

TOURISM AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT IN VAMA VECHÉ AND 2 MAI

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Abstract

The touristic attractiveness of the southern Black Sea seaside has determined a chaotic urban development of the area in the last 20 years. Nonetheless, the development of the two sites, located less than 5 kilometers away one from the other, recorded significant differences. In this analysis, using the Bloomington School system of analysis, developed by Elinor Ostrom, one tries to explain the mechanisms that have determined the adoption of different development strategies in the settlements. The key for understanding the strategies chosen by the two communities will be the history of the specific institutional restraints, which will further determine the manner of referring to the seasonal tourists in the area.

Key words: local development, neo-institutionalism, transition, tourism, urbanism.

Introduction

The objective of this paper is understanding the way in which the changes that have occurred after 1989 determined the development of the southern Romanian seaside, in a relatively short period of time, in an unique manner. The dramatic change recorded especially in Vama Veche, as one will further see, can be accounted for by the different institutional structures¹ in the two examined places and the influence the institutional structures had when it comes to further development, especially in the field of building areas.

In the given context, one of the goals of this analysis will be to evaluate the conditions of the institutional changes in 2 Mai and Vama Veche and the impact these particular conditions have on the ways of changing.

The methodological option is centered on the analysis framework developed by “the Bloomington School”, the creation of Elinor Ostrom (1985, 1986, 1990[2007]) and we consider it offers an useful instrument for understanding and solving *collective action* problems. Based upon the Ostrom-model, the paper wishes to highlight the methods chosen by the two communities (2 Mai and Vama Veche) in the case of self-organizing and self-governing, in the context of common resource dependency, so later on will be able to explain the different state of development in the two coastal villages (Tașcu-Stavre, 2011 : p 10).

The prime merit of the initiative is considered to be that it has reached the profound symptomatology of the *Romanian transition*, with its acute dilemmas. In this context intuition was that Vama Veche provides fertile ground for the elucidation of post-communist transition's devious trail through the chance to have a relevant point of comparison at hand: 2 Mai, having, by 1990, a similar profile in the data's essential.

Main Content

As is shown, different *history* of reporting to *tourists* influenced by specific institutional context, will be key to understanding the different developmental trajectories in similar environmental conditions (both communities are beachfront). Basically, our analysis will follow chronologically how certain institutional features determine specific strategies of actors, and how institutional change occurs. At the end of this work we hope to cover a period of time sufficient to elucidate the mechanisms that develop in the southern part of the Romanian seaside. Analysis is not

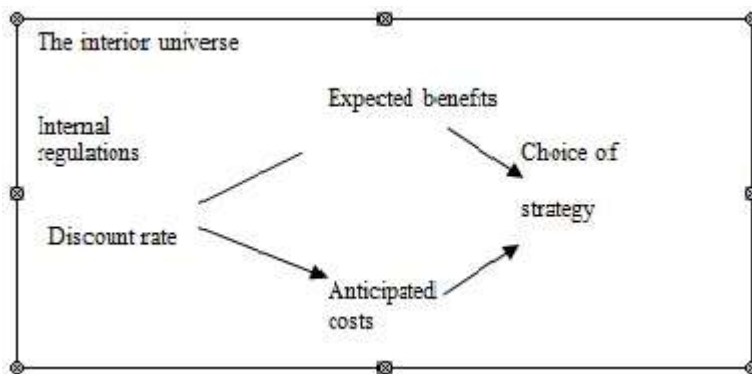
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¹ In the present demarche, following the outline traced by Ostrom (2007) and North (2003), I will consider the institutions as the formal and informal rules that the actors follow, the rules that restrain and regulate people's behavior.

an exhaustive one but is rather a summary of the findings of an approach that has spanned almost eight years of field research and concluded with a Phd thesis entitled *Approaches institutional transition in Romania. An analysis of institutional change in Vama Veche and 2 Mai*².

Methodological options for rational choice- type neo-institutional approaches takes into account the following considerations: it offers a broader conception of rational action, trying to explain the change in objective and subjective factors and rejects determined character of the society's becoming.

The exterior universe



Interior universe of individual choice (adapted from Ostrom, 2007: 51)

This diagram will help us understand why the strategies chosen by individuals belonging to the two communities are so different. Evaluating various parameters in the two communities, we can understand the influence of these factors for the election of different strategies that in turn will generate different future developments.

A key aspect for increasing overall benefits is the problem of organization. Moving from a situation in which the actors act independently, to one adopting common strategies is not easy to achieve. Choosing an effective method to solve this situation is not so easy to achieve. It remains to highlight what the chosen solutions are in the two communities together with the changes from 1989. We find that the two communities resort to a series of solutions (from privatization up to intervention of a third party state or other actor) and we can hardly say that the one of these solutions is better than another. Regardless, however, the solution chosen, privatization and free market or government intervention, we find that both in institutional terms concerns the establishment and use of institutions. This implies, according to Ostrom (2007: 55), credible commitments and monitoring. In our approach we will follow what institutions will change and what institutions will be preserved along with the changes from 1989. Analyzing this process I can draw some conclusions about the meaning of changes in Romania and to see how effective these changes prove to be.

Not always the solutions found are more effective in the use of common goods. Whether excessive use can lead to depletion of that resource or that only certain people benefit from a resource and manage to exclude others from accessing it, both are two examples of inefficiency. My study will examine, in a comparative approach, the solutions adopted and will try to highlight the differences between the two communities, following that the results offer a support for the area's future development policies. We are interested in how the two communities have solved the problem of the collective action and what types of institutions have offered the best solution to the dilemma of cooperation.

² The PhD thesis was presented at SNSPA (NSPSPA) in 2011 and is being published.

Up Until 1989

Following how the institutions will change after 1989 in the 2 villages by the sea, it is important to make a quick list of rules and norms existent in the two communities up until 1989. In our opinion, two types of restraints will influence the actor's strategies until 1898. It's about, on one hand, *constraints and natural particularities* regarding the access to the area, and on the other hand, it's about a series of *administrative constraints* that, as we are about to demonstrate, will lead to the adoption of different strategies regarding the reference to tourists in the case of the two communities (Taşcu-Stavre, 2011: p 134-139). For a detailed description of the history of tourism in the area I recommend the works of Maria Tirca (2004) and Simina Guga (2006) that have taken a series of interviews in the two communities.

First of all thanks to the *constraints and the features of the environment* we can appreciate that the *access in the area* is a *difficult* one. Situated at the southern extremity of the Romanian coast, at the border with Bulgaria, the access to 2 Mai and Vama Veche is difficult both in terms of *infrastructure* and *logistics*. In the absence of proper means of travel, the road to 2 Mai or Vama Veche constitutes a true adventure, requiring changing between different modes of transportation. The access to Mangalia can be achieved by train or by car. To reach the destination, the connection between Mangalia and 2 Mai was provided by buses with a relatively reduced frequency. In addition, it traversed a mobile bridge in the naval port of Mangalia, which could take a long while. In addition, in the '80s the access through the port was restricted and the access to the 2 villages was done by a road approximately 10 km long, which detoured around Limanu Lake, through Limanu village. The same treatment was applied to private cars which were going to 2 Mai or Vama Veche. The bridge that crosses Limanu lake today, and shortens the road by a few kilometers was built in the second half of the 1980s, being basically a simplification of means of transport in the area⁴.

On second hand, the *management constraints*, as we are about to demonstrate, will lead to the adoption of different strategies regarding bringing tourists into the two villages. Thus, in terms of *access* and *temporary residence* in the two villages: we can assess that access was virtually restrained to Vama Veche. Invoking the fact that the village is a border community, access and temporary residence in Vama Veche were restricted. There was a law⁵ stating that non-residents of the border villages must announce to the local authorities the purpose of stay⁶ and to the location where they can be found during their stay. Basically, with few exceptions, Vama Veche was inaccessible to non-residents. The law, although not restricting the locals the right to host non-local resident, by the requirement to announce the presence of strangers in their households will make impossible the development of tourist-host relationships similar to those of 2 Mai.

In conclusion, the options available residents of the two communities up until 1989 focused on the following activities:

- agriculture
- tourism

We consider that the two options are not exclusive, but alternatives that will complement traditional preoccupations specific to activities within rural areas and that aim to improve quality of life. Agriculture remains the dominant occupation, but with time, tourism will become *a source of additional income* obtained *seasonally*, especially in 2 Mai. On the other hand, in Vama Veche main occupation will remain *agriculture*.

⁴ From the discussions with local authorities, the link achieved by constructing a bridge over Lake Limanu aimed the route that was to link Mangalia to Vama Veche and had no easier access to the south coast in the area.

⁵ Decree 678 of 10.07.1969 concerning the regime of security of the state border Socialist Republic of Romania.

⁶ Generally were allowed visits from relatives or justified for job responsibilities (for work).

As we can see a number of differences between the two localities take form as follows:

- In 2 Mai – allowed access and residence → will lead to a relatively constant flow of tourists in the area → the beach will represent an attraction point and will be used for purposes of tourism.
- In Vama Veche – limited access and restricted residence → will lead to a poor and limited flow of tourists.

The Period between 1990 and 1996

With the summer of 1990, access to the two villages will no longer be restricted. This will open a number of opportunities for Vama Veche, which was practically deprived of receiving flows of tourists. If up until 1989, tourists had access only to 2 Mai, after 1990 they will gradually discover Vama Veche. The impact made by the changes in 1989 was captured and research by Miruna Tirca (2004) at the community level of 2 Mai. She makes the following observations on the changing flow of tourists from the two localities as follows:

“There existed the period of the first years after the revolution, gained by considerable popularity marked the place (2 Mai), which led to the inevitable attraction of new categories of tourists and visitors. There followed a period, up to the second half of 90s, when things seemed to follow the starting direction tourists continue to flow and expand the village buildings. But then the crowds followed the exodus into Vama Veche, starting with them the second half of the 90s, then an unprecedented development of this place. In 2 Mai, things have shifted, probably as a result of said exodus...” (Tîrcă, 2004: 89).

Regarding the life strategies, starting with the first years after 1990 can see a dependency of the 2Mai locals on the resources from tourism. During this period there is the "discovery" and "conquest" by tourists of Vama Veche with tents and continuing a tradition of accommodation hosted in 2 Mai. Strategies to attract tourists from 2 Mai, respectively the lack of a strategy from the locals in Vama Veche will lead to the following typology (Mihăilescu, 2005):

- *"backyard tourism"* - in 2 Mai - based on the hosts and the host's backyard where the yard plays an important role of social space between tourists or tourists and hosts.
- *"beach tourism"* - in Vama Veche - especially camping, based on self-management of resources needed for spending the holiday.

During 1990-1996, despite the fundamental institutional changes at the constitutional level, it will not substantially affect the life strategies of local people in the two villages from the waterfront. However, we can consider that, at least with regards to 2 Mai, *tourism becomes an important source of income* (even if seasonal), compared to resources gained from agriculture. In Vama Veche, *agriculture* will remain main trade and revenues from agriculture as a joint venture. Nevertheless, due to migration of a large number of tourists towards Vama Veche, tourism will be *an additional source of income* for a minority of residents. In the coming period however, significant changes occur in the context of increasing numbers of tourists in the area. (Tașcu-Stavre, 2011: p 167-170).

Planning the differences due to institutional changes, especially in terms of *access* and *residence*, we find that hosts are a preference for accommodations in 2 Mai and options for camping on the beach in Vama Veche (self-management – self-organization):

- In 2 Mai - access and residence is allowed → will determine an increased flow of tourists in the area → increase dependence on tourism during the summer season.
- In Vama Veche - access and residence is allowed → will lead to the discovery of the area by tourists → tourism takes place independent of local infrastructure and local people ("beach tourism").

The Period between 1996 and 2003

The period between 1996 and 2003 is not chosen randomly, but represents period of radical changes starting with the exponential growth in the number of tourists, chaotic urban development,

multiplication local stakeholders and the transition to a phase of conflict between them, especially in Vama Veche. This period can be considered to be one of spontaneous development. Through a *spontaneous development*, we refer primarily to changes in the structure and typology of housing and spatial growth of settlements, in the absence of urban regulations and constraints from local authorities (Taşcu-Stavre, 2011: p 170).

Amid the increased number of tourists both in 2 Mai and in Vama Veche, problems of housing and adequate tourist infrastructure development becomes a priority. The way to solve this differs in the two localities. In 2 Mai development occurs in a rather *incremental (through continuous adjustment of supply and demand)*, i.e the intensive use of existing space within the boundaries of the village followed by an extensive moderate development. In Vama Veche, however, there is a rather *chaotic development (extensive / intensive due to a uncovered request)* by extending the village borders and an intensive use of land plots for construction. The extension is done in successive waves which increase the surface area of the village a couple of times (see Annex I. 1). In 2 Mai, with the exception of the area from the southern end, towards Vama Veche and the areas close to the beach, the development is done mainly by the use of space in their yards, be it renovation and / or addition of one or more rooms, whether about building a new wing. In Vama Veche the situation is totally different: buildings are erected more and more, the most popular areas being near the beach. An important role is played by local authorities through a series of administrative measures, expanding Vama Veche village in successive waves, currently between 2 Mai and Vama Veche, the seafront being completely built-up area (see Annex I.1). Instead of measures and planning which takes into account local specifics which will pursue development in the interests of the local community, we will reach a emergence of urban infrastructure unspecific to the area (buildings with function, aspect and height different then that of the local one). Starting with '95-'96, it became increasingly clear that the accommodation infrastructure becomes unresponsive to the increasing flow of tourists in the area. If in 2 Mai both the local infrastructure and local practices have made the impact of changes to be a manageable one, in Vama Veche new wave of tourists coming in a relatively short period will cause an unplanned reaction and a chaotic development of the urban infrastructure. The increase in housing throughout the community can be seen in the statistics of Limanu

Years	1992	1996	2003
Housing from private funds	1180	1256	1620

(See Taşcu-Stavre, 2011 : p 174).

Thus, if between 1992 and 1996 the number of dwellings increased by 76 units, between 1997 and 2003 the increase is by 364 units. To a number of 1620 houses this represents an increase of 29%. Considering that housing increase in Hagieni is almost nil and that Limanu's growth was moderate, we can say that in 2 Mai and Vama Veche there have been the largest growth rates. The most spectacular impact will be recorded in Vama Veche, where the number of households will be in the 90s around 50 and increases about three times, recorded in 2001 a total of 155 dwellings. In 2 Mai, even though the increase was one just as spectacular as the large number of buildings emerged, the impact remains a lesser one by the fact that this village already had the highest number of houses before (Taşcu-Stavre, 2011: p 174-175).

The way to achieve this growth of housing was done as follows:

- *extensive* - by extending the buildable areas (increasing city limits sequentially);
- *intensive* - by intensive use of land (the advent of multi-level construction and occupancy of buildings of larger land).

Development of the two villages was made possible by the ease with which building permits were issued by local authorities and the lack of regulation appropriate for urban development needs. Basically, the two communities, but especially Vama Veche, "grew" horizontally (expanding built-up) and vertical (high density construction and high level). Horizontal growth was possible because

of the council's decisions to successively expand the limits of the two villages, while high density vertical increase of buildings has been possible due to individual initiatives to increase accommodation. In the absence of regulations to determine what and how to build (for almost 10 years), we are witnessing a radical change in the appearance of the two villages.

If some communities which are having a moderate development a number of issues concerning the use of outdated urban regulations appear, in the two villages, 2 Mai and Vama Veche, this situation has determined a chaotic development of the area, especially in Vama Veche. Urban regulations that operated until 1999 (the date on which the City Council will approve a new General Urban Plan) dates from the 80s⁷. Thus, instead of a development that would start with a General Urban Plan (GUP) and including a number of regulations that take into account local specifics, leading to sustainable development of the village, we had a situation in which the process that made possible the development of housing typically included the following steps:

- granting of land respectively restoration of property rights,
- remove land plots from agricultural purposes and passing them for use in expanding the city limits;
- issuing of construction permits based on existing regulations
- eventually developing a G.U.P. to legitimize changes and local urban organization.

Even if the changes produced in a relatively short period of time will affect both seaside towns, in Vama Veche the impact will be more pronounced. Here the number of new buildings will exceed that of the existing buildings, the percentage of buildings that do not comply with local specifics being higher than in 2 Mai, and the number of residents who have bought and built in the area by 2003 will exceed the number of remaining locals. Gradually, in Vama Veche accommodation offers will exceed demand and will lead to a conflict due to competition for attracting a larger number of tourists. The intensive development of the villages can be seen in the Limanu village's statistics showing how built surfaces look in the village.

Year	1992	1996	2003
Habitable area - mp	47.000	50.474	77.961

(See Taşcu-Stavre, 2011 : p 185).

We thus find that, during 1996 - 2003, built area increases by 65% for the whole village. But if we take into account that Hagieni and Limanu built area remains at a moderate increase, we estimate that 2 Mai and Vama Veche will focus all of this new added area. Considering that, as shown above a number of newly built houses from 1996-2003 represents 29% of the total, we have basically a situation where about 30% of the new buildings occupy 65% of the total built up area in 2003.

Summarizing, we find some elements that led to all this. First, the regulations from the past, particularly before 1990, did not allow the local community to benefit from tourism in the area similar to the locals from 2 Mai. As we have seen, even after the 90s, tourism in the area insignificantly influenced the community here. Second, many locals choose to sell land acquired or, moreover, found that restoration of property rights and land reform will benefit a lot of nonresidents (some from other villages in the commune, some not). Third, the expansion of the village will be in successive waves, resulting in increasing the surface area several times. In Appendix I.1 can see the old hearth of the village as well as its size compared to the current situation. To all this is added the way the local authority has responded. The absence of a local development plan, combined with old and outdated urban regulations will lead to an accommodation infrastructure and services that do not comply with local specifics and that destroy the image of the village. The City Council's position, through taken administrative measures, in particular by extending the buildable areas, and by

⁷ It is about the *systematic outline of Limanu pr.295/1980* document prepared by IJP Constanța.

releasing a large number of building permits, will favor this process of sub-urbanization. The fact that the vision of local development does not seem take into account the locals interests also results from following interview: *"The idea is that we should go ahead and organize Vama Veche as well as possible. Tourism goes on and life goes on. And those that do not like this place, I suggest you go to an island or somewhere else."* (the mayor apud. Guga, 2006: 79).

Synthesizing the institutional context in a comparative way, we find the following:

- in 2 Mai – the increasing flow of tourists ("backyard tourism") → liberalization of urban regulations and the possibility of private initiative → modernization of households will consider tourists demands → new buildings appear not complying with local specifics → determine extra revenue from tourism especially for locals

- in Vama Veche – the increasing flow of tourists → liberalization of urban regulations and the possibility of private initiative → massive investments among residents in land acquisition and new constructions → reduced earnings from tourism among the locals → new constructions appear not meeting local specifics and destructive the village image → determine earnings from tourism for nonresidents

The Period after 2003

Although a necessary step, the G.U.P. elaboration of the Limanu village started in 1999, which followed to evaluate the stage of development of the 4 localities and come up with propositions for urban organization with the goal of resolving existing dysfunctions; this in turn will constitute the source of new tensions.

On one hand, the proposed plan implemented in 1999 is inconsistent with the specific architectural aspects and local maximum height levels of buildings⁸, density or existent building topology. This plan not only legitimized the chaotic development up until then, but opened the possibility of continuing this situation in the future. The problem of the maximum height and density of buildings is not only an aesthetic issue, but raises more serious functional problems (overcrowding and "sub-urbanization"). In the absence of municipal infrastructure (roads, water, sewer, etc.), especially in Vama Veche, construction continued at the same rate would affect both tourism and the environment. It's mainly about the ability of the beach to receive far too many tourists⁹, but also the effects that the new buildings have on the environment in general and the natural reserve in the immediate vicinity in particular, given the lack of sewage (Taşcu-Stavre, 2011 : p 194).

On the other hand, the new G.U.P. not until the summer of 2003 obtained all necessary approvals to enter in effect¹⁰. Under these circumstances, the rules of local urban development dating from 1980, are included in the *Systematic Outline of Limanu Village pr.295/1980* prepared by IJP Constanta. Not only did 23-year-old regulations could not be a basis for local development, but they clashed with the recent legal provisions Law. 350 of July 6, 2001 concerning zoning and urban planning, which in art. 65 states that: "In the absence of approved county land management plans and general urban plans for territories, one cannot invest in construction, engineering works and utilities, as well as other urban investment.". Basically, the application of these rules condition local development of rational land use management measures contained in the PUG. Unfortunately, not only in Limanu, until such legislation of urban development, there were no coordination of various policies in an integrated framework. This process, in which they distributed land, they built houses after which the utilities issue is resolved , finally led to a series of failures as we detailed in the

⁸ For example, the ability to build in the area of the seafront on 5-6 levels.

⁹ Tourism Ministerial Order no. 485 on 15.05.2009 on the use of beaches for tourism purposes states that it is necessary to ensure a 5 mp of beach per person.

¹⁰ Not incidentally was missing even the environmental permit.

previous chapter. This is the reason why in September 2003 “Mișcarea Salvați Vama Veche”¹¹ notifies the Prime Minister's Control Department for violation of legislation in the field of urbanism. Following a review of the State Construction Inspectorate in November the same year, we obtain the annulment of using PUG Limanu and suspension of the right to issue building permits to develop a new plan. In April 2004 will be held and will be financed by the Ministry of Public Works and Housing an auction to develop a new G.U.P. plan that would take into account the specifics of the four localities (Limanu Hagieni, 2 Mai and Vama Veche) and which for the first time in Romania, contains a sociological study and recommendations on the sustainable development of area¹². Although the urban plan was developed in 2005, is not in use even today, as it covered all administrative steps necessary for it's entry into effect¹³. Under these conditions, the urban development of the village continues, without taking into account the legal regulations, in the area being constructed over the last years just as much as until now. Thus, both on the number of emerging households and built area, there are recorded significant increases according to statistics

Year	1992	1996	2003	2007
Number of houses from private funds	1180	1256	1620	1826

Year	1992	1996	2003	2007
Habitable area – sq.m	47.000	50.474	77.961	97.223

(See Tașcu-Stavre, 2011 : p 206).

Basically, between 2003 - 2007, when issuing building licenses was prohibited, there are still about 200 new homes, built areas (after new construction or enlargement of existing ones) increasing by approximately 20,000 square meters. Compared to 1992, the village's built living space is doubled, rising from 47,000 to 97,000 square meters. The spectacular development of built space is recorded in Vama Veche, where we recorded the largest number of new construction.

Synthesizing the institutional context in a comparative way, we find the following:

- in 2 Mai - stabilization the flow of tourists ("backyard tourism") → regulations governing administration of the beach and the natural reserve → ban issuance of building permits → development of a new G.U.P. → moderate development of new buildings → growth of the locals dependency of the tourist season;
- In Vama Veche - increasing flow of tourists ("bedroom tourism") → intervention of “Salvați Vama Veche” → new regulations concerning the management the nature reserve → ban on issuing construction permits → development of a new G.U.P. → explosive development of new buildings → increasing the number of locals offering rooms for rent and therefore the dependency on the tourist season (Tașcu-Stavre, 2011 : p 210).

Conclusions

As I was mentioning in the introductory chapter, the key to understanding the different ways of growth is constituted by the institutional context specific to the two localities. This way, the differences recorded in the context of certain formal and informal rules have had a decisive influence in gaining benefits from tourism in the two communities. Practically, even before 1989, the life

¹¹ The establishment of the Protected Areas Association for Bio-Cultural Conservation will be in November 2003.

¹² More on www.salvativamaveche.ro.

¹³ It's about procedures covering of the approval of in City Council to the approval from many ministries and Constanta County Council.

strategies of the locals for the two coastal village (having similar conditions) were different. If in 2 Mai more and more locals begin or continue a tradition of renting out rooms, during the holiday season, in Vama Veche, with the exception of the camp organized by the University of Cluj, this type of practices would be lacking.

From here on a whole chain will determine/ limit the strategies for those from Vama Veche after 1990, because not being ready to offer conditions similar to those from 2 Mai, will miss the opportunity to obtain additional income from tourism. In Vama Veche a “beach tourism” is evolving (see Mihailescu, 2005) based on self-management of holiday resources. The beach becomes the center around which the village grows. But, in time, based on the growing numbers of tourists, come the first entrepreneurs. And this time we see a difference from 2 Mai, the local community missing the start in the race for “foreigners”. The explanation of the fact that the locals of Vama Veche don't manage to benefit from tourists has at it's basis the following mechanism: the constraints that have existed since 1989 have prevented tourists from coming, in other words, the demand for accommodation practically being nil has determined the offer for accommodation to go towards zero as well (exception being of course the camp organized by Cluj).

In these conditions, even if after 1990 a demand for accommodation appears, it will not be satisfied, the built land, even the facilities being inferior to those from 2 Mai. This thing will influence the topography of the public that will choose to come to Vama Veche, acting as a filter. Thus, tourists from the early 90 choose to “occupy” the beach area with tents. Just as North (2003), we can confirm that history matters, in the sense that the constraints from Vama Veche (existent up until 1989) will block certain individual actions, that in turn will hinder the appearance of relations similar to those in 2 Mai. In the end, the local's strategies, as well as the topography of the tourism practiced in the two communities will differ as I have shown above.

A conclusion to these steps would be that current work highlights the opportunity of utilizing a series of elements in the study of transition. Maybe the most important contribution comes from the methodological approach option of a rational type of neo-institutional choice, which is being verified by the following arguments.

This approach offers a systematical method to study the effects of institutions over behaviors. As I have shown, the model named situation of individual choice (Ostrom: 1990) offers a realistic vision of individual behavior in choosing a strategy. The analysis at this (operational) level presumes the understanding of the way the process of choosing a strategy takes place by an individual, starting from the premiss that the individual choices depend on the structure of the given incentives in the given context. To analyze the transition processes, the theoretical neo-institutional view offers in this way advantages in understanding how a series of institutions influence individual behaviors and strategies, as well as in equal measure helps in understanding how the changes in the institutions take place.

The presupposition to this approach to development, be it economic or political, are specific to particular institutional context, which has the property to vary according to the historical time and the geographical space (national). As a result, *there cannot be a universal development model, but only alternative specific institutional model.*

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ANNEX I.1

