FORUM ROMANUM IN VARNA

> a landscape-based strategy for
the integration of marginalized
Roma settlements through a
sequence of public spaces

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"When I was a little boy, I knew I wanted to become an architect.
Not just an architect, but a 'good' architect.
I dreamt of designing gorgeous spaces in the most beautifull places of the world.
I imagined these spaces still being there, long after I died, and my name had became well known."

However, growing up and learning about the differences between my Western world and the
other 90 percent, made me realize I wanted to leave more than just beautiful things.

> Acknowledgements

> Project statement

Spatial clustering seems to be an inevitably present element of the contemporary urban landscape, but it is not generally rejectionable. This thesis provides a strategic socio-spatial development framework within which ethnic enclaves are valued for their diversity and considered as potential activators for underused spaces, redefining rights and obligations. This provided approach links to other communities and facilitates spatial conditions for other functions to define a more complex expansive and integrative perspective on socio spatial cohesion.

> Abstract

The city is a cultural object. It is a place where social life reflects the values and habits of communities. Every city is characterized by centralities and marginalities, with specific socio-spatial concentrations of maximum significance, while others lack in value. The political landscape of Eastern Europe has dramatically changed over the past few decades. The challenges in the contemporary urban landscape are the result of technocratic approach to the spatial planning system and society during Communism. Its process of urban systematization to create a mask of national homogeneity on a complex ethnic patchwork has affected and changed the cultural landscape. Paradoxically, this policy of assimilation has resulted in the enhancement of ethnic boundaries and led to the contemporary fragmented cities in which increased social injustice is visible. Roma are generally considered 'outsiders' by the ethnic Bulgarians, as there is little shared national culture among the dominant national culture and the specific culture of the Roma minority. This vulnerable position of Roma in the socio- economic hierarchy is reflected in their spatial position in the urban landscape.

The Roma, or: ethnic minorities in general, ask for a new vision on the urban planning systems, whereby multi-cultural diversity and self-managing communities form the core of the urban development strategy. There might be limitless ways to integrate communities within the socio-spatial reality of a city. Yet, the defining feature of every community is its connection with the landscape. The operative landscape approach defines the landscape as a constantly evolving medium that takes notion of programmatic and ecological dynamics and uses landscape to direct communities to an inclusive whole by incorporating change over time and maintaining an active project agenda.

This thesis explores an ethnic minority as Cultural Enclave to understand how the cultural identity of an ethnic group could be used as a defined feature with potential in itself for integration. Thus fragmentation becomes diversity and is something to be celebrated rather than conquered.

> Contents

Fig. 1_ Ana, Tinko

> 1.1. Introducing > Fascination

"I met a nice couple in Guinea Bissau [...] They showed me how they live in a 16 m2 room in one of the compounds of the village. I went to all the IKEA stores in The Netherlands [...] I found a fabulous 16 m2 showroom of which I was sure it would fit perfectly in their room"

"I flew to Africa to be able to help unpacking the boxes I had sent them to refurnish their room. Ana and Tinko were happy, they invited all their friends and family to come and see. I felt I had saved them."

^ Katinka Simonse on her world saving intervention #2

When we, as Westerners, or more specifically, those born in The Netherlands, visit a country with a less or non-western culture, we tend to directly label our experiences: 'things' are less organised 'there' than 'here'. Most of the times labeling our experiences of another culture while traveling stays a rather abstract unit, but what if we actually act upon this feeling? When we're travelling to Africa, our dutch culture proposes to take an extra suitcase with us, filled with old clothes to donate to local communities. This habit reflects the ideology to get rid of your out-of-fashion clothing and get the feeling of helping someone.

Dutch artist TINKEBELL, pseudonym for Katinka Simonse, provokes by exemplifyng the blind spots of modern society. Her 'Save the World' project consists out of twelve so-called world saving interventions across the globe, in which she questions the relationship between the West and the Rest while problematizing the nature of today's developmental aid. The focus of the project is to highlight this clash of cultures by exaggerating a specific action to 'help' people in 'need' to pamper our own ego without communicating with those people on their actual needs. In intervention #2 she 'saved' an African family by bringing them up to a Western standard of living. This intervention marks the notion of what the significant value of developmental help is without addressing the

specific needs of a community: while they've been gifted with a modern bedroom (specific action), they still lack adequate housing with proper sanitation (overall context).

This art project can be a metaphor for the role of the landscape architect or spatial planner as designers of the cultural landscape. In this case the concept of the extra suitcase is replaced by the concept of a new suitcase as we tend to project our own norms in the analysis and design of spaces for communities that are labeled as different. Might this be defined as pure superiority to project objective knowledge or our personal taste upon any other culture while we have never actually experienced to live in this other cultural environment? Designing for everyday life exposes challenges for the way participation is understood and practiced.

Spatial clustering seems to be an inevitably present element of the urban landscape, but it is not generally rejectionable. This thesis provides a socio-spatial development framework within which segregation is socially acceptable and may be differentiated from that which is undesirable. This methaphorical fascination highlights the importance to acknowledge cultural differences and understand the specific local needs of a community. I'm willing to make a statement on how something different can be something equally valuable.

Fig. 2_ Their 16 m2 multipurpose bed room

Fig. 3_ A 16 m2 multipurpose bed room in Ikea

Fig. 4_ Villagers and family helped Ana and Tinko with the delivered boxes with modular furniture

Fig. 5_ Their new16 m2 multipurpose bed room according to Western standards

> 1.2. Introducing > The diagnosis of the modern city

1.2.1 The contemporary city dialogue

A city is a cultural object. The city produces specific collective meanings through its physical form. Coherently, public space is not a physical entity. It is a place where social life reflects the values and habits of communities. (Janches, 2010). This socio-cultural approach of the city and public space is also appropriate to the concept of peripheral structure. Every city is characterized by centralities and marginalities, with specific socio-spatial concentrations of maximum significance, while others lack in value. When approaching the peripheral conditions of the city from a physical point of view, the periphery as a place of so-called 'urban pathologies' (e.g. a polluted river or flooding area) emerges. The periphery from a cultural point of view also includes places that are not characterized by the local community because of their lack of interactions and socio-cultural links with 'the rest' (Janches, 2010). Thus open space in the periphery is characterized by an essentially relational magnitude, since the interdependence between central space and peripheral space deepens individual and shared values. The communal value of an urban zone is not a fundamental element on its own, it only acquires significance through the reference to areas lacking it (García Canclini, 2004). As Canclini (2004) indicates in his intercultural maps, these differences should be seen as cultural activities constructed in regard to a certain distance from 'the other'. As a result of this multicultural interdependence we can notice our own stigma. However, this process of differentiation quite often diminishes public life in the city, as it can simply evolve from objective 'otherness' into marginalization of that what is different. The urban dialogue is changing. Many places in the city that had been defined as 'others' have gradually become subjected to a process of radical segregation that is likely to climax in the ethnical stigmatization of communities and places (Auyero, 2007). The existence of urban slums is not just a spatial expression of polarization and economic marginalization in the city, but is also fed by socio-cultural processes as segregation and rejection. Slum inhabitants are stigmatized partly because of their economic distance from the rest of the city, but mostly because of their identification as 'slum dwellers'. For the formal citizens of a city the slums and its inhabitants represent a certain urban pathology.

Urban segregation and fragmentation

The city is a fine example of a complex system. The fragments of the city can only be understood through the whole, and the whole is more than a simple sum of the fragments (Pickett, 2013). The relationship between spatial and social distance is a continuous process. The distance between social classes in the pre-industrial society was great while spatial distance was small, as masters and slaves used to live close to one another. The emergence of the middle class in the industrial society resulted in a smaller social distance, but at the same time spatial distance became greater. Cities were expanding and the working-class neighborhoods were strategically located close to the factories in the urban periphery, whilst the elites inhabited the central urban areas. In general, spatial distance used to replicate the social gradient. However, in the current post-industrial society social distance has once again increased, resulting in a gap between rich and poor which. At the same time, spatial distance between both opposing ends of the social spectrum has decreased as the city expansions resulted in the absorption of poor districts, which were once located outside the city, in the urban core. Since the last quarter of the twentieth century urban fragmentation has become a major notion in the city dialogue. However the word may have different explanations and usages, it is clear that socio-spatial changes have provoked a debate about the fragmented characteristics of the contemporary city. Notions of for example 'metropolarities' and 'splintering urbanism' cover the same recognition of new forms of socio-spatial separation that seem to   have a central position in the form and structure of today's cities (Kozak, 2013).

The limited spatial distance between rich and poor districts is related to urban transformations which are the result of structural changes in the economy of

post-industrial cities. This includes the slumification of old industrial areas by the closure of factories and the coherent rise in unemployment rates in those areas. Parallel to these impoverishment developments, an enriched elite connected to the service economy is producing new forms of luxurious urban environments. As a consequence, just as living close to a factory in the former industrial society was, the most effective strategy for the working classes of the contemporary post-industrial cities is to live close to rich districts. The areas chosen by the new elites, for living and consuming (e.g. shopping mall), began to demand workers for low-paid jobs, such as domestic employees and low-tech workers. It is important to notice that this is not only the case in de-industrialized peripheries, but also in cities that never had a significant industrial sector. In the current post-industrial period these generalized forms of urban space have been adopted to those cities (Kozak, 2013).

The terms 'segregation' and 'fragmentation' are incorrectly used as synonyms, to express some kind of division in the city, without considering the specified meaning of each concept. Both concepts try to explain simultaneous urban problems, however a correct use of the terms clarifies different sides of the urban problems (Kozak, 2013). The concept of segregation highlights the social aspects associated with the two dimensions of space in a city plan.The

measuring of segregation starts by the selection of social groups that are to be mapped within a specified urban space to analyze social patterns and spatial distribution. Instruments that measure social segregation make an abstraction of urban space by the exclusion of physical barriers, geographic accidents or accessibility. The focus is on the relative spatial distance between the selected social groups (Kozak, 2013). Urban fragmentation focuses on the spatial organization by including physical barriers, obstacles, boundaries, the actual use of urban space and enclosure in its analysis. Physical borders could divide different social groups, therefore urban fragmentation can work as 'accentuated segregation' that is materialized in space through barriers' (Thuillier, 2005). This conceptualization indicates the possibility of situations in which spatial fragmentation can coexist with social segregation.

These considerations strengthen the need to purify the use of terms and concepts that have the intention to get grip on current urban characteristics. This understanding is fundamental for developing instruments, policies, programs and designs for the contemporary city.

1.2.2. The new urban question
A 'new' urban question rises in times of great crisis, with the disruption of the economic, social and institutional apparatuses. Secchi, who was a central figure within European interdisciplinary debates on the contemporary city and urban design for almost half a decade, believed that the current global crisis, which he thought to be as radical and meaningful as other criseses in the past, such as the massive urbanization as part of the post industrialization proces, shapes a 'new urban question'.The new urban question is rooted in two issues, namely increasing and increasingly visible spatial injustice, and widening environmental problems and climate change vulnerabilities (Cowan, 2014).

A further globalization will probably cause a radical decrease in the public investment aimed at tackling the worsening of social inequalities, and will result in a reduction of public facilities and services. Secondly, it will probably contribute to an increase of the 'territorial stigma', quoting Bourdieu and his idea about the segregation of the 'misère du monde'. In fact, even if cities have always been the place where difference is spatialized and therefore dramatically visible, today the phenomenon is even more evident, and the rich and the poor are less mingled than they used to be in the 'ancien régime' city.

Fig. 6_ "we", "you" and "the Roma" - forced evictions in Varna
(Bulgaria), summer 2014

Andy Merrifield, author of the recently published book "The New Urban Question", conceptualizes contemporary urban societies as 'neo-Haussmannization'. The large-scale reconfiguration of infrastructure and architecture by Haussmann in the second half of the 19th century in Paris produced a superficial 'modernity' as spatial transformation apparently increased social 'order', through division and polarisation. Merrifield argues that under Neo-Haussmannization global capital, and its symbiotic integration of financial and state interests, is transforming urban space from a lived realm into a pure financial commodity. 21st century urban centers and grand boulevards, even in the poorest countries, flow with energy and finance, information and communication are a mixture of physical space with cyberspace (Merrifield, 2014).

The political landscape of Eastern Europe has dramatically changed over the past two decades. Since 1989 developments took place that facilitate a gradual transition from communism towards democracy. The start of this post-communism period in 1989 indicated a great crisis, with the disruption of the economic, social and institutional apparatuses, and therefore led to the emerge of a urban question. In comparison to the diverse literature on the socio-economic and political aspects of the post-communist transition, the literature on post-communist urban planning however a correct use of the terms clarifies different sides of the urban problems (Kozak, 2013). The concept of segregation highlights the social aspects associated with the two dimensions of space in a city plan.The measuring of segregation starts by the selection of social groups that are to be mapped within a specified urban space to analyze social patterns and spatial distribution. Instruments that measure social segregation make an abstraction of urban space by the exclusion of physical barriers, geographic accidents or accessibility. The focus is on the relative spatial distance between the selected social groups (Kozak, 2013). Urban fragmentation focuses on the spatial organization by including physical barriers, obstacles, boundaries, the actual use of urban space and enclosure in its analysis. Physical borders could divide different social groups, therefore urban fragmentation can work as 'accentuated segregation' that is materialized in space through barriers' (Thuillier, 2005). This conceptualization indicates the possibility of situations in which spatial fragmentation can coexist with social segregation.

These considerations strengthen the need to purify the use of terms and concepts that have the intention to get grip on current urban characteristics. This understanding is fundamental for developing instruments, policies, programs and designs for the contemporary city.

comment vivre ensemble? - how to live together?

^ The new urban question

Fig. 10_ Europe: European
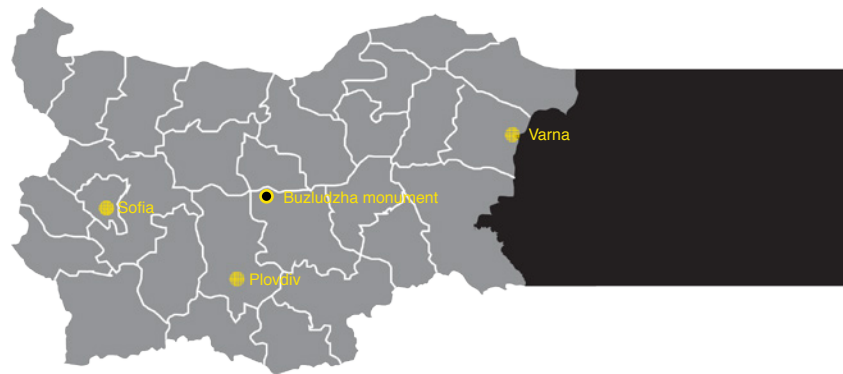Union Member States are
visualized in grey

Fig. 11_ Bulgaria: Varna is the
largest city and seaside resort
on the Bulgarian Black Sea
Coast and the third city of the
Republic of Bulgaria

> 1.3. Introducing > The history of spatial planning in Bulgaria

1.3.1. The technocratic tradition

Spatial planning appeared as a profession in the nineteenth century, as a reaction to the chaotic conditions of the industrial city with the promise to radically re-organize the post-industrial city by following scientific principles. Planning was strongly embedded in the Western Enlightenment theory, therefore it's intellectual roots can be traced back to Enlightenment scholars, such as Comte and Sain-Simon, who argued that human progress is achievable through the systematic application of technocratic reason (Hirt, 2005). The key legitimacy of professional urban planning derived from the concept that the true laws of reality objectively exist, and that expert planners have a unique position in society as they understand both how a city works and what is best for it's citizens. Good planning was thus a matter of science, or in other words a scientific activity to solve a technocratic problem. Le Corbusier expresses this as he stated that the planning of a city is "too important to be left to the citizens" (Hirt, 2005).

Technocratic approached dominated the planning profession well into the 1960s. The appearance of postmodern thoughts in social sciences led to an increasing criticism to technocratic planning as being to elitist, subtracted from reality and for producing disastrous planning schemes such as Urban Renewal. It was slowly perceived as a 'hangover'

a 'hangover' from the modernist era, which had dominated the early and mid-twentieth century, incapable of addressing the true concerns of local communities in both the Western and developing world (Hirt, 2005). Planning scholars proposed various post-technocratic models in which citizen participation is a guiding element. In these approaches technical and non-technical types of knowledge are assumed to be of equal value. Planning decisions shouldn't be made on the grounds of expert-led technical reasoning, but on the grounds of a dynamic interchange of ideas among a wide variety of stakeholders. This led to a gradual shift of the role of the planner from that of an expert who imposes the 'right' decisions upon society to a facilitator who supports the society in making informed choices (Hirt, 2005).

Spatial planning concludes all intentions, instruments and actors that take part in the development of a certain territory and is strongly connected to the particular cultural and political background of a state to develop their settlements, landscape and natural resources (Yanchev, 2012). The need to untangle the complexity of the different actors in spatial planning and the dynamics of their activities and interactions has led to the conceptualization of spatial planning as a system. This approach as a system has been used in political science in order to recognize and discuss the changing environment

the changing environment in governmental and non-governmental institutions and their relation to society. In the case of spatial planning, the 'system' refers to "the ensemble of territorial governance arrangements that seek to shape patterns of spatial development in particular places" (Yanchev, 2012).

In the countries that we often mark as 'developed', the spatial planning system is not mere a result of policies created by market forces as it reflects the stage of socio-economic developments and collaborations between private and public stakeholders. Bulgaria is a specific case in Eastern-Europe in which the so called transition period, from a technocratic planning approach to a participatory planning approach, has been taken too much time (Stoychev, 2010). Self-government is immature in Bulgaria, both in retrospective context and management tradition. After World War II Bulgaria became a Communist state, suffering nationalisation of its corporations, arable lands and forest. After the collapse of Communism in 1989, Bulgaria was dominated by communist rule under Todor Zhivkov for a period of 35 years, an opposite process of denationalisation led to mass privatization of the state property corporations. These new stakeholders acquired their property with different information and expectations for their future development, which has led to a situation in which they act in accordance with their corporate

interests. However, the Bulgarian society is experiencing positive development trends. A crucial factor for this success is the Europeanization of the Bulgarian spatial planning system since its EU membership in 2007 (Stoychev, 2010).

"Throughout its history, communism was modernity's most devout, vigorous and gallant champion – pious to the point of simplicity. It is also claimed to be its only true champion... it was under communist, not capitalist, auspices that the audacious dream of modernity, freed from obstacles by the merciless and omnipotent state, was pushed to its radical limits: grand design, unlimited social engineering, huge and bulky technology, total transformation of nature."

Zygmunt Bauman, 1991

1.3.2. Spatial planning under Communism

In communist Bulgaria, as in other communist states, the spatial planning system was centralized, technocratic and subordinated to national economic interests (Hirt, 2005). This proceeded within the ideology of a institutional framework based on a single-party system, resulting in limited local autonomy which implied that local governments simply channeled down the autonomous state decisions to its local level. As the state had full ownership of land, property and means of production, the state was the sole developer of any land beyond the size of a single residential lot. This unlimited power of the state to develop the land, however, had the potential to award planners with unlimited capacities to build the land, exceeding those of their colleagues in capitalist countries. These likely endless capacities were restricted by the fact that spatial plans were just the local translation of state economic plans. Technocracy was the best defining characteristic of urban planning under communism. Urban planners therefore were mainly 'technical executors' of state goals at the local level. Unsurprisingly Marxism, the origin of communist ideology, was indeed one of the greatest sources of technocratic theory (Hirt, 2005). The base of the persuasive power of communism is the claim that a scientific elite, led by Marx, had discovered the 'objective' laws of historic evolution. This claim of scientific objectivity allowed Marxist

ideologues to defend the inevitable success of communism. Lenin transformed Marx's program into a state ideology, which would dominate Eastern European governments until 1989. The dedication to technocracy has led some theorists to conclude that communist ideology represents the peak of modernist thought.

Planning under communism, both at the national economic level and the local spatial level, was thus inspired by technocratic principles. In master plans, populations were forecasted based on idealized notions of labor migration, which followed national goals of industrial growth for each city. Population size was a key structuring element in spatial planning. All other aspects of urban life could be planned rationally based on the population size, for example the number of housing units, volume of the public transport system and the amount of park space. In this way, planning was a discourse between politicians and planning experts, in which the former of course have the decisive power. Once the politicians passed on the national economic goals, planners translated them into physical space with the proper level of detail. Citizen input derived from participatory processes was completely missing. It can be states that spatial planning theories in Western and Eastern Europe developed separately, debates which occurred among planners in the West considering citizen

participation therefore had no value for planners in Eastern Europe. There was no point in debating whether planners should act as spokespersons for diverse social groups, as the interests of all groups where theoretically well represented. Even so there was no meaning for planners under communism to act as conflict mediators, since communist society was free of conflicts. Nor was there a shared feeling for integrating society input, as the communist plans used the objective technical method (Hirt, 2005). The role of the planner in Eastern Europe therefore remained that of a technical forecaster and spatial executor of economic goals.   Urban planning in Bulgaria has historically been categorized as a particular technical discipline, architecture, instead of an interlinked subfield of the social sciences. Therefore cities have commonly been planned as if they were buildings. This architecture-based approach in urban planning has delayed many of the Eastern-European debates on the role of the planner and the need for citizen participation, which are both inspired by the social sciences.

1.3.3. Post-communist spatial planning

The collapse of the communism state brought about radical changes in the socio-political context within which the spatial planning system operates. These include the appearance of an elected, multi-party political system with a more class-stratified society. The re-introduction of private property rights to land, structures and corporations, the end of the communist practice of five-year national economic plans, loosening of state control over local governments and a coherent reduced role of public institutions. This marked the start of a national development process open to a variety of actors, mostly from the private sector (Hirt, 2005).

The ideological climate radically changed. Eastern European governments made a sharp turn to the political right. Neo-liberalism became the chosen ideology of new political elites and Eastern European states defined a specific version a free-market capitalism characterized by weaker labor laws and fewer social protections than exist in Western Europe. This risen neo-liberal philosophy was in favor of unrestricted property rights, causing a devaluation and legitimacy crisis of the spatial planning profession. For some post-communist ideologies, spatial planning was a leftover communist trace that interferes a proper functioning of the market. This resulted in few theoretical debates on the future of planning, therfore planning

remains in a constant state of change without a dominant doctrine. Changing legal and economic circumstances have weakened further weakened the spatial planning system. The reintroduction of the land and real estate market, and the quick emerge of a private development sector, led to a dramatically reduced capacity of planners to prescribe and control urban development. It is not clear whether the planning practice has adapted to these changing contextual processes. In fact, some planning aspects seem suspended between the past and the present, considering the detail level of spatial plans. Under communism, spatial plans did not just indicate land use, they often showed the footprints of future buildings. Since the state was the sole developer, the plan acted as a detailed design statement of its construction projects. Even though the state no longer serves a the sole developer, spatial plans continue to show such footprints, as if the planner had any role in anticipating the shape of a building that a future private builder might propose (Hirt, 2005). Therefore, the rate of change in planning practice appears to lag behind changes in the planning context. At the same time it remains unclear how the relationship between planners and citizens and their input in the planning process has been affected by the changing planning context. This appears to be a bilateral issue. Some authors take an optimistic view by stating that the interaction
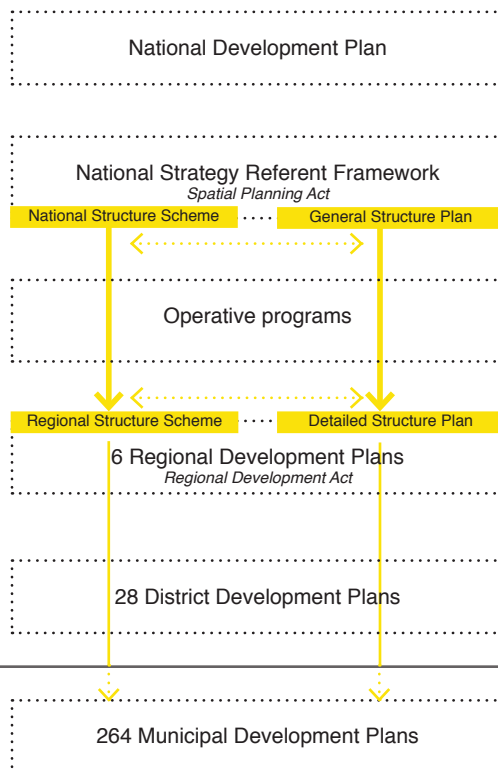
National Development Plan

National Strategy Referent Framework
Spatial Planning Act

National Structure Scheme ···· General Structure Plan

Operative programs

Regional Structure Scheme ···· Detailed Structure Plan

6 Regional Development Plans
Regional Development Act

28 District Development Plans

264 Municipal Development Plans

Fig. 12_ Hierarchy of planning structures in Bulgaria and the disconnection between regional development plans and municipal development plans

between planners and society has visibly increased, while others point to the persistent appeal of top-down technocracy inherited from the pre-communist and communist eras. Most recent statements however declare that the perceptions of the public are becoming increasingly more accepted as a legitimate and equally valuable source for planning, likely this is a direct result of the Europeanization of the Bulgarian governmental system (Stoychev, 2010). At the same time the planning still preserves its elitist approach, as citizen input does not seem to make significant direct impacts on the final decisions that are reached by local authorities.

The spatial planning system and regional development in Bulgaria are facing many demographic, economic and social challenges. The Bulgarian development process is subject to major changes in the regional and local differentiation of its population. External migration to EU countries increased the relative median age of the population to 42 years. On the other side internal migrations is causing exceptional concentrations of population in the South-West region, in particular Sofia. Some regions are experiencing a situation of rapid depopulation of hundreds of villages. Regional development and regional policy have been a very important part of policy making for a long time in Bulgaria, but as a legal imperative of the state it is having a rather short history. As a consequence of

scientific discussions and public expectations on development challenges, the Regional Development Act was adopted in 1999. One of the first results was the emerge of regional development plans, created by following the bottom-up principle. In the initial version some of levels were missing, but the final structure is shown in "Fig. 12_ Hierarchy of planning structures in Bulgaria and the disconnection between regional development plans and municipal development plans" on page 13. This administrative system for spatial planning was completely new for Bulgaria. After 2000, the municipalities began to use municipal real estate properties as an instrument for the attraction of investments. This caused changes in the land use of many regulated lands in zones which were vitally important for infrastructure in urban centers. Therefore Bulgaria defined a new Spatial Planning Act to regulate the interrelation between public and private plans within a long-term vision. Even so the approval of the Regional Development Act layed down opportunities to integrate different planning levels. The requirements for spatial planning in Bulgaria are defined by structure frames and structure plans. There are two types of structure frames, namely a national one and regional ones. The regional schemes are reflecting the national structure schemes. There are two types of structure plans, the General Structure Plan, which defines the predominant and structure pattern of the separate territories, and the Detailed Structure Plan, which

specifies the structure of the territory, its construction regime and land use (Stoychev, 2010).

In the socio-spatial reality corporations and municipal authorities prefer to invest on their structure plans, because these plans are able to legalize their investment intentions. Exactly this creates a disconnection with long term objectives that regional development has to guarantee. The establishment of the Spatial Planning Act and Regional Development Act have created opportunities for an integrative approach, but this state of interconnectivity appears to be a theoretical construct. Bulgaria has to overcome this disintegration of both systems, otherwise the regional spatial development system could become an instrument that is 'capturing' the negative socio-economic trends but lacks the power to manage these negatives (Stoychev, 2010).

^ Bulgaria's political landscape

Fig. 13_Situated high up in the Balkan Peninsula, at an altitude of 1441m, the Buzludzha monument was built in 1981, serving as the symbolic headquarter of Bulgarian communism.

Fig. 14_The broken remnants of the circular conference hall

Fig. 15_At first glance, it is hard to understand why this remote location was chosen for a site high cultural significance, however, its position in the Bulgarian landscape expressed the communist ideology of a centralized, technocratic and top-down approach to society

"ON YOUR FEET, DESPISED COMRADES!
ON YOUR FEET YOU SLAVES OF LABOUR!
DOWNTRODDEN AND HUMILIATED,
STAND UP AGAINST THE ENEMY!"

^ translation of the embossed socialist slogan

Fig. 16_ The Buzludzha monument hightlights a serie of forgotten communist monuments that litter the landscape of Bulgaria. Graffiti partly covers the large socialist slogans on either side of the building's entrance, which are spelled in capitals and an old Bulgarian dialect to underline the nation's proud. The remnants of the monument can be a methaphor for the post-communist society and spatial planning system in Bulgaria: although communism came to an end 25 years ago, its socio-cultural and political traces still define the context for current challenges and future developments in Bulgaria.

> 1.4. Introducing > The political landscape of Eastern Europe and its consequences for the Roma

1.4.1. East-European Roma culture

Roma are the largest ethnic minority in Europe, and most likely the most vulnerable. Roma are spread all over the world, but they are particularly living in Eastern Europe. Roma are a marginalized community and their vulnerable situation is familiar throughout Europe. The largest national Roma community of 2 million people can be found in Romania, even so there are large Roma communities of approximately half a million people in Bulgaria and Hungary (Schleinstein, 2009). In Bulgaria they form up to 12 percent of the total population.

Since the start of studies on Roma culture the nomadic way of life is considered to be the structural and defining characteristic of their culture. The Roma originated in India, from where they followed the ancient trading routes which led them to Persia, Armenia through southern Georgia, and finally to the Byzantine Empire. The first wave of Roma in Bulgarian lands can be traced back to approximately thirteenth century (Gropper, 1975). Since the fifteenth century, Roma have been a dispersed ethnic population which was spread all over Europe. Since their arrival in Europe, its internal economy has been build around self-employment. Roma have been self-employed artisans, entertainers and craftsman – preserving old expertise while achieving new skills to adapt

to technological developments. Roma traditionally became horse trainers, animal traders and rat catchers. Roma religious beliefs are rooted in Hinduism. They believe in a universal balance, called kuntari, in which everything has a natural place: birds fly and fish swim. Their culture is therefore strongly connected to the landscape, sharing a spiritual bond with nature and animals. Romani have adopted Christianity and Islam gradually, these host-culture religions are used for ceremonies like baptisms and funerals for which the Roma need a formal religious institution (Gropper, 1975). Roma have a strong cultural heritage, which is expressed in music and dance. The roots of Roma music go back to India and shows traces of all musical cultures to which they have been exposed along their migration patterns. Roma are an inhomogeneous unit whose internal community structure is hierarchically structured on different social levels, sharing similarities with the Indian caste system. The Bulgarian Roma can be divided into many internal subdivisions, classified on the basis of language, lifestyle, profession, and time of settlement in Bulgaria. The combinations of these criteria reflect on the local identity structure. The modern presence of millions of Roma living in a settled way of life in Eastern Europe is explained by suppressive measures exercised by the governments of the states through which the Roma were forced to abandon their original identity.

1.4.2. The Roma in communist Eastern Europe

The Roma are frequently mentioned as marginalized, victimized and discriminated in the new democratic Eastern Europe. Of course, the victimization of the Roma is by no means a modern creation of post-communist states. However, the economic and social transformations that took place in Bulgaria during Communism clearly affected the Roma. The nationalization of the economy, processes of industrialization and urbanization, socio-spatial transformations of villages as a result of the collectivization of agriculture and most important the technocratic ideology of social homogenization (Achim, 1998). The communist authorities, whose programs regularly affected their old cultural patterns and social structures without providing coherent alternatives, have long targeted the Roma and left them segregated and despised by the national majority. These socio-cultural proccesses iniated by the communist regime have put an end to many socio-cultural characteristics of the Roma, related to their pre-modern identity and lifestyle.

The ban on Roma travelling issued in the communist countries at the end of the 1960s, led to the compulsory settlement of the Roma. This sedentarisation process, from a nomadic lifestyle to fixed settlements, was directed from the central government and had to be implemented by local

authorities. Local authorities were obliged to provide them with dwellings and guarantee them jobs. The results of however were unexpected. Even if they were provided with houses, the Roma continued to live in tents pitched in the yard with the house used as a stable for the horses (Achim, 1998). The communist regime put an end to the enterprise of horse-trading, orchestras and forging became forbidden as private businesses. In the new socio-economic context Roma who still practiced their old crafts were forced to take up modern professions, blacksmiths for example found a new position in the heavy industry. With their old trades and expertise gone, the Roma were assigned to the ranks of unskilled labour, which led to a gradual disappearance of their traditional crafts. The cleaning of streets became a position in which Roma held a virtual monopoly (Achim, 1998). State farms, facing an permanent shortage of labour, would offer work to Roma. Regularly they organized themselves into work teams and gained employment on seasonal basis on farms located far from their settlements, leading to new seasonal work migration patterns. Especially the 'systematisation' program of the Communist regime affected the urban landscape. Systematisation began as a rule with the removal of spontaneous neighbourhoods located on the edges of towns. In the 1970s Roma neighborhoods could no longer be tolerated within the modern urban environment

and were 'erased' from the urban tissue. From a planning perspective the destruction of these settlements was perceived as a positive outcome, as many Roma were housed in blocks of flats with 'a level of comfort which was higher than their former dwellings' (Achim, 1998). However, it has to be observed that systematic destruction of traditional Roma neighbourhoods meant the end for the respectively young Roma communities that had been established in the inter-war period. The aim of systematizing the urban landscape was not to disperse the Roma, although Roma found themselves a minority in their new environments living dispersed among other citizens.

They were gradually losing the defining characteristics of an ethnic group and over time resembled an urban proletariat. Whole settlements of Roma became 'rootless'. The communist states didn't acknowledge the existence of a Roma culture. The communist programs focussed on technocratic social engineering of the whole society and didn't take into account the existence of a Roma culture in the definition of the programs. The several communist programs aiming at integrating the Roma therefore failed from the very beginning and only resulted in marginalizing them, as their bonding culture was destabilized in both spontaneous and planned ways without offering conditions for defining a new Roma culture.

The collapse of communism has put a theoretical end to the programmatic governmental efforts to 'integrate' the Roma in Bulgarian society without acknowledging cultural characteristics of Roma culture.

1.4.3. The Roma in post-communist Eastern Europe

Overall, the shift to democracy has influenced the Roma in a slightly negative way. The disadvantages they're facing arise from a complex whole of interdependent factors, in particular very low levels of education and poor housing conditions. Moreover their situation is worsening by the fact that most of them are living in depressed areas with a lack of employment opportunities and basic infrastructure. To some degree, this collapse has had a positive outcome in creating possibilities for organizing themselves, finding ways of expressing their interests and self-definition. The transition period, with it's insecurities and related struggles, resulted in a scapegoat effect. The scapegoat theory provides an explanation for the correlation between times of relative economic despair and increases in prejudice and violence toward an out-group. The Roma were an easy target to blame. As a consequence, Roma were portrayed as black marketers and blamed for shortages of goods. Later on, as some kind of reversed scapegoating, the Roma have become stigmatized as an extremely poor group which smudged the picture of booming economies that East European governments tried to present to the West (Schleinstein, 2009).The modern democratic states of Eastern Europe are dealing with the problems related to the marginalized Roma in different ways.
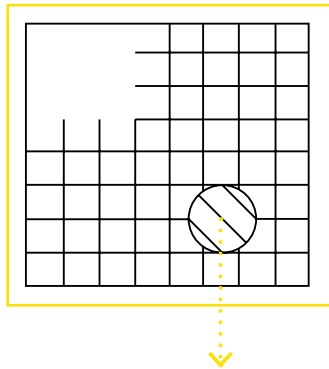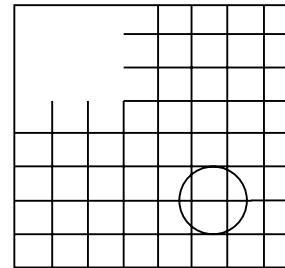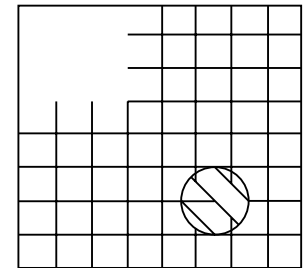
socio-spatially marginalized community
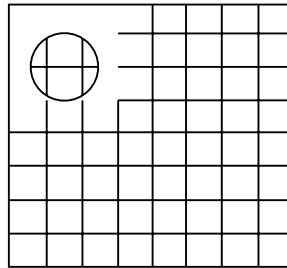
relocation to resettlement sites

clearance and redevelopment

in-situ upgrading

Fig. 17_ conceptual models for
the integration of marginalized
communities

However, their urban policies often fail in integrating Roma communities in society because of bad governance, inappropriate regulation and absence of political will. Regardless, they also neglect socio-spatial potentials. An important focus in their approach to urban poverty is the relocation of residents to resettlement sites, which are usually located outside of the city. Originally, informal settlements appeared in city centres because these were the sites where the poor had access to labour more easily. As a consequence, moving communities by replacing their physical facilities is not effective for the integration of marginalized communities. Governments not only have to spend budget on resettling inhabitants, they also have to facilitate public transportation to re-establish possibilities for employment in the city centre (Van Horen, 2004). Another focus in the contemporary approach is clearance and redevelopment of informal settlements. This implicates temporarily moving the residents, clearing the land and building new housing for them on the same site. High-rise buildings are often proposed, in order to theoretically house more people. Experiences have shown that the residential density of high-rise development is not significantly higher than that of the original settlements. In addition, high-rise developments do not provide much ground-level space for low-income families to operate small business. Thus the clearance of informal

settlements is not just physical clearance, as it also wipes out the existing social network (Van Horen, 2004). Symbolic violence to the Roma is present in these contemporary approaches, as they both tend to improve the socio-spatial situation of the Roma community, but their results are in fact harming the communities.Peter Leuprecht states that all strategies that may be used to improve the socio-spatial situation of the Roma first have to face the problem of how to successfully obtain two kinds of rights that are supposed to be contradictory. The preservation of the cultural identity of the Roma (the right to be different) touches upon obtaining full and equal participation in the national society (the right to be the same) (Leuprecht, 1994). The right to be the same is still strongly connected to the strong nationalism in the region. The Eastern European version of nationalism draws upon the ancient notion of a nation as a community of 'people of the same descent who are geographically integrated in the form of settlements or neighbourhoods and culturally by their common language and traditions'. The Roma do not share most of these objectives.

An alternative approach for relocating inhabitants or replacing their homes is in-situ upgrading. This approach is an answer to the problem of two contradictory rights, as it preserves local cultural characteristics but at the same time equals citizens as they share the same living standard. This

But to what extent is the 'systematisation' program under Communism actually different from contemporary integration models?

upgrading approach decreases the total risk, which is the sum of hazard and vulnerability, for marginalized Roma communities. The previous approaches limited themselves in solving both hazard and vulnerability. Upgrading consists of improving the existing infrastructure, for example sanitation, storm drainage and electricity to a proposed standard. Usually upgrading does not involve top-down home construction, since the residents can do this themselves. The government focuses on providing guidance on individual house upgrading and facilitating optional loans for home improvements. Further actions include the elimination of environmental hazards and the construction of schools. An essential part of upgrading is the transfer of land tenure rights to the inhabitants at prices they can afford. This socio-spatial security reduces the vulnerability of the inhabitants. Even so it has been proven that it motivates inhabitants to invest two to four times the amount of the spent governmental budget on infrastructural improvements. The upgrading of informal settlements has significant advantages. It is not only a much more affordable alternative for clearance and relocation, which costs up to 10 times more than upgrading, but more importantly it minimizes the disturbance of the social and economic network of the community. The presence of these networks is vital for socio-spatial integration in the society.

∧ Pre-communist Roma culture

Fig. 18_Since the beginning of Romani studies the nomadic lifestyleis considered to be the structural and defining characteristic of their culture

Fig. 19_Dancing bears had been a part of Balkan Roma culture with roots going back to the first millennium AD by the migration of the Roma towards Europe from India.
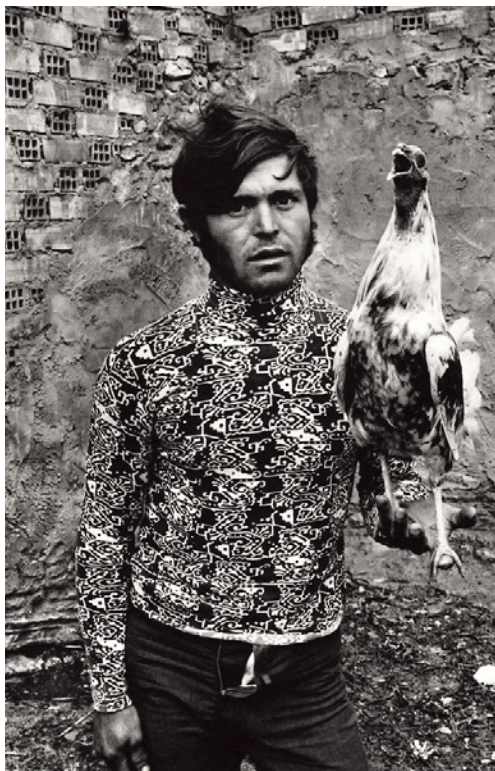
Fig. 20_Only wild animals were supposed to be killed, not those raised in the household. This is similar to agrarian cultures and others where domestic animals are part of the family. This can be traced back their Indian roots, where cows are considered sacred.

Fig. 21_The Romani people have long acted as entertainers and tradesmen. Most Romani music is based on the folk music of the countries where the Romani went through. It is an important cultural expression providing income.

∧ Roma culture under communism

Fig. 22_At the beginning of the 1960s, the communist authorities started with settling the nomadic Gypsies in fixed settlements Even if they were provided with houses, the Gypsies continued to live for a time in a tent pitched in the yard, with the house used as a stable for the horses.

Fig. 23_Roma worked in agriculture to a greater extent than in the pre-communist era. Romani were employed particularly as day or seasonal workers at state farms, leading to seasonal work migration. This enabled them to earn a living.

Fig. 24_Especially urban Roma lost their ethnic identity. They were forced to completely abandon their traditional occupations, social behaviour and cultural expressions in order to technocratically align themselves with common Bulgarian culture

Fig. 25_In the new economic and social context, Roma who still practised their old crafts were forced to take up modern professions and occupations. Blacksmiths found a new role in heavy industry and construction

∧ Post-communist Roma culture

Fig. 26_Although the ban on a nomadic lifestyle ended with the fall of the Communist regime, there are few traditional Roma communities with preserved old trades, language and ethnic and cultural characteristics.

Fig. 27_The urban landscape in Eastern Europe is characterized by clusters of Roma communities living under primitive housing conditions with heavy seasonal exposure and natural hazard.

Fig. 28_Relocation to resettlement sites has been a model for the integration of Roma under communism, as aspect of the systematization program, meanwhile it appears to be a still applied policy model even in post-communist Bulgaria

Fig. 29_Clearance and redevelopment of Roma settlements to meet modern, western housing standards lacks acknowledging the specific characteristics of the Roma culture
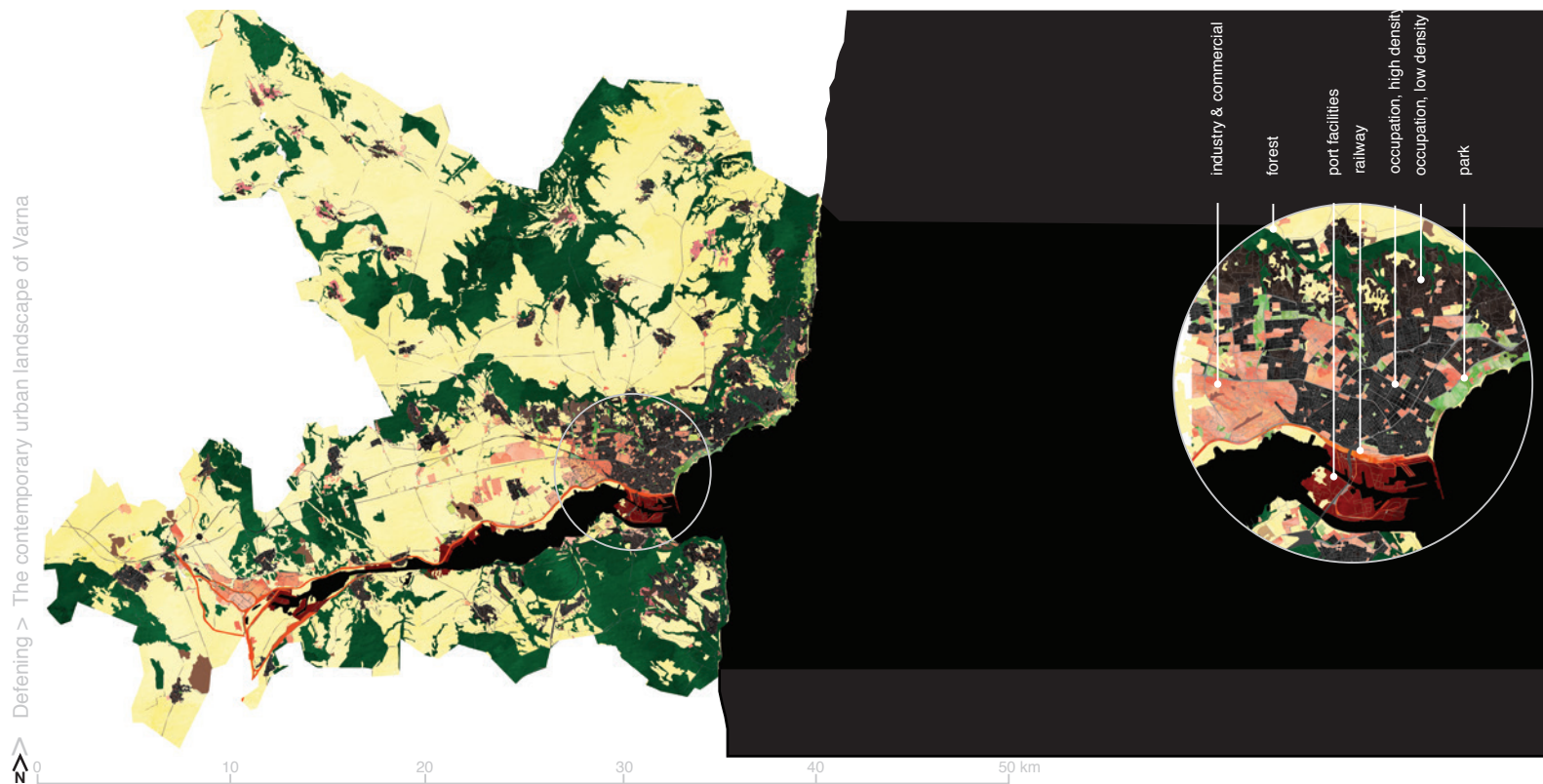
industry & commercial
forest
port facilities
railway
occupation, high density
occupation, low density
park

Fig. 30_The municipal district of Varna and zoom showing the urban structure of Varna.

0   10   20   30   40   50 km

N

> 2.1. Defening > The contemporary urban landscape of Varna

2.1.1. Geomorphology

Varna is positioned between the horseshoe-shaped Varna Bay of the Black Sea and the elongated Lake Varna. The city occupies 238 km2 on verdant terraces, descending from the Franga Plateau (height 356 m) on the north and Avren Plateau on the south. The two parts of the city are bridged, over the industrial core with shipping facilities which is located on the artificial island that emerged when two water artificial waterways had been established to connect the bay with the lake, by the Asparuhov bridge. This industrial lowland, with it's canals and docks, is the geomorphological center of the urban landscape, as the city follows the seaboard 20 km north (mostly urban and recreational), 10 km south (mostly residential and recreational) and 25 km west (mostly transportation and industrial facilities). Shipping facilities are being relocated from the lowland island towards new inland industrial zones located along the lake's shores. The southern waterfront along the lake is parkland, the opposite northern waterfront is mostly inaccessible because of the railway and these new industrial clusters. The bay remains a recreation area with 20 km of sand beaches. The water quality of the Black Sea has increased after 1989 due to the decreased use of chemical fertilizers in agriculture. The city has historically been surrounded by vineyards and orchards on the descending terraces that are edging the urban tissue.

2.1.3. The changing urban landscape

During the rapid urbanization and coherent systematization of Varna under the communist regime from the 1960s to the early 1980s, large apartment complexes started to sprawl onto these land that had historically been covered by small private vineyards or agricultural cooperatives and once stretched around the whole city. The country's return to capitalism since 1989, and the denationalization of grounds, marked a further lost of Varna's agricultural landscape. These mostly rural lands that had been dotted with small summer houses with well-used allotment gardens of citizens, started to turn into suburbs with upscale apartment buildings mushrooming both downtown and uptown terraces, overlooking the Black Sea and Lake Varna. These new suburban constructions were outpacing the investment in infrastructure and ancient landslides had been activated. Varna is cut off from north and northeast winds by hills along the north arm of the bay resulting in a relatively warm climate for year-round-tourism. Varna is the so-called 'marine' or summer capital of Bulgaria with a population of around 333 000 people. Beach resorts are situated on the northern terraces of Varna and have been designed in a typical communist modern style.

Varna is a cultural landscape with a large diversity in ethnicities and backgrounds. Most Varnians are ethnic Bulgarians (94%), ethnic Turks and Russian-speaking immigrants equally rank second. A relatively large number of Roma (1%) live in four impoverished neighborhoods that are socio-spatially segregated from 'the rest'. Varna is establishing several programs on the socio-spatial integration of these Roma communities in the Varnian society, but the political structure of the municipality challenges a coherent approach for urban development and socio-spatial integration. The city is divided by law into five boroughs, each with its own mayor and council. These boroughs are composed of various districts with distinctive communities and histories. Political boundaries clash with the boundaries of communities, as the 'end' of a legislative borough doesn't inherently correspond to 'end' of a community.

In order to have a better understanding of this contemporary urban landscape, we have to consider Varna's development from a historical point of view. Based on this historical analysis, the present day socio-cultural challenges and its spatial relation to the natural landscape will become clear.

The "Old Canal" connecting the Bay of Varna with Lake Varna

systematization neighborhoods sprawling over former agricultural terraces of the plateau ridge

Franga Plateau (356 m)

historical center (Odessos)

Park Primorski

Bay of Varna

Fig. 31_ panorama view towards the northern part of Varna, around 1990

Avren Plateau

Bay of Varna
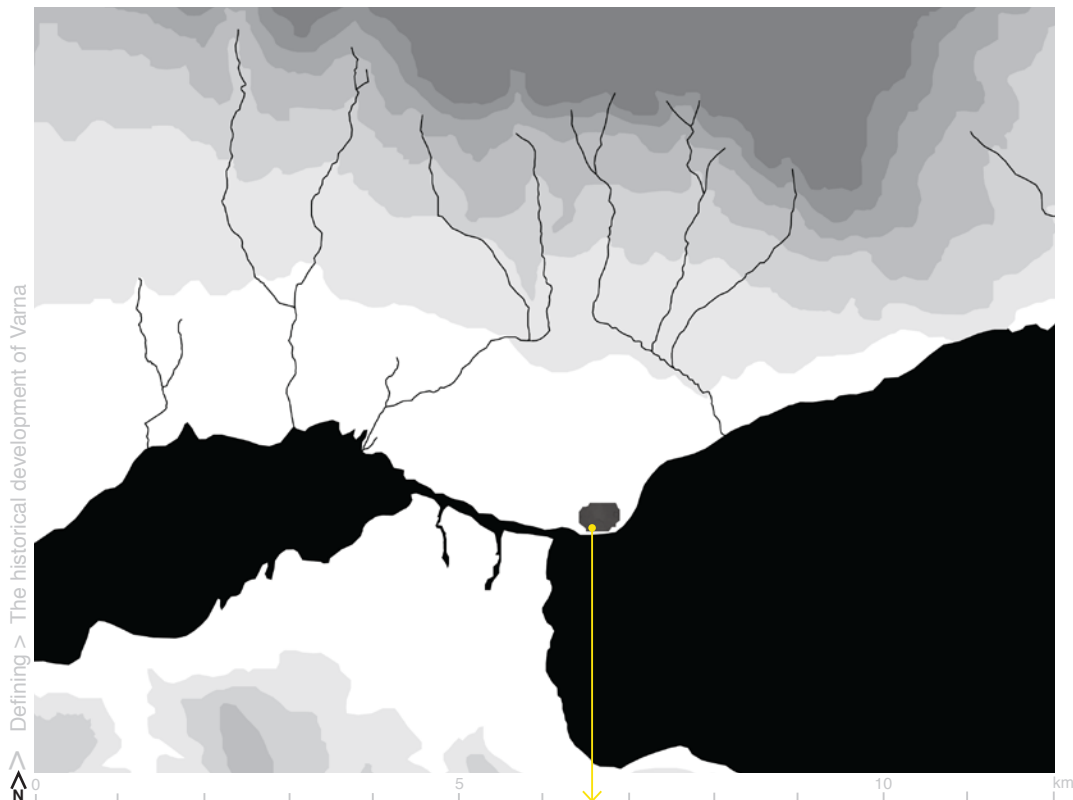
New Canal (1974-1976)
Old Canal (1906-1909)
Asparuhov bridge

Lake Varna

Franga Plateau

Fig. 32_ Aerial view over the urban landscape of Varna around 1980

> 2.2. Defining > The historical development of Varna

600 B.C. - 100 A.D.
Varna is one of the oldest cities of Europe. Bulgarian lands have been populated since very ancient times, as it was a strategic location at the very important crossroad between Europe and Asia. Varna's position in a bay along the Black Sea made the Thracians first occupy the region by 1200 B.C. Towards the end of the seventh century B.C., 'Odessos' was found by the Greek immigrants as a colony in the place of this older Thracian city. The large bloom of Odesos was during the Hellenistic period being one of the most important trading colonies. There were theatres, temples and schools. Archeological excavations indicate that the Varnian lands had been occupied without any interruption from the seventh century B.C. on. The region fell into the hands of Alexander the Great in 335 B.C. The Roman city of Odessus was situated in 47 hectares of land that is located in center of present-day Varna. It had prominent public baths, strongly connected to the natural landscape as 12 thermal mineral water springs can be found along the Varnian Black Sea coast.

- Bulgaria is historically one of the richest lands of spas and wellness spots in Europe. Mineral springs in the city of Varna still define its market-oriented approach as thermal center for tourism and 'Marine' capital of Bulgaria.-

Fig. 33_Graphical representation of Varna in the period 600 B.C. - 100 A.D.
Fig. 34_The remnants of the historical Roman Thermae in the present-day center of Varna
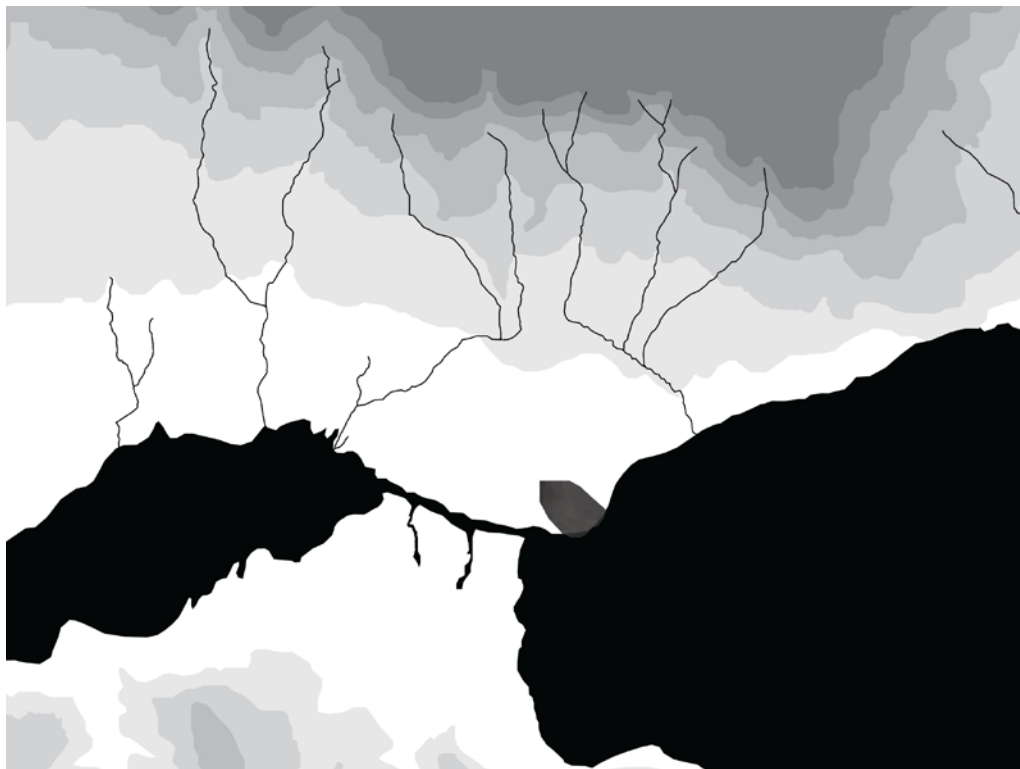
100- 600 A.D.
In the middle of the 3th century, through the Danube in the Balkans, gothic tribes had repeatedly invaded the region. This resulted in a strong decline of the ancient settlements and the regional economy. These pressures from 'outside' led to the fortification of Odessus.

Fig. 35_Graphical representation of Varna in the period 100 - 600 A.D.

600 - 1400 A.D.
Around the end of the 6th century Eurasian Avars, a group of warrior nomads spanning considerable areas of Central and Eastern Europe from the late 6th to the early 9th century, and Slavs invaded Odessus alternately. These invasions and changing relations again devastated and depopulated its lands. Finally the region is inhabited by the Slavs. Gradually these ethnic 'pre-Bulgarians' merged with the Slavs. The Asparukh Wall, named after Asparukh who was the founder of the First Bulgarian Empire in 681, was built to prevent eventual Byzantine seaborne invasions.

Christianity flourished in Odessus. Saint Theophanes Confessor, monk and historian, was the first to mention the name Varna in his writings about the Slavic conquest of the Balkans in the seventh century. The name is probably derived from the Proto-Indo-European root word 'we-r-' which means water. The lake adjacent of Odessus was referred to as "Varna", probably the city inherited this name as time passed by.
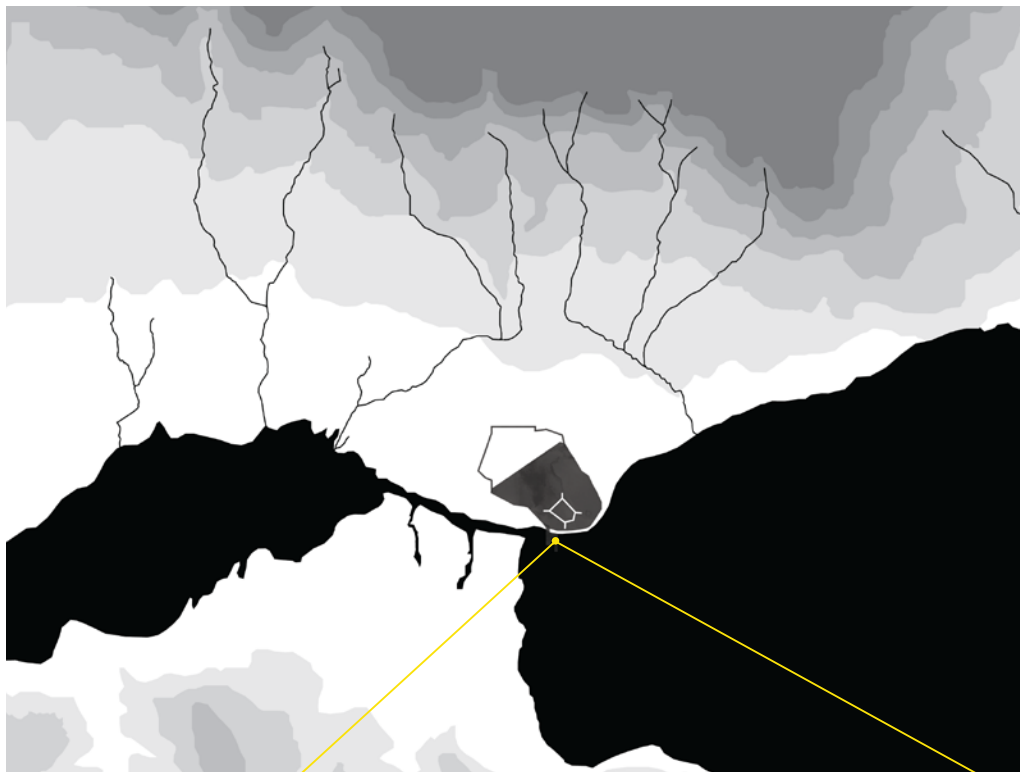
- In present-day Varna, the Asparuhov Bridge connects the southern quarter of Varna with the northern rest of Varna over the artificial canals between the Black Sea and Lake Varna.-

Fig. 37_ Graphical representation of Varna in the period 600 - 1400 A.D.
Fig. 38_Etched panorama view to Varna from the Black Sea, ca 1400

1400 - 1823 A.D.

At the end of the Middle Ages the city more and more acquired an Islamic character. As many Turks settled in the region, mosques, konaks (town-halls) and Turkish baths were built. The construction of churches was strongly forbidden for a long time. Bulgarian scholars developed the Cyrillic alphabet in the late 9th century in Varna. The political control of the region frequently shifted between Byzantine and Bulgarian hands.

Varna became a mighty citadel; the first seaward pier structure had been build by the late 13th century, turning Varna into an important commercial port, which guarded the northeast borders of the Ottoman Empire. It had became an commercial and craftsmen center of importance, it's likely that nomadic Roma participated in this new economy of Varna by selling their traditional crafts and products to generate income.

Fig. 40_ Graphical representation of Varna in the period 1400 - 1828 A.D
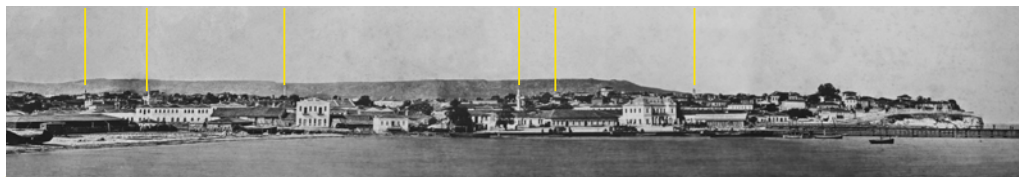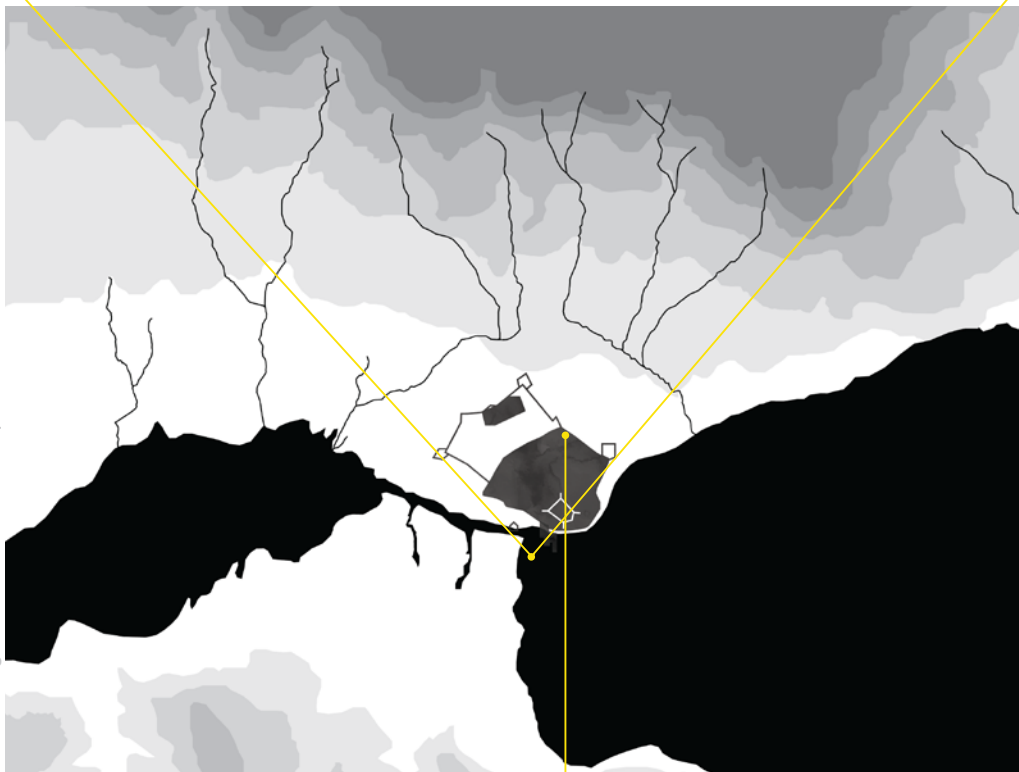Fig. 41_Etched panorama of the 'port', ca. 1800

Fig. 42_Panorama showing Varna's waterfront and 'skyline' ca. 1850

1828 - 1878 A.D.

During the Russian-Turkish War in 1828, Varna was conquered by Russian troops and hold under their control for some time. An important bottom-up uplift of a national Bulgarian spirit began in the following decades. Schools, community centers and churches were built. The skyline of Varna, which was dominated by minarets as can be seen in the above panorama, gradually changed.

The locations of the gates of the fortification, which were the interface of the entrances to the city and the paths to the surrounding agricultural landscape, structured the spatial developments in the city. Varna has historically been surrounded by vineyards and orchards on the descending terraces that are edging the urban tissue and both plateaus.Varna had become a commercial center of international importance for trading agricultural products.

- Even in modern Varna, the main infrastructure is still positioned in accordance with these old paths and gates that once led to the city.-
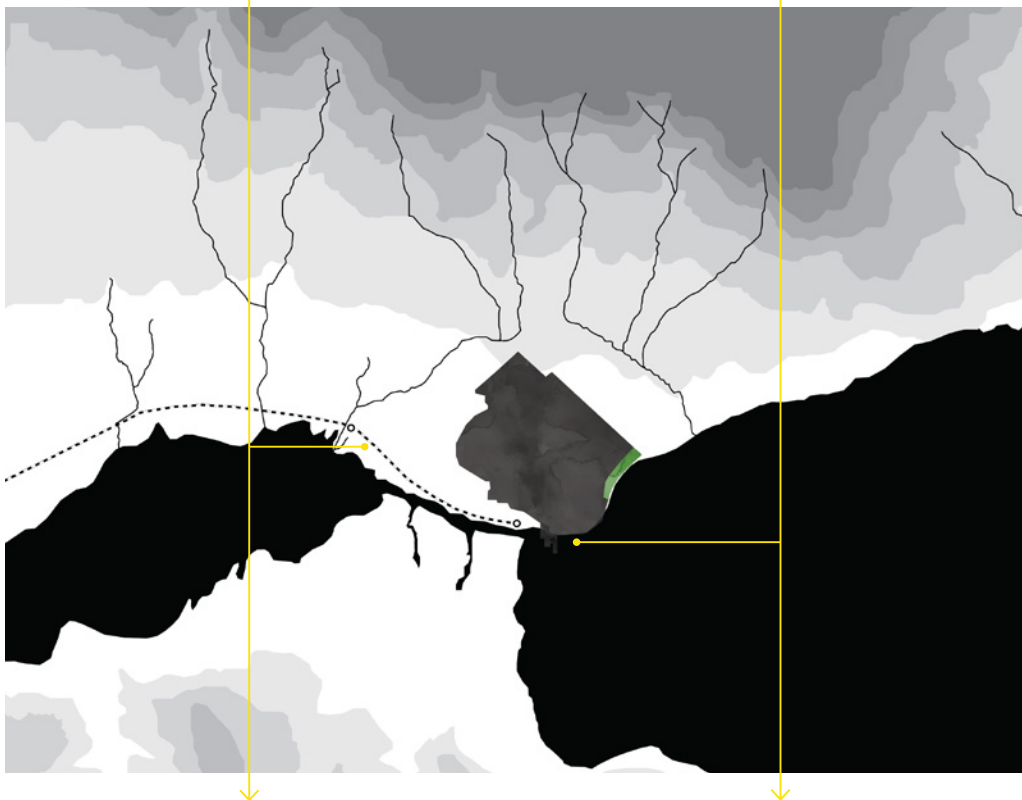
Fig. 43_Graphical representation of Varna in the period 1828 - 1878 A.D.
Fig. 44_Fortification gate, ca. 1840

35

1878 - 1909 A.D.

An autonomous Bulgarian state was created within the Ottoman Empire by in 1878. This independence marks an important moment for the establishment of a nationally shared Bulgarian identity and the development of Varna. The city was no longer spatially limited by wall and gates, the surrounding agricultural landscape was discovered as canvas for new urban developments. At the end of the 19th century Varna was connected with the Bulgarian capital Sofia and Turkish capital Istanbul by railway.

The Industrial Revolution had started in Great-Britain around 1760, spreading to Western Europe within a few decades and finally reaching Eastern Europe around 1880. Many factories were build in Varna, quite often by British investors. The Industrial Revolution marks a major turning point in the development of the city. The Primorski Park, Bulgarian for Seagarden Park, was established: a new urban culture based on entertainment started to shape the city. Apart from its industrial value, Varna quickly developed itself as 'Marine' capital of Bulgaria, becoming the favourite spot for the Bulgarian cultural elite.
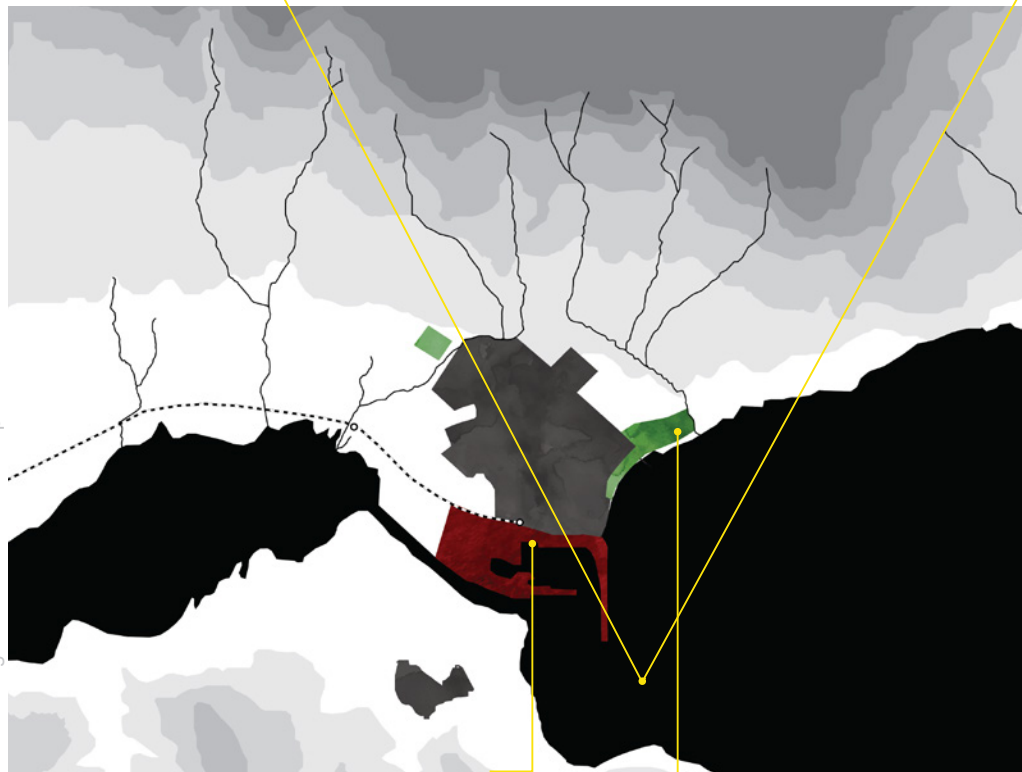
Fig. 51_Aerial view of the port, ca 1910

1909 - 1930 A.D.

Varna had become a key economic, administrative and cultural center of the new independent Bulgarian state during the late nineteenth century.

Already in 1888, 10 years after the liberation of the Ottoman rule, the government had decided to build a new seaport in Varna. The port facility was envisioned to be designed in accordance with the modern European standards of that time. In the period 1906-1909, the so-called 'Old Canal' was dredged to connect the Black Sea with the Lake of Varna. This turned the ecological valuable lowland that was positioned in between the Avren and Franga Plateau into the core of Varna's industrial zone.

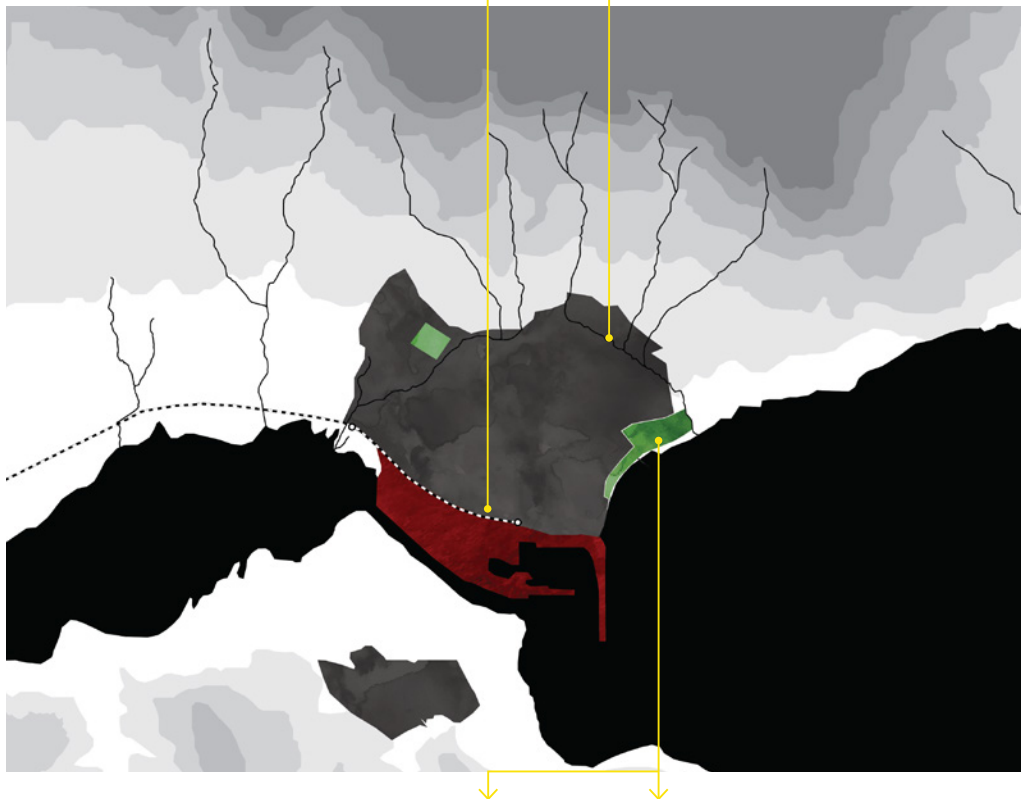Fig. 52_Graphical representation of Varna in the period 1909 - 1930 A.D.
Fig. 53_ Varna's waterfront seen from the breakwater, ca 1910
Fig. 54_ Aerial view over the Primorski Park, ca 1910

1930 - 1946 A.D.

These urban developments of the port resulted in an enormous economic growth of the city, attracting many national and international immigrants. Varna's population was rapidly growing and therefore the city started to sprawl onto those agricultural terraces towards the Franga Plateau that had historically been covered by small private vineyards or agricultural cooperatives. The natural water system, connecting the plateau with both water bodies downstream, was gradually captured in the urban tissue. This marked the start of accentuated urban fragmentation within the city. Inferior lands, those that flooded on a regular basis, turned into settlement zones for communities with a lower social position in the urban society.
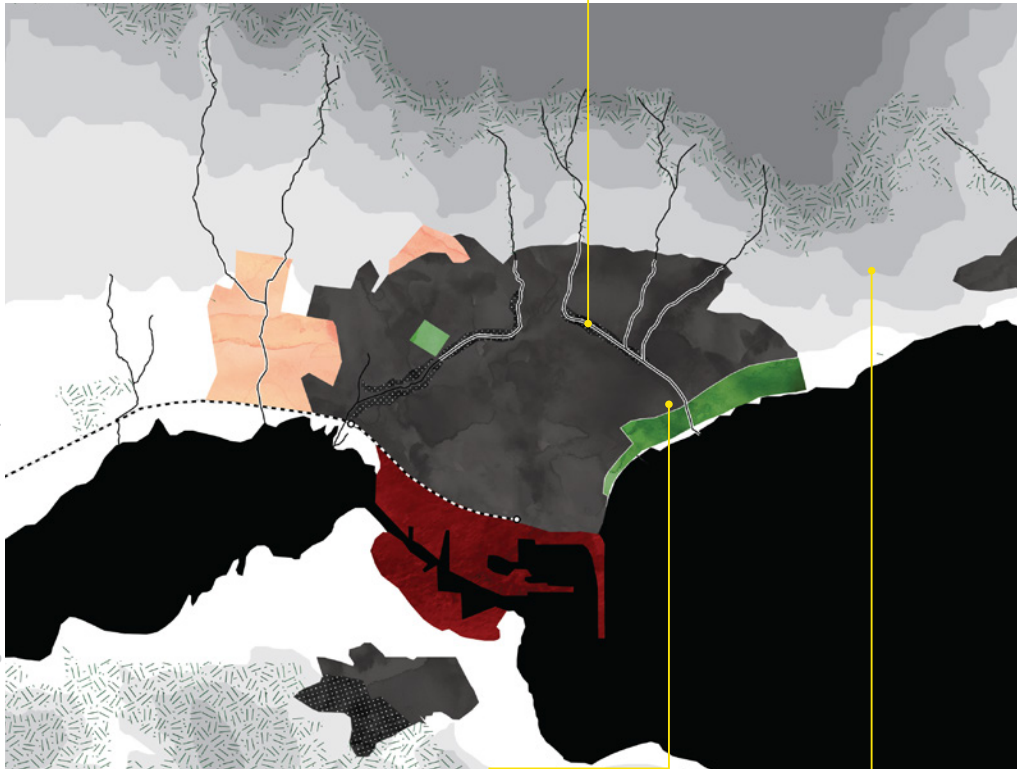
1946 - 1989 A.D.

After World War II Bulgaria became a Communist state. The "People's Republic of Bulgaria", ruled by the Bulgarian Communist Party for a period of 35 years, led to a radical new model for the urban development of cities in Bulgaria. The technocratic ideology of the Communist state resembled in the new urban planning processes marking a total transformation of nature and supposed unlimited social engineering. The ban on Roma travelling issued in the communist countries at the end of the 1960s, led to the compulsory settlement of the Roma. The Communist regime put an end to the enterprise of horse-trading, orchestras and forging became forbidden as private businesses to generate income. This new socio-economic situation of Roma communities resulted in rural-urban migration patterns in the search of new sources of income. Although local authorities were obliged to provide them with dwellings and guarantee them jobs, Roma communities started to cluster around inferior lands in the urban landscape. A large flood hit Varna in 1957, resulting in the engineering of a canalized drainage system. Afforestation of the plateau ridge was implemented to keeps its wooded hills lush throughout summer. The southwestern Roma community of Maksuda was excluded from this canalization of the urban drainage system, as a new urban park was envisioned on this location.
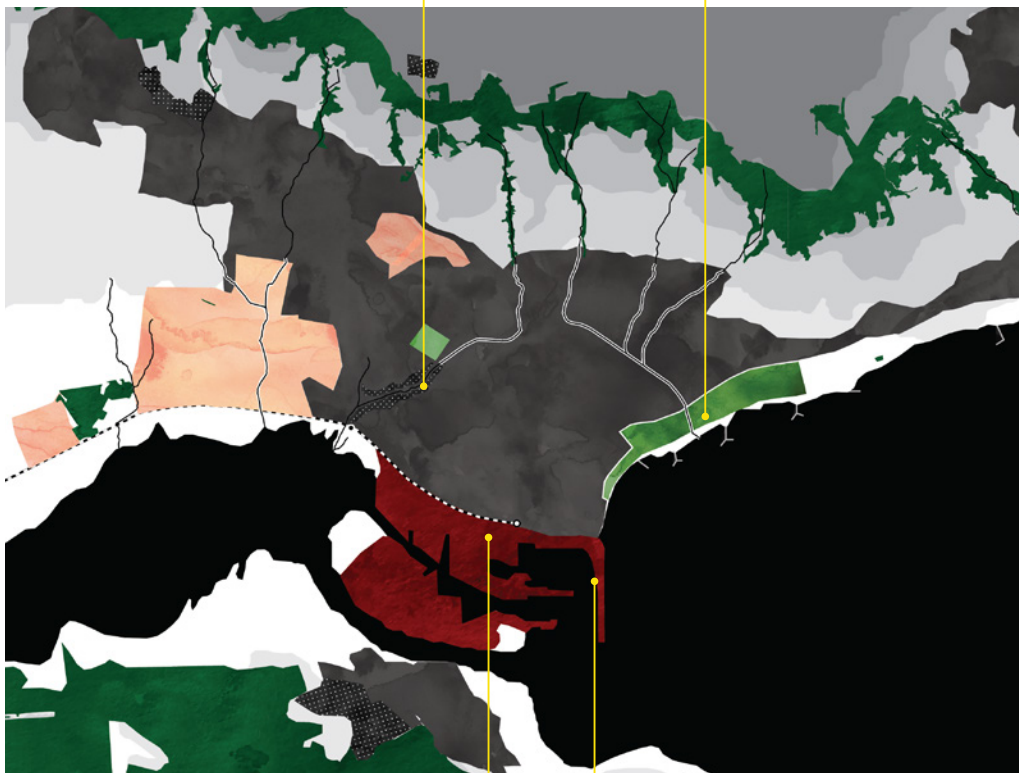
> *1989 A.D.*

Bulgaria's socio-economic developments were radically interrupted at the end of the 1980s. The collapse of the Communist system ended the technocratic approach to society and thus marks a turning point for the development of Bulgaria. A series of crises in the 1990s sprouted from denationalization and privatization processes as result of the new market-oriented governmental system disrupted Bulgaria's industrial and agricultural production. A period of relative stabilization began with the democratic elections of 2001 and Bulgaria's accession to the European Union in 2007.

The contemporary urban landscape of Varna is a complex whole of interwoven socio-cultural and economical aspects. There is an overall process of Europeanization of the spatial planning system of Bulgaria in the period 1989-present. Bulgaria has done significant efforts to introduce new planning instruments and legislation mostly in the field of regional development, but abandoned a strategic reformation of local planning systems. Therefore traditional modes of spatial planning are still generally practiced (Yanchev, 2012). Regional and local spatial planning is disconnected from each other and therefore lacks the combined strength to address current challenges in the urban landscape of Varna.

0   5   10 km

predominantly ethnic Bulgarian communities
Roma communities
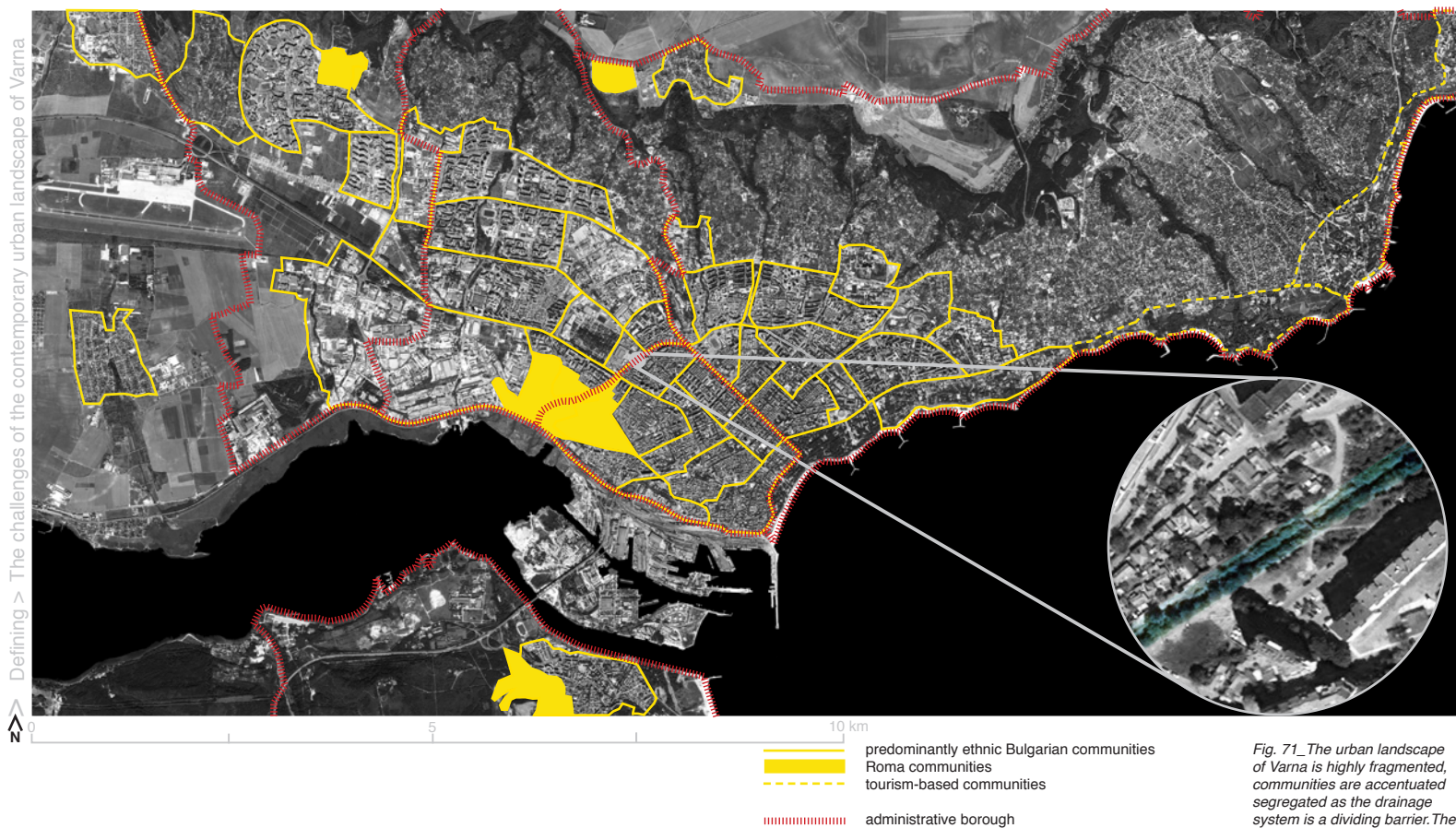tourism-based communities

administrative borough

Fig. 71_The urban landscape of Varna is highly fragmented, communities are accentuated segregated as the drainage system is a dividing barrier. The city is divided by law into five boroughs, which adds a political challenge to integratively reconnect all fragments.

﹥ 2.3. Defining ﹥ The challenges of the contemporary urban landscape of Varna

Varna stands at a critical point as it has gradually developed towards a fragmented city through both spontaneous and planned processes. A number of ancient civilizations -most notably Greek, Roman, Slav, Thracian, Bulgar and Turkish- had left their mark on local culture, history and heritage. However the rapid systematizion-based urban developments under Communism to create a mask of national homogeneity on a complex etnic patchwork has affected and changed the cultural landscape. Paradoxically, this policy of assimilation has resulted in the enhancement of ethnic boundaries. Even so the technocratic approach to urban planning has adjusted natural systems of the environment most dramatically. These two processes are directly related to each other as spatial fragmentation appears to be in co-existence with social segregation. Barriers, materialized in space by artificial landscape systems, are **dividing** different communities. Simultaneously, Varna is facing environmental problems such as landslides and pluvial floodings.

Besides ethnic Bulgarians, the cultural landscape of Varna consists out of several ethnic minorities, the most numerous being the Turks, Russians and Roma. Although there is little shared national culture among the dominant national culture and culture of each specific minority, Roma are generally considered 'outsiders' by the ethnic Bulgarians. This is in contrast to the more assimilated minorities such as Turks and

Russians. It appears that this vulnerable position of Roma in the socio-economic hierarchy is reflected in their spatial position in the urban landscape. From a historical perspective Roma have settled themselves in the hazardous urban lands along the gullies that sprouted from the plateaus. Attempts to integrate the relatively large Roma minority of Varna, under Communism aswell as post-communism, has led to four highly segregated Roma communities. The dominant approach to 'integrate' the Roma is relocation. The original Roma communities of Maksuda and Rozova Dolina are deconstructed stepwise, which has resulted in two relatively young Roma communities outside the urban tissue. There is no coherent scheme in these forced evictions, as there is no envisioned redevelopment strategy for the cleared lands. This implies that most empty plots are reclaimed by Roma families soon after they've been cleared, creating a vicious circle of clearance and resettlement. Roma are a community at risk.
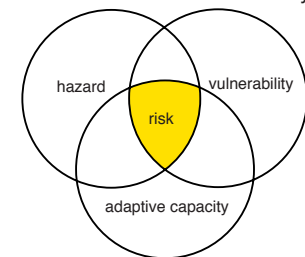
Fig. 72_graphical representation cleariflying 'risk

Spatial fragmentation is in co-existence with social segregation. This conceptualizes that urban fragmentation can work as accentuated segregation that is matarialized in space through barriers.

(Thullier, 2005)

Chengene Kula (4500)

Kamenar (2000)

Maksuda (12.000)

Rozova Dolina (6000)

Roma communities
green waterfront
industrial waterfront

railway
○ Varna Central Station
• unused station
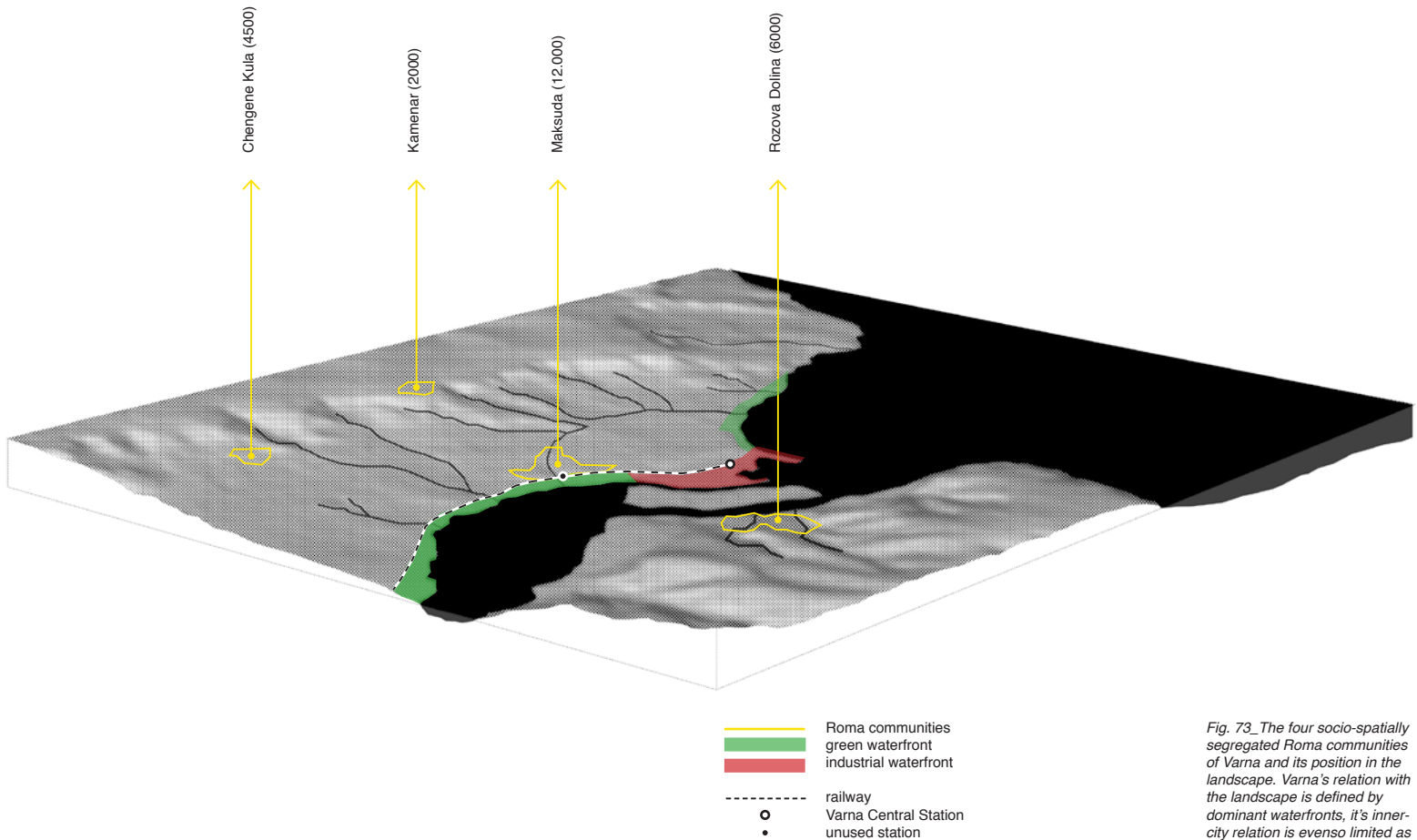
Fig. 73_The four socio-spatially segregated Roma communities of Varna and its position in the landscape. Varna's relation with the landscape is defined by dominant waterfronts, it's inner-city relation is evenso limited as result of artificial processes.

˄ The Roma communities and its position in the landscape

Fig. 74_The Roma community of Kamenar, located on the Franga Plateau (resettlement community)
Fig. 75_The Roma community of Maksuda, located in the Franga Dere (original community)

Fig. 76_The Roma community of Chengene Kula, located on the descending terraces of the Franga Plateau (resettlement community)
Fig. 77_The Roma community of Rozova Dolina, located in the Avren Dere (original community)

^ The contemporary relation of the city with its landscape

Fig. 78_The inaccessible, industrial waterfront of the port of Varna
Fig. 79_the Primorski Park adds a high value to the social life of Varna's citizens, at the same time it's dense structure limits the connection of the city with the Black Sea

Fig. 80_ The waterfront along Lake Varna carries potential as metropolitan park structure, but the railway is making it inaccessible for citizens.
Fig. 81_The inner-city relation with the natural landscape is highly artificial.
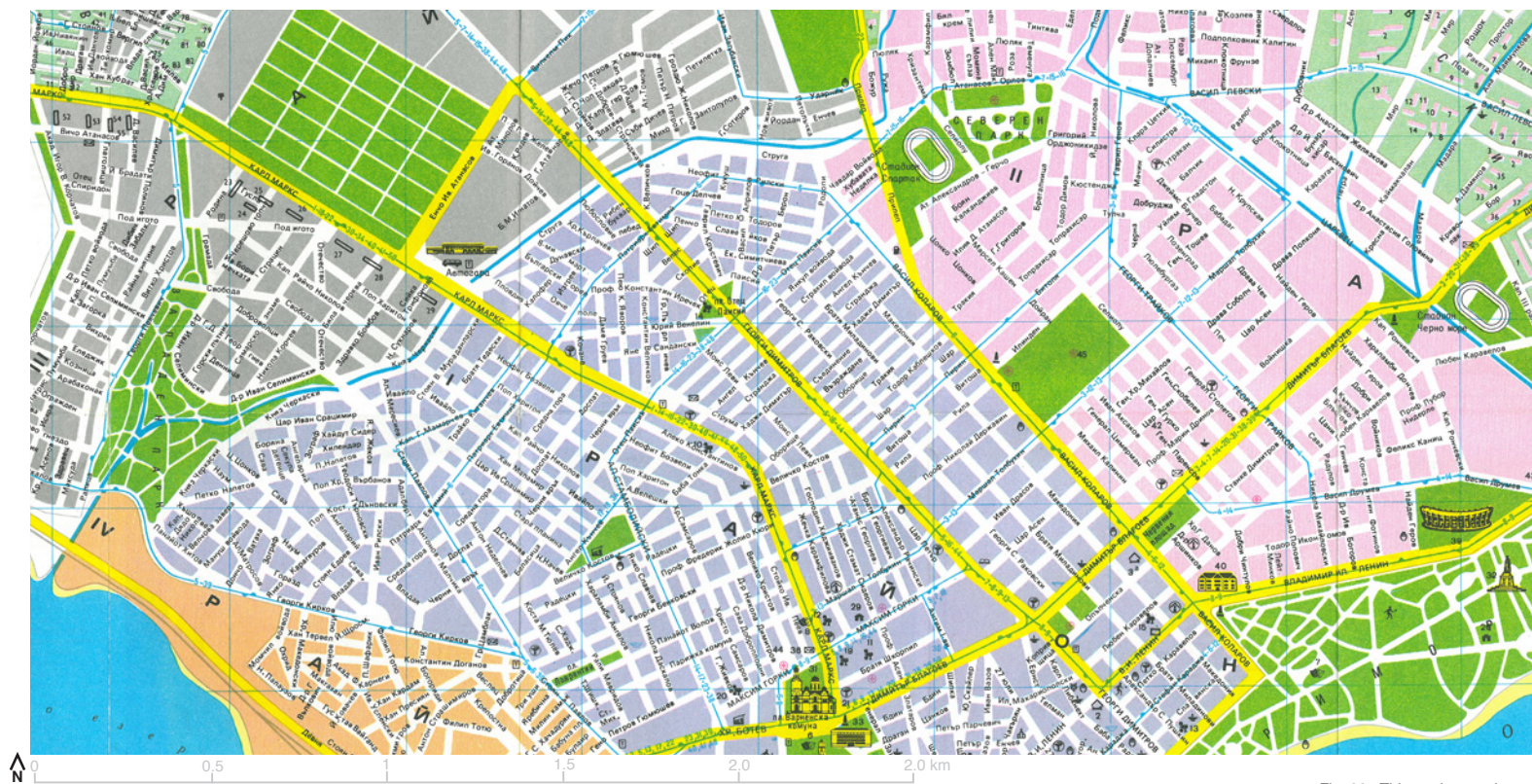
Fig. 82_ This tourist map by the "Institute for Research and Design Cartography" in 1979 shows the envisioned 'Western' park on the location of Maksuda. It has never been realized.

The European Spatial Planning agenda

Europe 2020 strategy - EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies

National Development Plan

Bulgaria 2020

National Strategy Referent Framework
Spatial Planning Act

National Structure Scheme · · · · General Structure Plan

National Strategy Roma Integration of the Republic of Bulgaria (2012-2020)

Operative programs
financed by EU Structure Funds

Action Plan for Implementation of the National Strategy Roma Integration of the Republic of Bulgaria

Regional Structure Scheme · · · · Detailed Structure Plan

6 Regional Development Plans
Regional Planning Act

The Regional Plan for the Development of North East Region for the Period 2014 -2020

28 District Development Plans

District Development Strategy for Varna District for the period 2005-2015

264 Municipal Development Plans

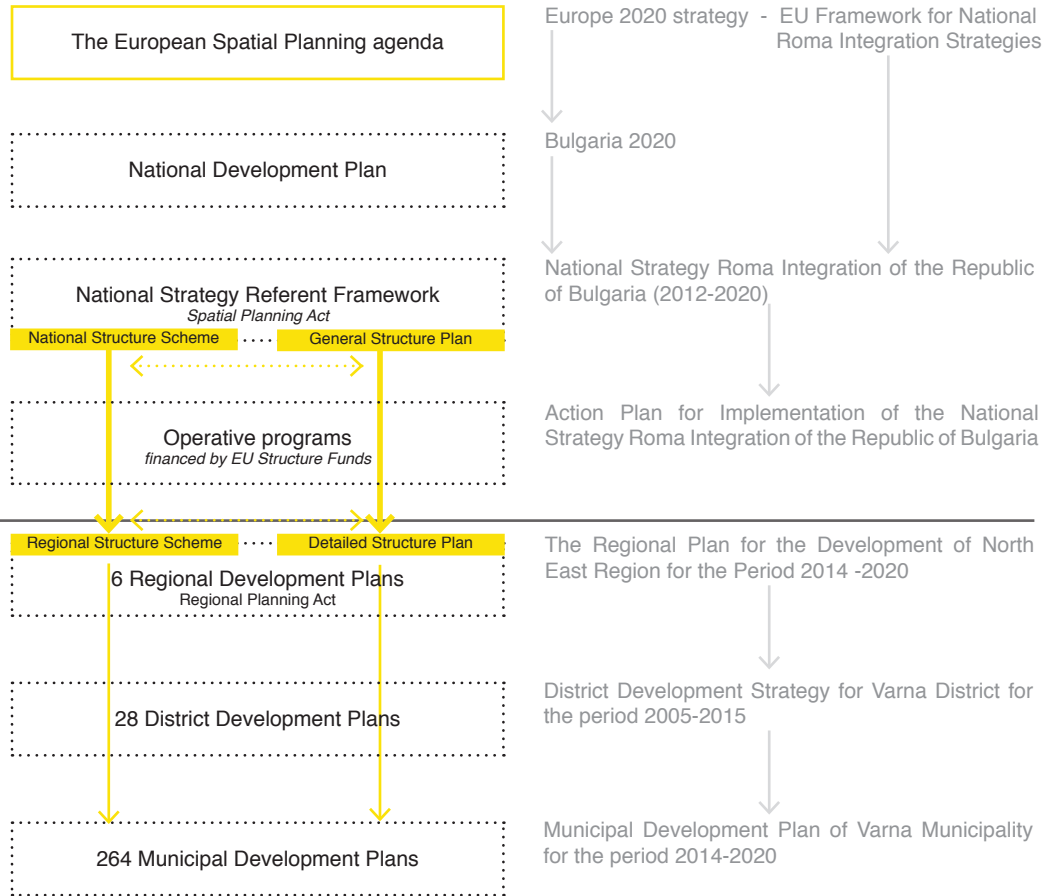Municipal Development Plan of Varna Municipality for the period 2014-2020

Fig. 83_ Hierarchy of planning structures in Bulgaria. Europeanisation has added a new layer above the national planning system of Bulgaria. Policies on Roma integration are disconnected at operative programs and the actual regional operalization.

> 3.1. Policy making > Europeanization of Spatial Planning systems in EU member states

Easter European spatial planning practices have historically been developed and distinguished as distinct group from the Western European models. Only some years after the fall of the communist regime in 1989, it had been observed that 'new planning systems did not yet exist' and the involved spatial planning methods are actually using the previous planning approach adapted to new conditions (Yanchev, 2012). The creation of a private market in land and property and political instability in the transition period had delayed the establishment of a market-oriented planning system. At the same time the redevelopment of self-reliant local governments made communities and municipalities the 'local bases for democracy', but with limited resources. The districts, on the contrary, were given responsibilities but weak power. This hierarchy made it hard to achieve coordinated development.

The Europeanization of spatial planning systems generally describes the process of "increasing influence of EU policy within the member states, to support transnational cooperation on spatial development and the learning effects that are expected to come with such cooperation" (Haley, 2012). This process of Europeanization is directly connected to the emergence of European spatial planning as a network among member states with diverse planning systems to cooperate and share knowledge at different scales within an envisioned

model. Europeanization was becoming increasingly consistent in the Eastern European countries in the context of the EU enlargement in 2007, which led to specific Eastern patterns of adaptation to it. The extent of change in national planning system might be more profound in the new member states than in the old member states in Western Europe, as there was lower institutional resistance to policy changes in these new member states. The required changes in response to the accession had many effects, including new institutions, boundaries and powers. Three driving forces can be identified in any process of change in a spatial planning system: rules, resources and ideas (Yanchev, 2012). When operationalizing this framework for the process of Europeanization of spatial planning in the EU Member States, the following catalysts can be identified: EU Regulations consisting out of hard rules which the European Commission sets in directives and regulations, EU Spending Policies connected to the funding and the way it is distributed among priorities and projects and EU Spatial Planning Discourses related to the emerging European Spatial Planning field. Apart from the various commonalities among new Member States, generalizations are limited as these countries all have geographical specifications and histories that trigger different transitions paths. Thus the European Spatial Planning agenda has established a new layer above the planning system of Bulgaria, influencing national planning policies.

bottom-up:
national state > EU

top-down:
EU > national state

roundabout:
national state > EU > national state

^ The three main directions of Europeanization

Fig. 84_The EU framework for National Roma Integration Strategies defines four essential topics to promote social-economic integration of Roma within an overall process of non-discrimination of minorities in the society.

> 3.2. Policy making > EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies

The European Union's "Europe 2020" strategy outlines a new vision on the European growth path – smart, sustainable and inclusive– in which no room is left for the enduring economic and social marginalization of Europe's largest minority (European Commission, 2012). Determined action is needed both at national and European level, in active dialogue with the Roma. Although public authorities have a responsibility to take these actions, socio-economic integration of Roma is a two-way process that thus requires a change in mindsets of the national majorities as well as the Roma minorities themselves. These actions are needed to break the vicious cycle of poverty moving from one generation to the next generation. Therefore European Union Member States need to ensure Roma are having non-discriminatory access to fundamental rights as education, employment, healthcare and housing. As Roma represent a significant and growing proportion of the school age population in many Member States, they embody the potential future workforce (European Commission, 2012).

The European Union has made several proposals for Member States to promote the social and economic integration of Roma, even so some Member States have already successfully applied actions in favor of Roma culture, considering that the classical social inclusion programs were insufficient to meet their specific needs. Despite the fact that some progress

has been achieved in the Member States and at EU level of the past few years, little has improved in the everyday situation of most of the Roma. Findings by the Commission's Roma Task Force state that strong and proportionate measures to tackle the social and economic problems faced by a large part of EU's Roma population are still not yet placed. In order to address this challenge, and since non-discrimination on it's own is not sufficient to combat the socio-economical segregation of Roma, the Commission recommends the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies. This EU Framework is an instrument to reinforce the EU's equality legislation and policies by addressing the specific needs of Roma regarding equal access to employment, education, healthcare and housing at national, regional and local level. It has to be addressed that this is the EU's response to the current situation and thus does not replace the primary responsibility of the Member State (European Commission, 2012). The European Commission proposes that national strategies for Roma integration are designed or, when such strategies already exist, are revised to meet EU Roma integration goals with targeted actions and sufficient funding to achieve them. The Commission therefore encourages Member States to (re)define, in proportion to the size of their Roma population and different specificities, its policies towards a more optimized use of EU funds by following the four-layer approach.

Access to education: Ensure that all Roma children complete at least primary school (European Commission, 2012).

Educational accomplishment and participation rates are significantly lower in the Roma community than for other communities within the society. Surveys suggest that in some Member States, only a limited number of Roma children complete primary school. Moreover Roma children appear to be over-represented in segregated schools and special education. There is a need to strengthen or establish links with Roma communities through cultural mediators, religious associations and active participation of parents in order to improve the intercultural competences of teachers to decrease segregation and ensure attendance to primary school education. The Commission's Communication on Early Childhood Education and Care highlights that educational participation of Roma children is much lower, although their needs for support are higher. Increased access to non-segregated early childhood education of high quality can play a key role to overcome educational disadvantages for Roma, as currently is shown by specific educational pilot programs withcontributions from the EU budget. The insurance of primary school completion is a minimum goal, with early childhood education as fundamental base to reach this goal. Member States should also encourage the participation in secondary and tertiary education by widening its accessibility.

Access to employment: Cut the employment gap between Roma and the rest of the population (European Commission, 2012).

Research on the socio-economic situation of Roma, as well as empirical evidence, shows a significant gap between employment rate of the Roma minority and the rate of non-Roma majority. The World Bank highlights that especially employment rates for Roma women fall well behind average and that Roma themselves are stating to be highly discriminated against in the field of employment. Therefore, Member States should grant Roma non-discriminatory access to job-related trainings, the labor market, micro-credit and self-employment initiatives. Public Employment Services can correspond to the Roma by providing personalized interventions and services, to help attract Roma to the labor market and so increase employment rates.

Access to healthcare: Reduce the gap in health status between the Roma and the rest of the population (European Commission, 2012).

In the European Union life expectancy at birth is 76 years for men and 82 years for women, for Roma it is estimated to be 10 years less. Even so, while the infant mortality rate in the EU is 4,3 per thousand births, evidence indicates that this rate is much higher within the Roma minority. A report by the United Nations notes that Roma infant mortality rates are 2 to 6 times higher than the rates for the national majority population. This reflects the overall imbalance in health between Roma and non-Roma. The origin for this asymmetry is directly linked to their poor living situations accompanied by general exposure to higher health risks, low use of prevention services, lack of targeted information campaigns and limited access to high-quality healthcare. Member States should provide non-discriminatory access to high-quality healthcare, especially for children and women. Preventive healthcare and social services have to be available under the same conditions for Roma as to the rest of the society. Qualified Roma should be involved into healthcare programs targeting their communities; therefore a link to the proposed secondary or tertiary educational goal can be made.

Access to housing and essential services: Close the gap between the share of Roma with access to housing and public utilities and that of the rest of the population (European Commission, 2012).

The poor housing conditions of Roma often include a lacking access to public services such as water, electricity, gas and sewage. Such conditions have a negative impact on both their physical health as their overall integration in society. Action on housing needs to be part of an integrated approach by taking notion of education, health, social affairs, employment, security and overall desegregation measures. Member States should also address the specific needs of non-settled Roma, for example by providing suitable sites for temporary settlement of their nomadic houses. Local authorities should intervene actively with targeted programs of regional authorities.

The principle of non-discrimination is one of the core principles of the European Union, but discrimination against Roma is still widespread. Roma-specific problems are generally not due to gaps in legislation, but rather to its implementation. In order to strengthen the fight against the discrimination of Roma, the European Commission states that legislation has to be combined with policy and financial measures in the member states to raise awareness about Roma culture and history. The fight against discrimination should not be considered as a stand-alone policy, but should be mainstreamed into all policies (EU, 2014). Even so Member States' National Strategies for Roma integration should fit into and contribute to the broader framework of the Europe 2020 strategy, therefore they should be consistent with national reform programs. When developing national Roma integration strategies, Member States have to identify relevant disadvantaged and segregated communities by using socio-economic and territorial indicators that are already available, allocate sufficient funding from national budgets -which will be complemented by international funding- and set achievable national goals for Roma integration.

> 3.3. Policy making > Bulgarian National Strategy for Roma Integration

Bulgaria was one of the initiators of the European Decade of Roma Inclusion (2006-2015), so Bulgaria has several years of experience with the planning and implementation of programs targeted at the inclusion of its Roma minority. Bulgaria has translated a number of EU policy frameworks at the national level since 1999 (Milosheva-Krushe, 2013). Thus a process of Europeanization started years before Bulgaria's actual accession as EU member state in 2007. Bulgaria responded positively and willingly to the communication of the European Commission about the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies from 2011. Although the Bulgarian government had updated its Framework for Roma Integration in Bulgarian Society in 2010, it published a revised Framework following the European guidelines. This most recent Bulgarian policy document on Roma integration is the National Strategy for Roma Integration (NSRI) which has been published in 2011. It is an expression of the political commitment of the Bulgarian government to the European development of Bulgaria as it is directly in line with the proposed four-layer approach of the EU Framework which has been elaborated in the previous section. The NSRI, hereinafter referred to as "The Strategy", accumulates knowledge and capacities, which were achieved during the twelve-year period of Roma integration in the Bulgarian society since 1999.

The Strategy is a policy framework aiming at coordinating the activities of all state bodies targeted at the integration of Roma by the provision of specific guidelines. Roma is used in this document as an umbrella, as The Strategy falls within a more general strategy to combat poverty and exclusion. Therefore it does not exclude other Bulgarian citizens in a vulnerable socio-economic condition (Integro, 2012). The Strategy includes a number of goals organized in four priorities: education, healthcare, housing and employment. The strategy also includes objectives on two more priorities, 'Rule of Law and Non-Discrimination' and 'culture and media', defined by the Bulgarian government for the relevant national context. The operational implementation of the Strategy shall be carried out through the Action Plan (AP). The developed AP follows the structure of the Strategy, most of the goals are defined in the same way as they have been defined in the Strategy. Within the AP for each of the goals there is a table that includes the main tasks and activities that are going to be implemented, timetables for each of the activities, proposed budgets, source of funding and indicators for measuring the progress. The first period for operationalizing The Strategy, 2012-2014, will be completed with the completion of the implementation of the National Action Plan for the international initiative Decade of Roma Inclusion (which was updated in 2011). The second period of the AP, 2014-2020, will overlap with the European

Union programming period with the financial support and through instruments of the EU. The Strategy may be extended, completed or modified after 2020, depending on the achieved results in the socio-political and socio-economic reality (Integro, 2012).

There is consensus among decision-makers, experts and NGO spokespersons that The Strategy as leading document is an important step towards the integration of Roma in Bulgarian society. The Strategy is professionally formulated and carries the potential for a systematic multiscalar approach (Milosheva-Krushe, 2013). Although the parallel AP has been developed into detail and is covering all the 'required' issues that are highlighted in The Strategy as essential topics, both have to be reconsidered with regard to weaknesses within The Strategy itself and its implementation (Popova, 2013).

Weaknesses of the strategy
At first, despite the detailedness of the strategy there is no chronological development within the sequence of the measures, as they are rather listed as bundles of positive policy practices (Popova, 2013). There is neither priority nor classification of the measures –for example short-long term, basic-advanced measures–. Secondly, although the achievement of housing and healthcare goals are mostly dependent on funding, goals related to labor can not be reached without overcoming the educational insufficiencies.

Fig. 86_The demolition of illegal Roma settlements with bulldozers
Fig. 87_Relocation of Roma in modular housing concepts

Fig. 88_ Interior of an illegally constructed house which will be demolished
Fig. 89_Interior of a new modular house

Such socio-economic challenges require a specific understanding and strategic approach with regard to the cultural aspects of local Roma community attitudes, instead of adopting generally defined EU requirements. Third, discrimination of Roma in Bulgaria is often a social issue –based on their lack of education-, but it is as well an 'ethnic' issue as parents from the Bulgarian majority dissociate their children from 'mixed' schools (Popova, 2013). No proper measures are developed to improve tolerance. The objectives and activities as proposed in the Action Plan are in general relevant to the objectives of The Strategy, but for the section of non-discrimination the Action Plan needs serious review and supplements of relevant measures as it is currently one of the least developed priorities in the AP. It has to be stated that non-discrimination is fundamental to achieve results in all rest of the priorities.

The level of involvement of local authorities in the process of developing the Strategy and the Action plan was minimal; both were practically developed without their participation. The reason for this lack of active involvement might be the fact that the election period overlapped with the period in which the strategy was developed. At least, representatives of local authorities participated in organized discussions in the six regions of Bulgaria when the finished Strategy and its Action plan were introduced. It has to be underlined that these meetings became reality because of the persistence of civil organizations and local NGOs to involve local authorities in the development process of both policies and that the number of participating mayors was significantly smaller than the number of attending municipal staff members. Therefore it could be concluded that local authorities were not quite interested in active participation themselves. The insufficient interest and the lower level of involvement of municipal mayors might turn out to be a serious problem, as local authorities have an important role in the implementation of the Strategy. This political disconnection in translating the National Action Plan towards Regional Development Plans is highlighted in "Fig. 1-83_ Hierarchy of planning structures in Bulgaria. Policies on Roma integration are disconnected at operative programs and the actual regional operalization." on page 46. In all development plans below this break line, no special attention is given to the integration of Roma.

Weaknesses of implementation
The implementation weaknesses originate from the weaknesses within the definition and development of The Strategy. The detailed strategy does not enable strategic implementation since there are no defined priorities within and between the four topics. It appears that contemporary implementation is following the principle of 'easy come, easy go'

(Popova, 2013). Although there are attempts to re-involve local levels in implementation, strategic training of local governments and communities is needed to raise awareness and tolerance. Prejudice against the Roma is widespread among the non-Roma Bulgarians, who tend to avoid Roma in multiple social contexts. Social challenges within the Bulgarian majority itself make that measures for Roma integration are being interpreted as 'positive discrimination', which is further increasing confrontations and tensions between minority and majority communities (Popova, 2013).

When it comes to the implementation of The Strategy, the municipalities have the responsibilities to pass national policies on towards a socio-spatial reality through their Municipal councils by annual action plans on the priority areas as described in the Strategy. In other words, the municipalities are supposed to be the major implementers of The Strategy on local level. It is unclear how the municipalities will be required and encouraged to fulfill these responsibilities, as there is not any legislation to set the rules. Without securing the ongoing participation of municipalities in the implementation of The Strategy, it might remain just well written texts.
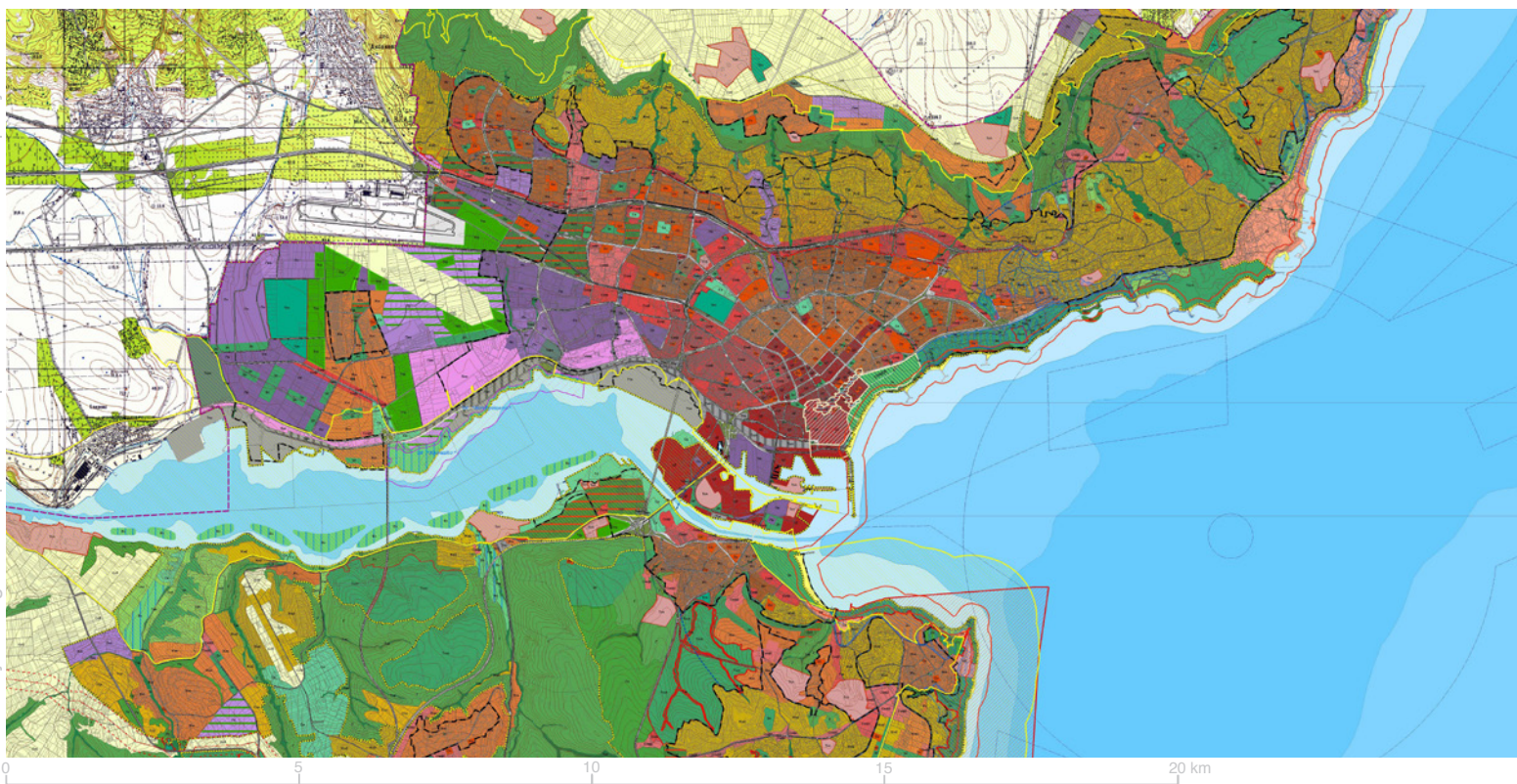
Fig. 91_ The Development Strategy for Varna published by the Municipality of Varna in 2013 has not been published together with a specific strategy on public space

> 3.4. Policy making > Municipal Development Plan of Varna Municipality

Vision:
"European Municipality with sustainable development and attractive living environment, preserved cultural historical heritage and prosperous spiritual, marine, cultural, academic, transport and tourist center"

Main objective:
"Achievement of integrated sustainable development and raising the standard of living through effective use of own resources and enlargement of the partnership with the European Union"

^ The clearly stated vision and main objective of the Municipal Development Plan of Varna (Varna Municipality, 2013)

National and Regional Development Plans theoretically guide the development of the Bulgarian coastal zone. The strong connection with private sector investments plans however underline the reality that developments are envisioned on short-term returns and profits. This pressure from a great number of investors combined with competition between municipalities to attract investments and limited national funds to support the needed infrastructural development contribute to this short-term thinking. The municipality of Varna prefers to invest on their personal development plans, without interferring with national development frameworks, because these plans are able to legalize their investment intentions. Thus contemporary urban planning in Varna is predominantly focussing on economic strengthening of the city within a strategic spatial model, although the fragmented city is clearly in need of a long-term vision on the city structure that guides the socio-spatial challenges.

The publishment of the Municipal Development Plan of Varna Municipality defines a long-term vision on the development of the city. This vision expresses Varna's willingness to correspond to the European Union and develop itself towards a so-called 'European Municipality'. The Municipal Development Plan is structured along several priority area's: economic development, improvement of the quality of life, integrated territorial development and

cooperation on national and European level. For each priority area an objective with specific goals have been defined (see: "> Appendix 1. > Municipal Development Plan of Varna Municipality, summary" on page 175). The most important notion to take in consideration of this Municipal Development Plan is that no specific objectives or goals have been defined for the socio-spatial integration of the Roma minority in the municipal society. This highlights the stated disconnection of The Strategy with the local implementors of such a guiding National policy.

Simultaneously with publishing the Municipal Development Plan, the Municipality of Varna announced a detailed Development Strategy or 'Master plan' for the city (see: "Fig. 91_ The Development Strategy for Varna published by the Municipality of Varna in 2013 has not been published together with a specific strategy on public space" on page 55). The Development Strategy shows a strong focus on mobility and the intention to redefine Varna's connection with its landscape. The commercial port is envisioned to be completely relocated out of the the urban waterfront, at the West end of Lake Varna This relocation will allow for a major redevelopment of the waterfront to become the "Black Sea's largest and best-equipped marina" with luxery homes, hotels and restaurants. The streets towards the new waterfront are deemed important to connect the urban tissue to the sea and lake.
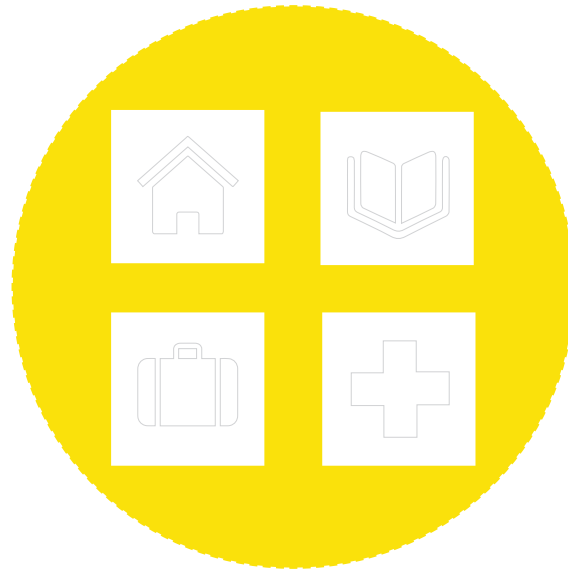
Fig. 92_Public space as the forum for integration

> 4.1. Approaching > The significance of public space in the fragmented city

The National Strategy for Roma Integration is targeted at coordinating all activities proposed for the integration of the Roma minority, but it lacks socio-spatial guidelines for actual implementation. This, in combination with the preference of Municipalities to invest on their personal development plans without interferring with National Development Frameworks, leads to an unchanged approach to the integration of Roma on the local level. The Development Strategy for Varna published by the Municipality of Varna in 2013 is strongly market-oriented and has not been published together with a specific strategy on public space.

The idea of the city as a cultural object argues a specific human dimension on the concept of public space. From a cultural point of view, public space is the core of the symbolic life of a city as this is where the experiences and daily activities of its inhabitants converge. Public space is the physical representation of community life and the community expression of contact among individuals (Janches, 2010). Hence, public space can be considered to be more than just physical state-owned space. The multiple dimension of urban space can be appreciated not only in the spatial quality of the opportunity to become symbolically appropriated by the community. "Plan regionally, act locally" and the combination of addressing both physical form, but also in the magnitude and quality of the social

relations that are facilitated by the public realm, it's potential to connect people, strengthen interaction and cultural integration (Janches, 2010).

In retro perspective, the projection of public space as a place of community domain enforced cities to link their historically disconnected peripheries to the city as a whole. The transformation of post-industrial Barcelona in the 1980s clearly shows the use of public space as tool for socio-spatial integration of degraded environments. Its strategy of 'making a city within the city' was based on the construction of a coherent sequence of public spaces of all scales, programs and contents. These interventions consider urban space as a daily experience (García Canclini, 2004). Therefore the design of public space can be recognized as an essential tool in strategic urban planning. The focus in policies has always been on efficiency-based functionalism. The potential value of the public realm as an integrative and cohesive element in the city is often forgotten. This limited approach towards public space has led to a perception of the street as a plain transit zone or the urban drainage system as an unexciting engineered element. The potentials of both elements as junctions of social interaction are neglected.

The reappearance of public space as the forum for integration and interaction among different social groups can generate a sense of belonging. This

sense of belonging is fundamental for socio-spatial integration of local solidarity and intercommunity life (Janches, 2010). Public space therefore has to potential to guide the process towards a non-discriminatory urban society. The synthesis of an urban development strategy based on existing social structures can improve integration, interconnection and interaction between communities. The process of socio-spatial integration needs more than a focus on physical and infrastructural improvements, it is fundamental to create places that combine socio-spatial and environmental challenges towards the implementation of a long-term policy-based development strategy (Avritzer, 2010). An urban strategy for the integration of marginalized settlements based on the existing social structure of the city through an infrastructural network of public places, which consist of spaces for community activities, internal and external movement enables them to development internally and within the formal urban context towards neighborhoods with socio-spatial significance on city level (Janches, 2010). Proposed urban projects that are involved with socio-spatial integration should aim to generate a process, instead of the establishment of a definitive design. Therefore plans should be flexible and be able to modify based on limitations or changing requirements that might show up through its development.

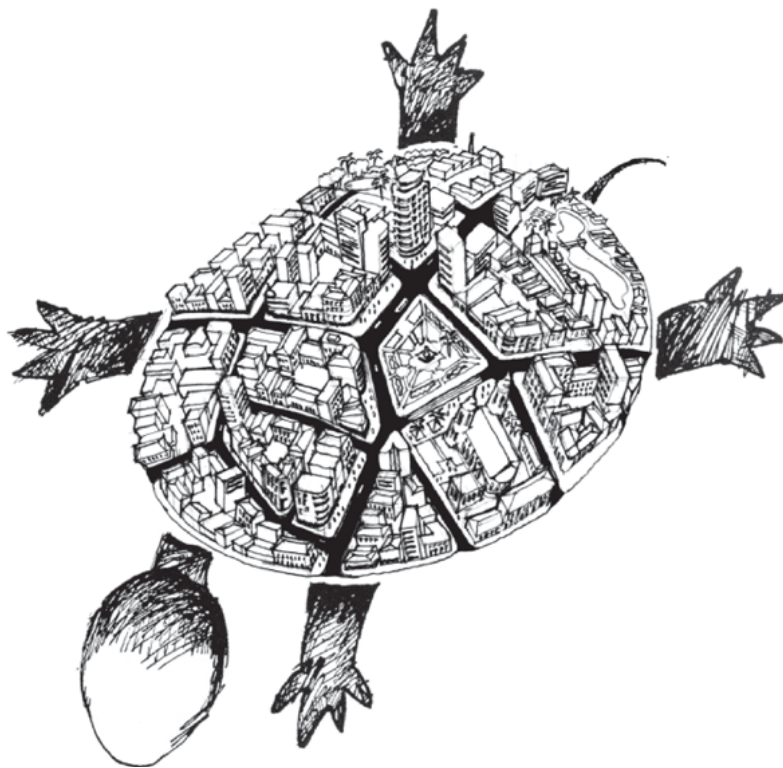*If public s pace is the medium for integration, then the landscape is our canvas*

Fig. 94_The methaphorical turtle: the city is an integrated structure of life, work and mobility together

> 4.2. Approaching > The Operative Landscape approach

""The fragments of the city can only be understrood through the whole, and the whole is more than a simple sum of the fragments."

(Pickett, 2013)

There might be limitless ways to integrate communities within the socio-spatial reality of a city. Yet, the defining feature of every community is its connection with the landscape. Whether it is a park, a stream, a streetscape or a community garden, the public spaces where people can interact with each other have the ability to provide a shared sense of citizenship and tolerance.

The operative landscape approach defines the landscape as a constantly evolving medium that takes notion of programmatic and ecological dynamics and uses landscape to direct communities to an inclusive whole by incorporating change over time and maintaining an active project agenda (North, 2012). This approach can provide the clues to a landscape-based reorganisation of the socio-spatial fragmentation of the city of Varna, as it suits the notion that urban public space is an effective tool for integrative socio-environmental transformations.

Landscape has the potential to act as an organizational mechanism to shape strategic urban planning. The operative landscape approach does not focus on a fixed landscape form, but rather intents to develop a flexible landscape framework capable of adopting uncertainties within space over time. The landscape itself acts as framework for continuous processes and therefore defines a new paradigm: landscape urbanism. We have to rethink the landscape from a singularly functional representation 'hidden' in the urban structure to a multifunctional frame with the potential to guide infrastructural developments adressing specific urban challenges. Strategic spatial planning is not a singular concept, the next step therefore is to combine methodological concepts, which carry the ability to answer the potentials in the natural landscape and make a link to the social system (Polat, 2009). Acknowledging the interconnectivity, underscoring the links rather than the differences, of the two is crucial to a successful development of any city.
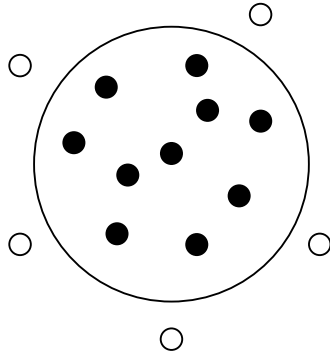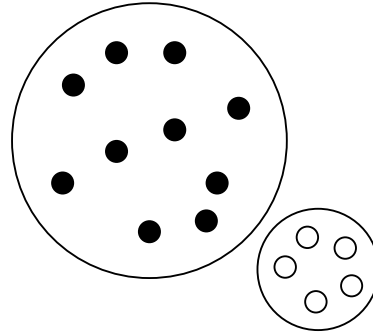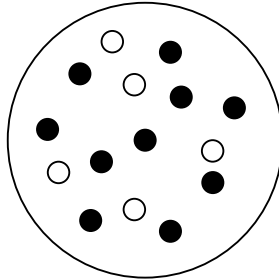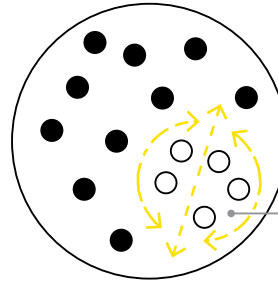
exclusion

segregation

inclusion

integration

cultural enclave
(binding + bonding)

Fig. 96_ Graphical
representation of terms
considering the 'integration' of
minority in a majority

Within the postmodernist framework, fragmentation becomes diversity and is something to be celebrated rather than conquered. If viewed otherwise, fragmentation has a strong negative load as it creates the potential for conflicts within the presence of diversity. Diversity is important in spatial planning, either as something to defend or as a valuable resource to make use of (Ebrahim, 2005). On the one hand there is a strong criticism directed against municipal governments for the way in which they neglect or affect ethnic minorities in urban planning, but at the same time there is a view that many cities do acknowledge the importance of diversity within its citizens. Urban regeneration initiatives in these cities that acknowledge and embrace diversity develop urban regeneration initiatives with inheriting the cultural and ethnic composition of an area. The contrast between the acceptance and promotion of for example Chinatowns and its positive discourse, can be compared with the negative discourse around other ethnic cultural quarters (Ebrahim, 2005). It appears that often the city promotes only certain kinds of difference as unique visitor attractions, by providing a basis for cultural quarters within an urban development strategy.

Although ethnic diversity within a city thus can be viewed as potential positive outcome for urban development, this is often not the case for Roma. Roma settlements are still not viewed as areas with potential for the development of the city as the dominant focus is 'Relocation', which expresses the continued discrimination of Roma and their culture by local municipalities. The Roma, and other local ethnic minorities, ask for a new vision on Strategic Urban Planning, whereby multi-cultural diversity and self-managing communities is the core of the strategy.

A new vision would be the approach of Roma as a Cultural Enclave as social construct within the Operative Landscape Approach. Marcuse defines an enclave as an area of spatial concentration in which members of a particular population group, self-defined by ethnicity or religion or otherwise, come together as a means of protecting and enhancing their economic, social, political and or cultural development (Marcuse, 2001). The symbolic use by a group of any aspect of its culture is able to differentiate it from the dominant group and maintain its cohesion as an ethnic minority. The Roma are an ethnic identity in the making and have the potential to be acknowledged as an cultural enclave. This revised view of Roma as a cultural enclave is an asset-based approach as it identifies what they have rather than what they don't have. Therefore urban development plans should be effectively linked with non-discriminatory and equal opportunity objectives derived from The Strategy. For the case of Varna, this requires a revision of the Municipal Development

approach during communism:
supposed exclusion > inclusion

current approach:
acknowledged segregation > inclusion

proposed future approach:
acknowledged segregation > integration

^ The three main directions of Roma 'integration'

☐ *The area should contain a significant amount of people who are members of an ethnic group, so that the enclave is able to sustain itself.*

☐ *There should be an indication of increased private investment in the development (property development) of an area by members of the community or private sector, due to a vested interest in the area based on certain aspects related to an ethnic group, namely religion, culture or language.*

☐ *There should be evidence to show that public policy influencing investment and development of an area acknowledges the inherent ethnic composition of an area or strives to address the needs of an ethnic group in an area.*

☐ *The area should boast attractions or have tourism potential based on ethnic lines. This includes unique food and cultural attractions, history and shopping offered in an enclave.*

☐ *Members of the ethnic group should be represented in decision-making organisations/ institutions that are involved in the development of the enclave.*

Fig. 102_A cultural enclave can positively promote urban development if the following attributes are associated with a specific enclave (Ebrahim, 2005).
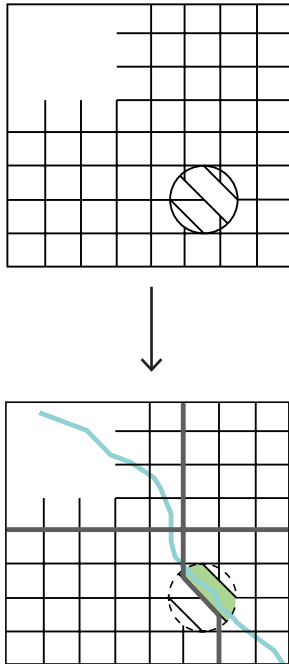
Fig. 103_ From conventional
in-situ upgrading towards a
landscape-based approach
in which the formalized
neighbhorhood is a Cultural
Enclave with urban significance
using landscape features as
binding element

Plan of Varna Municipality which guarantees the preservation of the cultural identity of the Roma (the right to be different) and facilitates full and equal participation in the municipal society (the right to be the same) (Leuprecht, 1994). When the Roma community of the Maksuda quarter in Varna as acknowledged and approached as a cultural enclave with potential for urban development, the community could be integrated in the socio-spatial reality of the city and move from an 'unofficial ghetto' to an 'official' ethnic enclave. Or in other words to move from an involuntary socio-spatially segregated group which is considered inferior to the national majority to a voluntary spatial concentration that supports its members and preserves their cultural and social characteristics. A 'checklist' if a cultural enclave can positively promote urban development is submitted in "Fig. 102_ A cultural enclave can positively promote urban development if the following attributes are associated with a specific enclave (Ebrahim, 2005)." on page 63, this checklist will guide the definition of Maksuda as a cultural enclave in "6.1. Analyzing > Maksuda as Cultural Enclave" on page 77.

This chapter starts with valueing the significance of public space in the fragmented city as the spatial construct for belonging. The Operative Landscape Approach therefore addressed this valuation by defening the landscape as underlaying organizational mechanism for integration. Coherently the landscape

is a contantly evolving medium that takes notion of programmatic dynamics. Such a programmatic dynamic has been underlined with approaching Roma communities as Cultural Enclaves. These two theoretical approaches have been studied in order to understand how the cultural identity of a ethnic group could be used as a defined feature with potential in itself for integration.

For a combination of these two approaches, the distinction between two types of social capital have to be clarified: bonding capital and bridging capital. Bonding in social capital is referred to as social networks between a homogenous group, in other words 'people who are the same as me'. Bonding is important to cultivate trust, cooperation and collective strength among individuals and groups with a shared history. Even so it is valuable for marginalized members of society to band together in groups and networks to support their collective needs (Putnam, 2000). Bridging in social capital is referred to as social networks between socially heterogeneous groups, or 'people who are different from you'. Bridging allows different groups to share and exchange ideas, knowledge and products. Bonding and binding do strenghten each other. Unlike bonding, characterized by a relatively small 'radius of trust', bridging has the potential to create an inclusive social structure which has implications for a broader socio-political and economic integration of minority and majority.

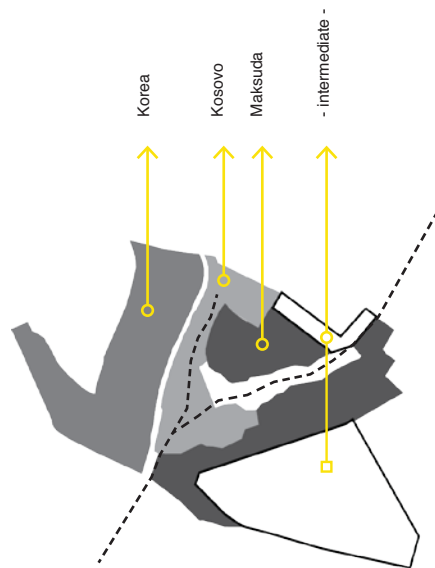## > 5.1. Exploring > Maksuda as Cultural Enclave

Maksuda is one of the largest urban concentrations of Roma in the world with an estimated population of 30.000 inhabitants in 2001. The neighborhood dates back to at least 100 years before the Ottoman empire and was formerly a camp for nomadic Roma. The quarter grew rapidly with the establishment of the textile factory Prince Boris around 1900. Large groups of Roma were deliberately settled in Varna as it suffered from a shortage of manpower. in state's shipyards. The state extended funds for the building of "cheap and sanitary homes" for the Roma newcomers. At that time the municipal administrations improved the small Roma neighborhoods in their territories or gave municipal land to the Roma where they could build their homes (Llieva, 2003).

"Maksuda" is the generic name for the main Roma neighborhood of Varna. 'Maksuda' is a complex and closed micro world for citizens from the ethnic-Bulgarian majority and they are neither aware, nor interested, in the complexity of this urban fragment. To the inhabitants of 'Maksuda', the district consists out of separate neighborhoods which all have their own specific identity. The Roma district is a constantly evolving mix of ethnicities and histories. Kosovo is the cluster of 'newcomers', most of them have come from the northeastern region of Bulgaria, which have settled themselves in the last 15-20 years .The 'traditional' inhabitants of 'Maksuda' often have

a negative attitude towards inhabitants of Kosovo – they are considered wild, primitive, uneducated and thieving (Kirilov, 2014). The settlements are the least developed houses of the district, and even so the most hazardous as most of them are positioned on the instable descending edges or the flooding zone of the urban drainage system. Kosovo is regularly declared as 'the ghetto of the ghetto'. The actual Maksuda neighborhood is located on the hill that descends to the west gully. The neighborhood of Korea extends itself to the Western Industrial Zone and inhabits residents which often consider themselves as a separate community of 'Maksuda', but they take part in the socio-economic system of the district. There are defined streets with urban infrastructure in Korea. while for most parts of Maksuda and Kosovo the urban infrastructure is minimal and 'streets' are a symbolic concept as it is rather a maze of narrow paths.

Roma in Bulgaria are usually divided intro three groups: Yerlii, Kardashari and Ludari. Yerlii are the largest group and is internally the most diverse. 'Yerlii' have substituted their nomadic lifestyle for a more settled existence on voluntary base before the forced settlements under Communism. Yerlii means 'local' in Turkish, which underlines their settled characteristic. Within Jerlii two large groups can be defined: the Horohane Roma (Millet or Turkish Roma), the Dassikane Roma (Bulgarian Roma) and

Fig. 105_The city within the city

several smaller groups whose names are associated with particular professions. Turkish Roma are the most numerous in the district of 'Maksuda', they call themselves "Millet" ('which means people in Turkish'), followed by Bulgarian Roma. Turkish, Bulgarian and Romani are the spoken languages, although not mutually. Zagundzhiite are a minority group and migrated from the northeastern countryside to this urban neighborhood in recent years in the search for better opportunities. They are typified as subgroup within the Yerlii and have gradually moved from Turkey to Romania during the Ottoman Empire. Among these three groups there are complex and contradictory relations of sympathy and tension. Millets are the dominant community within the neighborhood. Some of them are relatively rich and try to differentiate themselves from newcomers from the countryside. The Bulgarian Roma in response try to build prestige by highlighting that their position is 'closer' to the Bulgarian society and state that Millets are rooted 'from a foreign country' (Kirilov, 2014). Within the neighborhood the general process is observed that people of a minority group tend to identify themselves as part of a less-marginalized minority or dominant majority to escape negative perceptions (Kirilov, 2014). Therefore some Roma consider themselves as ethnic Turks or ethnic Bulgarians instead of Roma. At the same time other adults try to cultivate a more prestigious awareness of their Roma identity in raising their children.

The democratic transition process has deepened the problems with the legal status of housing for Roma, in part because property rights were often not clearly defined under communist rule. The fall of communism and the end of systematization led to Roma being evicted from state-owned apartments when housing subsidies were withdrawn or their property rights were transferred as a consequence of privatization or return to prior owners (Llieva, 2003). Many Roma therefore were forced to resettle again in illegal settlements as they lacked income for rent or funds to purchase land. Under communism the area of Maksuda was partly cleared as it was envisioned to become an urban park. But after its fall and the absence of a National Roma Integration Strategy during the democratic transition, its traditional occupants resettled Maksuda again. This intentional illegal tenancy has serious implications for access to social services, as residency and identification papers are frequently required for social assistance as well as access to health and education. In addition, many Roma households in Maksuda have plugged into public services illegally by channeling water or electricity into their settlements. This underlines that regularization of occupied public areas by securing property rights is an initial step to be taken in implementing The Strategy to move from forced evictions to actual socio-economic integration of Roma. Thus land tenure regulation enables the Maksuda neighborhood to develop itself towards a formalized Cultural Enclave with urban significance. The cultural identity of Maksuda is defined by the vivid mixture of elements that are rooted in the traditional Roma lifestyle within an urban context. Especially in the current identity of newcomers traces of a traditional Roma lifestyle are strongly expressed. These different levels of urban and rural culture strongly define the relation between different Roma groups in Maksuda. Traditional residents of the neighborhood, Millets and Bulgarian Roma, have adapted to the urban environment and its public services as municipal organizations, hospitals and education more then small minority groups. However, in comparison to ethnic Bulgarians their participation in the urban society is significantly limited. Maksuda is an ethnic patchwork and its post-communist cultural identity is still in the making. Differences between the different lifestyles of the Roma in Maksuda and the Bulgarian majority as well as differences within different Roma groups leads to conflicts and discrimination. The different communities of Maksuda have adapted an urban lifestyle but are still characterized by Roma traditions that distinguishes them from the Bulgarian majority. The internal bonds within the neighborhood are stronger than the external bonds of the community with the Varnian society. Young Roma who were born and grew up in the years of democratic transition are more skeptical in their view upon the relationship with the macro than older people (Kirilov, 2014).

basic shelter
Inhabited by the poorest members of the Roma community, often marginalized within the community itself. Such housing constitutes a seperate part of the neighborhood, detached from the other inhabitants

primitive housing
Migration is highest among the families inhabiting such housing. They typically try to squat deserted semi-solid houses that have been deserted or expropriated, but are forced to return by municipal campaigns and police authorities

semi-solid 1 or 2 floor housing
Typically build without proper construction permits and absence of property documents and are often leften unfinished an unpainted due to the lack of financial resources

solid 1 or 2 floor housing
These settlements are highly developed and often incorporated in urban infrastructure.

advanced multiple floor housing
Very few rich members of the community (named 'Barons') can afford to build such houses. Essentially, these houses hardly differ from and might even surpass in quality from houses built by ethnic Bulgarians

Fig. 106_Stages within the development of Roma settlements in Maksuda

* take notion of the territorial development of the space around the built structure

Fig. 107_ Graphical
representation of Maksuda
based on the settlement
distribution

settlement distribution, 2000

basic shelter	2%
primitive housing	83%
semi-solid	9%
solid	6%
advanced	<1%

settlement distribution, 2010

basic shelter	8%
primitive housing	21%
semi-solid	26%
solid	43%
advanced	2%
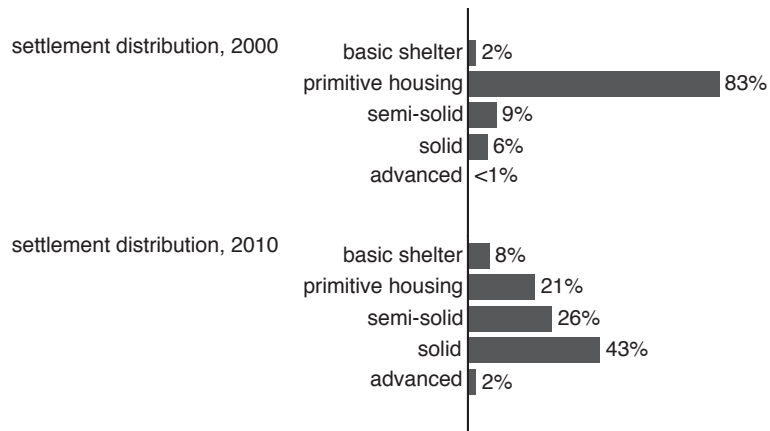
Fig. 108_ The most important
consideration is that the
community is able to develop its
structures themselves (Llieva,
2003). Implementation of The
Strategy therefore should
focus on facilitating urban
infrastructure.
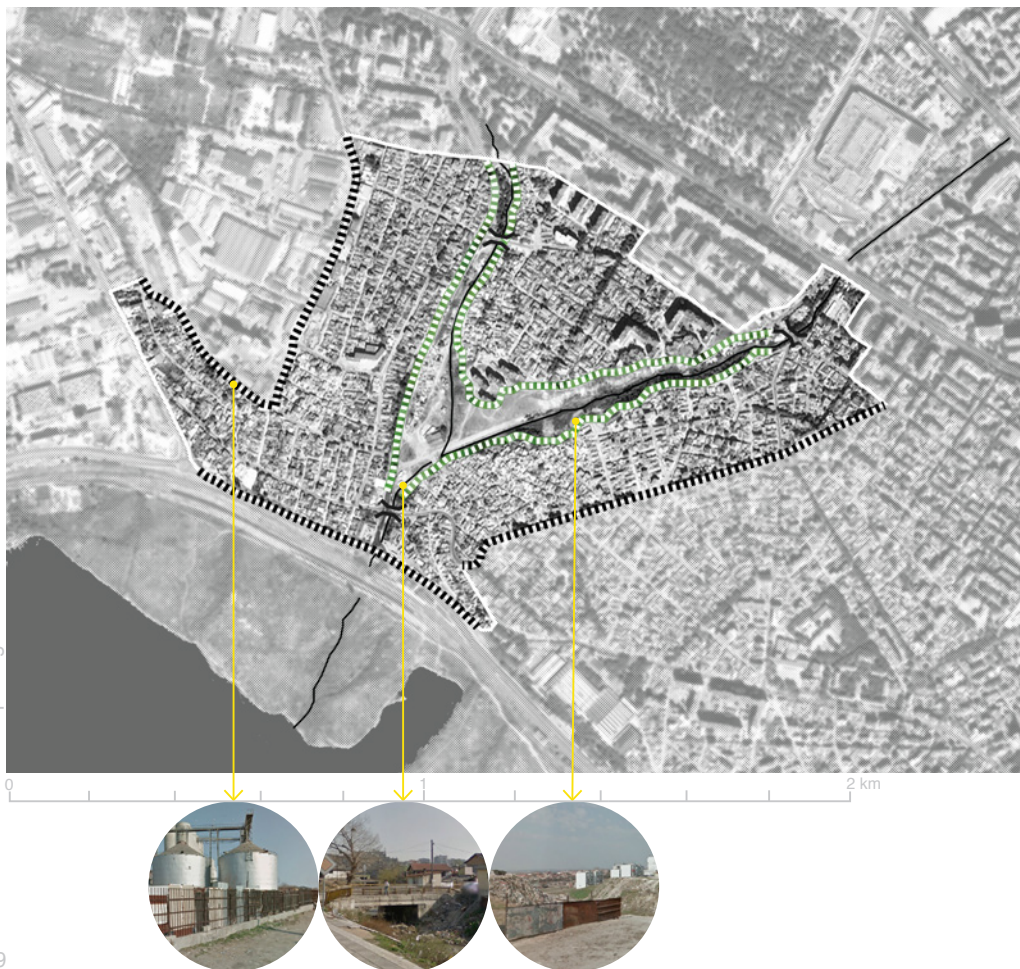
The Roma community of Maksuda is socio-spatially segregated from its surroundings by strict urban boundaries as the Western Industrial Zone in the west and the railway in the south. The community itself is internally fragmented by the natural landscape. This part of the urban drainage system of Varna has not been canalized during Communism and has a quite 'natural' appearance with cliffs and landslides. Three bridges that are accessible for vehicles connect the fragments, but there is a strong network of pedestrian paths through the valley that connects all fragments. When considering "Fig. 82_ This tourist map by the "Institute for Research and Design Cartography" in 1979 shows the envisioned 'Western' park on the location of Maksuda. It has never been realized." on page 46, the spatial development of Maksuda is visible from a retroperspective view.

Fig. 109_Graphical simplification of Maksuda

Fig. 110_left: industrial edge
Fig. 111_middle: bridge
Fig. 112_cliff with landslides
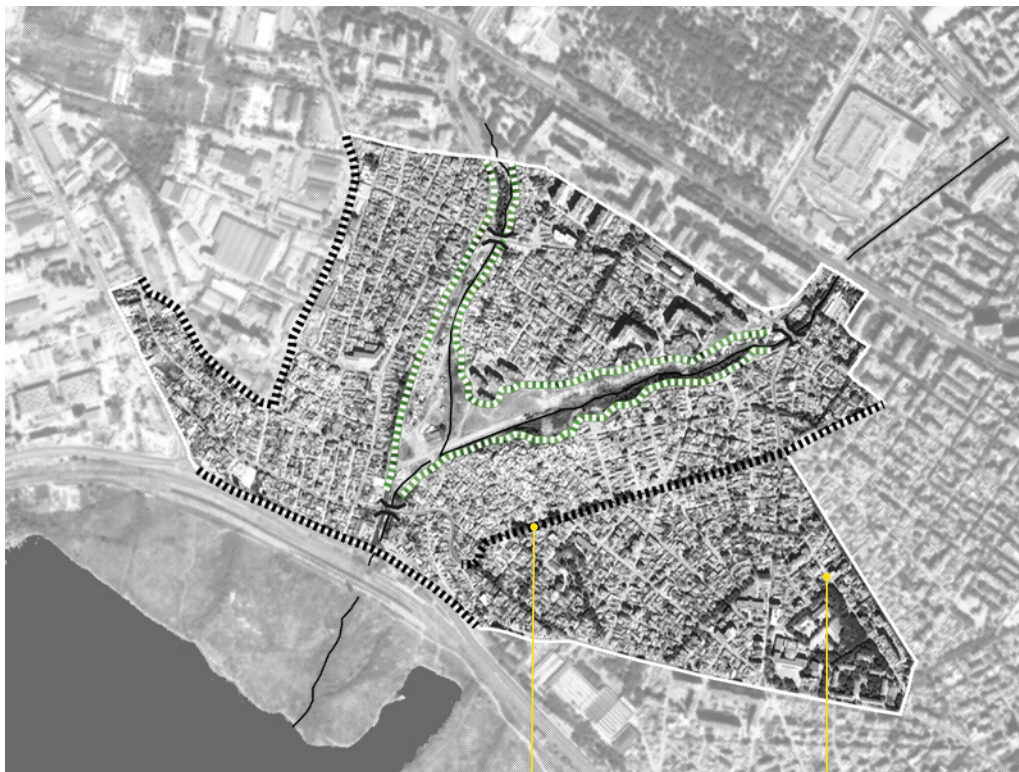
An important notion in the current developments of Maksuda is the changing socio-spatial boundaries. In recent years, the neighborhood is expanding to the east, between the Petko Napetov street (which was the original boundary) and the "Elin Pelin" school. As a result of the process of identifying as ethnic-Bulgarians, those who are relatively affluent and better educated sell their house and leave the neighborhood. They move east. In a response the ethnic-Bulgarians who live in this intermediate zone move too, as they don't want to live in 'a Roma neighborhood'.

Fig. 113_Graphical simplification of Maksuda

Fig. 114_ left: Petko Napetov Street
Fig. 115_A typical mixed street
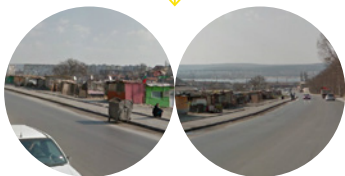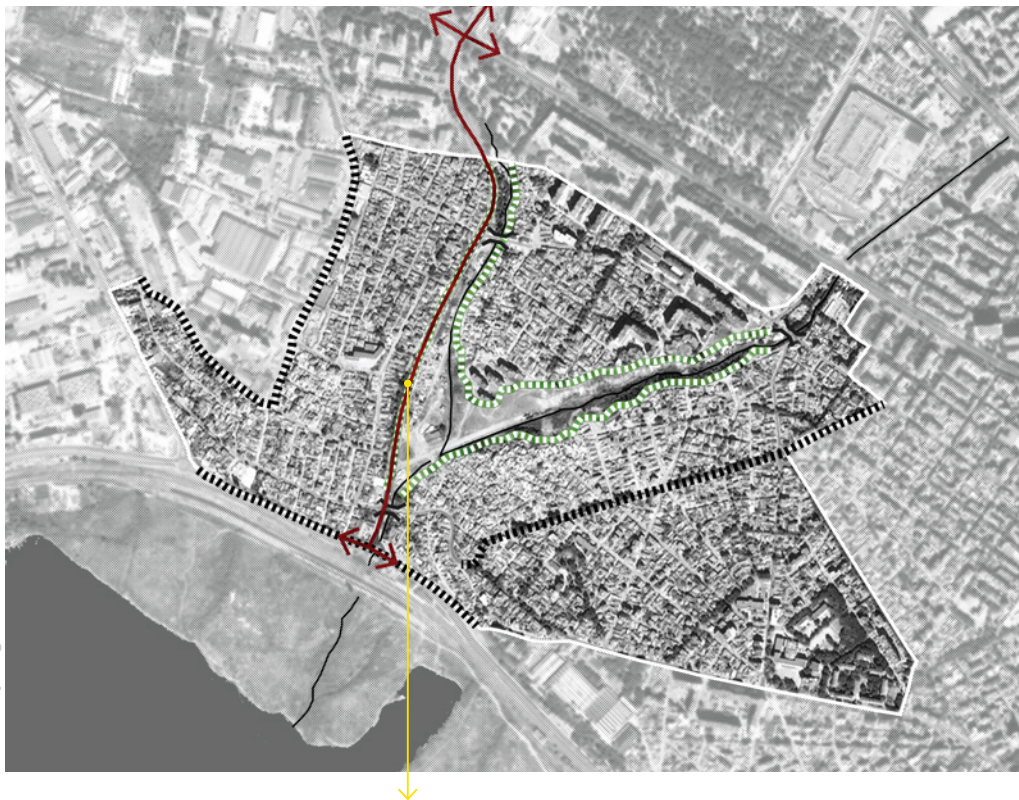
As stated before, the ethnic-Bulgarian majority is they neither aware, nor interested, in the complexity of Maksuda. This is partly caused by the fact that the neighborhood is poorly connected into the infrastructure network. There is one main road that connects the neighborhood with other districts. The vista's and perspectives that can be seen when driving this road generally show the valley and Kosovo neighborhood. This strongly defines the prejudice that the whole neighborhood is clogged with debris, poor and 'all the same'.

Fig. 116_Graphical simplification of Maksuda

Fig. 117_Views from the road only show the poorest parts of the neighborhood, Kosovo, and the polluted gully
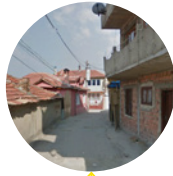
71
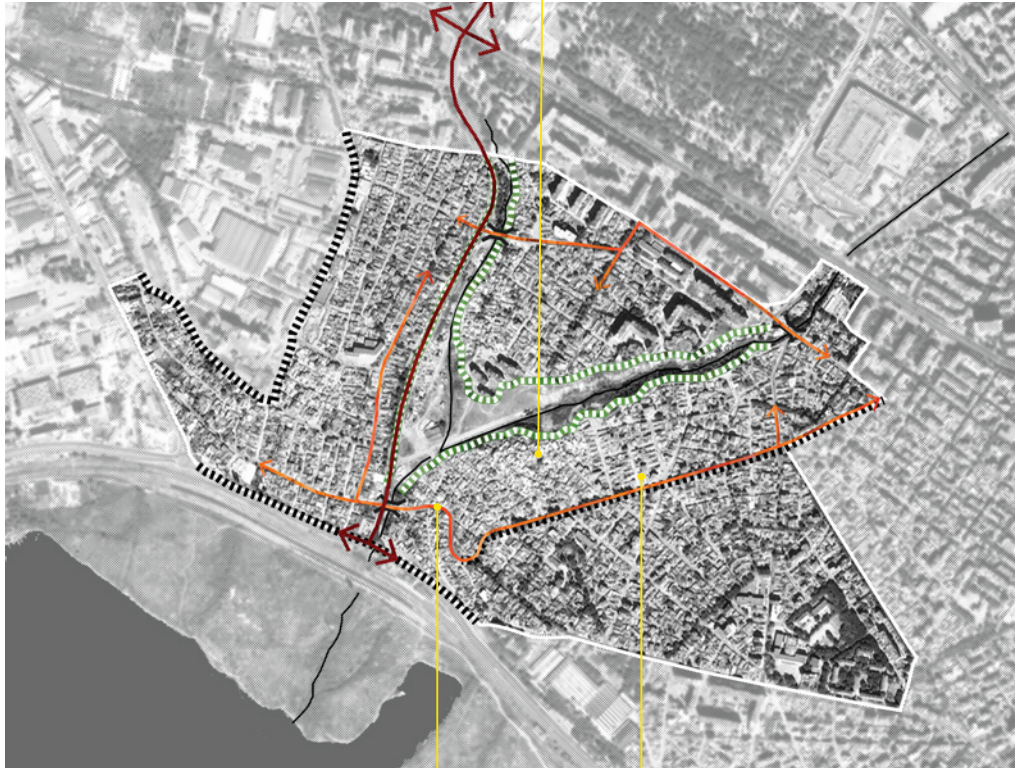
The internal motorized flows are situated mainly on the formal edges of Maksuda, as these are the few streets that have been paved in the past. Thus these flows make use of the bridges to connect the different fragments of the neighborhood with each other. It is important to note that this motorized traffic is situation on the back of the spatial structure, away from the valley. This can be explained by the fact that the edges towards the valley have a less optimal topography for building roads.
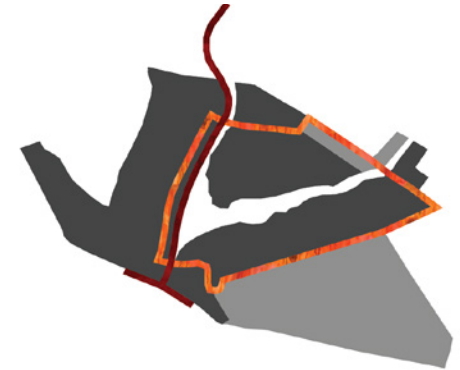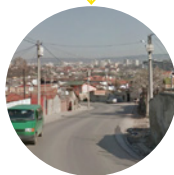
Fig. 119_Graphical simplification of Maksuda

Fig. 120_ left: topographic challenges in the road system
Fig. 121_ right: An unpaved street which allows for vehicles

Fig. 122_ Undefined walking paths connect the different fragments

Although the valley is the most important spatially dividing element within the neighborhood, locals call it 'the ravine', it provides a stage for social connections. A local network of mostly undefined walking paths follows the complex topography and connects different clusters with each other.
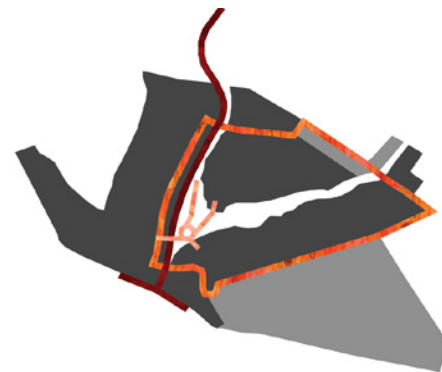

Fig. 123_Graphical simplification of Maksuda
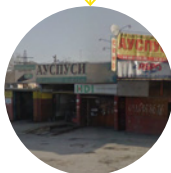
Fig. 124_A designed pedestrian connection to the valley

> Analyzing > Maksuda as Cultural Enclave

The employment of Roma during the communist period in shipyards and the textile factory has strongly declined in the democratic transition although some men are still working in ship repair and construction. There is a strong local economy in ventures, currency trading, 'trader tourism' in clothing and other valuable goods. The local economy mingles into the formal urban economy at two strategic clusters. Formal employment for men is 80 %, for women it is around 100 %. (Llieva, 2003).
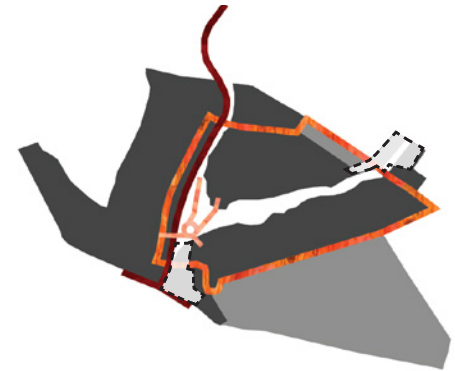
△ education
◇ sports and leisure
□ employment
○ health

Fig. 127_Graphical simplification of Maksuda

Fig. 128_ The southern cluster focusses on cars

〉 Analyzing > Maksuda as Cultural Enclave

^ **The socio-spatial structure of Maksuda**

Fig. 129_There is a strong social hierarchy within the whole neighborhood. The social position is reflected in the spatial position in the landscape

Fig. 130_The local economy
starts to mix with the urban
economy on strategic locations

Fig. 131_The local economy is often not directly visible...

Fig. 132_ ... for non-locals

Fig. 133_ More traditional Roma crafts are still being practiced and have the potential to define a strong ethnic identity in the Cultural Enclave

Fig. 134_ A small shop in the valley

∧ The landscape and use of public space

I

II

III

IV

Fig. 135_The northern part
of the Franga Dere crossing
maksuda is relatively small and
forested

Fig. 136_The gully gradually
widens towards the valley,
the descending hills become
steeper and less stable

Fig. 137_Instable and polluted
edges mark the landscape just
before the drainage system
becomes canalized

Fig. 138_The last part of the
gully is canalized and used as
an open sewer leading to Lake
Varna

In the fall of 2014, the gully was
straigthened and trees were
pulled down in response to a
major flooding that summer

The Western Park that was envisioned for the area of Maksuda under communism used the feature of a natural stream in its design. The Franga gully coming from the plateau had been completely canalized to solve urban drainage problems except for the part of the gully that should flow through this park. The park had never been built during communism, thus leaving the Maksuda area as a natural drainage system when the regime ended in 1989. Theoretically there were three options for this part of the urban drainage system: build the park, complete the canalization or keep it as it is. This last option has been 'implemented' the last 25 years. The contemporary landscape of Maksuda is instable and polluted. The descending hills have turned into slides of garbage that is dumped into the 'ravine' by the Roma community. Residents state that the public containers that are provided by the municipality are too small, but acknowledge that some of them have been stolen to make money. Also down in the ravine containers can be seen, whether it is not clear if they fell with a landslide or were hit deliberately. Rats are breeding in the gully. They swarm around the surrounding settlements and can transmit diseases, which is extremely dangerous as most Roma are not vaccinated. There is a strong contrast between the ravine and the streets on the edges, as local women are sweeping the streets in front of their houses. Even so there is a strong contrast to how the inhabitants approach different parts of the gully. They define a ravine (I, II, III) and a valley (IV). The valley basically starts where the cliffs become descending hills with settlements. These settlements are the only structures that 'stabilize' these hills, there are no measures taken to prevent landslides. Down these hills the valley starts. The natural, but polluted, stream from the ravine turns into a basic channel in the valley that has been build by the municipality in the democratic transition. This channel is used as open sewer. When taking a close look at how the ravine and valley are developed, it becomes clear that the focus of the municipality is on maintaining instead of improving. In the summer of 2014 the city was hit by a large flooding which caused major problems in the whole city. As a response the trees and shrubs that had started to grown in the gully were pulled down and the stream was 'straightened', as it was stated that this vegetation was the cause for this flooding. In some way the landscape started to stabilize itself, but this recent clearance have undone this process of 'building with nature'. Strategic Development Plan of Varna Municipality shows that the vision for the landscape system of Maksuda is completion of a canalized drainage system. Within the overall vision of the municipality on the urban development this appears to be a remarkable step, as the overall vision that is expressed in the Strategic Development Plan highlights sustainable development with attractive living and an improved connection to the surrounding landscape. By canalization one of the last remains of the natural landscape will disappear from the urban tissue of Varna. This preference for canalization could be explained as an attempt to make the city more climate-proof for the future, which is also a goal within the development plan.

The valley has a vital role in the social life of the community. This is explained by the fact that most streets are small and there is a limited amount of squares within the settlements. Public life is extremely valuable for the community, as houses are even smaller. Birthday parties and ceremonies are held in front of houses and in the streets. The valley provides an important stage to express traditional elements of Roma culture. It is often stated that in Bulgaria, the Roma and the so-called 'new rich' are the only urban residents who own horses. To these new rich horse riding is a prestigious way to spend spare time and a sign of financial success, to the Roma horses have a different value. They are used to pull carts and earn a living. Roma are circling the city to look in bins for scrap and anything else sellable. Meanwhile most parts of the city are forbidden for carts, as they are considered a difficulty to the urban traffic and affecting the quality of the asphalt. Some Roma own a car. Bulgarian law requires a person to have at least basic education equaling eighth grade to be issued a driver's license. Therefore most Roma only drive with their car within the neighborhood.

∧ The landscape and use of public space

Lake Varna

Petko Napetov street

Prince Boris cotton factory
cultural heritage

west gully (Frange Dere)

railway station
unused

east gully

Fig. 139_ Aerial view over Maksuda

Fig. 140_ Interactive map
of Maksuda to highlight the
development of the landscape
in the democration transition

Fig. 141_Small horse fields
have been created in the valley

Fig. 142_The valley provides public space to meet and connect with others. This man is collecting valueable scrap in the city center with this trolley

Fig. 143_Asphalt is limited in the neighborhood, this dead-end road in the valley is used as playfield

Fig. 144_ The connection
between inside and outside
is strong. Streets function as
living room and every space is
used, so are the roofs which
are used as balconies

Fig. 145_ There is a big range in streets, but most are unpaved and lack trees.

Fig. 146_ The streets are used for all kinds of ceremonies
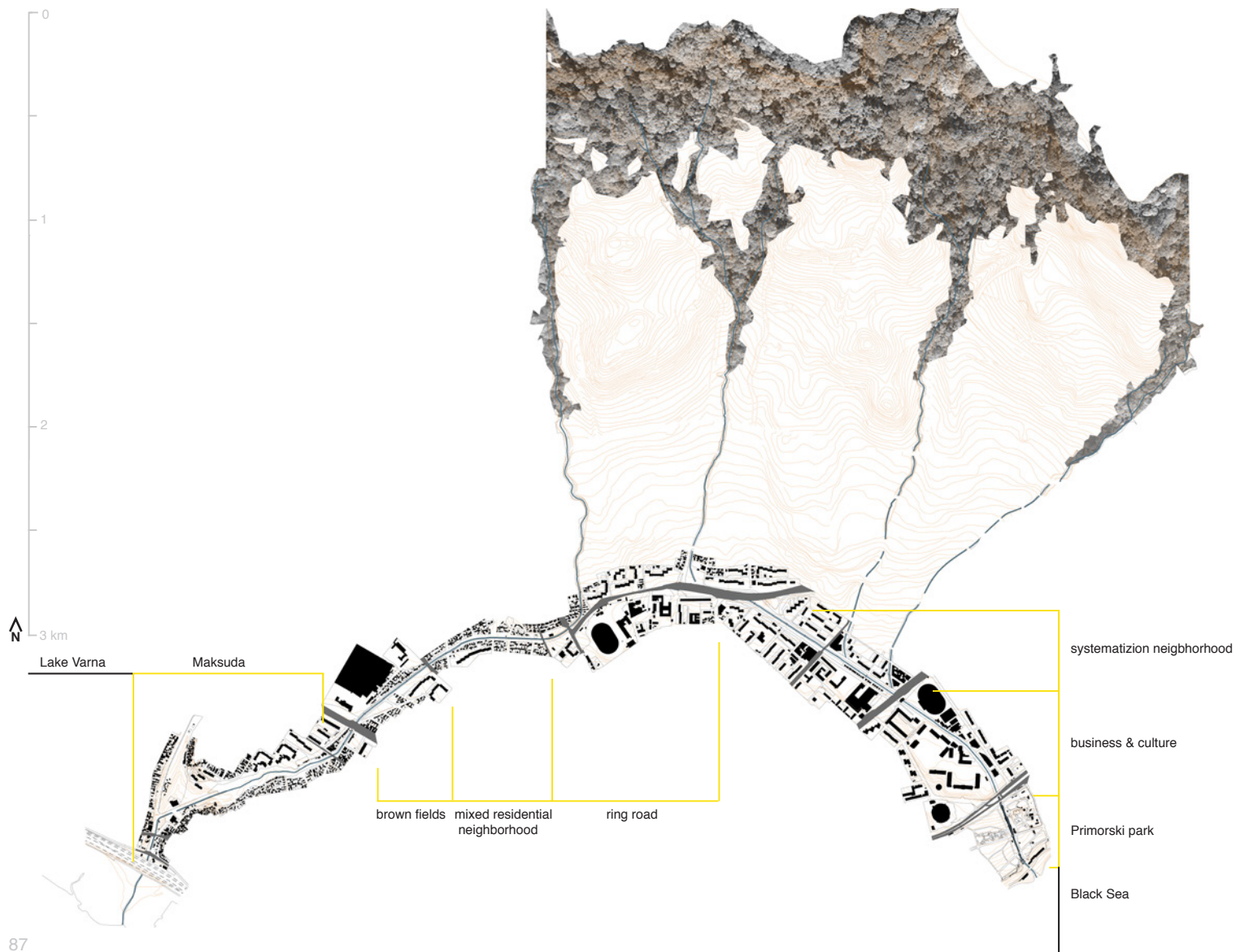
0

1

2

3 km

N

Lake Varna

Maksuda

systematizion neigbhorhood

business & culture

Primorski park

Black Sea

brown fields

mixed residential
neighborhood

ring road

The previous exploration of Maksuda as a cultural enclave shows the potential of the neighborhood for the Varnian society. In order to move from an involuntary socio-spatially segregated community to a voluntary spatial concentration in which the Roma identity is preserved, the process of binding with its surroundings becomes inevitability important. The Corridor is a significant element in approaching the modern fragmented city. Corridors are not the residual space that remains around subdivisions, but the most universally used urban spaces that connects these divisions by mobility flows. Adjacent communities and neighborhoodds define them themself by using them. A corridor is characterized by its visible continuity. Corridors come in many types and sizes, natural or man-made, but they always constitute flow. As a result of this broad definition of the corridor, their types range from watersheds to bicycle trails.

The canalized urban drainage system is currently the main dividing or fragmenting element, this is stated as accentuated fragmentation in "> 2.3. Defining > The challenges of the contemporary urban landscape of Varna" on page 42, but it's central position in the urban tissue and linear shape has the potential to function as backbone to guide new developments. Thus using the region's waterways as a primary corridor system is not only ecology wise, but it also enhances the quality of life when it facilitates free and fluid movement towards and between all kind venues and centralities. Another challenge that was stated was the lost connection with the surrounding landscape. An open, interconnected corridor can be established by linking open spaces such as parks and recreational areas with agricultural land and natural systems.

The following exploration focusses on defining the characteristics of the direct surroundings of the drainage system to define the signifance of developing a corridor with both local and regional significance. Many hubs of urban activity together form a cultural landscape that could ancher the whole region. A landscaped approach to the corridor reinforces its continuity and thus binding capacity.

Varna may have all the components of an inclusive city, but it currently lacks the connective tissue to tie it all together.

Fig. 147_ Exploration of the drainage system as corridor that connects communities and landscape with each other

Fig. 148_Collage expressing
the identity of the "Black Sea"
zone

Black Sea zone

The eastern mouth of the urban drainage system mouths in the Black Sea. There is a large height difference that has to be bridged in this final part of the drainage system, as the previous Primorski Park zone is situated about 9 meter higher. This results in a waterfall on the edge of the Primorski Park towards the beach. The last part of the drainage system is natural, which means that the water finds its own way over the beach. The road along the beach is inaccessible for motorized vehicles, resulting in a well-used boulevard by both tourists as locals. The public thermal bath is an important hub for the area and is used year-round.

restaurants

public thermal spa

Black Sea with beach
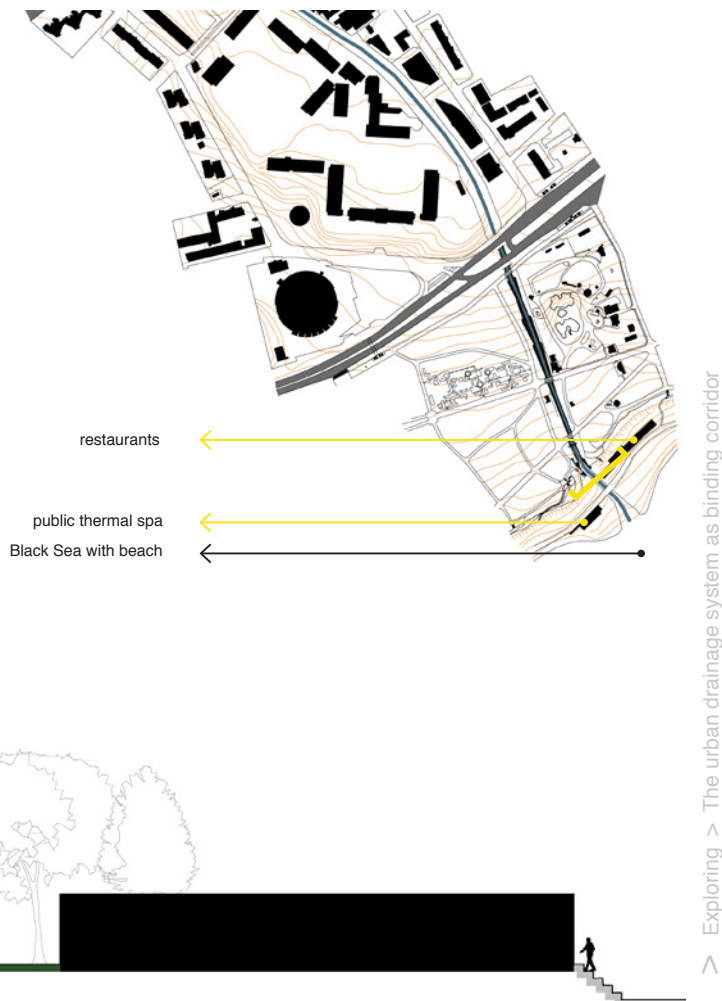
Fig. 149_ Section showing the urban drainage system in the "Black Sea" zone

Fig. 150_Collage expressing
the identity of the "Primorski
Park" zone

Primorski Park zone

The Primorski Park provides the corridor with an broad range of social centers. The park is the main of park the city and attracts a lot of visitors each day. The park is used for jogging, relaxing and playing. Several restaurants are build in the park, as well as a cinema, theatre, zoo and aquarium.The lineair shape of the parks enables the corridor to 'release' it's users in another direction.
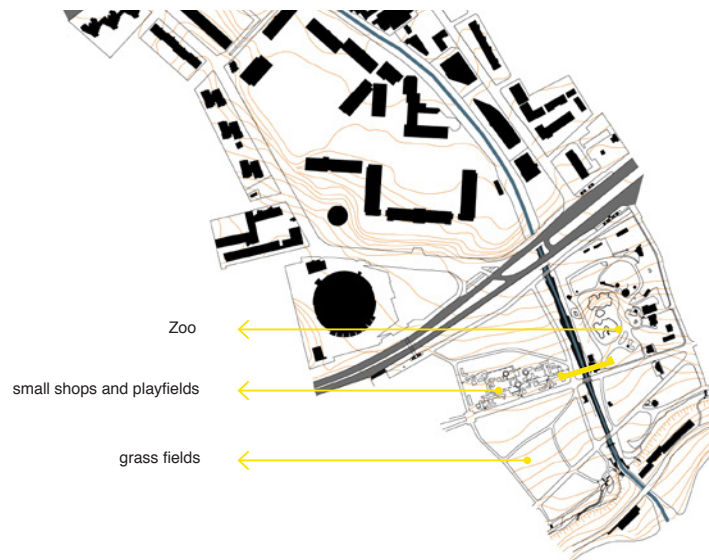
Zoo

small shops and playfields

grass fields

Fig. 151_ Section showing the urban drainage system in the "Primorski Park" zone
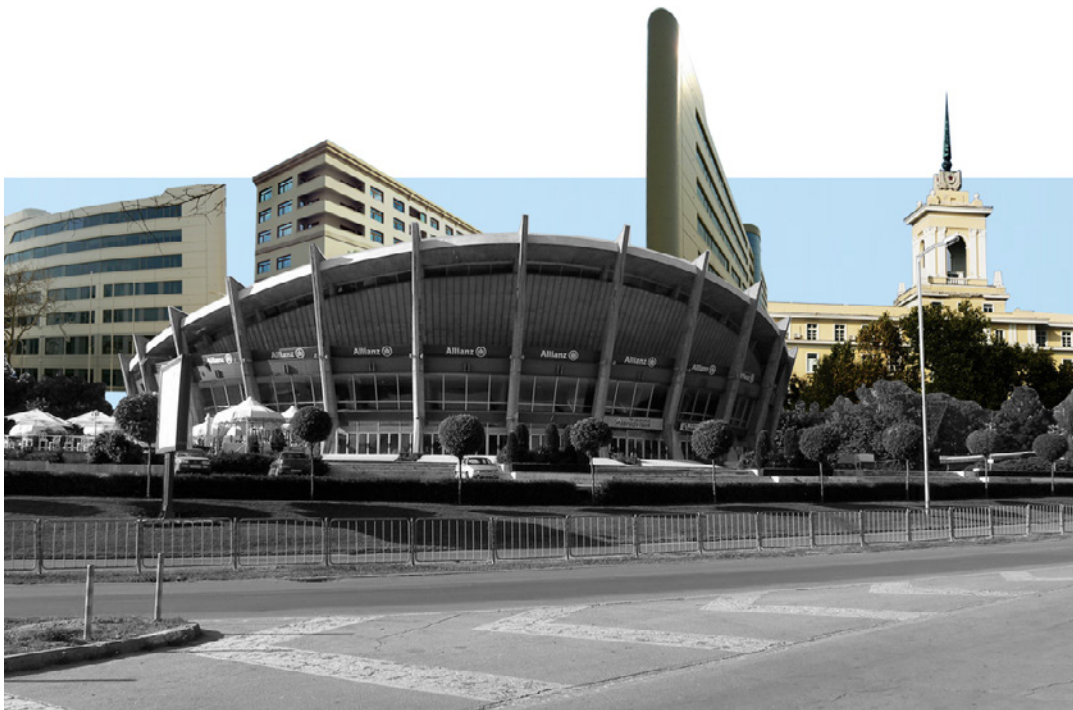
Fig. 152_Collage expressing
the identity of the "business and
culture" zone

Business and culture zone

This zone is a mix of employment, knowledge and leisure. The Naval Academy is situated in a park-like campus with the drainage system running through it. In the current situation the drainage system is inaccessible as the campus is not a public park, but it has the potential to open some parts of it to create a continuous mobility network along the whole corridor.
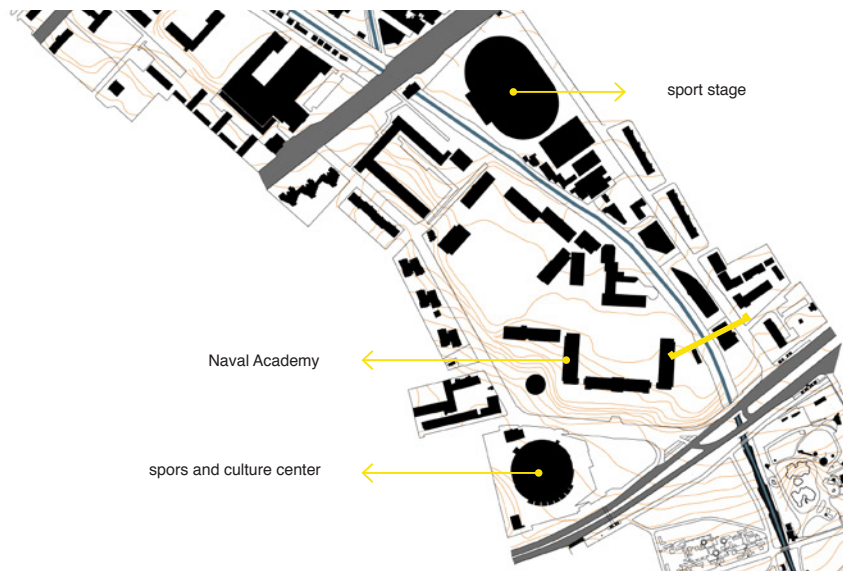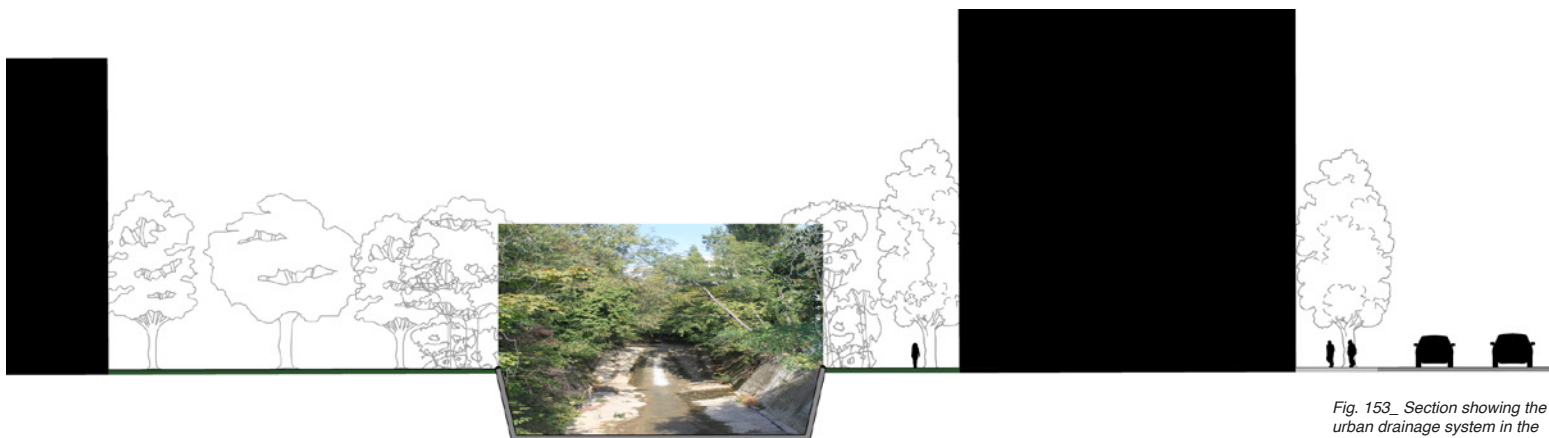
sport stage

Naval Academy

spors and culture center

Fig. 153_ Section showing the urban drainage system in the "business and culture" zone

Fig. 154_Collage expressing
the identity of the
"systematization neighborhood"
zone

Sysmatization zone

This neighborhood has is characterized by the typical communist urban planning style. Large building blocks are positioned in a setting with a lot of open space between the buildings. The urban drainage system running through it is partly a lineair park structure, but in the south it is replaced by shops
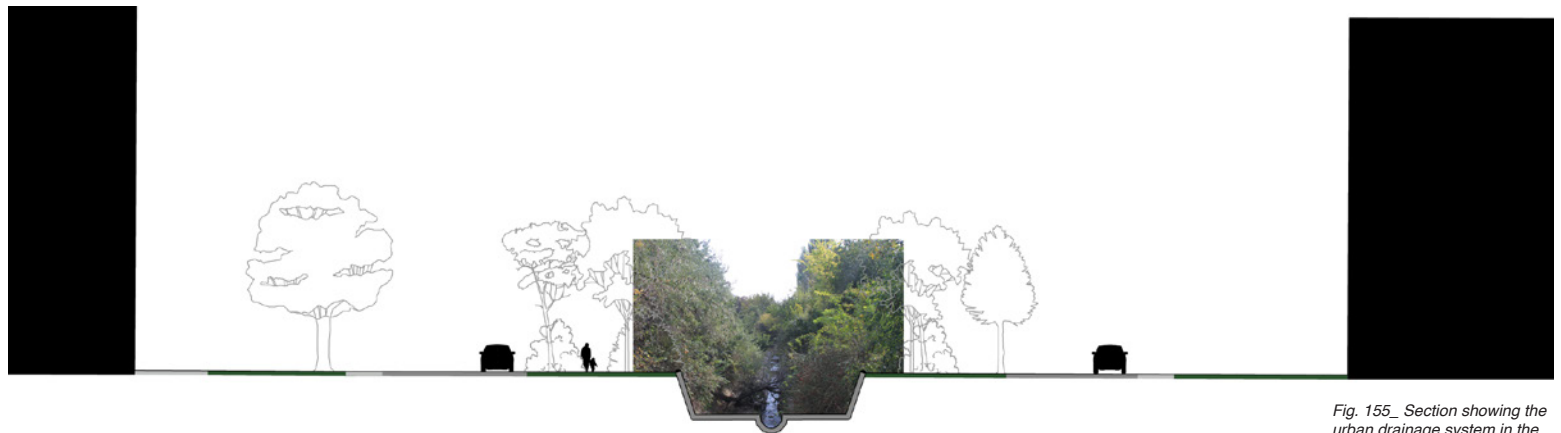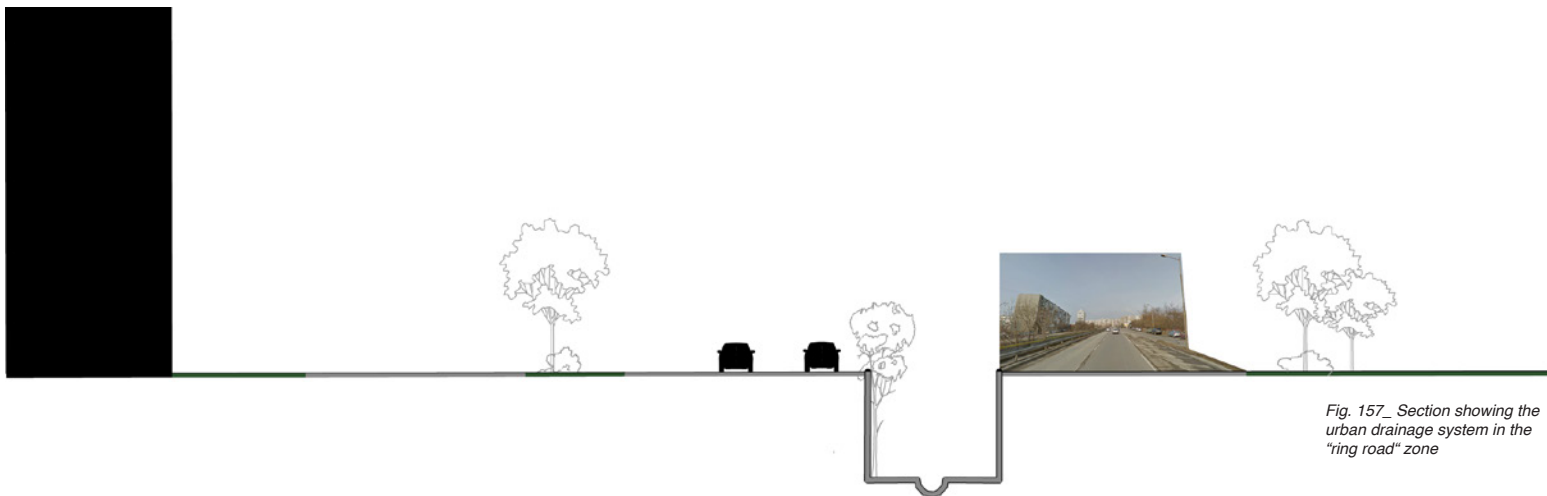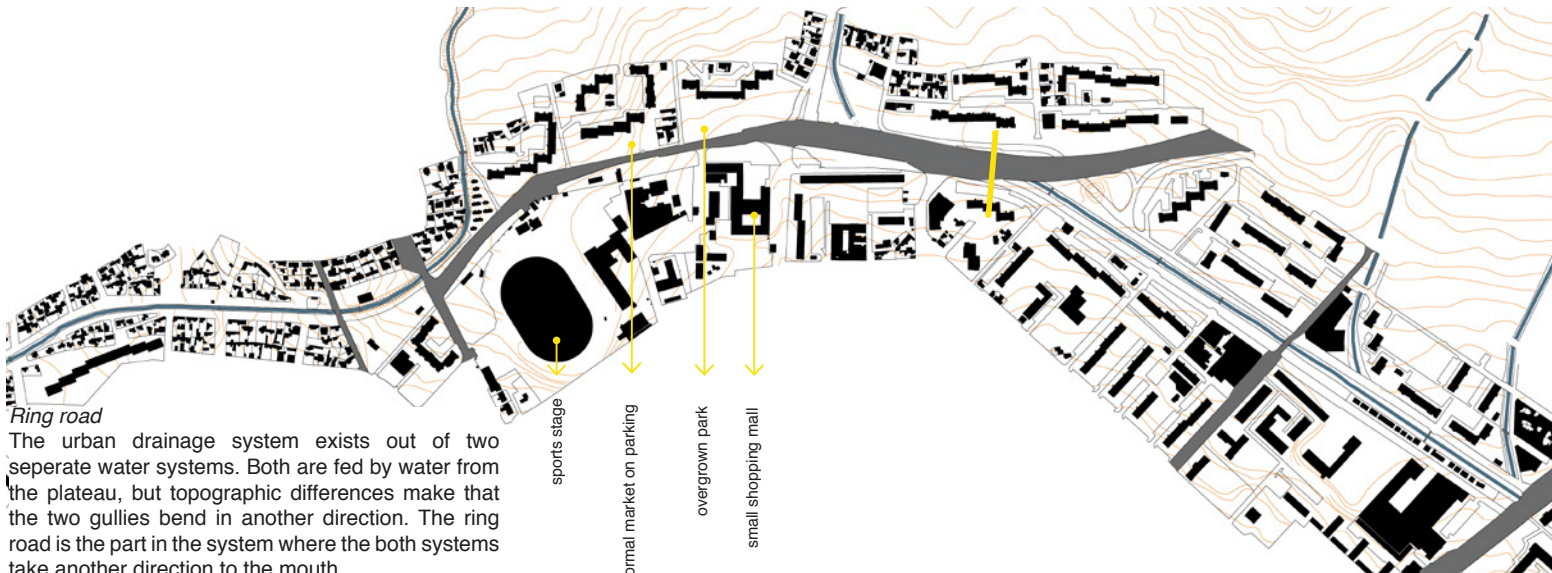
lineair park

small shops

High school

Fig. 155_ Section showing the urban drainage system in the "systematizion neighborhood" zone

Fig. 156_Collage expressing the identity of the "ring road" zone

Ring road

The urban drainage system exists out of two seperate water systems. Both are fed by water from the plateau, but topographic differences make that the two gullies bend in another direction. The ring road is the part in the system where the both systems take another direction to the mouth.

sports stage

informal market on parking

overgrown park

small shopping mall

Fig. 157_ Section showing the urban drainage system in the "ring road" zone

Fig. 158_Collage expressing
the identity of the "mixed
residential neighborhood" zone

park

Mixed residential zone
This zone along the corridor is a residential area such as the systematization neighborhood, but this zone is more socio-spatially mixed. It has a mix of traditional houses and modern apartement blocks
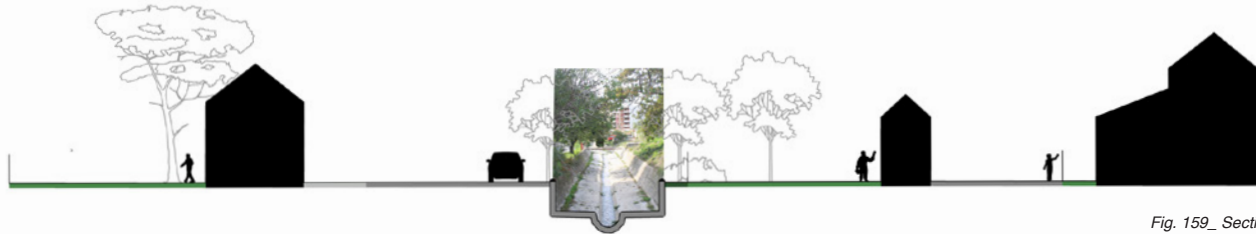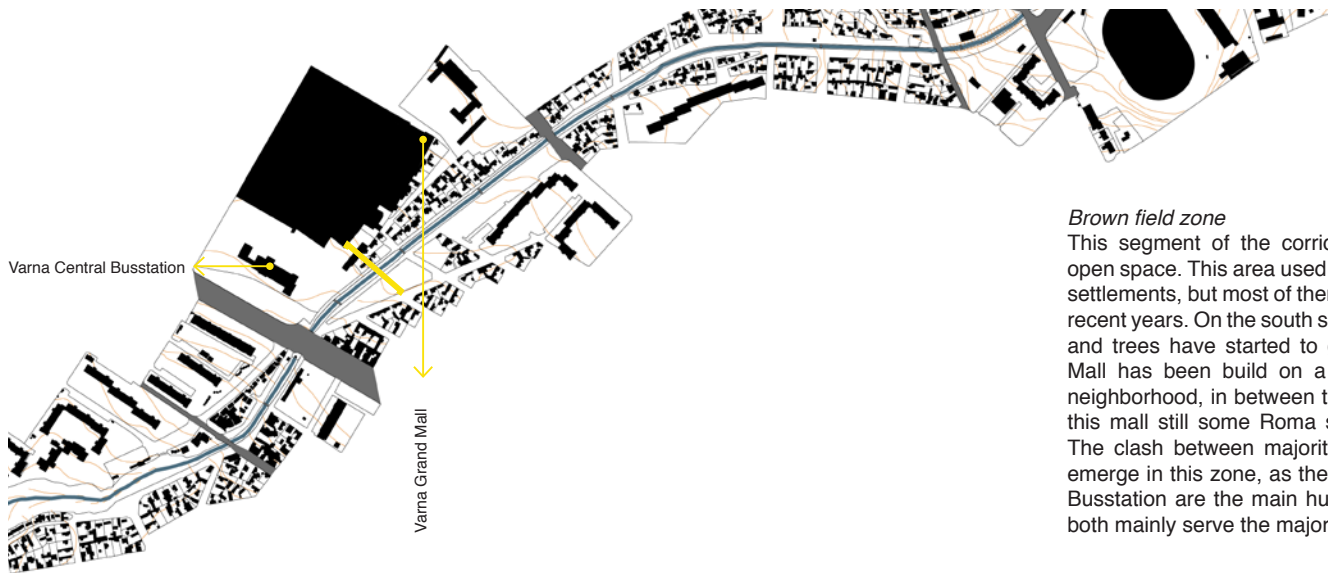

Fig. 159_ Section showing the urban drainage system in the "mixed residential neighborhood" zone

Fig. 160_Collage expressing
the identity of the "brown field"
zone

Varna Central Busstation

Varna Grand Mall

Brown field zone
This segment of the corridor is mostly undefined open space. This area used to be occupied by Roma settlements, but most of them have been removed in recent years. On the south side of the corridor shrubs and trees have started to grow. The Varna Grand Mall has been build on a former northern Roma neighborhood, in between the drainage system and this mall still some Roma settlements are located. The clash between majority and minority starts to emerge in this zone, as the Grand Mall and Central Busstation are the main hubs on regiona level, but both mainly serve the majority.
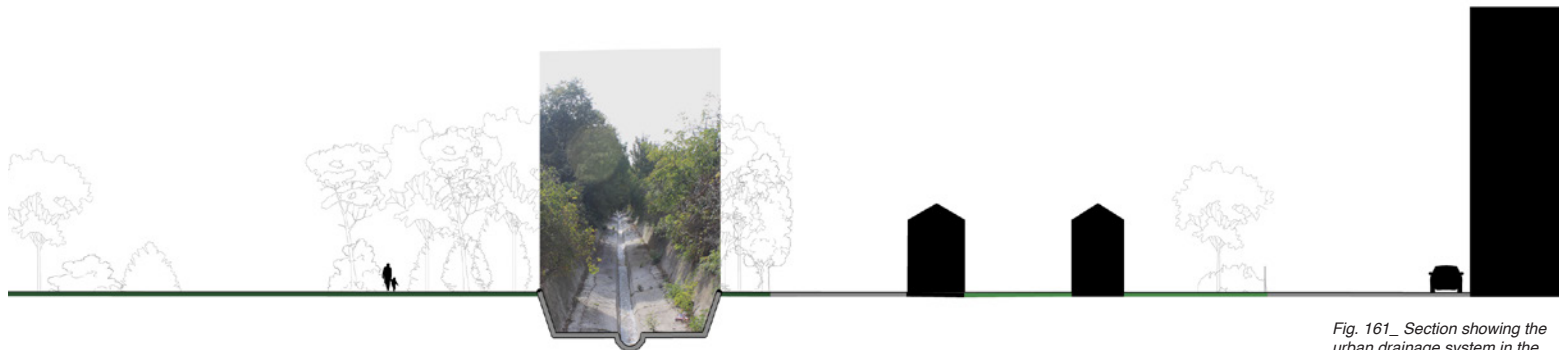
Fig. 161_ Section showing the urban drainage system in the "brown field zone

Fig. 162_Collage expressing
the identity of the "Maksuda"
zone

the Valley

main Roma market square

Maksuda zone
The Roma market square is directly facing these ethnic-Bulgarian hubs. Although both cultures meet each other on this spot along the corridor, there is less interaction between the both. The main road is an important dividing element. It becomes clear that the landscape of the drainage system is unique in its kind to Varna, as the whole corridor is canalized and this is still a natural landscape. Even so the amount of open space along the corridor changes, as the Valley is an large open body. It is important to note that there are no continuous walking paths along the edge of the gully.

Fig. 163_ Section showing the urban drainage system in the "Maksuda" zone

Fig. 164_Collage expressing
the identity of the "Lake Varna"
zone

unused railway station

high ecological waterfront
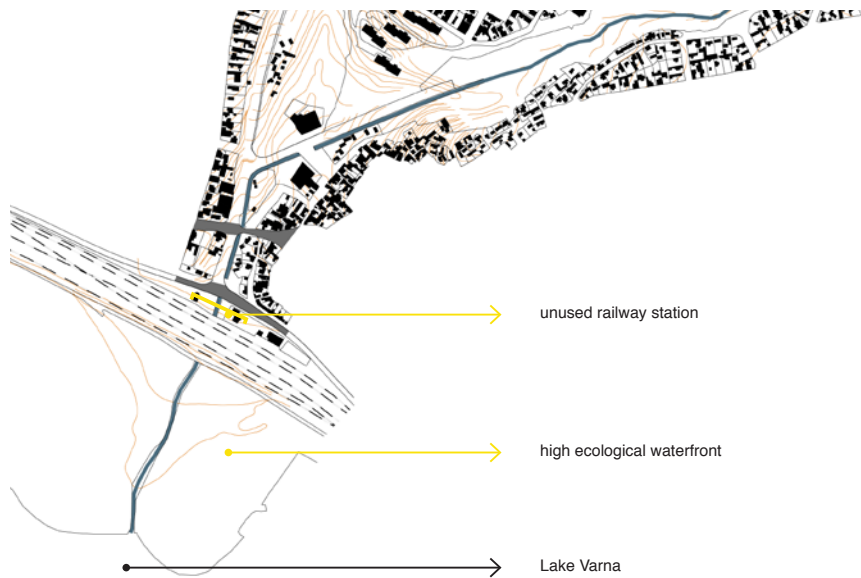
Lake Varna

Lake Varna zone
Maksuda is not the end of the line. The connection of the corridor with Lake Varna is only visual, as the whole waterfront is inaccessible because of the railway line. There is a high potentiallity in this zone, as the waterfront can provide the corridor with ecological values and cultural heritage. On the edge between Maksuda and the railway line the former cotton factory Prince Boris is located, even as an unused railway station. Incorporating this railway station into the corridor could enable a new mobility flow on municipal level.


Fig. 165_ Section showing the urban drainage system in the "Lake Varna" zone

☑ *The area should contain a significant amount of people who are members of an ethnic group, so that the enclave is able to sustain itself.*

☑ *There should be an indication of increased private investment in the development (property development) of an area by members of the community or private sector, due to a vested interest in the area based on certain aspects related to an ethnic group, namely religion, culture or language.*

☑ *There should be evidence to show that public policy influencing investment and development of an area acknowledges the inherent ethnic composition of an area or strives to address the needs of an ethnic group in an area.*

☑ *The area should boast attractions or have tourism potential based on ethnic lines. This includes unique food and cultural attractions, history and shopping offered in an enclave.*

☑ *Members of the ethnic group should be represented in decision-making organisations/ institutions that are involved in the development of the enclave.*

Fig. 166_A cultural enclave can positively promote urban development if the following attributes are associated with a specific enclave (Ebrahim, 2005).

> 6.1. Frameworking > Strategic Urban Planning revised

The Bulgarian approach to urban planning is centralized and passive with its focus on the controlling of land use through zoning systems, hence lacking the capabilities to bridge the gap between plan making and implementation (Albrechts, Strategic Planning Revisited, 2010). It has become clear that the this approach to urban planning fails to deliver appropriate needs for the diversity of citizens, as the zoning approach is mainly serving a selected group of people, namely the ethnic-Bulgarian majority rather than marginalized communities. Top-down planning regulations are forcing these communities to violate the law in order to survive, as conventional planning commonly excludes the potentials (e.g. the informal economy of the Roma)(van der Molen, 2014). The challenges in the contemporary urban landscape of Varna, accentuated fragmentation and the lost connection with its surrounding landscape, can't be dealt with appropriately by this traditional land use planning. Therefore, the need is felt to move on to a more development-led approach that aims to intervene more directly, coherently and selectively in socio-spatial reality (Albrechts, 1999). It's content relates to specific issues that have been selected for it's potentials during the process. The selection of issues with potential for the urban development of Varna have been explored in conceptualising Maksuda as Cultural Enclave and the urban drainage system as Corridor in the previous chapter.
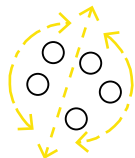
The new definition for strategic urban planning is based on three components: a what, a how and a why.

What. Revised strategic spatial planning is transformative and integrative. It is a socio-spatial process in which coherent actions are implemented to shape a place toward what it is envisioned to become. The term 'socio-spatial' brings into focus the static or dynamic location of 'things': the creation and management of special places in combination with inter-relational spaces among a network of intersections and nodes with different activities. This focus on the spatial relations within territories allow for a more effective way of integrating different agenda topics (e.g. economy, environment, socio-cultural policies). However, relational complexity requires a capacity to critically analyse the dynamics of places in such a way that those key issues are selected that depend upon collective attention. It carries potentials for 'rescaling' these topics from national to regional and from municipal to neighbourhood level (Healey, 2005). The search for new scales of implementation widens the range of actors in the process. An actor-relational approach to urban planning encourages the movement towards a public sector led process in which different governmental levels work together to create partnerships with actors with diverse positions in the economy and society (Albrechts, 2010).

How. Revised strategic spatial planning focuses on a limited number of strategic key issues for future developments. This requires a precise analysis of the environment to specify strengths and weaknesses in the context of potentials and threats. The new strategic planning focuses on place-specific qualities and assets (both physical and social) in a broader regional context. It identifies external trends, forces and available resources. It is open to multi-level governance and multi-actor involvement during the whole process. It defines a flexible long-term vision-based framework, with coherent short-term outputs, which takes into account uncertainties and power structures (e.g. political, economic and cultural) at different levels to manage spatial changes. This requires the synthesis and combination of new concepts and processes.

Why. Without defining new values and norms, we tend to gradually embrace a destructive relativism (Albrechts, 2010). Revising traditional urban planning aims to enable a transformative move to a creative contextual process with open-mindedness to new concepts in order to solve contemporary complex urban characteristics. Thus it tries to react on the need for change by facilitating a framework to guide answering for these structural urban challenges.

Strategic spatial planning is not a singular concept, procedure or tool. It is a bundle of concepts, procedures and tools that have to be tailored precisely synthesize a framework to achieve the desired outcomes (Polat, 2009).

Fig. 167_A twofold apprach to Maksuda as Cultural Enclave: urban farming model for integration and a street-led approach to in-situ upgrading

> 6.2. Frameworking > Maksuda as Cultural Enclave

6.2.1. A street-led approach to in-situ upgrading of Maksuda

UN-Habitat's strategy for in-situ upgrading of informal settlements is based on a street-led approach. A street-led approach facilitates urban transformation and regeneration on the scale of the whole city, as streets are fundamental entities in all settlements (UN-HABITAT, 2012). Streets play a significant role in the regulation of urban form, probably more than any other element in the contemporary city. Streets play an important role in urban life. Generally streets are perceived as channels for movement, but more importantly they provide space for ceremonial expressions and social interaction, to do business and get politically involved. Streets are regarded as a freely accessible public good, which is collectively used by all its residents. However, it appears that theoretical accessibility for all is not in line with the socio-spatial reality.

The value of street upgrading in inter-community development (binding)

The streets in Maksuda have even more functions compared to streets in surrounding formal neighborhoods, as the streets are the only available public space. The streets in Maksuda are a complex system of multi-layered entities instead of clearly zoned areas of types and uses. The streets host multiple activities, which co-exist and replace each other over time each day. They are the venue for informal commercial activities, such as street hawking and vending as well as small repairs and garbage recycling. Where houses are small, streets are serving as outdoor extension of living space, used for socializing, washing and cooking. Even so, cultural activities –e.g. celebrations and performances- are all on the streets. It can be concluded that the boundaries between public and private space get blurred through its variety of uses. At the same time ethnic-Bulgarian majority perceives this 'different' variety in regular activity within the streets of Maksuda, in particular garbage collection, as recognition of informality. Thus this subjective valuing of streets has a high symbolic value for the exclusion of minorities. Streets provide pathways for urban infrastructure -pipes, power lines, streetlights etc.- and tolerance –physical integration, connectivity and socio-spatial inclusion. The planning and design of streets in practical terms as layout, width, surface and gradient need to build on the potentials of improving multi-actor outcomes for both minority and majority communities to succeed in integrating the fragment into the urban whole.

The street-led approach to citywide slum upgrading as proposed by UN-Habitat involves local residents and their organizations in a participatory process to rationalize the structure of informal settlements through a development plan based on the local street patterns and uses. This captures the multiple

Fig. 168_Approach 1: A street-led to in-situ upgrading of Maksuda provides intitiates both binding and bonding processes

functions and everyday practices of the informal streets, improves mobility, keep the settlements clean and safe and for laying service networks. Specific reorganization of the street pattern on strategic points can allow other forms of mobility –e.g. walking, biking- to gain more attention. It is important to specify particular streets in the slum with the highest potential to improve mobility within a citywide prioritization process. Such specification should be based on their relation to surrounding neighborhoods. This enables these streets to be integrated in the regional mobility flows, to stimulate exchange of people and goods leaving and entering the slum: to initiate a binding process. Additionally, not only the pattern and spatial connection provides important signals to other urban communities to visit or avoid specific areas, the condition of the street surface and appearance –quality- also triggers exchange (UN-HABITAT, 2012). This approach to the Cultural Enclave on regional scale is fundamental to enhance efficient integration of settlements. Slums that had long been neglected by the providers of public services (for example garbage collectors) do not always go through behavioral change after the settlement has been upgraded, which may threaten the economic prosperity of the area. It is important to ensure the settlement integrates itself via connectivity to the legal system of the city to become subject to all rights and obligations (UN-HABITAT, 2012).

Disaster management has to be included while upgrading streets, as the neighborhood is often affected by natural hazard as pluvial floods and landslides as result of the insecure location on descending hills, high density and weak housing constructions (UN-HABITAT, 2012).In the face of future extreme weather conditions, it is essential that a link will be made between the street and water network. This water network even so functions as the main binding element as adressed chain within The Corridor. The network of public spaces along the restored streams can fulfill an important role in this incremental process of self-integration by active participatory programs.

The value of street upgrading in community development (bonding)
The upgrading of streets in Maksuda provides several opportunities for the community to become involved in not just the initial participatory process that is focusing on street hierarchy, layout and materials, but also in the actual (re)construction of the streets. The active involvement of the community in the construction of infrastructure results in better quality as the community can directly monitor and reflect on the development of the construction and thus report any shortcomings. Moreover the willingness to maintain the infrastructure is likely to increase as the construction is not mere a top-down implementation. Rewards for the help in the

construction with small payments can help the community to raise their income for a certain period or compensate for temporarily shortcomings in living condition or business. More importantly such approach to upgrading projects can attach a labour skill to specific members of the community, as they are trained to fulfil a specific task. This training and experience can enhance their services on the labour market and should therefore be stimulated as contribution towards income possibilities and community empowerment (UN-HABITAT, 2012).

Public Private Partnerships in in-situ upgrading
There is a wide variety of relationships the private sector has with upgrading, characterized by a number of challenges and opportunities. Avoiding low-income clients or entry to the informal market is regularly a rational choice based on supposed environmental limitations and different political and economic structures. Business are often not prepared to service the low-income market, even so the lack of experience with clients in the Roma community makes them more considerate to explore profit-making opportunities in Maksuda. The informal sector itself is also a private source focusing on in-situ upgrading, therefore it is important to note that the formal private sector may feel limited in chances for investment and as such will respond more carefully to available opportunities in slums. The following sections elaborate on the potentialities

of private sector activity in low-income areas, by showcasing the key barriers that have to be faced as well as the opportunities for both private sector and slum to benefit from collaborating (Baker, 2009).

Barriers to private sector initiatives in in-situ upgrading.
Traditional business models: The organizational culture –reflecting mainly collective values, beliefs and principles of the ethnic majority- in Bulgaria does not support collaboration with the lower-income segment of society. The dominant business model targets the high profit market as key to success. Most Roma do not hold ownership to their house and/or land, therefore they are not accepted for loans with formal sector banks (Baker, 2009).

Investment climate: Business laws and regulations, transaction costs and industry standards are often too conservative to meet the reality of poor consumers. This leads to financial exclusion thus affecting the potential opportunities of low-income communities. Even so private companies are aware of the risk of social unrest in response to changes in the provision of services, such as the removal illegal service connections (Baker, 2009).

Public good investments: One of the more fundamental economic challenges faced by the formal private sector in contributing to slum upgrading is the fact that many of the goods that are required by the Roma, are either purely public goods or goods with minimal private demands. For example public lighting and parks are pure public goods that once they've been supplied, are accessible for everyone. Public goods are often considered as governmental responsibility, but often resources are limited and thus lacking to provide all goods to everyone. The private sector may be willing to get involved in providing them. Electricity, education, healthcare etcetera are goods that can be sold to an external private company, however denying them to community members that can not afford them is undesirable in the aim of urban integration. This shapes a political environment around these public and social goods, creating a barrier for the private sector to interact.

Culture: Another barrier to private sector activity in in-situ upgrading is the lack of knowledge, understanding and tolerance between minority and majority. This gap between two cultures is significant, making private business careful with attracting Roma clients and Rom people distrustful of private business' initiatives.

Opportunities for private sector initiatives in slum upgrading
Despite the reasonable barriers mentioned that have been mentioned before, there is a growing recognition of the potential for both Roma community and formal private business to benefit from each other. The Roma make up the bottom -or base- of the economic pyramid. Hernando de Soto proposes that the Roma have a considerable amount of so-called 'dead capital': untitled land and unregistered businesses that have the potential to become 'living money' through titling and business registration (Baker, 2009). Even so there is a growing awareness of the potential resources generated through remittances, often transmitted into housing and education. The potential purchasing capabilities of the Roma community represents a significant market, allowing the private sector into producing goods and services that improve living conditions in slums. Much of the current purchases of the Roma stay within the informal economy, thus it represents an un-captured market for the formal private sector. Spontaneous initiatives by the private sector from which the Roma community can benefit will continue to take place, although there is a need for public funding and assistance (Baker, 2009). Much can be gained from the private sector itself in terms of expertise in cost-minimization and the effective use of human resources. Formal private economic activity in Maksuda creates opportunities for labour and small local business, which lowers unemployment and creates a demand for entrepreneurs. The presence and participation of the formal sector in Maksuda improves the integration of the community into the regional urban economy.

Fig. 169_The local NGO HIllendarski uses a farming model for the integration of Roma in Varna.

6.2.2. A farming model for Roma integration

Food production is linked to the history of any city. The lack of an efficient transportation system and of sophisticated food preservation techniques before the Industrial Revolution meant that the population had to grown vegetables near their home. This was also the case for Varna. In the historical development of "> 2.2. Defining > The historical development of Varna" on page 31 it is noticed that the city had a strong connection to the surrounding landscape as many citizens owned a small land plot on the plateau ridge to grow their food. Especially during Communism urban developments started to sprawl over this plateau ridge, which led to de disappearance of many of these small private agricultural plots. The political and economic transitions in the democratic transition have led to a growing importance of urban household farming for income subsistence of many urban households (Yoveva, 2010). Urban household farming assumes different levels, the most common is farming in backyards and private gardens adjacent to family houses. Farming and livestock keeping on the plateau edge is also still practiced as some families still own a small plot. Household farming plays an important role in the food security of a substantial numbers of households and has provided a safety net during the transition period; for a small group of citizens urban agriculture is an important source of income as products are sold on the streets.

Fig. 170_Approach 1: Urban agriculture provides intitiates both binding and bonding processes and allows to create a new urban Roma identity

The value of urban agriculture in community development (bonding)
Community gardening has been described as a movement. Glover even states that community gardens are often more about community than they are about gardening (Glover, 2003). Various publishers have described the movement in terms of empowering people. Gardens have the potential to lead members –both individually as collectively- to a range of activities whose scope is far beyond plants. Community gardens can be catalysts, seeds of hope, of a brighter future (Nettle, 2014).

Urban farms utilize unused urban space to produce food. However, urban farming differs from household agriculture in its focus on production. It is a commercial project that grows food for sale or distribution rather than for consumption by the grower himself (Poulsen, 2014). Whether an individual, a community-based organization or a for-profit company starts and runs an urban farm, their aim reaches beyond business goals and is most often to make a positive contribution to local communities. Urban farms are not simple farms located in the city. The key distinction between urban farms and their rural complement is that their urban positioning creates unconventional roles for the farmer and the possibility to provide a range of services to surrounding communities.
Increasing access to high-quality food. Urban

farmers have expressed diverse opinions as to whether the provision of food to the neighbourhood is an ethical obligation. Particularly farmers associated with community farms are positive about providing local communities opportunities to access to farm products, through on-site farm stands, community-supported agriculture programs and local street vending. Offering products in exchange for volunteer hours has also been stated.

Cleaning up vacant land. One of the most appreciated services provided by urban farms is the transformation of vacant sites. Urban farms can become tools to clean up problematic lots that are used as garbage dump, thus decreasing the aesthetic and environmental value of the neighbourhood. An urban farm can also improve safety as it brings in more pedestrian traffic.

Create community centres. Apart from potentials for employment, urban farms have potentials to create job trainings opportunities and summer employment for youth. These farm sites can also facilitate educational opportunities by establishing 'after school' activities and workshops. More importantly informal education occurs through interactions with the variety of participants.

Promote community gathering. Urban farms can provide space for meeting and gathering within the neighbourhood, even so they give the participants something to 'talk about' (Poulsen, 2014). neighbourhood, even so they give the participants

something to 'talk about' (Poulsen, 2014).

Enhancing cultural identity. In the case of Roma integration, urban farming has a particular potentials as it allows to intregate typical Roma characteristics in it. This is a vice versa approach to integration. In stead of implimenting characterisitcs of the cultural majority onto the minority, the minorities implements particular cultural elements into the urban system of the majority. The current Roma identity of Maksuda with it's horses, chickens and pigs can add value to the urban farm as a natural system.

Over the past eight years, the 'Land-Source of Income'-Foundation has been working on developing farming models for Roma integration in Bulgaria (Penov, 2013). The aim of the project is to provide local NGOs with the right tools and capabilities to establish agricultural projects with the ability to help participants accessing income and acquiring work experience in a safe environment close to their culture. The foundation has proven the farming model to be successful by working with capital and trainings. The model helps participants to integrate in the free market economy, and provides them skills to successfully become small entrepreneurs. The project focuses on two important aspects for Roma integration following the EU recommendations -social inclusion and the creation of jobs- and highlights the value of agriculture in an unusual context with a significant multiplier effect (Penov, 2013). The local

NGO Hillendarski has adopted this farming model into its practices. The organisation owns 825 m2 of agricultural land on the plateau, about 10 km outside the city center, and has some projects on youth development implemented by using this model. The model is effective, although a location close to the urban Roma communitiesof the farm might make it more successfull.

The value of urban agriculture in inter-community development (binding)
There is some kind of conflict between urban and rural, because it contradicts imposed descriptions of what should be urban space. Particular notes of order and control, purity of shape and clear limits mark this supposed definition of urban space. Still, the users and the public in general seem to valuate a contradiction of rules. The pleasant experience that many people highlight when working, strolling or cycling through rural area is the evidence for the social and spatial value of urban farming. Intrinsic to the concept of the operative landscape comes to concept of multifunctionality. Urban farming can combine production, leisure, protection and Roma integration. The current zoning approach of the Municipality of Varna does not allow for the coexistence of several roles, thus appearing the vague concept of 'green space' that stretches throughout the city. It then begins to take shape the idea of production combined with landscape

as a fundamental component of a landscape that structures, qualifies and creates continuity to the city. The Corridor is defined as a continuum. The development of Maksuda towards an open space with significance on the urban level has the potential to function as an important chain within this continuum and promote and articulated relationship between the historical city-countryside dichotomies and connection with the plateau.

Public Private Partnerships in urban agriculture
When approaching Maksuda as an cultural enclave with an Agricultural Park, agricultural purposes can be combined with park functions. This AgPark can function as the interface between the Cultural Enclave and The Corridor. Defening urban farming practices as a 'park' is intended to highlight the role of an AgPark in the preservation of open space. This suggests land conservation and recreational use, but it also evokes the model of a small business park in which several local companies or individuals operate within a management structure. AgParks are designed for multiple actors –they accommodate natural habitat, small farms, public areas and buildings– that connect to nearby communities (SAGE, 2005). Therefore AgParks are suitable for community partnerships with local institutions and organizations. The AgPark provides infrastructure and facilities that lend themselves to shared use by both the agricultural component and park component. The next section elaborates on specific aspects of the park component that can be integrated with agriculture.

Passive recreation. In addition to the focus on productive agriculture, an AgPark may contain a number of activities that are familiar to the uses of urban parks. An AgPark can include many kinds of trails –trails for horse riding, walking and cycling paths- for recreation around and through farms and park areas (SAGE, 2005). Sheltered, scenic sites can provide visitors seating, rest and picnic areas. The stream can be an aesthetic element and a vital component for productive urban farming.
Interpretive programs. Interpretive programs promote understanding of natural, scientific, historic and cultural aspects for park visitors. Such programs might include talks and lectures by volunteers or spokespersons, and can create a solid base for socio-spatial integration of the Roma.
Gardens. A variety of gardens can attract specific park visitors and park users. Community gardens can be owned by a individual landowner, municipality or local community-based organization. local community-based organization. These owners can operate community gardens by leasing small plots to community members for a nominal fee that enables for a multiplier effect on their investment.
Job Training. Gardens therefore have an important function, as participants can gain practical skills and personal satisfaction. They often operate in partnership with public agencies. Experimental gardens are used by a public agency, such as a university, to research and illustrate sustainable agricultural practices or methods. Botanical gardens overlap with school gardens -demonstrating knowledge about basic natural cycles and soil principles-, but are distinguished by documented botany.

*Fig. 171_The Corridor
uses the drainage system
as spatial framework to
generate new urban mobility
within the communities and
the surrounding landscape.
Maksuda is integrated as
subcentrality in the socio-spatial
structure of Varna*

6.3.1. Restoring urban streams into a continuous park

Urbanization of the catchment area of the streams crossing Varna and the subsequent desire for physically stable streams to manage water flows to protect urban infrastructure has led to simplified urban stream channels. This shift towards a highly engineered appearance of original landscape feature has led to (i) a decreased geomorphic diversity of the landscape, (ii) reduced floodplain connectivity, (iii) ecological simplification of biodiversity in the streams and (iiii) diminished societal value as the streams have become unattractive channels which are avoided for recreational purposes (Bernhardt, 2007). In contrast with the envisioned purpose of the channelization, namely management of urban water flows, the opposite is turning out as the canalization has created problems with flood management. The downstream location of Maksuda creates significant natural hazard for the community.

Restoring streams can secure local water supplies, enhance water quality and the simplified biodiversity, increase economic value of surrounding areas and provide new green spaces in which the citizens can reconnect with natural landscape and each other (RESTORE, 2013). The restoration of urban streams is a forced process, thus it is unlikely that an urban stream will be restored to its pre-channelized feature itself. Therefore the goal for effective restoration

should be to move the stream as far back as possible by following the four (iiii) categorizations. A restored environment can provide valuable opportunities for learning and integration. The restored streams can frame continuum landscape, or a linear park structure in itself, towards a multi-actor corridor that facilitates a stage for interaction between communities and mobility flows through the city.

The value of parks in community development

Parks have long been recognized as major contributors to the physical and aesthetic quality of neighbourhoods. This connection between parks and their surroundings is receiving new attention from community developers (Walker, The Public Value of Urban Parks, 2004). The traditional view on parks –as provider of open spaces with recreational facilities and programs- has evolved towards a 'new view' that recognizes the broader contributions urban parks can provide to the strengths of communities.

Youth development. The first contribution includes the notion of opportunities for children of all ages and backgrounds to build skills by providing community-based programs and activities that create opportunities for physical (e.g. athletic skills and team sports), intellectual (e.g. ecology and performance spaces), psychological (e.g. helping with long-term planning of a annual event) and social (e.g. park clean-up days) development of youth

(Turner, 2004).

Work experience. Youth has long found summer employment in parks as camp counsellors and lifeguards. Such jobs have the ability to introduce them, in particular youth with an ethnic minority background, to a working routine in a relatively protected setting. Parks can also offer opportunities for valuable training to equip both youth and adults with skills and experience to enter the workforce.

Health. The use of parks is an accessible, and most of the times free, way to engage in exercises to improve personal health.

Social capital. Parks help to build and strengthen the ties within and among communities as it has to potential to bring diverse people together, including those who are otherwise excluded by ethnicity. Parks provide avenues through which information and values flow, thus improving tolerance (Walker, 2004). Acknowledging the diverse potentials of parks for communities lead to the formation of partnerships with other public agencies and community-based non-profit organisations. This is the first step towards Public-Private Partnerships in park developments.

Public Private Partnerships in park developments

Partnerships in the development of parks are successful in combining the assets of the public and private sector to create new and refurbished parks and greenways. The Urban Institute explores these Park Partnerships, their findings are published within

the Urban Parks Initiative. Their framework examines four key considerations in Park Partnerships (Walker, 1999).

Structure. Business Partnerships include both general partners and limited partners, each with it's own set of strengths, weaknesses and coherent responsibilities. PPPs for park developments are characterized by a similar structure. The general partners are typically local municipality, the limited partners are the various actors that use or support the park – e.g. leisure associations, environmental groups, youth organizations and educational centres Control. In Business Partnerships the general partners usually decide upon major decisions, without consulting the limited partners. In Parks Partnerships, the responsibility of decision-making is shared more broadly. In return for their support, limited partners are often given an advisory role in decision-making. This aspect enables communities and local business –e.g. university- to actively involve in socio-spatial developments in their environment. Assets and liabilities. Both general and limited partners bring assets and liabilities to the Park Partnerships, in terms of financial resources, organizational capacity and public image. In effective partnerships, the assets of one partner offset the liabilities of another. Risks. The Park Partnerships encounter a mixture of risks. All partners have developed a set of coherent

strategies for limiting negative consequences.

> 7.1. Analyzing > Contextual Maksuda

Fig. 172_Graphic representation showing the local land use

7.1.1. Socio-spatial configuration

For the implementation of such a two-fold framework, an analysis of Maksuda as cultural enclave within a contextual corridor is addressed to highlight the specific potentialities in itself and in relation to other dynamic urban processes and elements.

Local land use

When considering the local land uses in and around Maksuda, the large amount of open space becomes evident. The open space around the water system is largely undefined, which creates potentialities for the development of a linear park structure. Even so systematization building blocks on the edge of Maksuda are situated in quite open structures. The open spaces around the building blocks can be connected to these new park structures in order to connect the streetscape with the corridor. An important notice is the inaccessible waterfront of the Lake Varna, as 'release point' of movement flows around the proposed corridor.

0   0.5   1 km

industrial
settlement
commercial
services
park
undefined green
inaccessible green

Community movements

The contextualization of Maksuda is important to take notice of the movement of communities and its relation to the defined land uses. It is likely that undefined open spaces will become locations for new Roma settlements, when no integrated vision is implemented on these open structures. The map also shows that evicted Roma settlements are mainly of the high-risk areas, but even so around the main ethnic-Bulgarian commercial cluster -the shopping mall- where informality is undesired.

Fig. 174_Graphic representation showing movement of communities

ethnic-Bulgarian communities
Roma communities
mixed communities
evicted Roma settlements
existing movement of Roma communities
expected movement of Roma communities
expected new Roma communities
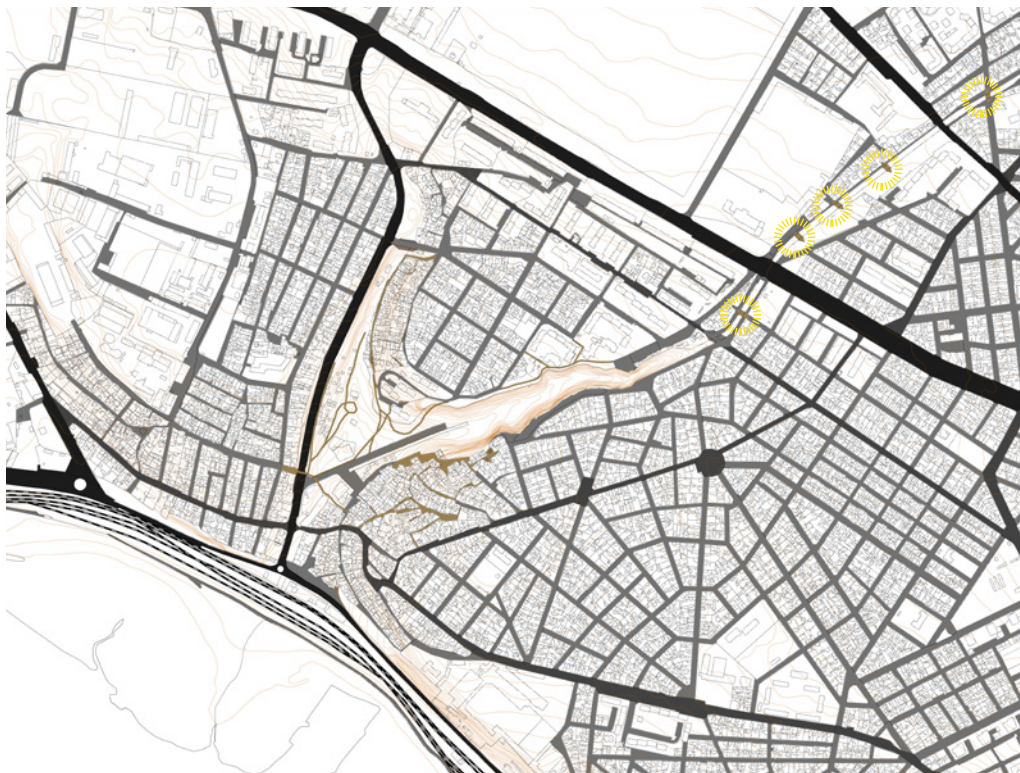
Fig. 175_Graphic
representation showing
infrastructure system

7.1.2. Mobility network
Infrastructure system
All major regional roads cross the water system in the same parallel direction. Maksuda is theoretically connected to all other neighbourhoods, however the maintenance condition of the roads in the informal neighbourhood is bad thus lowering its integration within the urban system. At the same time several roads within Maksuda are unpaved. It is important to notice that there is no continuous walking or cycling structure along the urban drainage system, although some instable pedestrian bridges crossing the drainage system to connect both sides are present. A continuous path structure willl be a vital element within the development of an urban corridor.

▄▄▄	first degree road (regional)
▄▄▄	second degree road (municipal)
▄▄▄	third degree road (neighborhood)
▄▄▄	unpaved road
▦▦▦	railway
☼	pedestrian bridge

Public transportation system
Maksuda is covered by the municipal transportation system quite well. The main bus station is on short distance, there is as well a bus line crossing the neighbourhood in the south. The neighbourhood touches upon the 2000 m radius of the central railway station of Varna.
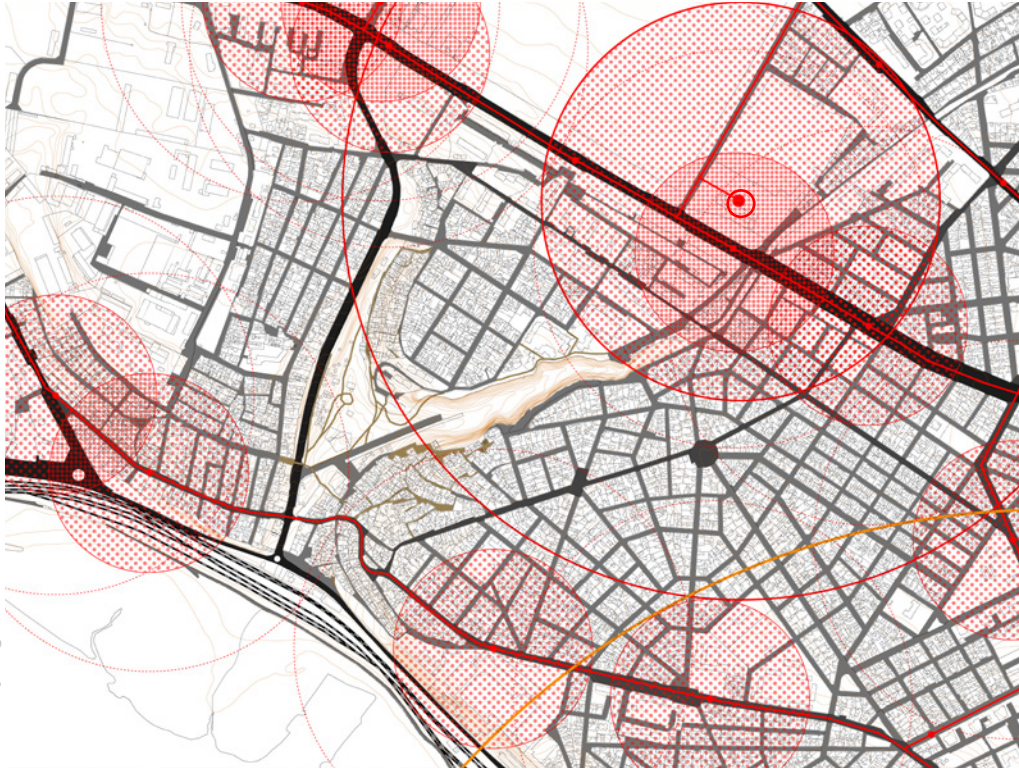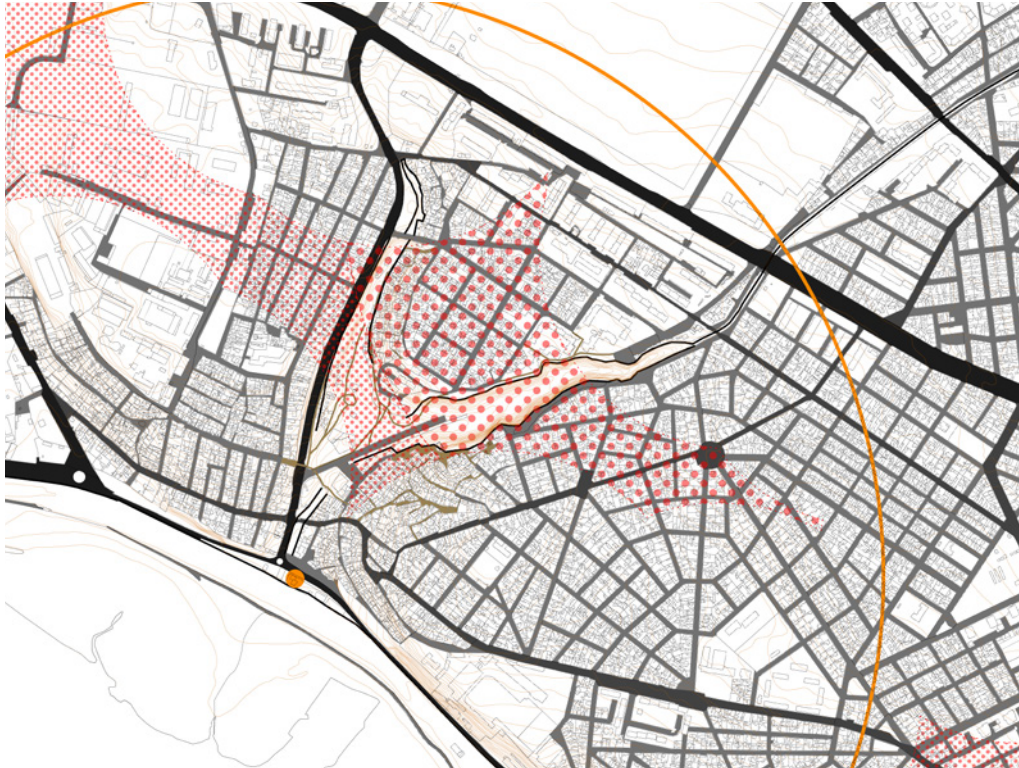

Fig. 176_Graphic representation showing the cover area of the public transporation system

Fig. 177_The central bus station with Varna Shopping Mall.

bus line with stop
central bus station
250 m radius for bus stop
500 m radius for bus stop
500 m radius for central bus station
750 m radius for central bus station
2000 m radius for central railway station

Public transportation system - inversion
When exploring the potentialities of the development of an urban corridor along the drainage system, the contemporary unused railway station in the south of Maksuda becomes extremely evident. The re-use of the station can generate new mobility flows along this corridor and even so integrate Maksuda within the new socio-spatial system. The inversion of the current public service radiuses shows that the implementation of the old railway station has the potential to cover this gap in the public transporation network.

Fig. 178_Graphic representation showing an inversion of the current cover area of the infrastructure system, which could be covered when...

Fig. 179_ ... the old railway station would be reactivated

●	reactivated railway station
	750 m radius for railway station
	> 500 m for bus stop
	> 750 m radius for central bus station

7.1.3. Landscape structure
Services distribution
The distribution of urban services within the context of Maksuda show the accentuated segregation of the Roma community. Although there are plenty of services, there is limited interaction between Roma and ethnic-Bulgarian services. The aim for the corridor therefor is to establish a new connection between these socio-economic services and the communities that use them by facilitating a new network for local mobility.
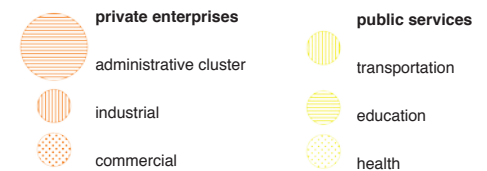

Fig. 180_Graphic representation showing the distrubution of both public and private services.

public space

cultural cluster

leisure

sports

service which is only used by Roma

private enterprises

administrative cluster

industrial

commercial

public services

transportation

education

health

Fig. 181_Graphic representation showing the landscape elements of Maksuda

Environmental identity

Most of Varna's streets are designed with a clear vision on its green structure, but the informal streets of Maksuda haven't been strategically developed. The features of the raw landscape of Maksuda are unique for the city, as many vista's from within the neighborhood lead to Lake Varna.

▦▦▦▦▦▦▦	street with high level of vegetation
┄┄┄┄┄┄┄	street with medium level of vegetation
▨▨▨▨▨▨▨	instable slope
▬▬▬▬▬▬	stabilized slope
•▸	vista

126

7.1.4. New realities
Expected development of road structure
The Municipal Development Plan of Varna focuses on the development of a new ring road. The position of this ring road is envisioned on top of the urban drainage system, thus further limiting the relation of the city with its natural landscape. This option might be a good solution as there is plenty of open space along the whole drainage system on city level, but my proposed framework for the strategic development of Varna highlights an alternative vision for the drainage system. The framework defines the drainage system as corridor with high potentialities to connect qualities of both communities and landscape positioned along this system.

Fig. 182_Graphic representation of the expected development of the road system, based on the Municipal Development Plan

first degree road (regional)
second degree road (municipal)

Revision development of road structure

The consequences of the development of a second ring road along the whole urban drainage are highest for Maksuda, as this would be developed towards a multi-level roundabout. Therefor the Municipal Development Plan is revised for this graduation project, to move from typical 'relocation' approach to 'in-situ' integration of minority communities and their settlements. This revised vision on the development of a second ring road preserves the urban drainage system as a chain of open spaces, as it is positioned towards the industrial zones of Varna making use of the undefined open spaces in the current situation.

Fig. 183_Graphic representation of the revised development of the road system, which is in line with the total revision of the Municipal Development Plan at the end of this thesis.

first degree road (regional)
second degree road (municipal)
dedicated bus lane
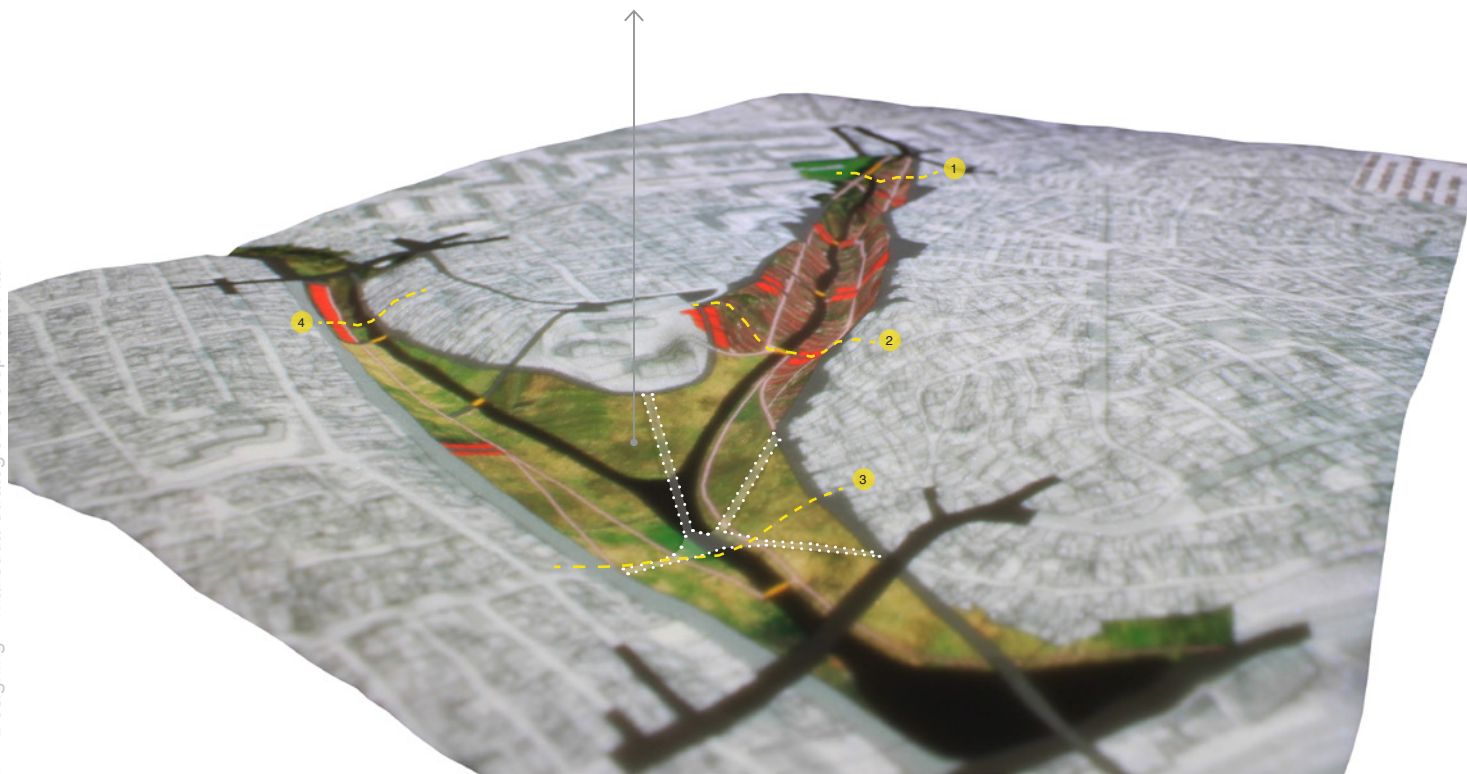
* Carriages are not allowed on all of Varna's roads, although they are an important cultural element of the Roma. The Strategic Development Plan acknowledges alternative types of mobility.

Fig. 184_ Strategic development plan for the neighborhood of Maksuda (map is projected on the 3D landscape installation)

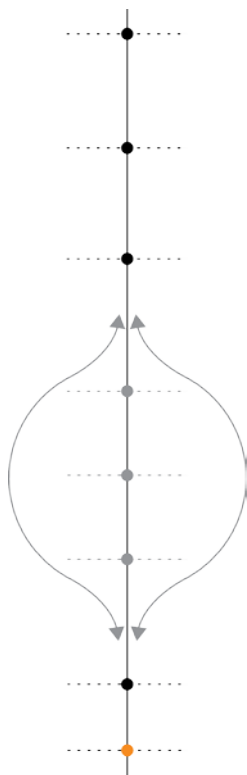# > 8.1. Designing > Maksuda Strategic Development Plan

Fig. 185_Conceptual representation of the design of Maksuda as Cultural Enclave

The Strategic Development Plan for Maksuda focuses on the socio-spatial integration of the Roma community within the Varnian society by the consolidation of an urban corridor. Continuity is an important element for the development of such an corridor, while along the corridor several community-based nodes are located. These nodes fulfill local needs, but as a result of their strategic locations they are open to interference from other communities. Such interference is key when considering public space as medium for integration as proposed in the operative landscape approach to initiate binding and bonding of social capital.

8.1.1. Design ethics
The design of the neighborhood strengthens the social bonds within the Roma community as it aims to create bridges between the different 'social islands'. The undefined open space of the natural drainage system crossing the neighborhood is envisioned as a new cultural landscape in which typical characteristics of Roma culture are embraced. The design therefor focuses on the facilitation of structures and elements to give direction and initiate new bottom-up developments, instead of the static provision of predefined elements of the National Roma Integration Strategy -housing, education, health and employment-. This follows my statement earlier that Roma in post-communist states are a community in transition. This process
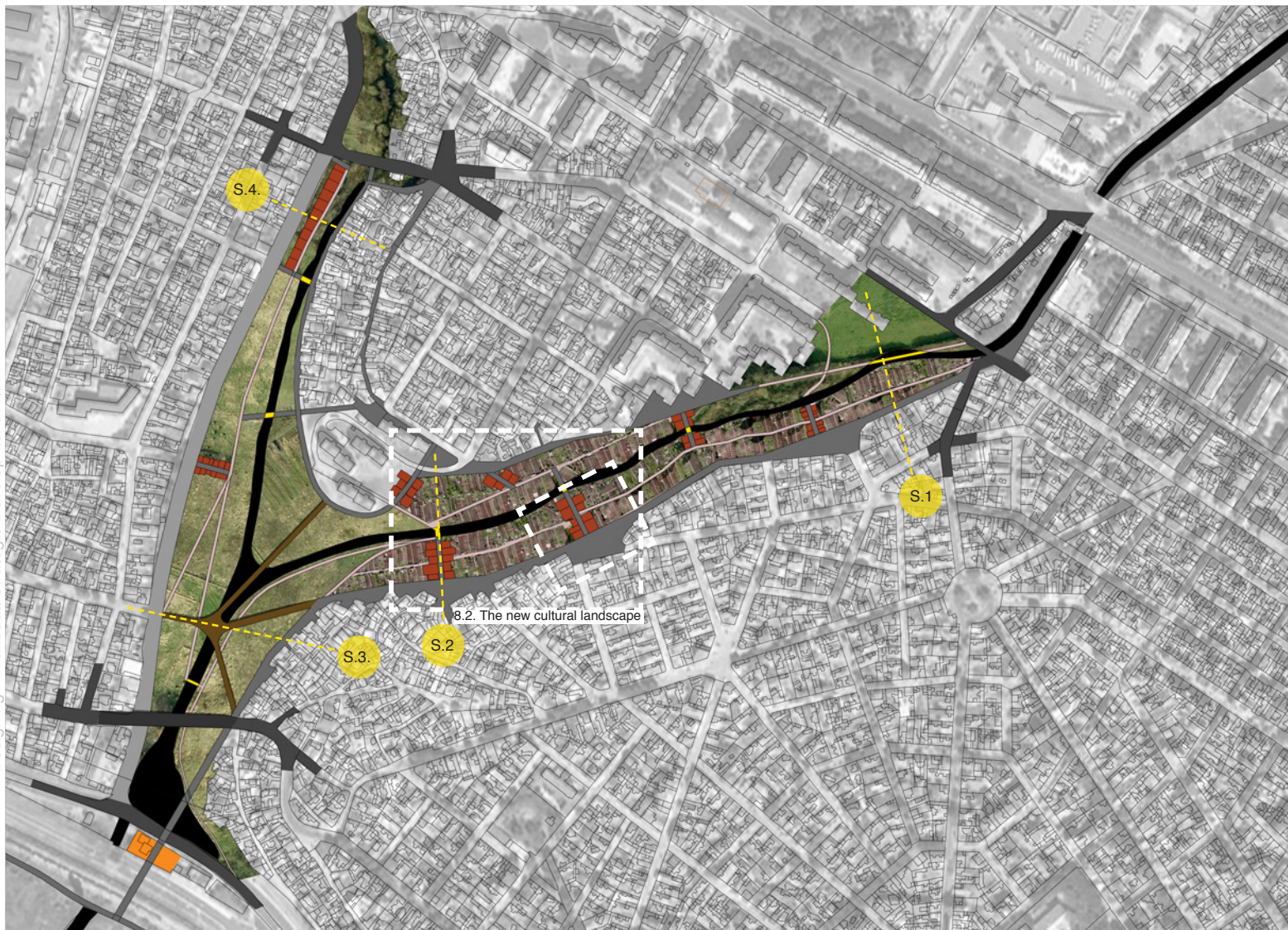
of self-definition of a new Roma identity in an urban environment is acknowledged in the design to move from vertical integration to horizontal integration. The design aims to spatialize two kinds of rights that are supposed to be contradictory: the preservation of the cultural identity of the Roma (the right to be different) is integrated as defining element within municipal urban developments to obtain full and equal participation in the Varnian society (the right to be the same).

The strategic goals for the socio-spatial integration of Maksuda therefore are:
1. In-situ upgrading of Maksuda. Limiting natural hazard and facilitation of landscape structures and programmatic elements to improve vulnerability.
2. Consolidation of Maksuda as Cultural Enclave. This consolidation is a self-initiated process that is guided by the facilitated elements of the in-situ upgrading.
3. Development of Maksuda as sub-centrality. Positioned along the urban corridor that connects communities and landscape into a new urban reality.

8.1.2. Functional analysis
The Strategic Development Plan for in-situ upgrading of Maksuda combines a variety of structures and elements to stabilize the landscape. These structures function as a spatial framework to guide social processes.

N

S.4.

S.1

S.3.

S.2

8.2. The new cultural landscape

0

0.5

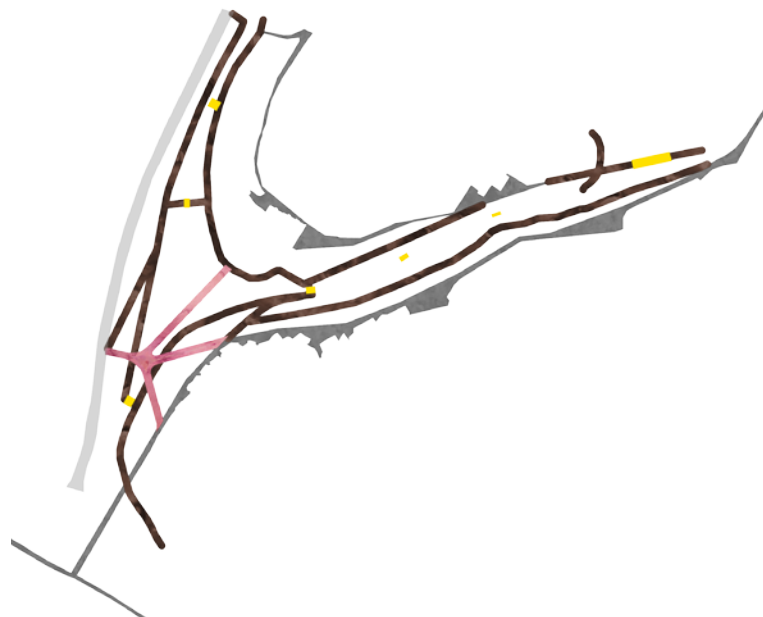1 km

'Urban balconies' with community stairs as programmatic clusters

Variable flood valley
Terraced slopes
Forested slopes
Integrated housing
Topographical smoothening

Fig. 187_ Strategic Development Plan for Maksuda (left page)

Fig. 186_Graphic representation showing the landscape stabilization types and programmatic cluster

Continuous pedestrian zone
Local 'rural' path network
elevated path structure
dedicated bus lane
pedestrian bridge

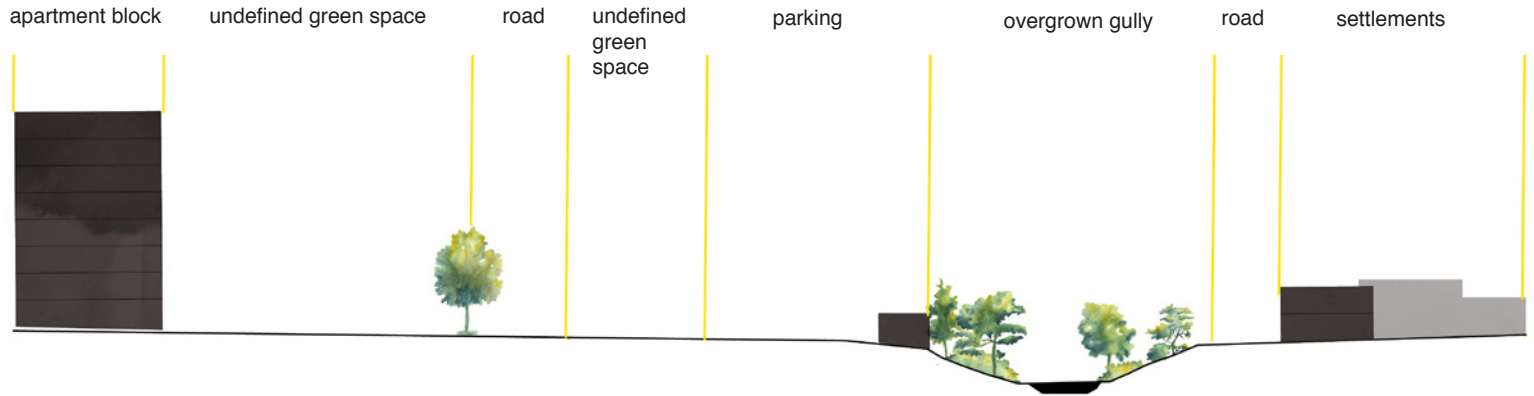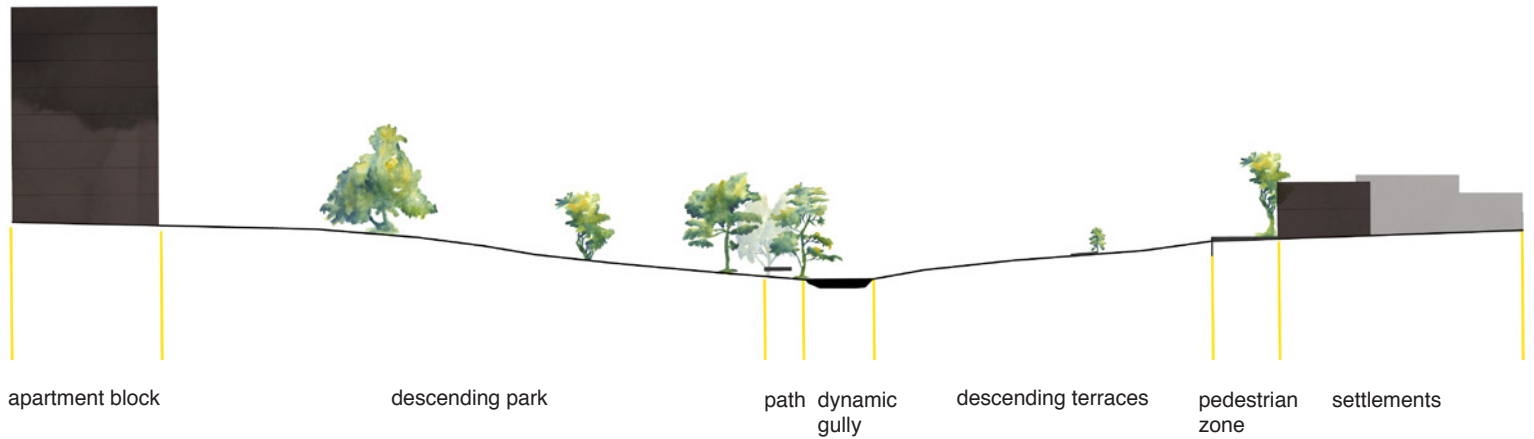*Fig. 188_ Graphical representation showing the new mobility network of Maksuda as part of the corridor*

apartment block   undefined green space   road   undefined green space   parking   overgrown gully   road   settlements

Fig. 189_ Section 1, existing

apartment block   descending park   path   dynamic gully   descending terraces   pedestrian zone   settlements

Fig. 190_ Section 1, proposed

> Designing > Maksuda Strategic Development Plan

undefined open space · road · 'ravine' · gully · 'ravine' · undefined open space
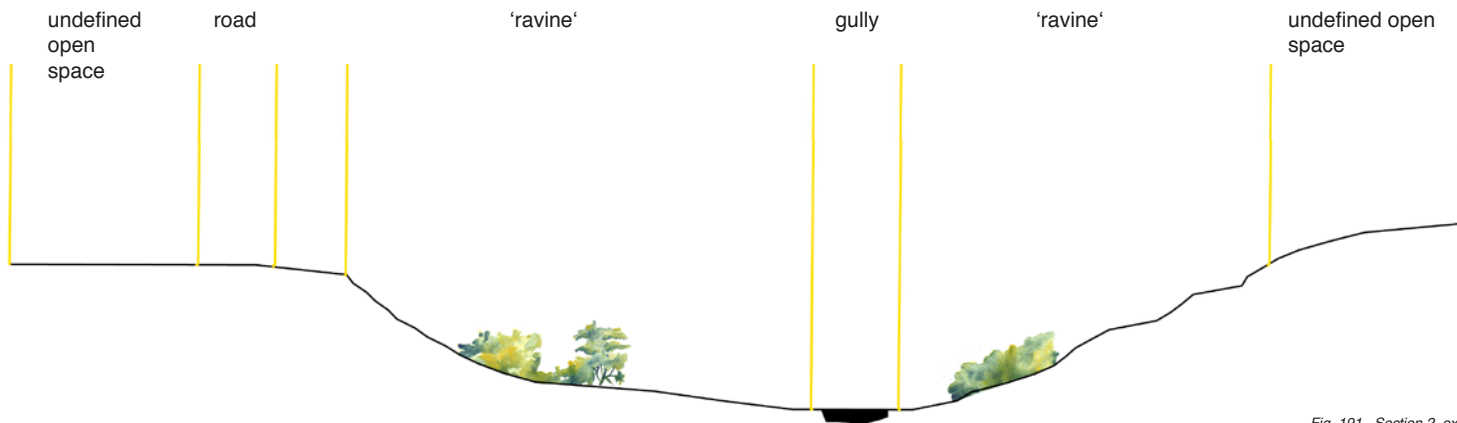
Fig. 191_ Section 2, existing

'balcony' · road · path · terraces · sand path · terraces · square · fixed gully · community stairs with private enterprises and public services · 'balcony'
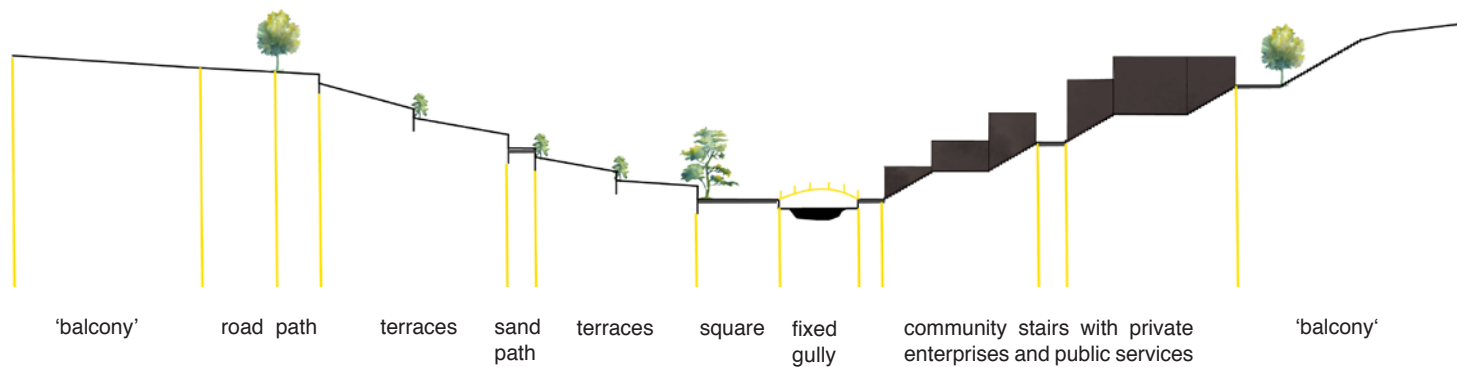
Fig. 192_ Section 2, proposed

entrance   secondary road   undefined open space with livestock   underground gully   undefined open space   path   settlements
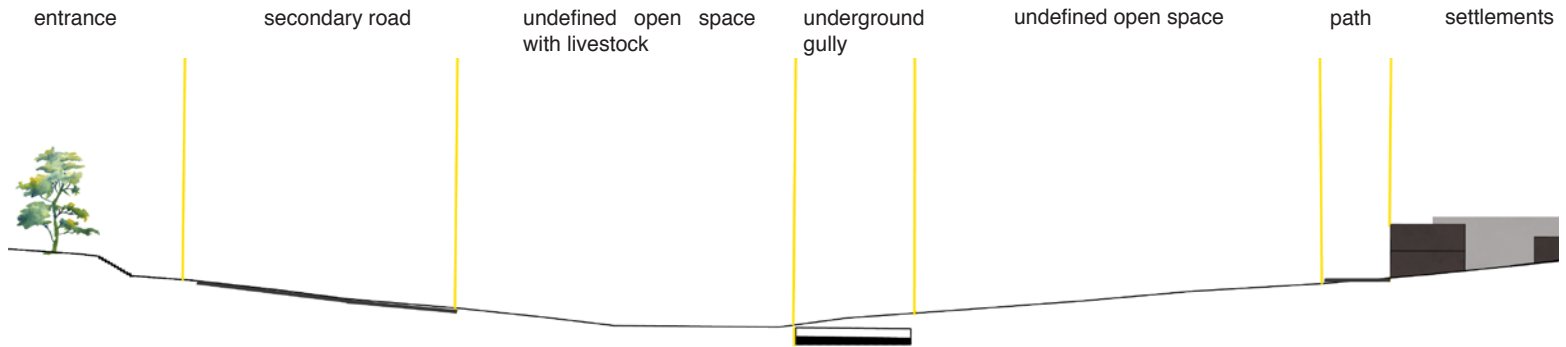
Fig. 193_ Section 3, existing

entrance   buss lane   defined meadows with livestock   dynamic gully   defined meadows with livestock   pedestrian zone   settlements
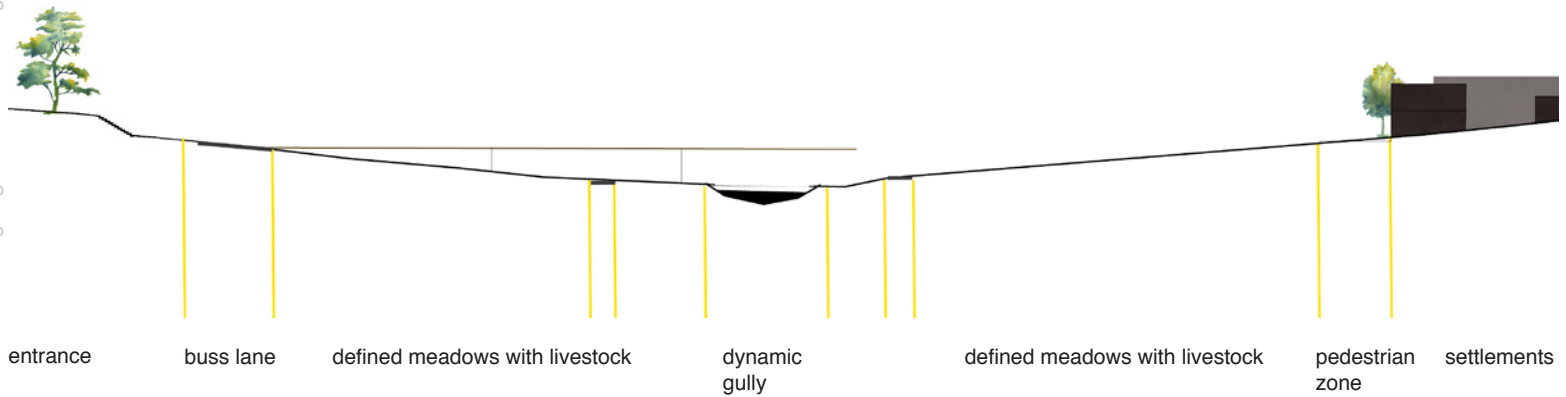
Fig. 194_ Section 3, proposed

settlements   secondary   steep ridge   fixed   settlements
           road   gully
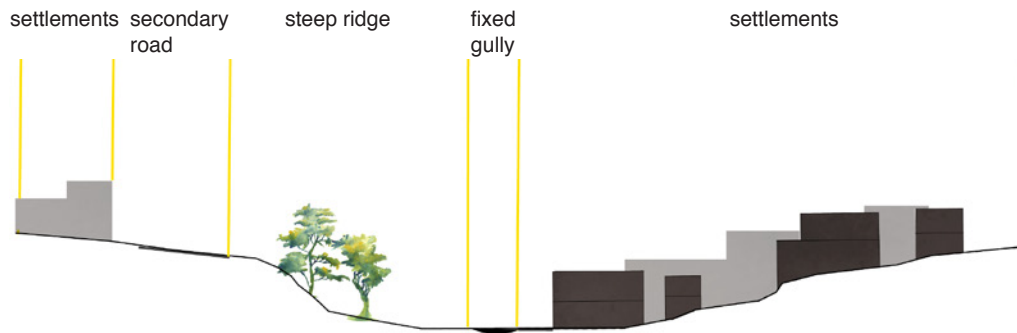
Fig. 195_ Section 4, existing

settlements   buss lane   new settlements   dynamic   settlements
                                             gully

Fig. 196_ Section 4, proposed   136

visual I: The new cultural landscape

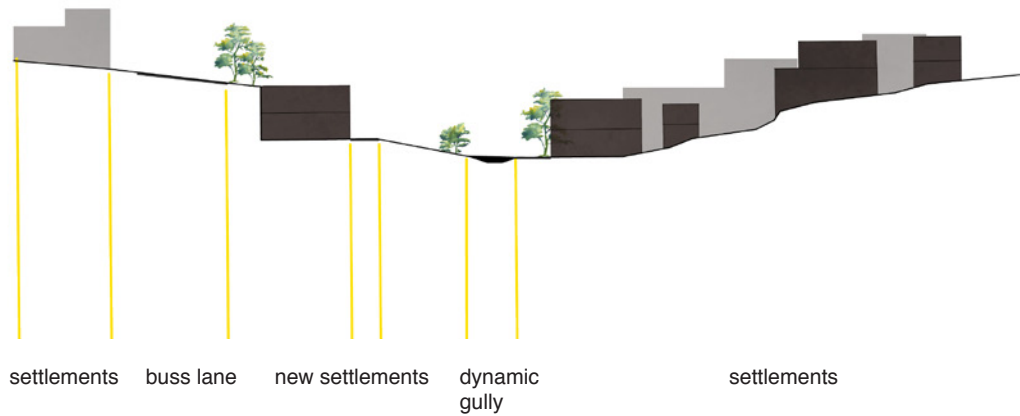0   50   100 m

Fig. 197_ Zoom of the Strategic Development Plan of Maksuda focussing on the new cultural landscape.
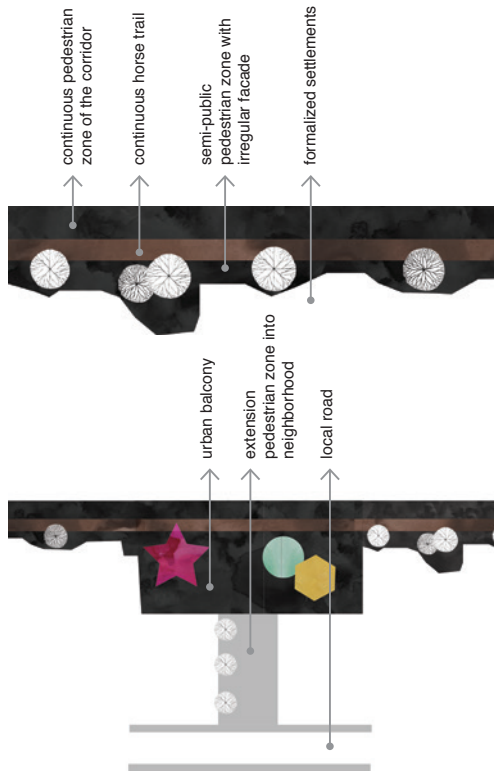
> 8.2. Designing > The new cultural landscape

continuous pedestrian zone of the corridor

continuous horse trail

semi-public pedestrian zone with irregular facade

formalized settlements

The pedestrian zone which is envisioned along the whole urban corridor acknowledges horses and carriages as an important mobility element for the Roma communities. The irregular facade of the informal settlements are accepted within the pedestrian zone by the creation of a semi-public zone.

urban balcony

extension pedestrian zone into neighborhood

local road

The urban balconies facilitate elements for public and private services, these functions are translated into the cultural landscape with the community stairs. The primary streets to the balconies are redesigned as extensions of the pedestrian zone, therefore no cars are permitted in the first degree streets leading to each balcony.

Fig. 198_ Conceptual representation to highlight the design principles of the pedestrian zone
Fig. 199_Conceptual representation to highlight the design principles of the urban balconies as cultural cluster

8.2.1. Design strategy

The zoom of the Strategic Development Plan for Maksuda highlights the integration of typical elements of Roma culture into the urban system. Urban household farming assumes different levels, the most common is farming in backyards and small private gardens adjacent to family houses. Household farming plays an important role in the food security of a substantial numbers of households, for a small group urban agriculture is an important source of income as products are sold on the streets.

The design facilitates a smart path structure which is capable to stabilize the slopes. It is important to note that the programming of the created terraces is not predefined but left open to the community. Community gardening has been described as a movement. It has the potential to lead members –both individually as collectively- to a range of activities whose scope is far beyond plants. Community gardens also provide new sources of income or income substitution. The local NGO Paisiy Hilendarski is currently implementing social programs combined with a farming model, however their farming plots are situated on the plateau. This design enhances the success of their programs, as new plots are situated within the community itself. The continuous path structure which integrates a dedicated horse track improves the connection of the Roma community with the plateau.
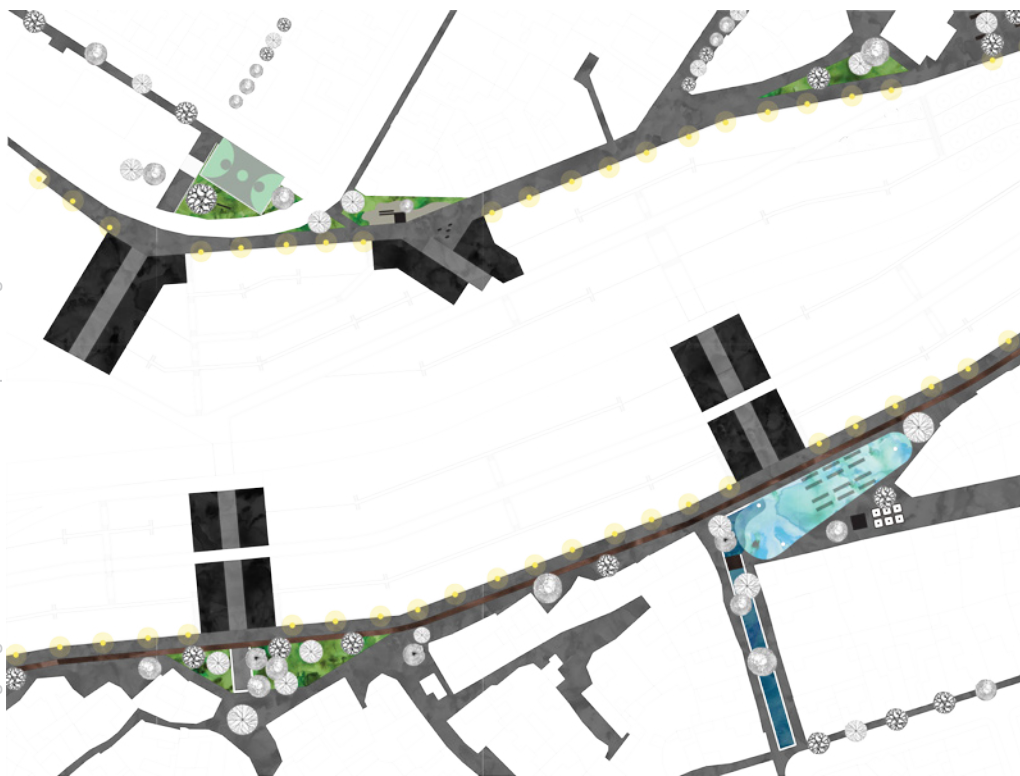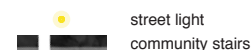
8.2.2. Design elements
Urban balconies
The urban balconies facilitate places and spaces to fulfill local needs of the Roma community. They are strategically located on the 'dead ends' of existing roads and play an important role in the stabilization of the natural landscape towards the built tissue. Each balcony is designed separately and in coherence with the functions that are located in each community stairs. For example the primary school that is envisioned in the in the northern stairs are positioned in line with the playground and sport facilities on the balcony. Light is an important element to guarantee full integration into the socio-spatial structure. Light has the potential to improve a positive attitude to the Roma community by ethnic-Bulgarian communities, and so generate new flows of movement through and towards the cultural enclave.
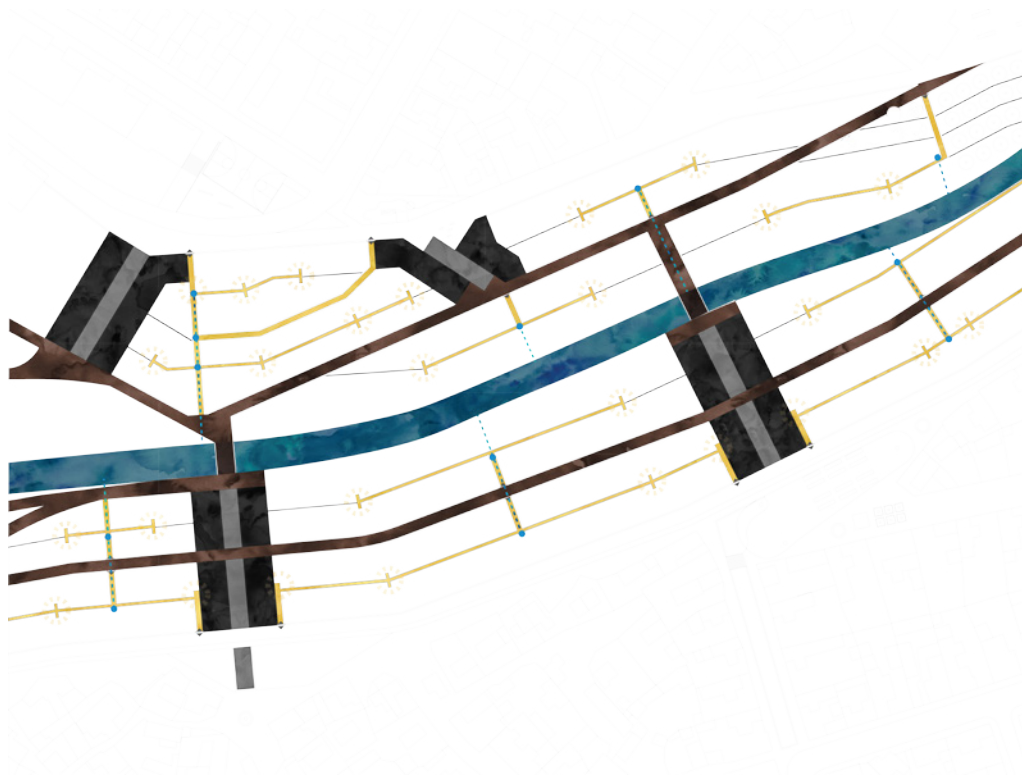
Fig. 200_ Graphical representation highlighting the variety of elements on the urban balconies and the position of the community stairs into the landscape

street light
community stairs

*Fig. 201_ Graphical
representation highlighting the
internal path structure*

Path structure

The community stairs are the dominant elements to connect activities along the continuous pedestrian zone into the landscape. The landscape is structured around a hierarchy of paths that stabilize the slope by the creation of terraces. The main walking path runs through the community stairs and is accessible for horses and carriages. The paths that divide the terraces into sub terraces are accessible from the pedestrian zone with small stairs next to the community stairs. Each terrace has a water pump connected to the gully.

main walking path (unpaved)
sub walking path (unpaved)
stairs to terraces
retaining wall
water pump

Land use
The Strategic Development Plan focuses on bottom-up initiatives to reclaim the new landscape. However the facilitated landscape structures aim to attract specific uses, therefore it is important to define open guidelines on the use of public space by the Municipality of Varna in dialogue with the community. The Urban Pact is an important document to reach consensus between all stakeholders on the use of public space.

Fig. 202_ Graphical representation highlighting the envisioned land use.

farming terraces
orchard
meadows (horses)
gully with bridges
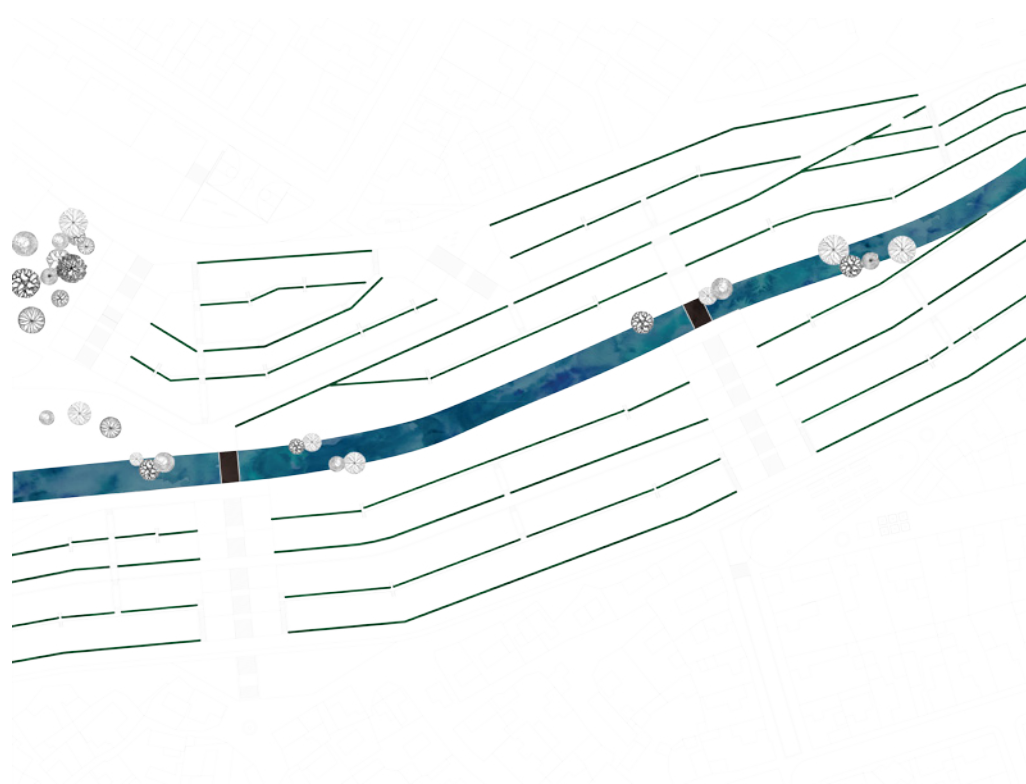
Landscape elements

The Strategic Development Plan for Maksuda is open to spontaneous elements. Hedges on the lower side of each path accentuate the internal structure of the terraces. Hedges improve the ecological value of the terraces, but at the same time they are a permanent edible element of the cultural landscape as the vegetables on all plots are seasonal elements. Hedges positively contribute to the experience as they connect all different stages of farming together. These hedges are the only predefined regulation for the use of the terraces.

The tree structure along the pedestrian zone and the urban balconies is defined; along the gully trees and shrubs will appear spontaneously.

edible hedges

spontaneous trees and shrubs

add picture of landscape model when 3d model is finished at CAMLab

Fig. 204_ The new cultural
landscape of Maksuda
(map is projected on the 3D
landscape installation)

Fig. 205_ Impression showing
the new cultural landscape
with farming terraces and
community stairs
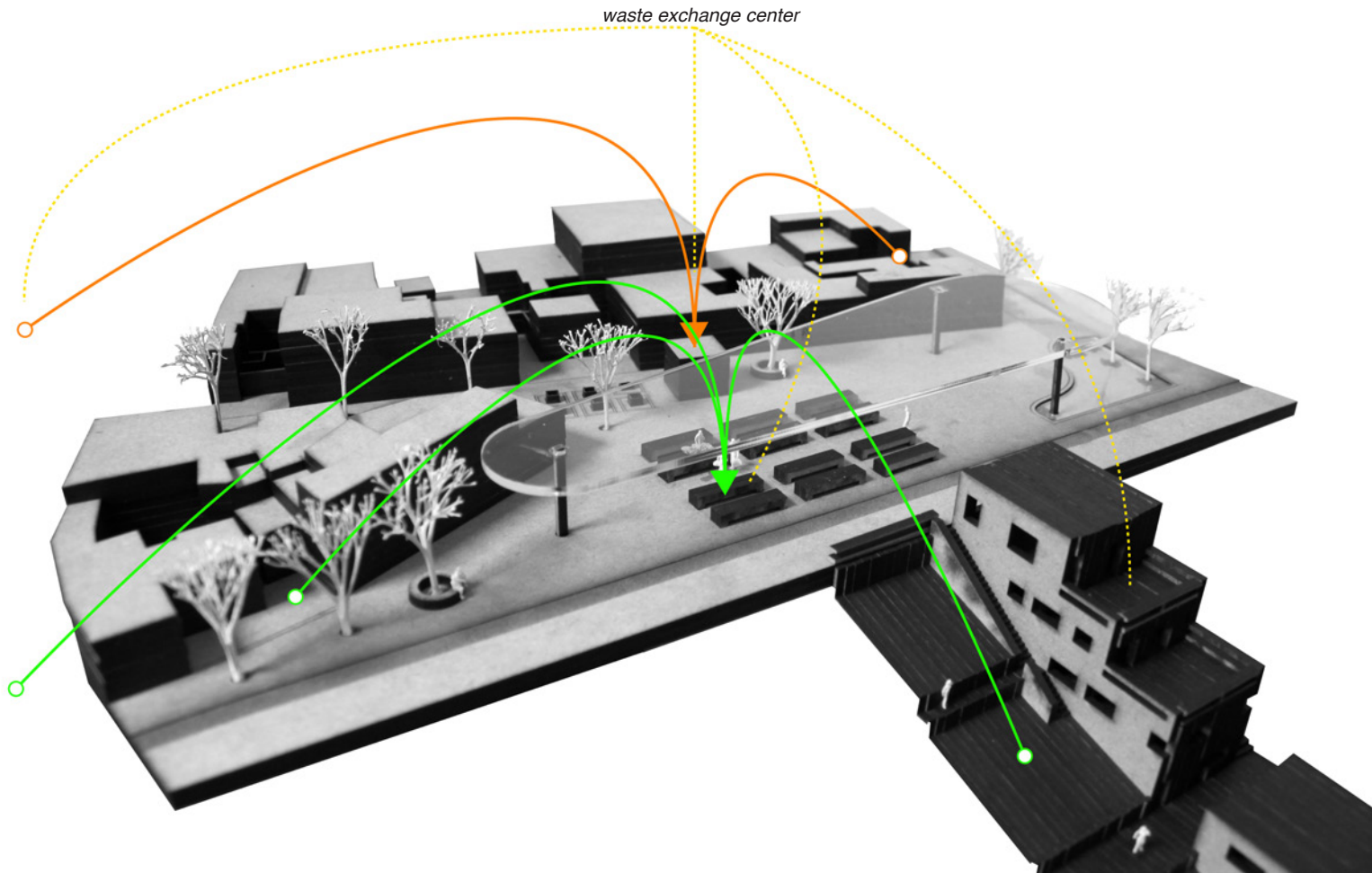
○———▶ agricultural products: from the terraces, backyards or plateau to the market

○———▶ waste: from the city or neighborhood to the waste exchange center

○- - - -▶ coupons: exchange of waste into services located in the community stairs or city

Fig. 206_ Architectural model of the 'Market balcony' showing new flows of goods and services

> 8.3. Designing > The 'Market Balcony'

Fig. 207_ Waste collection
Fig. 208_Household farming

8.3.1. New flows
The exchange of goods and services
To generate new flows along the pedestrian zone, functions are clustered on the balconies. An elaborated design of one of the balconies expresses the relation between activities on the balcony, the community stairs, terraces and elsewhere in the city. On the 'Market Balcony' two flows of goods are spatialized, namely agricultural products and waste. Both flows are an important element of the contemporary Roma identity. The collection of waste throughout the city for income substitution is a main activity for my Roma. However, there is no strategic model interfering of recycling companies with the Roma to buy these collected renewable resources. This leads to several accumulations of waste in the neighborhood, causing environmental pollution and stigmatization.

In the design of the 'Market Balcony' a strategic model waste exchange center is integrated. This 'office' connects several stakeholders such as the Municipality of Varna, the Roma community and recycling companies. This exchange center guarantees the Roma income, either in money or coupons. These coupons provide access to specific 'luxury' services located in the community stairs - such as a laundry -, products on the market, electricity, or services in the rest of the city. The market is a vivid element of the balcony and aims to open the informal market into the formal economy. The strong local economy is exposed on the market and visible for citizens of other communities as well as it is located along the urban corridor. The market is a display for the Roma community of Maksuda, but even so for other Roma communities of Varna. Agricultural products from the farming terraces and backyards can be sold, as well as products from the NGO farming fields on the plateau and handcrafts.

These stated socio-economic processes are important for the generation of binding processes, but the value of each balcony for the community is the provision of public space for cultural expression. As streets are small, the balconies provide open space for dancing and ceremonies. Thus generating bonding processes.

garages

waste disposal

Fence to keep distance from the ravine

Fig. 209_ Impression of current situation, streetview
Fig. 210_ Impression of the current situation, topview
Fig. 211_Elaborated design of the 'Market Balcony', flip-over

S.6

S.5

S.4

0   50   100 m

N

edible hedges on the lower side of each path

artificial wetland to store water locally
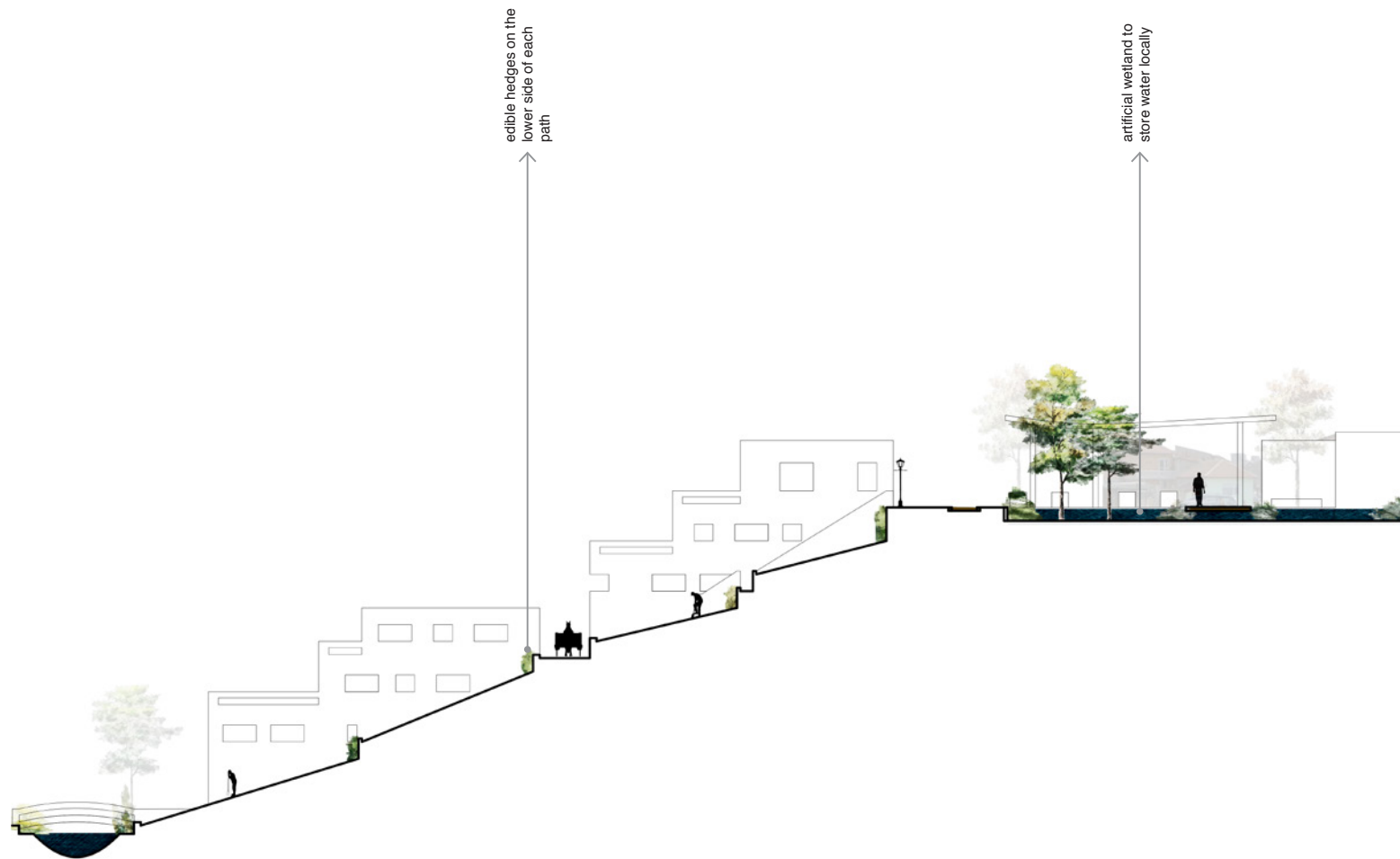
Fig. 212_ Section 4, agricultural terraces and artificial wetland to buffer rainwater on the square

buildings with
entrance to the stairs
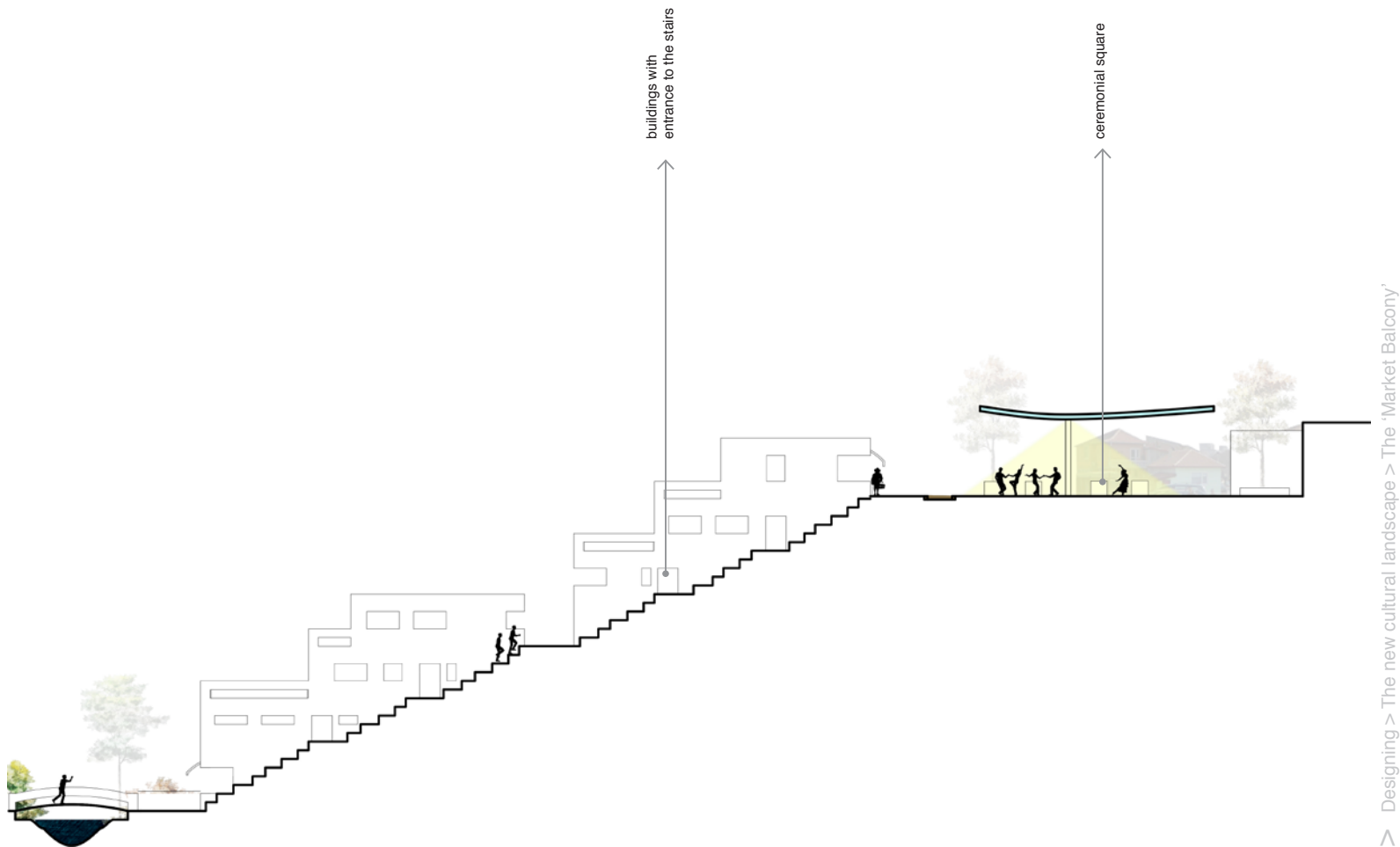
ceremonial square

Fig. 213_ Section 5, the
community stairs and
ceremonial square

building with entrance
to the path structure

market

Fig. 214_ Section 6, internal
structure of the community
stairs and the market

Fig. 215_ Visual II, impression of the market

Fig. 216_ Architectural model
highlighting the connectivity of
the community stairs with the
urban balcony

Fig. 217_ Visual III, the terraced landscape

9.1.1. Collective vision

The Strategic Development Plan published by the Municipality of Varna includes environmental interventions, improvements in (high-speed) mobility and housing constructions. However, it does not i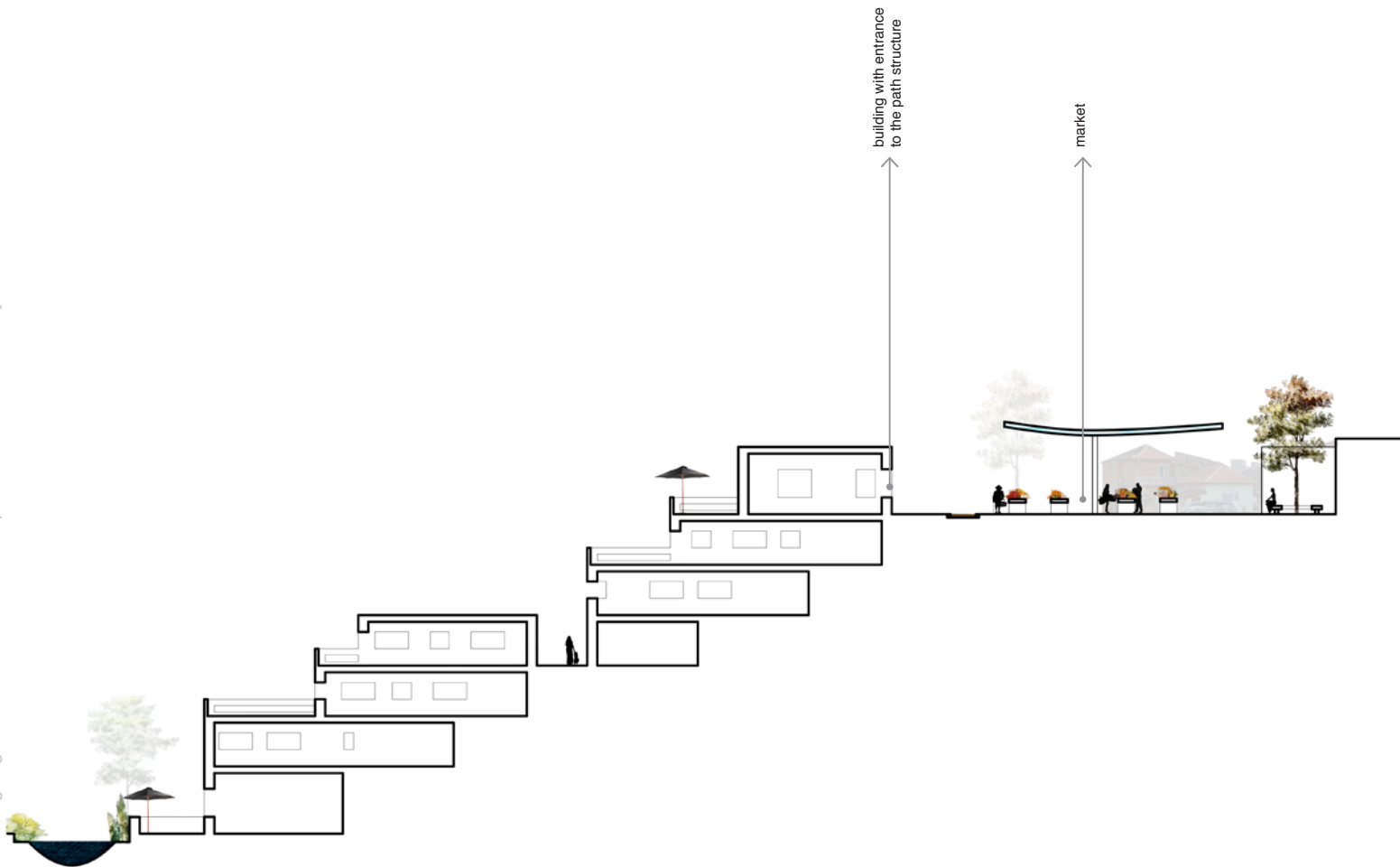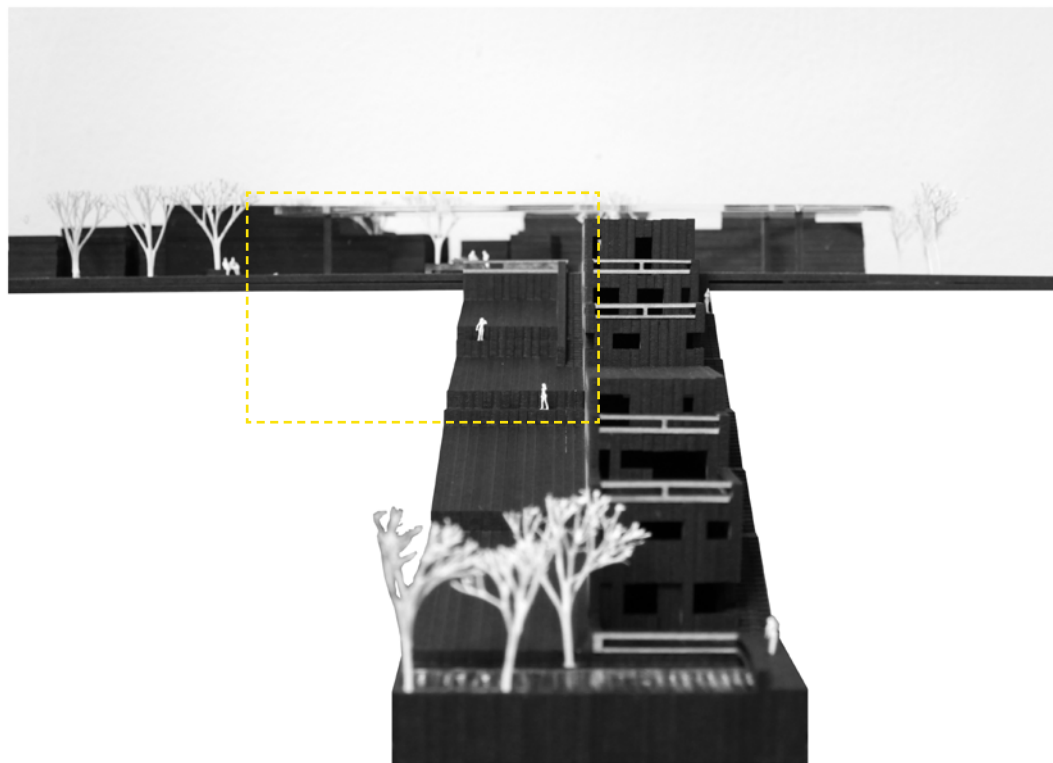nclude local and institutional development by considering local stakeholders and their specific demands. The in-situ upgrading of informal Roma settlements needs to be considered in a wider framework of socio-spatial integration into the formal urban tissue by the implementation of environmental interventions aimed at reducing both vulnerability and risk. The collective vision aims an operative landscape approach in which public space acts as a medium for integration. This creation of a public space system is positioned along the two main urban networks of Varna, mobility and the drainage system, which carry high potential as a framework to guide future urban development on local, neighbourhood and municipal scale considering physical and socio-economic interventions. The collective vision enables an integrative proposal in which linked aspects –Roma integration, urban water management, low-speed mobility and regional connectivity of the landscape-, are improved jointly to benefit from each other's potentials.

Formalization of this collective vision requires operative planning instruments, therefore a Urban Pact is proposed to link vision, action and communication by articulating stakeholder's expressions and make their human, technical and financial resource commitments explicit. For this thesis a Demonstration Project for the upgrading and integration of Maksuda has been developed in line with the proposed steps of the participatory urban decision-making process highlighted in the Urban Pact. The output of this proposal range from a revision of the Strategic Municipal Development Plan, the design of a cultural landscape on neighborhood scale for Maksuda as part of an urban park system/within a multifunctional urban corridor, and a local elaboration of the design to express the cultural and environmental-specificity of the design within the context of Roma culture and landscape qualities. The instrument of communication makes use of augmented reality to understand the impact of the strategy for the different stakeholders on a variety of scales.

9.1.2. Agreement (example proposal)

I. Preamble
Participants gathered in the present meeting recommend this Urban Pact for approval by the municipal councils of Varna, the provincial government of Varna and the National Government of Bulgaria.

II. Mandates and existing visions
The following mandates, agreements and existing strategic visions or proposals are to be considered:
International:
- UN:Habitat Agenda (focus on street-led approach to slum upgrading)
- EU-2020 Development Goals EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies
National:
- National Development Plan: Bulgaria 2020
- National Strategy for the Environment and Action Plan
- Bulgarian National Strategy Roma Integration
Municipal:
- Varna Integrated Plan for Urban Regeneration and Development
- Strategic Development Plan Varna Municipality
Local:
- Neighbourhood association pacts or agreements

III. Fundamental Principles
Potentials concerning the in-situ upgrading of Maksuda within Municipal Framework:
Spatial-environmental:
Extensive low-speed mobility network; natural landscape structure, improved connectivity due to proposal middle ring road
Social:
Strong social awareness, social movements, cultural diversity along urban drainage system.
Economic:
Industrial and commercial activity

Political:
Active NGO Paisiy Hilendarski

Constraints concerning the in-situ upgrading of Maksuda within Municipal Framework.
Spatial-environmental:
Conflicting spatial demands and interests of different stakeholders (e.g. informal settlement vs. environmental concerns in urban drainage system); spatial fragmentation and socio-spatial isolation of informal settlements); basic road, water and sanitation infrastructure; conflicting land uses (e.g. industrial/residential); environmental risks related to flooding, landslides and pollution.
Social:
High level of social segregation, Roma discrimination
Economic:
Lack of local employment opportunities, economic crisis
Political:
Recent shifts in political structure and planning approach from totalitarian to democratic, lack of housing policies addressing low-income housing, weak implementation, land tenure challenges.

Ongoing initiatives and policies:
Clearance and redevelopment of settlements at highest risk, stabilization of landslides on specific but non-coherent points.

Shared vision on the future:
Varna's potentialities in the water and social system can be combined to move towards an integrative city. The potential of the urban drainage system as spatial framework for the social system is acknowledged by approaching contemporary borders as corridors with the ability to connect structure, landscape and actors. Varna's inhabitants benefit fully from its natural richness, there is an active cooperation of the public realm with private investors.

IV. Commitment Package
Measures agreed upon:
- Formulation of Collective Vision
- Formulation of priorities
- Revision of Strategic Municipal Development Plan
- Forming stakeholder working groups
- Negotiation and agreement of action plans
- Design and implementation of Demonstration Project
- Implementation action plans, implemented by Varna Municipality in coexistence with local citizens.
- Monitoring and evaluation
- Institutionalization of approach: European, National, provincial and municipal government

Institutional set-up:
Steering group:
Representatives of all stakeholder groups, with special attention to socio-spatial integration of Roma residents, responsible for overseeing the overall project
Stakeholder working groups:
Working groups focusing on specific themes (e.g. housing improvements, flood measures, economic development, infrastructure)
Facilitator:
Neutral person who can mediate between the different stakeholder groups and who can investigate and communicate spatial solutions for the conflicts and interests at stake.
Advisory board:
Consisting of a variety of experts, academics and politicians not directly involved in the in-situ upgrading process and consolidation of the Corridor.

Communication mechanisms:
- Community consultations, workshops and awareness campaigns
- Working group meetings (results to be presented to Steering group
- Steering group meetings (results to be reported back to stakeholder groups represented)
- Planning workshops presided by facilitator in which spatial solutions are discussed with Steering group, Working groups, general local stakeholder groups and NGO Paisiy Hillendarski

V. Resources

        Financial:

European Union, National Government, Provincial and Municipal governments, NGO fundings

        Information:

Roma Source, ERGO Network for European Roma, European Union's Roma Decade

        Technical:

European Centre for River Restoration,

        Planning instruments:

A revised strategic development plan with a local elaboration focussing on Roma integration with a multi-actor and multiscalar approach considering the systems and actors involved in the different governance levels on landscape management, water management and in-situ Roma informal settlement upgrading.

VI. Monitoring and evaluation

This Urban Pact should be revised after the accomplishment of each strategic goal. The strategic goals for the socio-spatial integration of Maksuda are:

- In-situ upgrading of Maksuda. Limiting natural hazard and facilitation of landscape structures and programmatic elements to improve vulnerability.

- Consolidation of Maksuda as Cultural Enclave. This consolidation is a self-initiated process that is guided by the facilitated elements of the in-situ upgrading.

- Development of Maksuda as sub-centrality.

Positioned along the urban corridor that connects communities and landscape into a new urban reality. More specific agreements (e.g. on strategy and priorities) need to be revised more regularly throughout the process.

VII. Approval

Date and signatures of members of Steering group

occupation

occupation over unidentified
drainage system

industrial waterfront

identified streams
Cultural Enclave Maksuda
open waterfront

mobility

((shaped ring road system

X shaped ring road system

low-speed mobility

systems

undefined open space

forest strips: infiltration

green sponge: buffer
stream restoration

Municipal proposal   Revised landscape-based
proposal

*Fig. 218_Conceptualization
of the revised elements of the
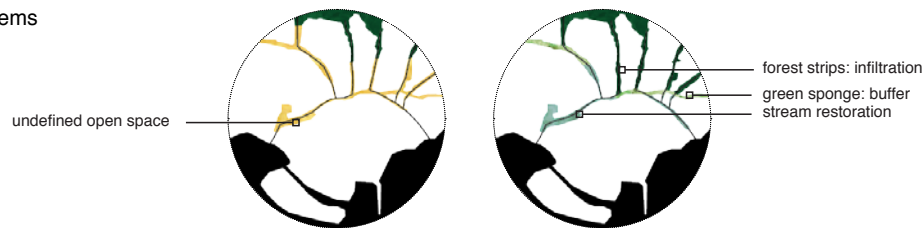Strategic Development Plan*

9.2.1. Framework definition

Revised strategic spatial planning is transformative and integrative. It is a socio-spatial process in which coherent actions are implemented to shape a place toward what it is envisioned to become. This is stated in the Collective Vision with the creation and management of special places in combination with inter-relational spaces among a network of intersections and nodes with different activities. This focus on the spatial relations within communities allows for a more effective way of integrating different agenda topics and therefore focuses on a limited number of strategic key issues for future developments.

The Roma are an ethnic community in a process of self-definition and have the potential to be acknowledged as an cultural enclave with value for future urban development. Therefore existing urban development plans should be effectively linked with the socio-spatial integration of Roma based on the objectives derived from the analysis and design in previous chapters. The revision of municipal planning strategies focuses on place-specific qualities and assets of the Roma and the urban drainage system in a broader regional context to define a flexible long-term vision-based framework with coherent short-term outcomes for the derived strategic goals.
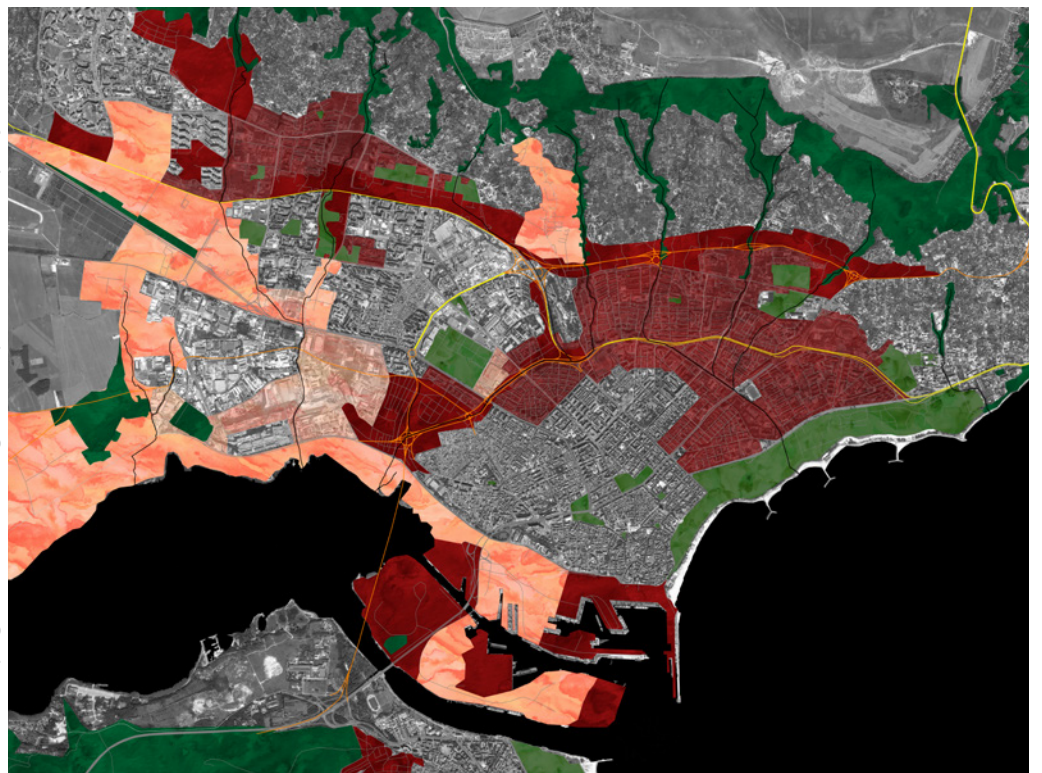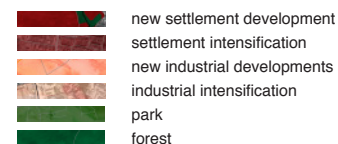
9.2.2. Comparative revision
Municipal Strategic Development Plan

The strong connection with private sector investments plans underline the contemporary reality that developments are envisioned on short-term returns and profits. This pressure from a great number of investors combined with competition between municipalities to attract investments and limited national funds to support the needed infrastructural development contribute to short-term thinking in the development of strategic plans. The municipality of Varna prefers to invest on personal development plans, without interferring with national development frameworks, such as the National Strategy for Roma Integration. Thus the Municipal Strategic Development Plan is predominantly focussing on economic strengthening of the city within a strategic spatial model, without acknowledging existing specific socio-spatial qualities.

0   5   10   km

Fig. 219_ Graphical representation of the Municipal Strategic Development Plan (based on the 2013 proposal)

new settlement development
settlement intensification
new industrial developments
industrial intensification
park
forest

Revised Municipal Strategic Development Plan
The revised Municipal Strategic Development Plan acknowledges the potentials in the socio-spatial structure of the contemporary city and uses the natural landscape as a framework to guide long-term developments while addressing short-term outcomes for the integration of segregated Roma communities. The revision aims at improving the experience of the surrounding landscape within the urban tissue and uses a system of parks to improve challenges with the urban drainage system.

Fig. 220_ Graphical representation of the revised Municipal Strategic Development Plan

new settlement development
settlement intensification
in-situ upgrading
new industrial developments
industrial intensification
park
forest
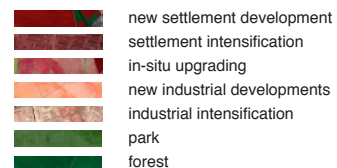
Proposed occupation strategy

The waterfront is envisioned for new industrial developments, which develop itself upward towards the northwestern edge of the city. New settlement developments are located in the old port, following the vision of relocation of the whole port to the west of Lake Varna. Maksuda is approached as relocation zone.

Fig. 221_ Graphical representation of the occupation layer within the Municipal Strategic Development Plan.

new settlement development
settlement intensification
new industrial developments
industrial intensification

Revised occupation strategy

The revised strategy for the development of occupation acknowledges the waterfront as ecological valuable element with the potential to be connected to the Primorski Park and the envisioned Urban Corridor. Therefore to space around the urban drainage system is excluded for occupational developments, to maintain space for river restoration and park structures. Roma communities are approached as specific urban agglomerations, which draw upon special attention for it's future development and socio-spatial integration.

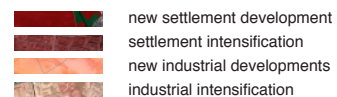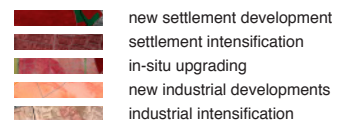*Fig. 222_ Graphical representation of the occupation layer within the revised Municipal Strategic Development Plan.*

new settlement development
settlement intensification
in-situ upgrading
new industrial developments
industrial intensification

Proposed mobility strategy

The main element for the proposed mobility is the addition of a new bridge over Lake Varna to create a by-pass and thus to relieve the city center from traffic problems. This addition of a new bridge implicates the development of an extra ring road. This ring road is envisioned along the relatively undefined open spaces around the urban drainage system, with Maksuda as new hub in the mobility network.

Fig. 223_ Graphical representation of the mobility layer within the Municipal Strategic Development Plan.

new main

intensification of existing main road

Revised mobility strategy

The revised mobility strategy follows the addition of a new bridge, however the continuing direction is different. The new ring road system within the revised strategy follows the natural topography of the landscape and the rather linear composition of the urban tissue. The adjusted shape of the ring road therefore aims to create a greater cover area within the city and at the same acknowledge the potentiality of the urban drainage system as socio-spatial framework for long-term developments. The revised mobility strategy integrates low-speed mobility in it's planning.

Fig. 224_ Graphical representation of the mobility layer within the revised Municipal Strategic Development Plan.

new main

intensification of existing main road

dedicated bicycle lanes

Existing green system

The Municipal Strategic Development does not address a vision on the green development. Therefore the existing green structures are inventoried. The inaccessible waterfront has potential as metropolitan park system and to be connected with the Primorski Park along the Black Sea. The relatively large amount of open spaces around the urban drainage system and main road system can have great value when combined into one system.

Fig. 225_ Graphical representation of the existing green structure

forest
park
inaccessible waterfront
undefined green space

Revised green system

The revised green system uses the natural landscape to solve contemporary challenges with the urban drainage system. In the vision the canalized gully system is restored. To restore the downstream gullies, water has to be strategically managed in upstream zones. The open spaces around the new mobility network, located on the edges of the plateau, are envisioned as buffer zones designed as artificial wetlands. The gullies on the plateau ridge are reforested towards these wing-shaped buffer zones. The reforestation of the gullies improves local infiltration.

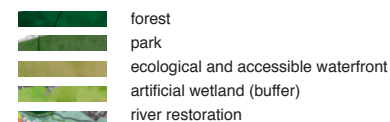*Fig. 226_ Graphical representation of the system layer within the revised Municipal Strategic Development Plan.*

- forest
- park
- ecological and accessible waterfront
- artificial wetland (buffer)
- river restoration

cultural bonding

dedicated horse tracks

parkway

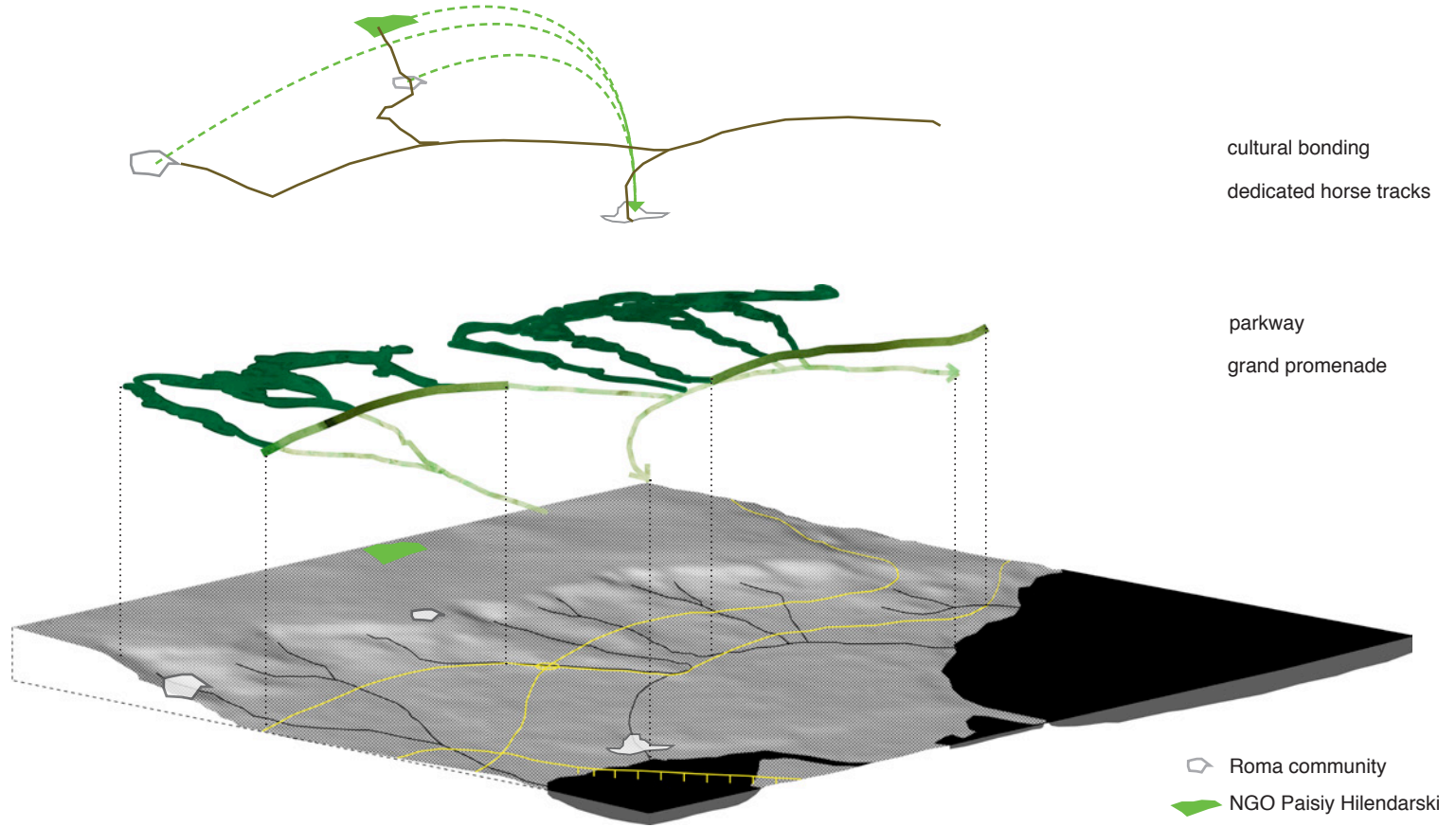grand promenade

Roma community

NGO Paisiy Hilendarski

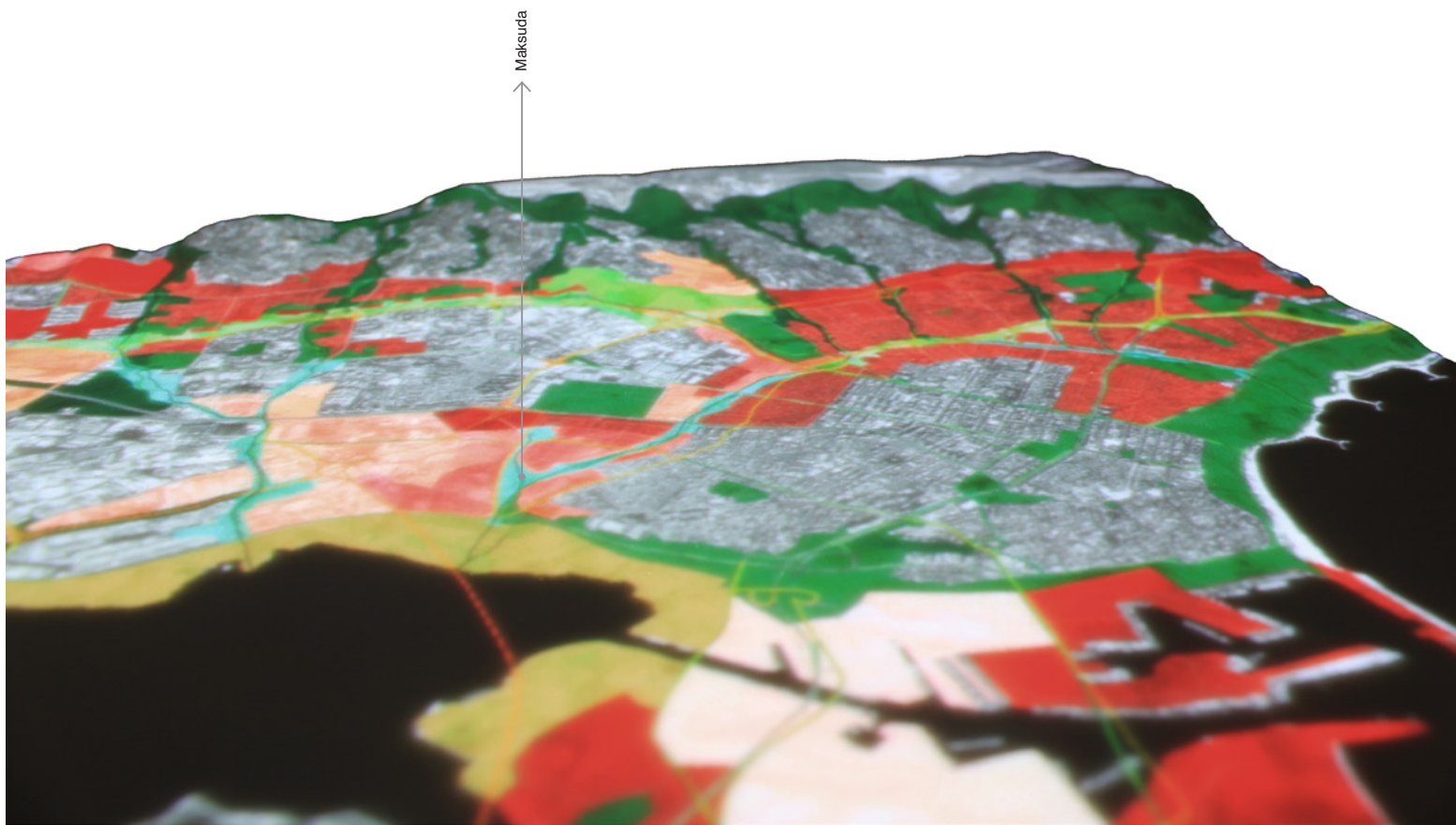*Fig. 227_New socio-spatial structures within the Revised Municipal Development Plan*

Maksuda

Fig. 228_ The Revised
Municipal Development Plan
(map is projected on the 3D
landscape installation)

> 10.1. Reflecting > Project relevance

The consolidation of Maksuda as Cultural Enclave with urban significance within a revised regional development strategy is one possible outcome. The guiding principles involved in this study process might be considered more valuable than the actually designed spatial consequences. Therefore this study is conducted with a reflection on a process, on the applicability of the process in similar urban contexts, on the change in attitude, in stead of lines of conclusions. This thesis positions itself in the debate on how to answer contemporary urban challenges.

A 'new' urban question rises in times of great crisis, with the disruption of the economic, social and institutional apparatuses. The current global crisis is as radical and meaningful as other crises in the past. In fact, even if cities have always been the place where difference is spatialized and therefore dramatically visible, today the phenomenon is even more evident, and the rich and the poor are less mingled than they used to be in the 'ancien régime' city. Increasing and increasingly visible spatial justice is present in cities all around the world. Therefore the relevance of this thesis is not fixed within the borders of the intervention, Roma community or post-communist state. In order to try to provide an answer to the new urban question we have to learn from each city and make that particular knowledge available to other as well. As an academic graduate in Landscape Architecture I have the responsibility to understand such socio-spatial processes and contribute to the contemporary city dialogue.

Spatial clustering seems to be an inevitably present element of the urban landscape, but it is not generally rejectionable. The subjects that have been approached in this thesis require a wider reflection on how the specificity of a place, of a community, can be read and understood, and how to translate a 'problem' into a design task. My fascination to start with this project highlights the need to be aware as Landscape Architect, Planner, spatial designer of your own position in relation to the other as we might tend to project our own norms in the analysis and design of spaces for communities that are labeled as 'different'. This thesis addresses the importance to acknowledge cultural differences and understand the specific local needs of a community and shows how something different can be something equally valuable. It provides a strategic socio-spatial development framework within which Ethnic Enclaves are valued for their diversity and considered as potential activators of underused spaces, redefining rights and obligations. This approach can also link to other habitants or give spatial conditions for other functions and define a more complex expansive and integrative socio spatial cohesion perspective.

The Roma, and other local ethnic minorities, ask for a new vision on the urban planning systems, whereby multi-cultural diversity and self-managing communities form the core of the urban development strategy. This thesis is an attempt to work with conflicting and potential relationships and connections.It builds upon policies and the local socio-spatial reality, by trying to initiate a process of horizontal integration which question about the relativity of the supposed contradictions between communities. There might be limitless ways to integrate communities within the socio-spatial reality of a city. Yet, the defining feature of every community is its connection with the landscape. Whether it is a park, a stream, a streetscape or a community garden, the public spaces where people can interact with each other have the ability to provide a shared sense of citizenship and tolerance. The thesis proves that the reappearance of public space as the forum for integration and interaction is one of the answers to the new urban question.

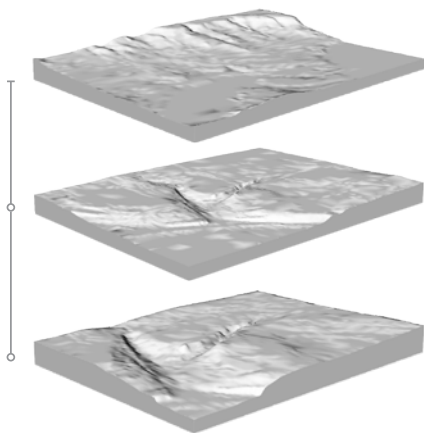## > 10.2. Reflecting > Augmented reality modelling

Fig. 229_Multiscalar approach in CNC milled landscape models (regional, district and neighborhood model)

Fig. 230_The installation

Models are an important form of visual representation within the profession of Landscape Architecture. To express the complexity of the Varnian landscape an augmented reality installation has been developed for this project as a means of visual communication to increase the understanding of both analysis and design. Augmented models consist of 'modes of operation' and include exploration, confirmation, synthesis and presentation (Nijhuis, 2010, 2012). The role of the installation in my design process was mainly presentational with the focus on effective communication of the several elements of the project to the audience. The dimensionality of the models strongly increased with static projections of digital visual representations such as maps and aerial photographs. The possibility to simply switch projections increased the functionality of the installation, as the possibilities are seem to be endless.

If public space is the medium for integration, then the landscape is our canvas

Fig. 231_Detail of the beech wooden base (45 x 34 cm). The landscape models (30 x 22.5 cm) are positioned in a sunken reclangle

Fig. 232_Detail of welded
copper frame

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PRIORITY AREA 1. Economic development
Strategic objective 1: achievement of inteligent economic development through providing favourable environment for entrepreneurship, raising the quality of education and scientific researches, according to the requirements of the economy, adoption of innovations and encouragement of investments.

Priority 1.1. Stimulation of entrepreneurship on the basis of knowledge-based economy
Specific objective 1.1. Raising the viability and competitiveness of the SMEs.
Specific objective 1.2. Supporting the development of priority sectors for Varna Municipality,
creation and building of clusters.
Priority 1.2. Improving the education quality
Specific objective 1.3. Providing accessible and high-quality education, through updating the education system and ensuring its adaptability according to the needs of the labour market.
Specific objective 1.4. Increasing the share of young generation secondary and high school graduates, according to the requirements of the regional, national and European economies.
Priority 1.3. Increasing the effectiveness of innovations and scientific researches. Supporting high-technology productions and services.
Specific objective 1.5. Promoting and developing the scientific and innovation activity for technology development in the enterprises.

Specific objective 1.6. Supporting high-technology productions and services.
Priority 1.4. Creation of favourable environment for attracting investments and stimulating the public-private-partnership.
Specific objective 1.7. Stimulating the public-private-partnership.
Specific objective 1.8. Creation of favourable environment for investments attraction.

PRIORITY AREA 2. Improving the quality of life
Strategic objective 1: Improving the quality of life through creation of conditions for effective employment, social inclusion, accessible and high-quality health care, culture and sports.

Priority 2.1. Providing opportunities for employment, reducing the poverty and encouraging the social inclusion.
Specific objective 2.1. Providing opportunities for employment, emphasizing on the youth employment and enhancing the labour incomes.
Specific objective 2.2. Development of social services and social integration.
Priority 2.2. Improving the health services, including during disasters and accidents.
Specific objective 2.3. Increasing the quality and effectiveness of health services.
Specific objective 2.4. Ensuring protection of people health and life, and the material environment

in conditions of natural disasters, accidents and crisis.
Priority 2.3. Development of culture and cultural institutions, enlargement and facilitation of the access of citizen to culture and arts.
Specific objective 2.5. Improving the conditions for development of culture and arts.
Specific objective 2.6. Enlargement and facilitation of the access to culture and arts.
Priority 2.4. Creating conditions for sport and full use of young people spare time. Prevention of risk behaviour among young people.
Specific objective 2.7. Creating conditions for full-use of the young people spare time.
Specific objective 2.8. Development of sport and tourism for raising the physical culture of the society.
Specific objective 2.9. Prevention of risk behaviour among children and young people on the territory of the city.
Priority 2.5. Development of civil society and improvement of institutional environment for higher effectiveness of public services for the citizen and business.
Specific objective 2.10. Improving the institutional environment through provision of accessible eservices.
Specific objective 2.11. Effective interaction of the municipal administration with the structures of the civil society.

PRIORITY AREA 3. Integrated territorial development

Strategic objective 3: integrated territorial development of Varna Municipality through building infrastructure networks and environmental protection and restoration.

Priority 3.1. Improving the existing and creating of new science and technological infrastructure of Varna Municipality

Specific objective 3.1. Consolidating and creating new municipal business infrastructure – High-Technology Park and Knowledge and Technology Transfer Centres.

Priority 3.2. Integrated development of new and modernization of the existing municipal technical infrastructure, for the improvement of the territorial connectivity and access to public services.

Specific objective 3.2. Stimulating the development of Varna Municipality for strengthening its importance as a city from the European Network of Urban Centres and the EU Eastern gate.

Specific objective 3.3. Building, rehabilitation and maintenance of road and street infrastructure in the Municipality and creating connectivity, corresponding to the needs of access to public services and traffic organization.

Specific objective 3.4. Improving the transport connectivity and the time for access to public services through environmental mass public transport system, in accordance with the project for integrated city transport in Varna.

Specific objective 3.5. Creating conditions for alternative ways of transport and new culture of public mobility.

Specific objective 3.6. Improving the energy efficiency, energy network development and enlargement of the use of renewable energy sources, according to the Strategy for sustainable energy development of Varna Municipality 2012 – 2020.

Specific objective 3.7. Effective enlargement and modernization of the heating network.

Specific objective 3.8. Identification of the process for improving the water and sewage infrastructure and wastewater treatment through building and enlarging the existing treatment facilities.

Specific objective 3.9. Ensuring broadband Internet access and overcoming the "digital isolation" of the sparsely populated areas in the Municipality.

Specific objective 3.10. Integrated development of the territory of Varna Municipality and village environment welfare.

Specific objective 3.11. Encouraging public-private partnership for the building of infrastructure projects on the territory of the Municipality.

Priority 3.3. Rational use of resources, environment protection and adaptation of the population to climate changes on the territory of Varna Municipality.

Specific objective 3.12. Priority application of monitoring for environment protection of the land and aquatory.

Specific objective 3.13. Protection from erosion, abrasion and landslide processes, prevention measures against extreme natural disasters and adaptation of the population on the territory of Varna Municipality to the effects of the climate changes.

Specific objective 3.14. Integrated management of the coastal zones and achievement of good ecological condition of the sea waters.

Specific objective 3.15. Priority funding of activities related to the prevention of waste formation, recovery, disposal and recycling of domestic and industrial waste and remediation of contaminated territories.

Specific objective 3.16. Supporting activities of enlargement of the municipal green system, aiming at reduction of the air pollution and improvement of the acoustic situation.

PRIORITY AREA 4. Cooperation

Strategic objective 4: Development of the potential of Varna through interregional, National and European cooperation

Priority 4.1. Development of the interregional partnership at national and European level.

Specific objective 4.1. Raising the cohesion of the agglomeration area of Varna through spatial and

functional integration of Varna Municipality with the closest municipalities.
Specific objective 4.2. Enlarging the collaboration with the European municipalities for
encouraging the public-private partnership in the transfer of good practices from the European Union.
Priority 4.2. Black Sea trans-regional cooperation
Specific objective 4.3. Fostering the creation of international networks for economic and social development, based on common resources.
Specific objective 4.4. Supporting the stimulation of international contacts and partnerships for the achievement of high level development of marine industry and tourism.
Priority 4.3. Development of European and Atlantic partnership of Varna Municipality.
Specific objective 4.5. European partnership for transforming the city of Varna into a cultural and economic centre in South-East Europe.
Specific objective 4.6. Fostering activities and projects which contribute Varna to become a competitive "European Youth Capital 2016" and "European Capital of Culture 2019".