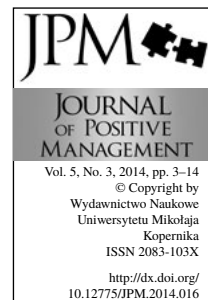


# RISK MANAGEMENT IN PROVISION OF CITY ATTRACTIVENESS

*Lienite Litavniece*

Rezekne Higher Education Institution, Latvia,  
e-mail: litavniece@inbox.lv



---

## Abstract

**Purpose:** Cities compete with each other in order to attract more inhabitants, investments, developed entrepreneurship and to provide constant tourist flow. As a result it stimulates city socio-economic situation's improvement. Though it is clear that in a continuous process of development a city meets various risks which should be foreseen before, carry out an analysis and, as a result, to avoid unforeseen situations that can make heavy losses. Within the ESF funded project's "Linguo-Cultural and Socio-Economic Aspects of Territorial Identity in the Development of the Region of Latgale" framework a research of city attractiveness was carried out. Within the project twelve criteria were formulated. With help of these criteria the city attractiveness can be evaluated from viewpoint of inhabitants. The aim of the article is to define potential risks to the twelve criteria of city attractiveness.

**Methodology & Approach:** On the basis of previously mentioned twelve criterions of city attractiveness, the author has defined potential risks for each of them. Experts ranged the risks within each criterion and as a result evaluated them using concordance rate.

**Findings:** After the first experts' inquiry by performing the data processing only in three criterions a concerted answer was received. This means that the rest of the criteria must be surveyed by experts repeatedly.

**Implications for Further Research:** This article shows the first level of the research. Within this level the first expert inquiry was performed and the data for further researches were obtained.

**Keywords:** city attractiveness, risk management, concordance correlation coefficient

**Paper type:** Research paper

---

## 1. Introduction

Nowadays under the influence of competition the role of risk management is more recognized not only in investment management but also in other spheres of entrepreneurship. Being aware that territories (countries, regions, cities a.o. administrative-territorial units) compete with each other about the attraction of inhabitants, investments and tourists, a deliberative risk management can result in competitive advantage and as a result develop more successful consummation of planned goals and facilitating the decision making within the limited city's budget.

This article is the first stage of a bigger research in order to find out potential risks that affect city's attractiveness in the viewpoint of inhabitants. It is planned that the final result of the research will be defined possible risks that affect city attractiveness within each attractiveness criterion and potential action in the risk derogation, taking into account its short-term and long-term consequences on city's socio-economic situation and development potentialities.

City management is a complicated process, which is influenced by normative documentations, political relations, successful realization of social politics and ensuring of future development. Risks impact all the fields of management. Awareness of risks and their impact can help to reach aims successfully and give evidence about practice of positive city management.

The aim of the article is to define potential risks to the twelve criterions of city attractiveness.

Advanced tasks for the attainment of objective:

- to study city attractiveness and risks' management theoretical aspects,
- to work out potential risks within each city attractiveness' criterion,
- to draw appropriate conclusions about the first step of the research and to define the next activities for the next stage.

Research methods: synthesis and analysis, experts' inquiry, and data analysis employing the Kendall's concordation rate.

## **2. Theoretical aspects of city attractiveness and risks management**

In the fast age of globalisation when the distance is not an unconquerable barrier, cities (this sense can be transformed also to other territorial units, for example, regions (in Latvia), federal states (in Germany and the like) as a state administrative builds as to their functions and achievable results are like economic activity where as the result is a high level of socio-economic development. In this aspect the long-term territory development is very significant. As a result of this new scientific researches appear and some of them are integrated also in the European Union's territorial planning documents.

One of concept that is now in the process of elaboration initially appeared in the second half of the 20 century and is associated with a concept "city attractiveness". In the scientific literature (Braun, 2008; Berg and Braun, 1999; Sinkiene and Kromolcas, 2010) and the European Union's policy and in the strategic planning documents of the EU (*The Territorial State...*, 2006; European Communities, 1999 and *Leipcigas harta...*, 2007) the concept of territorial attractiveness is mentioned more frequently by appointing necessity for such conception development and application in practice (Litavniece, 2012).

After studying available definitions of city attractiveness the author considered as more acceptable "city and region's quality that is a precondition for long-term local development". (Inception report, 2010). Being aware of the fact, that

attractiveness is a way how to strengthen the competitive advantage (Final reports, 2011).

The concept of city attractiveness predicts that every city has three groups of users – inhabitants, entrepreneurs, tourists and each of the groups has their own interest in the city which is characterised with various criterions (Van den Berg et al., 2007).

As in the concept of city attractiveness all groups of city users are taken into account, it should be developed also in the future and could be used as a basis of the city's long-term development planning document's draw up. Though, each long-term development is connected with decision making in the impact of limited resources, as a result of which many risks develop, which in short-term or long-term can affect the planned goals' achievement. Wherewith for full fledged process of elaboration of the development planning documents it is necessary to realize potential risks and take into account their possible impact and realize eventual results.

Explanations for the word "risk" can be found in Latin, ancient and modern Greek and also in Arabic languages and their etymological meaning is "something like riff". So if someone tries to reach e.g. an aim of a project which cannot or might not be reached in a way as the person has planned we are talking about "risk" (Ecker-Lala, 2010).

In the scientific and also in practical literature mostly risk management in financial institutions, entrepreneurship and the like is being studied, where potential risks and their spheres of influence are known, which appliance can help to overcome emergency situations.

In the context of city attractiveness researches of risk management are necessary because competence and appropriate decision making of them can help in promotion of city development.

### **3. Research style**

The basis of the research is twelve criterions of city attractiveness in inhabitants' opinion. Accordingly to that also the named risks are related to inhabitants as one of the city users' group.

The criterions were worked out within the ESF funded project "Linguo-Cultural and Socio-Economic Aspects of Territorial Identity in the Development of the Region of Latgale". According to inhabitants opinion the city attractiveness' criterions are: approachability and mobility; economic development, employment and inhabitants' financial welfare; quality, availability and approachability of health care services; quality, availability and approachability of social care services; education services' quality and availability; culture, sports and recreation services' quality, availability and approachability; ecological quality; collaboration in the community's life diversity; state and government guaranteed administrative

services' quality, availability and approachability; trade and services' quality, availability and approachability; habitation's availability and quality; physical security's quality and availability (Litavniece and Ežmale, 2012).

For each of the above mentioned criterion, on the basis of previously done researches (Litavniece and Ežmale, 2012), possible risks were defined that is relevant for the city's development and can affect inhabitants' interest about the city.

The inquiry of experts was performed in order to define potential risks for each of the city attractiveness' criterion. Four experts with corresponding knowledge about city attractiveness and city's development questions were chosen. Task for the experts was to range the risks within each of the criterions. They defined the most significant one and accordingly then the less important ones. For each expert's answer an evaluation sum was calculated (see Tables 1-12) and on the basis of that the author allotted corresponding rank within the criterion.

For each of criterion the Kendall's concordance rate was also calculated as shown in Formula 1 (Kendall, 1955).

$$W = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n \{a_{ij} - \bar{a}_{ij}\}^2}{\frac{1}{12} n^2 m(m^2 - 1)} \quad (1)$$

where:

W – concordance coefficient,

n – number of risks to evaluate,

m – number of experts,

$a_{ij}$  – i-the expert's j-that risk's evaluation,

$\bar{a}_{ij}$  – average value.

Value of the coefficient can change from 0 to 1. If the value of concordance coefficient is zero then there is no coordination. If the value is 1 the coordination is absolute. As a sufficient concordation's value assume W0.5 when it is considered that experts' consent is high enough (Kendall, 1955).

In order to calculate the concordation's coefficient it was necessary to calculate the average arithmetical value  $\bar{a}_{ij}$  as shown in Formula 2 (Kendall, 1955).

$$\bar{a}_{ij} = \frac{1}{2} n(m + 1) \quad (2)$$

Risks	Experts				Sum	Rank
	A	B	C	D		
Quality of roads surfacing in the city (city's road infrastructure)	8	1	7	2	18	4
Time that has to be spent to get from the city to other region's cities, the capital city, airport, etc.	6	5	1	3	15	2
The routes of public transport from/to other city/cities	4	3	3	4	14	1
Number of parking places	3	7	5	7	22	5
How often does the public transport leave from/to other city/cities	5	4	4	5	18	4
The quality of public transport	2	8	6	6	22	5
Diversity of public transport kinds from/to other city/cities	1	6	2	8	17	3
Framework of the city's roads (road, pavements' arrangement, how easy it is to get from one place to another within the city)	7	2	8	1	18	4

$\bar{a}_{ij}=18$ ;  $W=0,11$

Accessibility and mobility is important for the population, especially in access to services. The locality significantly affects investor's and tourist's interest in the city, which directly affects the socio-economic situation. The results show that there is no consensus among experts about the specific risks within the framework of the importance of this criterion, so it will be necessary to carry out another survey of experts.

Risks	Experts				Sum	Rank
	A	B	C	D		
City's gross domestic product's increase rate	6	5	4	9	24	7
Number of active enterprises in the city	9	1	2	3	15	2
Unemployment rate in the city	5	6	9	2	22	6
Employment rate in the city	7	2	3	6	18	4
Local government's support for investors	2	9	5	4	20	5
Number of highly paid work places in the city	4	3	1	8	16	3
Level of demographic load	3	8	8	5	24	7
Level of inhabitants' general satisfaction with the life in the city	8	7	7	7	29	8
Number of inhabitants who are out of town	1	4	6	1	12	1

$\bar{a}_{ij}=20$ ;  $W=0,24$

This criterion describes the macroeconomic situation in the city and is an objective indicator. Defined risks are linked. Consequently, the risk assessment of this criterion must be carried out repeatedly.

**Table 1.**  
Criterion 1  
"Approachability and  
mobility"

**Table 2.**  
Criterion 2  
"Economic  
development,  
employment and  
inhabitants' financial  
welfare"

**Table 3.**  
Criterion 3 “Quality, availability and approachability of health care services”

Risks	Experts				Sum	Rank
	A	B	C	D		
Number of medical specialists in the city	2	2	2	1	7	1
Availability of a hospital in the city	3	1	3	2	9	3
Satisfaction with quality and availability of medical services in the city	1	3	1	3	8	2

$\bar{a}_{ij} = 8$ ;  $W = 0,06$

Latvian health care system has a lot of unsolved issues relating to the quality, availability and accessibility. The results show a very low expert consensus in identifying risks. While carrying out the resurvey of experts it is necessary to clarify the certain risks.

**Table 4.**  
Criterion 4 “Quality, availability and approachability of social care services”

Risks	Experts				Sum	Rank
	A	B	C	D		
Amount of the social care budget	1	1	1	1	4	1
Types of social care services in the city	2	2	2	2	8	2
Satisfaction with the quality and availability of the social services	3	3	3	3	12	3

$\bar{a}_{ij} = 8$ ;  $W = 1,00$

There is a consensus among experts on quality and availability of social care service.

**Table 5.**  
Criterion 5  
“Education services’ quality and availability”

Risks	Experts				Sum	Rank
	A	B	C	D		
Accessibility of pre-school educational establishment	5	3	3	2	13	2
Qualification of educational staff	4	2	2	5	13	2
Diversity of informal education in the city	3	4	4	3	14	3
Variety of education in the city	2	1	1	1	5	1
Satisfaction with the education and informal education’s quality and availability	1	5	5	4	15	4

$\bar{a}_{ij} = 12$ ;  $W = 0,40$

There is no general consensus on risk assessment of quality and availability of Education service among expert opinions, and a re-evaluation of this issue is required.

Risks	Experts				Sum	Rank
	A	B	C	D		
Diversity of culture/sport events in the city	4	1	1	1	7	1
Offered culture/sport service's correspondence to the city inhabitants' interests/ nationality etc.	7	5	5	5	22	6
The fee at cultural events attendance	1	2	6	6	15	3
Leisure time spending possibilities in the city	2	3	2	2	9	2
Number of amateur collectives and their diversity	3	6	4	4	17	5
Appropriate space/ place for different events' organisation in the city	6	4	3	3	16	4
Satisfaction with cultural sport and leisure opportunities in the city	5	7	7	7	26	7

$\bar{a}_{ij} = 16$ ;  $W = 0,66$

**Table 6.**  
Criterion 6 "Culture,  
sports and recreation  
services' quality,  
availability and  
approachability"

Leisure time is an important criterion for the attractiveness of each city. Expert answers reflect a consensus on risk assessment. The lack of variety of cultural / sport events and inadequacy of events to interests cause most of the risk as well as the necessary funding for the attending of cultural events.

Risks	Experts				Sum	Rank
	A	B	C	D		
Drinking water quality in the city	4	1	1	1	7	1
Air quality in the city	3	3	2	2	10	2
Bathing-place availability and quality in the city	1	4	4	4	13	3
Satisfaction with the city's ecological quality	2	2	3	3	10	2

$\bar{a}_{ij} = 10$ ;  $W = 0,23$

**Table 7.**  
Criterion 7  
"Ecological quality"

The ecological risk assessment will be carried out again, because there is no consensus among experts.

Risks	Experts				Sum	Rank
	A	B	C	D		
Accessibility of information about participation opportunities in public / nongovernmental organisations in the city	1	3	3	3	10	2
Accessibility of information about public discussions in the city	2	4	4	4	14	3
Connection between local governments and city's inhabitants / entrepreneurs	3	2	2	1	8	1
Inhabitants' activity level	4	1	1	2	8	1

$\bar{a}_{ij} = 10$ ;  $W = 0,30$

**Table 8.**  
Criterion 8  
"Collaboration in  
the community's life  
diversity"

Risks in this context characterize the democracy level. The calculations show that there is no consensus among experts.

**Table 9.**

Criterion 9 “State and government guaranteed administrative services’ quality, availability and approachability”

Risks	Experts				Sum	Rank
	A	B	C	D		
State services availability in the city	3	1	1	2	7	1
Availability of local government’s services	2	2	2	1	7	1
Satisfaction with the local government’s rendered services	1	3	3	3	10	2

$\bar{a}_{ij} = 8$  ;  $W = 0,19$

State and local governments have to provide citizens with necessary administrative services. After the initial expert survey acquired results, it is evident that it is necessary to clarify the characterizing risks criteria.

**Table 10.**

Criterion 10 “Trade and services’ quality, availability and approachability”

Risks	Experts				Sum	Rank
	A	B	C	D		
Diversity of trade institutions in the city	1	1	1	1	4	1
Diversity and accessibility of services available in the city	2	2	2	3	9	2
Satisfaction with the trade and services’ quality and accessibility	3	3	3	2	11	3

$\bar{a}_{ij} = 88$ ;  $W = 0,27$

Trade and services are an integral part of people’s daily needs in the city. The re-survey of experts is required for the exact risk identification.

**Table 11.**

Criterion 11 “Habitation’s availability and quality”

Risks	Experts				Sum	Rank
	A	B	C	D		
Availability of habitation	1	2	2	3	8	2
Quality of the housing fund	2	1	1	1	5	1
Satisfaction with the habitation’s availability and quality	3	3	3	2	11	3

$\bar{a}_{ij} = 8$  ;  $W = 0,57$

Concordance factor is indicative of the expert consensus on the criterion in risk assessment. Not only the housing stock in square meters, but also the necessary financing for housing should be taken into account with the availability of housing.



Risks	Experts				Sum	Rank
	A	B	C	D		
Number of the state police employees in the city	1	3	2	3	9	2
Presence of municipal police in the city	3	2	3	4	12	3
Crime rate in the city	2	1	1	1	5	1
Satisfaction's level with the safety in the city	4	4	4	2	14	4

$\bar{a}_{ij} = 10$ ;  $W = 0,31$

**Table 12.**  
Criterion 12  
“Physical security’s  
quality and  
availability”

Safety is the main requirement of every man and the results of expert survey show that the risks affecting the physical safety are not defined yet.

Within each criterion the concordation rate greatly differs. In the criterions No. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12. The concordation’s rate is less about 0.5 which practically means that experts do not have unanimous opinions. In criterions No. 6 and 11 the concordation’s rate is 0.5 higher which means that these risks experts have accepted as significant as they can affect the city’s attractiveness. In criterion No. 4 the concordation’s rate is 1 which means that experts have united opinion.

#### 4. Conclusions and proposals

The author is carrying out a research on the basis of which expects to work out recommendations in risk management for cities’ governments which could duly help to notice any potential risks and perform successful management, by avoiding excess expenses and long-term effects. Each city has its most significant aspect of attractiveness. Realizing risks and their influence, by making the right decisions, it is possible to promote the city’s competitiveness.

The risk arrangement gives possibility to realize the most significant risks, accordingly paying more attention to them in the decision making process.

In the first stage of the research the acquired data showed that the potential risks which were suggested by the author within those three criterions (criterion 4 “Social care services’ quality and availability”; criterion 6 “Culture, sports and recreation services’ quality, availability and approachability”; criterion 11 “Habitation’s availability and quality”) are acceptable and it is possible to work with them further on in the process of risk management models’ development. It can be considered that these three criterions’ potential risks are defined because the concordation’s rate presents a high level of united experts’ opinion in their evaluations.

Criterion 4 “Social care services’ quality and availability” from the aspect of the city attractiveness characterises the socio-economic situation which can be evaluated both with social care budget amount and with social care services, with local government’s determined relieves for different groups of inhabitants.

Wherewith, also as potential risks the author has moved forward to this criterion. Accordingly the potential risks for this criterion are:

- amount of the social care budget – it indicates about the socio-economical situation in the city, the local government’s care and support to their inhabitants,
- types of social care services in the city – range of services offered in the city characterises the city’s opportunities in the social sphere,
- satisfaction with the quality and availability of the social services – subjective evaluation about the government’s support to inhabitants.

Criterion 6 “Culture, sports and recreation services’ quality, availability and approachability” from the point of city attractiveness is very important especially if considering human’s basic needs which is characterised not only with a need for work but also with necessity to relax. According to such apprehension the potential risks are:

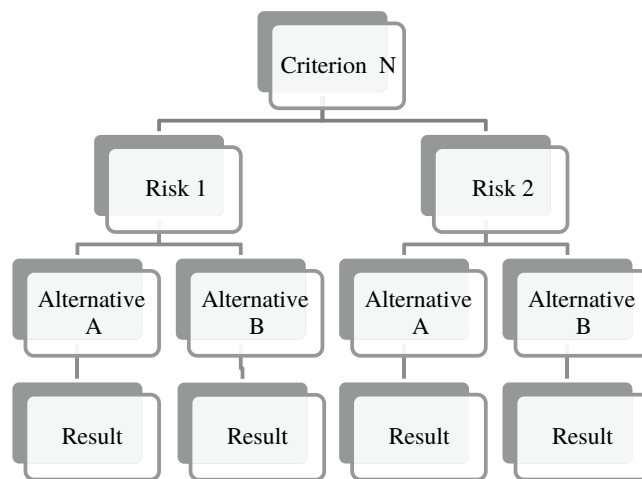
- diversity of culture/sport events in the city – by experts’ evaluation this is the most significant risk because the tastes of inhabitants differ and it is important that almost everyone could find any event to their taste,
- offered culture/sport service’s correspondence to the city inhabitants’ interests/ nationality etc. – this risk is slightly similar to the previous one,
- the fee at cultural events attendance – it is also very important to talk about the funding which the experts point in their opinions. The cultural events that are organised should correspond not only with the interests of inhabitants but also to their paying capacity,
- leisure time spending possibilities in the city – it is related to different kinds of sports, parks, bathing places and other recreation opportunities,
- number of amateur collectives and their diversity – it represents high level of activity and partly can be characterised as one of the free time spending opportunities,
- appropriate space/ place for different events’ organisation in the city – arranged cultural infrastructure promotes activity in local inhabitants and adds the city guests’ interest,
- satisfaction with cultural sport and leisure opportunities in the city – by development of cultural infrastructure the subjective evaluation has to be taken into account by planning the cultural and leisure events.

Criterion 11 “Habitation’s availability and quality” in the aspect of city’s attractiveness complies with one of the basic needs – need for home. A city is attractive if there is an available living-space which also complies with the requirements of established quality and comfort. Accordingly to the experts’ evaluation potential risks within this criterion are:

- availability of habitation – it is characterised not only with available living-spaces but also with the payment for them,

- quality of the housing fund – it is characterised with central water, sewerage system and heat supply,
- satisfaction with the habitation's availability and quality – the subjective opinion characterises the real situation in the habitation's sphere and in the aspect of quality.

In all previously mentioned criteria as one of the potential risks is considered to be the subjective evaluation which can significantly affect the image of the city. To all the criteria, mentioned above, considering into account the experts' coordination regarding importance of risks, alternative decisions, their influence and consequences can be developed (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1.**  
Model of city  
attractiveness  
criterion's risk  
evaluation (made by  
the author)

Based on Figure 1, after the expert resurvey, the author intends to develop potential solution alternatives and their consequences for each of the risks. This should be the basis for local government leaders in their decision-making process.

As the criteria No. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12 concordation's rate is lower about 0.5 in order to range these risks a repeated inquiry of experts will be performed. Wherewith, within this article more detailed analyses of them will not be done.

## References

- Braun, E. (2008), *City marketing: Towards an Integrated Approach*. ERIM PhD Series in Research Management, available at: <http://repub.eur.nl/res/pub/13694/> (accessed 8 September 2012).
- Ecker-Lala, W. (2010), „Risk management for enterprises”, *Hyperion International Journal of Econophysics & New Economy*, Vol. 3 No. 2, pp. 217–223.
- European Communities (1999), *European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP)*.

- Towards Balanced and Sustainable Development of the Territory of the European Union. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities*, available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/sources/docoffic/official/reports/pdf/sum\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docoffic/official/reports/pdf/sum_en.pdf) (accessed 10 September 2012).
- Final reports (draft), ATTREG, in: *The attractiveness of European regions and cities for residents and visitors*, ESPON, 2011, available at: [http://www.espon.eu/export/sites/default/Documents/Projects/AppliedResearch/ATTREG/DFR/ATTREG\\_DFR.pdf](http://www.espon.eu/export/sites/default/Documents/Projects/AppliedResearch/ATTREG/DFR/ATTREG_DFR.pdf) (accessed 6 September 2012).
- Inception report, ATTREG, in: *The attractiveness of European regions and cities for residents and visitors*, ESPON, 2010, available at: [http://www.espon.eu/export/sites/default/Documents/Projects/AppliedResearch/ATTREG/ATTREG\\_IR\\_final-revision.pdf](http://www.espon.eu/export/sites/default/Documents/Projects/AppliedResearch/ATTREG/ATTREG_IR_final-revision.pdf) (accessed 6 September 2012).
- Kendall, M.G. (1955), *Rank Correlation Methods*, Hafner Publishing Co., New York. *Leipcīgas harta par ilgtspējīgām Eiropas pilsētām*, available at: [http://www.eukn.org/E\\_library/Urban\\_Policy/Leipzig\\_Charter\\_on\\_Sustainable\\_European\\_Cities](http://www.eukn.org/E_library/Urban_Policy/Leipzig_Charter_on_Sustainable_European_Cities) (accessed 10 September 2012).
- Litavniece, L. (2012), „Kultūras, sporta un atpūtas pakalpojumi pilsētas pievilcības novērtēšanā: Ludzas pilsētas piemērs”, *Latgales Tautsaimniecības pētījumi*, Sociālo zinātņu žurnāla speciālizlaidums, pp. 117–143.
- Litavniece, L., Ežmale, S. (2012), „Pilsētu pievilcības koncepcijas pielietošanas iespējas Latvijā: Rēzeknes piemērs”, *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis*, 66 sēj. Nr. 1/2, pp. 20–34.
- Rēzeknes Augstskolā īstenotā ESF finansētā projekta „Teritoriālās identitātes lingvokulturoloģiskie un sociālekonomiskie aspekti Latgales reģiona attīstībā” materiāli.
- Sinkiene, J., Kromolcas, S. (2010), “Concept, Direction and Practice of City Attractiveness Improvement”, *Public Policy and Administration*, No. 31, pp. 147–154, available at: <http://www.ktu.lt/lt/mokslas/zurnalai/vpa/vpa31/147-154.pdf> (accessed 8 September 2012).
- The Territorial State and Perspectives of the European Union: Towards a Stronger European Territorial Cohesion in the Light of the Lisbon and Gothenburg Ambitions*, available at: [http://www.mrr.gov.pl/aktualnosci/rozwoj\\_regionalny/Documents/679aaa9c0c8a45d2ac328679635bcd64TheTerritorialStateandPerspectivesoftheEU20072010w.pdf](http://www.mrr.gov.pl/aktualnosci/rozwoj_regionalny/Documents/679aaa9c0c8a45d2ac328679635bcd64TheTerritorialStateandPerspectivesoftheEU20072010w.pdf) (accessed 10 September 2012).
- Van den Berg, L. (2001), „The Attractive City – Catalyst for Economic Development and Social Revitalisation”, in: Euricur Report, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, available at: [http://www.euricur.nl/content\\_assets/attractivenesscity.pdf](http://www.euricur.nl/content_assets/attractivenesscity.pdf) (accessed 10 September 2012).
- Van den Berg, L., Braun, E. (1999), „Urban Competitiveness, Marketing and the Need for Organising Capacity”, *Urban Studies*, Vol. 36 No. 5-6, pp. 987–999. DOI:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0042098993312>
- Van den Berg, L., Van der Meer, J., Otgaar, A.H.J., *The attractive city: catalyst of sustainable urban development*, in: *European Urban and Metropolitan Planning*, Proceedings of the first Opening Seminar, 12<sup>th</sup> October 2007, YTK-Espoo, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies Publication, C 67, pp. 48-63, available at: <http://www.euskomedia.org/PDFAnlt/congresos/16/16485491.pdf> (accessed 8 September 2012).