome of the application the IDENTERRA model. The understanding and promotion of place attractiveness is important in local and regional development planning, programming and project formulation particularly in the lagging, peripheral and/or rural areas that struggle for the fixation of economic activities and social innovation based on the sustainability of the human resources base. Territorial development strategies based on innovations in the spheres of the production, exchange and consumption of goods, services and ideas should stimulate the capacity of places and regions to strengthen the sustainability of their human resource bases (human capital development), with an emphasis on attracting or retaining professionals (Weiss, 1995; Laroche, 2001: 5; OECD, 2001). The capacity to satisfy increasingly sophisticated criteria about quality of life that tend to favour local authenticity and reject globalized homogeneity, will depend on the "magnetism" of a given territory in terms of, for example: natural attractiveness (open spaces, clean air and water, accessible green areas, coastal lakesides and riversides, leisure time opportunities, etc.); structural attractiveness (quality housing, good education and health services, small-scale commerce, typical restaurants, cultural diversity, community spaces, etc); social attractiveness (strong local political leadership, effectiveness of governmental and third sector institutions, atmosphere of social peace, cooperation and security, etc); and economic attractiveness (good employment opportunities and career perspectives, availability of financial capital, incentives favouring entrepreneurial spirit and social innovation, etc) (NMF, 2003: 18-19).

Furthermore, the economic, social, cultural and political leaders and other local and regional development agents, including those responsible for spatial planning and management, could make use of the IDENTERRA model for exploring contrasts between objective and subjective landscape- and lifestyle-related territorial identity features in order to assess:

- the quality-of-life criteria and detect levels of satisfaction of professionals as actual and potential residents;

- the existing natural, structural, social and economic elements and factors of territorial attractiveness that need maintenance and sustainability;

- the disappearing elements and factors of territorial attractiveness, evaluate their relevance, both current and potential, that need reaffirmation;

- the potential, both endogenous and exogenous, prospects and for introducing elements and factors of territorial attractiveness and stimulate their constitution.

CONCLUSION

The operationalisation of the concept of territorial identity may set the grounds for strengthening the existing and exploring new synergies between landscape studies and territorial development issues. The bridging of the gap between the pro-identity rhetoric

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[18] For a comprehensive, empirically founded discussion on "place attractiveness", see: NMF, 2003.

and development practice is hardly possible without comprehensive understanding of the changing landscape features and, *vice versa*, the landscape changes can gain social relevance if studied and interpreted from the perspective of the changing spatial fixes and flows that determine the territorial identity/development interface. To this end, a radical alteration of the conceptual-methodological paradigm that presently dominates territorial identity and development studies is necessary: the top-down and macroscopic research methods, instruments and data sources need to be complemented by, and functionally integrated with, those that belong to the equally important grassroots and bottom-up approaches. In turn, this allows paying due attention to the identification and assessment of power-relations among development stakeholders (local and global, old and new, etc.), which is pivotal in studies of the (re/de)generation of territorial identities materialized in landscapes. In other words, landscape studies could be extended towards elements and factors of the changing objective dimensions of territorial identity.

Landscape studies should also prove essential in identifying and assessing the subjective dimension of territorial identity. Both the experienced and claimed subjective territorial identity features mirror the development stakeholders' sense of place and of territorial belonging, often explicitly based on landscape qualities. Divergent or harmonious power-relations among stakeholders as (de/re)generators of territorial identities require field-level empirical records of their knowledge, attitudes and practice (KAP) in relation to the natural and/or cultural landscape features. By confronting information obtained from KAP surveys, as well as from other participatory methods for screening the subjective dimension of territorial identity against the information on the same features that constitute the objective dimension of identity, strategically important indications can be obtained about (im)possibilities for reconciling the globalized economy and culture with local/regional development needs and potentials.

It is also worth stressing that integration of territorial identity and development studies based on combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches could represent an added value to both the theoretical and applied landscape research agendas. On one side, it could provide a new, empirical and trans-disciplinary interpretation about "landscapes as parts of hegemonic culture" (Cosgrove, 1983), or about "coherent identity and equilibrium between landscape reality and representation" (Harner, 2001). On the other, practical side, landscape studies related to territorial identity as a development resource could prove essential in planning and implementing programmes and projects aimed at strengthening topophilia, increasing territorial attractiveness and promoting other identity-based, strategically important components of globally competitive local and regional development.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

The following are the working definitions of terms used in the IDENTERRA model:

Culture: The system of production, exchange and expression of meanings shared by persons of the same community (from local to global) that helps them to interpret the world and make a sense out of it.

Cultural heritage: Objects of the created environment (*i.e.*, modified nature, and built environment) related to production, distribution and/or consumption of intangible goods and services (*i.e.* those related to the satisfaction of spiritual human needs).

Development: Process of social, economic, cultural, political, environmental and other changes that result in improved quality of life.

Development actors: Development stakeholders who contribute, directly or indirectly, to the improvement of the quality of life.

Development agents: Development actors who are committed and have power (economic, political, cultural, etc.) to contribute to the improvement of the quality of life on the basis of qualified knowledge (e.g.,, diagnostic studies) of specific development issues and problems.

Development stakeholders: Individuals or groups of people and institutions that stand to gain or lose, directly or indirectly, given a particular development course or activity.

Economic heritage: Objects of the created environment (*i.e.*, modified nature, and built environment) intended for production, distribution and/or consumption of tangible goods and services (*i.e.* those related to the satisfaction of physical human needs).

Geo-symbols: Forms, processes and contexts (past and present) such as soils, mountains, rivers, forests, crops, bridges, roads, buildings, human settlements, etc. that constitute landscapes.

Globalisation: Accelerated decrease of horizontal (spatial) and vertical (functional) obstacles to social, economic, cultural, political and environmental processes; growing interdependence of tendencies, problems, lifestyles and decisions at all spatio-functional levels.

Landscape: Set of natural and/or human-made spatial fixes in a territory.

Lifestyle: Patterns of use and management of spatial fixes within horizontal and vertical networks and systems within nature, society, economy and culture in a territory.

Metonymic symbols: Semiotic, toponymic, linguistic and/or artistic translations of past and present forms, processes and contexts imprinted/implanted in a territory.

Mnemonic signs: Historical processes and contexts (e.g.,, old bridges and roads), remnants of abandoned social and economic and cultural activities imprinted/implanted in a territory.

Natural heritage: Elements and objects that constitute natural environment (atmosphere, lithosphere, hydrosphere and biosphere) in a territory.

Population: Spatial distribution patterns and structural (*i.e.*, biological, social, economic, cultural) features of the people who are permanently and/or temporarily present in a territory.

Region: Geographical space that is formally (by distribution), functionally (by centrality) or vernacularly (by perception) distinguished from another geographical space (neighbouring or distant) by its natural, social, economic, cultural, political or administrative (boundaries) features.

Spatial fixes: Totality of permanently or temporarily rooted and anchored elements of the natural heritage, population and human-made economic and cultural heritage in a territory; the constitutive elements of natural (primary or modified, preserved or degraded, etc.) and cultural (agricultural, industrial, rural, urban, mixed, etc.) landscapes.

Spatial flows: Activities, relations and meanings within horizontal (territorial) and vertical (functional) networks and systems, which determine the functioning of the nature, society, economy and culture in given territory and among territories.

Sustainable development: Development based on harmony and/or reconciliation of needs, interests and power-relations between Nature and Humanity and among individual and societal objectives and means to reach them at all spatial, temporal and functional levels.

Territorial development: Conscious valorisation of specific spatial fixes and flows that results in higher levels of living conditions in places and regions

Territorial identity: A set of spatial fixes and flows that characterize a territorial unit; uniqueness of a geographic area in terms of its landscape- and lifestyle-related features.

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