MOBILITY MANAGEMENT IN A HISTORIC AND TOURISTIC CITY: THE CASE OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA (SPAIN)

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ABSTRACT

Managing mobility is one of the main challenges faced by historic cities. In the last decades, public institutions have extended policies for limiting road traffic, promoting pedestrian mobility and putting an emphasis on the valorization of urban commons.

The increasingly leading role of urban tourism –and particularly of Cultural and Heritage Tourism- poses interesting challenges on the design of a global mobility policy for historic cities. The increase in tourist flows within historic cities results in the need of a proactive and dynamic mobility management policy.

This paper is a case study of a middle-sized historic city, Santiago de Compostela, in Northwestern Spain. This city, a World Heritage Site since 1985, is the destination of thousands of pilgrims arriving every year through the Jacob's Ways. At the same time, Santiago has become a key location of European Heritage Tourism and Cultural Tourism. In Santiago de Compostela, mobility management has been considered in the historic quarter global planning, as explained in the text, through a series of specific measures.

Before the case study, an analysis is made on the state of affairs around the management of historic quarters and their mobility, as well as on the increasing importance of Cultural Tourism and its impacts.

KEYWORDS: Mobility management, historic City, touristic City, Santiago de Compostela, Heritage tourism, planning.

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

This paper consists of two sections and analyzes the complexity of mobility management in cities with a significant historic heritage value, where tourism has become one of the main economic activities. It is conceived as a case study of Santiago de Compostela (northwestern Spain), with a previous analysis on the state of affairs.

In these urban spaces, the transition towards a society based on road traffic has not always being easy and has caused different conflicts. Due to the existence of narrow routes and the abundance of symbolic commons, it has been convenient to increasingly restrict the use of road means of transport (Monheim, 2000). However, at the same time, some access roads for residents have been necessary to keep these historic quarters alive, as well as giving certain opportunities for economic activities such as trade. Mobility management -both of people and goods- must be dynamic and adapt to the continuous changing of the city, understood as a living being in constant change.

In addition, tourism has become so important in many of these cities that new problems of mobility management have appeared, in these case visitor mobility. To the previously mentioned classical determining factors, one should add the need to regulate tourist flows within parameters of urban sustainability which maintain an urban balance.

In order to deal with these questions, an analysis is made in the first section on the state of affairs by means of three main pillars. Firstly, mobility management in historic cities. After reflecting on the meaning of historical quarter, the focus is put on the complex task of managing it, highlighting the concept of "tension of change", as well as on the main strategies adopted.

Secondly, "Heritage Tourism" is addressed, understood as a modality of emerging cultural tourism of increasing importance to gain insight into the economic, social and cultural dynamics of this kind of cities.

Thirdly and finally, the main features of mobility management in historic and tourist cities are presented through the main problems faced and the possible solutions to them.

In the second section of the paper, the case of Santiago de Compostela is used to analyze mobility management since the 80's. This city was declared World Heritage Site by the UNESCO in 1985 and is an international pilgrimage centre, since its Cathedral houses the mortal remains of the Apostle Santiago. Thanks to the revitalization of the Jacob's Ways, Santiago de Compostela is presently a good example of a traditional historic city where tourism is a very important activity, which introduces elements of permanent change and requires a dynamic local management. In recent times, the study of mobility policies in Santiago de Compostela is viewed as a case study, in the light of the previous analysis. Our aim is to reveal the main lights and shades of mobility management in the last few years and to suggest new directions to keep on making progress towards an increasingly sustainable mobility.

MANAGEMENT OF HISTORIC CITIES

DEFINITION OF THE HISTORICAL QUARTER

Old or Historical Quarters are understood as "that fragment of urban terrain arising before the consolidation of the industrial city model (...), initial nucleus of the current city". Their limits can also include the outskirts, occupying the area where the city walls were once located (Zoido, de la Vega, Morales, Mas and Lois, 2000).

In Santiago de Compostela, the most important and known part of the Historical Quarters corresponds to the so-called "Almond". This is an ellipsoidal shaped enclosure that was once surrounded by walls (demolished in the 19th century). Apart from the Almond, it is also necessary to highlight the existence of various "suburbs", that were developed around the main historical entrances to the city and, especially, the two most important pilgrimage routes: the French one (Rua de San Pedro) and the English one (Rua de Basquiños). We also find isolated historical buildings in certain sectors outside of the Almond.

The Historical Quarters present a series of characteristics that individualise them from the rest of the city, such as age of built elements (many of them earlier than the XVIII century) and the presence of buildings of singular architectural or monumental value, which are usually catalogued or put on an inventory.

In Spain, during the 60's and 70's the historical quarters suffered a crisis that was manifested with a loss of its functionality in relation to the city and, in some cases, with its total and partial degradation. The generalisation of the urbanising process throughout these years provoked a growth of the city towards other neighbourhoods with more apt morphological, functional and circulating characteristics, as the authors point out. The narrowness of the urban roads and the existence of steep inclines and limited parking areas were key elements which prejudiced the historical quarters over other more open spaces which were more apt for the quantitative growth (Campesino, 1999).

As such, expansions, housing estates and new periphery sites became the centres of interest for housing financial capital and of the local political powers. In a moment of massive rural population arrival, a lucrative market of new housing sales was developed. In the economical plan, the shops and businesses began to proliferate where the population was

concentrated, without occupying the historical quarters. In relation to the emerging industrial activities, the resulting occupying of space was characterised by the medium and low added value, and as such, needed ample surfaces which were not to be found in the historical quarters.

The strengthening of the functionality of periphery spaces and the concentration of force through a private initiative, due to the permissive public powers, caused a negative dynamics of the historical quarters, and lasted fundamentally throughout the decades of the 60's and the 70's. It is only since the 1980's that the denominated "urban recuperation" was developed, which brought an integrated physical and social vision of the historical quarters. The urban rehabilitation and the central nucleus conservation policies began to be applied, although they found a lot of problems, owing to the complexity of moulding together old and new uses of space, as can be seen below (Zoido, de la Vega, Morales, Mas and Lois, 2000).

THE COMPLEXITY OF HISTORICAL QUARTERS MANAGEMENT. THE TENSION OF CHANGE. PRINCIPAL DIFFICULTIES

In reality, the historical centres are complex spaces because what is denominated as "tension of change" takes place within them (Troitiño, 1998). This expression refers to the complexity of the adaptation process of the old and new functions. Whilst in the past the historical centres were characterised by their residential, religious and commercial functions, now they must adapt to a new function based on the importance of cultural resources (heritage, diverse events, etc) and to tourism as an activity that is becoming more and more important within the life of the centre (Lutke Daldrup and Weigel, 2001; Law 2000).

This transition takes place in a moment, which can be called "urban change". Within the flexible accumulation capitalism (Harvey, 2000), in the scenery that is drawn after the end of the total modernisation and industrialisation, the cities appear as showrooms that push for selling a "brand image", associated with the valuing of all types of cultural, artistic and heritage resources.

In this context of change and transition, the main difficulties that the Historical Quarters affront are the following:

1. Management difficulties. Coordination difficulties exist between the different levels of public administrations with responsibilities in the Historical City. Although there are many fields that correspond to a municipal level, in Spain the Autonomous Communities (and to a lesser extent the central State) possess important privileges over the multiple aspects that regulate the Historical Quarters.

2. Financial difficulties for the application of rehabilitation, promotion or revitalisation policies in the Historical Quarters. Frequently, the application of architectural rehabilitation, cultural promotion, transport and mobility policies, etc. implicate the need for an important amount of money, which the administrations do not have.

3. Deterioration of the buildings and the loss of functionality. The lack of adaptation of the Historical Centres towards many of the requirements of the economical activities that the actual world implies, if there is no adequate re-conversion and/or a support policy from the public administrations, a loss of capitalisation of the residing population. Affronting the lack of maintenance, the buildings degrade and the economical activities move towards other urban areas (Cardoso Teixeira and Couto, 2005).

4. Ageing and demographic emptying. This is the next step. Due to such bad conditions of habitability and the loss of economical functionality, the historical quarters begin an ageing process (where the unipersonal homes of retired people are especially highlighted), which takes place before the emptying and dislodging process, and thus ends up in the abandon and margining of the space (Aldrey Vazquez, 2003).

5. Transport and Mobility problems. These problems are the most important of which all historical centres can affront, and which we will approach here in detail. The displacement difficulties of persons and merchandise are common in all historical centres, and generate a group of specific problems, which are attentively treated by promoters and urban planners (Gutierrez, 1998). The transport and movement policies will have a big repercussion on the physical, economical, social and environmental elements that, definitively, are of key importance to the "wellbeing" of a Historical Quarters.

STRATEGIES FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF HISTORICAL QUARTERS

The existence of such difficulties associated to the management of historical quarters leads to the assumption of the necessity of a strategic planning and of the development of different urban plans, such as Integrated Plans (for the city as a whole) or Partial Plans (special plans).

The systematic and integrated conception of the historical quarters is what is recommended to the planners and managers of these fragile spaces at the moment of applying any type of policy. Effectively, an action over the housing may provoke important social changes (for example, housing prices rise, the city centre may become elitist or gentrified), the same way that a supporting action towards the small business (promoting and development of family business) may generate an economic growth and social dynamism effect. Any type of sector action that is carried out will have consequences towards the whole

of the Historical Quarters, which can be understood as a live organism or as a system, open to all types of influences and in a continuous change and restructuring process. Definitely, in a situation of perpetual unstable equilibrium.

The systematic behaviour of the city can be appreciated through a recent key phenomenon: the expansion of the urban cultural tourism and the importance of the city's image. Actually, every city develops mechanisms, which valorise its resources and attract a growing amount of tourism. This new situation creates the need for residents to share a space with tourists that, before, they felt was theirs. The changes affect the architectural, cultural, social, environmental and symbolical elements. The historical quarters behaves, as such, like a system: a variation of an element (the increase of tourism) provoking alterations and changes in all the others.

As such, each one of these sector actions, which are carried out, should begin from a systematic and integrated point of view. Therefore, this should be taken into account in our analysis of the mobility in Santiago de Compostela.

HERITAGE TOURISM AND ITS CHALLENGES

Heritage Tourism is a kind of tourism interested in Heritage as a resource that can cause movements.

Heritage, as a concept, is very broad in scope. According to Ortega (2004), Heritage is a representation that has enabled the building of inherited spaces, either urban or rural. Cultural Heritage –social prevailing representation in contemporary culture- includes Natural Heritage, Historic Heritage nad Territory Heritage.

Thus, Heritage Tourism is a variety of Cultural Tourism based on the main locations, sightseeing points or monuments which make up the legacy of a certain territory, and which are, to a great extent, representations of History in a particular territory.

Apart from archaeological remains, monuments or sightseeing points, we must consider certain protected spaces that are also part of a territory's Heritage. Certainly, in a protected area (National Parks, Reserves, etc.), it is easier to find climatic treeline species or to see traditional uses of land that belong to a historic relationship between humans and their environment, also an important Heritage.

Regarding tourism activities, Natural Heritage is associated with tourism typologies such as Nature Tourism or Active Tourism, Rural Tourism or Ecotourism. In all of these cases, there is an increasing recovery and valuation of natural spaces and inherited landscapes that are appreciated by urban tourists –mostly with a medium-high cultural level– who demand these products.

On the contrary, Historic Heritage – or Historic-Artistic Heritage – is related to a kind of tourism usually called Heritage Tourism. As a result, the space occupied by this concept is almost filled with visits to monuments, historical sites, monumental sets or places where buildings - and the human component as a whole - clearly prevail over the natural environment.

Historic cities have a leading role within this classification of tourism. A historic city is an inherited urban space with a hereditary value in itself -as a unit- but also as a combination of its different components. Heritage Tourism refers mainly to historic cities since their high density of sites that appeal tourists turns them into inescapable referents.

Many of these historic destinations are small to middle-sized cities which have reached our times preserving not only a good deal of their monuments but also the ancient desing of routes and an urban structure inherited in the Middle Ages -or even later in some cases.

Although capital and multifunctional megacities – Paris, Rome, Viena...- have enough historic attractions, we would like to look at destinations such as Santiago de Compostela, Granada, Venice, Brugge, Florence, etc. These small to middle-sized cities are the best examples of Heritage Tourism destinations.

Presently, the generalization and increase in the number of destinations of low-cost airlines explains indeed the creation of growing touristic flows into small and middle-sized historic cities, where tourism is seen as an activity that can promote economic, social and cultural dynamism.

This strengthening of Heritage Tourism we are witnessing has taken place parallel to a change of paradigm as to heritage management. There has been a transition from the concept of Heritage as something static and inflexible towards an active and dynamic interpretation of it. In other words, there has been a transition from preservation to recovery and exploitation of heritage.

This new approach makes it necessary to overcome the consideration of a building or monument as something closed which must be preserved just to be looked at in its original state without interacting with its context.

On the contrary, the present management is aware of the fact that the current heritage is used by tourists. Thus, heritage management must be focused on the preferences, motivations and interests of tourist-users, those who really appreciate and value a church, a palace or a historic city.

Obviously, making efforts to be in tune with visitors' interests must be reconciled with the authenticity and the faithfulness to the inheritance of the past. It is important to achieve a balance between managers, the local community, the environment and visitors, seeking to harmonize every interest.

In any case, as Ashworth (1988) claims, there is always going to be a certain conflict between identity and tourism, as an increase in the number of visitors entails a significant exposure of fragile resources such assets of cultural interest. For a historic city as a whole, the "burden capacity" is a dynamic indicator which allows managers to know the maximum number of tourists that such a fragile space as a historic quarter can accommodate.

All in all, it seems clear that controlling visitors' flows is vital in the everyday management of Heritage Tourism. To this, mobility management in historic quarters is essential, as we will see in the next section.

MOBILITY MANAGEMENT IN HISTORIC AND TOURIST CITIES

If we focus on the management of mobility, an initial reflection is that the Historical Quarters are not prepared to support the current volume of traffic (Campos, 2000). The majority of them were built during an era where mobility was on foot or by animal traction. The urban morphology of meandering and narrow streets is frequently shared with an uneven topography (within a context of pedestrian mobility and scarce volume of economical activity, the existence of a flat topography was much less), all of which mean great difficulties for the circulation and parking of an automobile (CERTU, 1999).

These difficulties in relation with the use of the automobile clash, however, with the mobility requirements of two large groups. Firstly, of the actual residents, much more mobile than before, who frequently have to travel to their workplaces outside of the historical quarters. Secondly, of the current tourists, who make a kind of "human wave" which tends to take their automobile as close as possible to the part of the city which they want to visit (Van der Borg; Gotti, 1995).

Also, the historical centres usually coincide with the physical centre of the city, being an obligatory passing place of the population for multiple journeys, which worsens the problems and impacts. On the other hand, in historical quarters with an important tourist burden, such as Santiago de Compostela, the mobility of tourists and visitors is an addition to the one that already exists, worsening the conflicts (ANTE, 2005).

When confronting this situation, as Campos (2000), Corral (1998) and Gutiérrez (1998) indicate, both private and public agents should be mobilised, and thus trying to lessen the strangulation that is derived from the deficient accessibility and mobility and, over all, avoid the possibility that these problems spread to the rest of the city. The lack of being on target when managing the mobility of a Historical Quarters can have very negative effects over this urban sector, amongst which are found:

1. Loss of living quality of the residents, due to the difficulties of transit through their own space of residence and the sensation of "invasion" that cars provoke in very fragile spaces. This implies, in some cases and at a medium to long period, the moving to other urban sectors and the demographic ageing and emptying of the Historical Quarters.

2. Difficulties in developing commercial activities owing to the need to supply these through mechanical traction vehicles, such as getting near management centres, hotels, etc. All this can lead to the loss of functionality and the stagnation or economical decline of the Historical Quarters (Coca-Stefaniak, Parker, Barbany, Garrell and Segovia, 2005).

3. Problems of security owing to the tension that exists between the circulation of vehicles and pedestrians in narrow streets and squares, not apt for this sharing modal.

4. The lack of destiny attraction for tourists, who look for a car-free and tranquil environment for developing their activities.

5. Environmental and acoustic problems derived from the contamination generated by the traffic of motorised vehicles.

As we can see, the existence of a poor accessibility, of scarce mobility or conflicts associated with traffic, generally have big repercussions in life in Historical Quarters overall, as a live and dynamic entity. An incorrect mobility management can provoke the decline of businesses, a drop in the number of tourist visits, and the ageing and emptying of the Historical Quarters. In order to correct these problems, we can highlight two large groups of measures noted by Gutiérrez (1998):

- 1. Restrictions on the use of private vehicles. Actually, these correspond to the pedestrianisation policies. These part from two premises. Firstly, the car is necessary, so that the residents do not have less rights than the rest of the citizens, and as such they can come, stop, load and unload, and also park near their homes. Secondly, the prohibition of vehicular circulation would imply the closing of many businesses situated in the Historical Quarters. For this reason, the application of an aggressive policy would be negative for the Historical Quarters.
- 2. The creation of border parking areas. These are thought out to avoid the entrance of non-residential vehicles to the Historical Quarters. This consists of making cheap-rate or even free parking places available in areas immediately outside the historical quarters. This allows for the tourists to park their vehicles and walk the last part of their journey into the Historical Quarters. In the necessary cases, these measures are accompanied by mechanical escalators, as recently applied in Toledo and which are being studied for Cuenca.

Apart from these measures, others can be noted, such as the road system re-ordering, temporary traffic blocks, the reduction of circulation (by means of the creation of 30-zones) or the bettering of public transport services. In this case, we are not strictly referring to the internal contour of the Historical Quarters. Effectively, in order to globally understand the mobility within the historical quarters, it is necessary to take into account its insertion with neighbouring urban pieces.

As such, the flows that can be found within the historical quarters come from, mainly, the rest of the city. The way in which private vehicles are limited and spaces are created for the pedestrian, the way that the parking is regulated and organised or the characteristics of the public transport in the rest of the urban space, condition the arrival of more or less flows of people, and determine the spatial distribution of the mobility flows within the historical quarters.

THE MANAGEMENT OF MOBILITY IN HISTORICAL QUARTERS: THE CASE OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

Santiago de Compostela is the capital of the Autonomous Region of Galicia, territory of about 29,000 square kilometres, and situated in the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula. This World Heritage city is known for sheltering the remains of the Disciple Santiago and as for being the final destination of the Catholic Pilgrimages, which began at the beginning of the Middle Ages and constitute to one of the most solid bases of unity and cohesion of Europe.

Today Santiago de Compostela is a city of reference with an urban area of about 140,000 habitants, formed of a central city, which does not reach 100,000 habitants and a series of suburbs that have grown quickly in recent years (Aldrey, 1999). Due to its characteristics – pilgrimage place, city of medieval origin, one of the main university cities in Spain, capital of Galicia and location of the regional administration-, Santiago de Compostela is a good example of an urban space where the "tourist city", the "shopping city", the "culture city" and the "historic city" can be found at the same time (Burtenshaw et al. 1991: 165).

Además de la importancia de la administración regional y de la Universidad (con más de 500 años de historia), the third basic prop of Santiago de Compostela's economy is tourism (Lois and Somoza, 2003). The UNESCO declared Santiago de Compostela a World Heritage City in 1985, in acknowledgement of its historical, monumental and architectural richness.

In fact, the whole of the Historical Quarters is a magnificent example of a city of medieval origin that survives today in a well conserved form. To this, it is necessary to add

the existence of monuments of great beauty and hereditary value, amongst which the Cathedral stands out. Dentro del contexto general de Urban Tourism and Leisure Settings, la Catedral de Santiago es un buen ejemplo de Primary Element, dentro de la tipología propuesta por Jansen-Verbeke (1986).

Por otra parte, la ciudad es the final destination of the Catholic Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, a first class cultural tourist itinerary in Europe (Santos, 2002). Debido a ello, Santiago de Compostela forma parte de una red internacional de ciudades de peregrinación, entre las que se encuentran también Roma y Jerusalén. Dicha estructura es una distinctive spatial network con personalidad muy marcada (Shaw and Williams, 1994: 246). Dentro de España, Santiago de Compostela forma parte también de la activa red de World Heritage Cities, a la cual pertenecen además Alcalá de Henares, Ávila, Cáceres, Córdoba, Cuenca, Ibiza, Mérida, Salamanca, La Laguna, Segovia y Toledo (Lois and Somoza, 2003).

In Santiago de Compostela, the actual dynamism and vigour of the Historical Quarter are a result of the application of a coherent line of action based on the focus of the "city centre management" or, if preferred, of the integrated ordination of Historic Quarters (Balsas, 2004 and 2001; Sabelsberg, 1988; van Dinteren, J.H.J., Hendricks, D.D., Ruigrok, A., 1992).

Since the constitution of the democratic city councils of Spain in 1979, in Santiago de Compostela all types of public practise management with a main philosophy referring to the consideration of the Historic City as a system (in which architectural, urban, economical and social variables interact) has been llevadas a cabo (Barke and Towner, 1996; Troitiño, 1992). The adaptation to the constant changes that are produced in the Historical Quarters of Santiago de Compostela, in which the cultural heritage adapts to a transformation into tourist heritage has since then been the pursued objective, de acuerdo con las actuales prácticas de gestión de los cascos históricos (Harrison, 1994).

A fundamental step was the creation of the Santiago de Compostela Consortium in 1992, an organism arising from the Royal Society of Santiago de Compostela, integrated by the different public administrations with responsibilities in the Historic Quarters (municipal, regional and state). From the first moment, the Santiago de Compostela Consortium has tried to promote the city, with the aim of obtaining a common interest for all of the city. Starting from the basis of the extraordinary importance of the Historical Quarters of Santiago de Compostela and of its value, a large part of the efforts have been materialised through an ambitious reform and rehabilitation plan, with the aim of carrying out a transition from the old to the new functionalities (Troitiño, 1998).

The actions carried out are all based on the systematic considerations of the Historical Quarters (Estévez, 2001). These actions should not only be based on the architectural heritage (an error which happens many times), but on observing the interrelations with the

urban, economical and social elements and intervening over these. Within this built-in concept, it is understood that one of the most important problems of historical quarters is mobility, where the actions are decided from the first moment on how to manage it, by observing the narrow relationship with the earlier elements (Pazos, 2000).

URBAN PLANNING AND MOBILITY PLANNING IN THE HISTORICAL QUARTERS OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

The singular value of the historical and artistic heritage has helped Santiago de Compostela to be institutionally recognised from very early on. In 1940, it received the Declaration of Historical Value and National Interest. However, this recognition would not have practically any type of consequence when designing strategies nor to the application of conservation and Heritage promotion policies.

An overhanging fact of all the process was the designation of Santiago de Compostela as the Autonomic capital, which happened in 1981. This meant an increase in the importance of Santiago de Compostela within Galicia and made the city the preferring centre of attention and action of the regional government.

Despite the existence of an important initial opposition by businesses and residents, it was in this moment when the gross amount of the so-called "Pedestrianisation of the Historical Quarters" was carried out. The capital of Galicia, final destination of the Saint James pilgrimage itineraries, began to revalue the historical quarters, emblematic area of the city, where the cathedral and many other elements of undoubting architectural and heritage value are located.

Considering the recent designation of Santiago de Compostela as the capital of Galicia, and as such, its conservation as a city of reference and interior and exterior projection, the promotion of its Historical Quarters was seen as a necessary step, and appeared as a clear attempt to strengthen the symbolism and excellent character of the city.

Taking into account these premises, the idea to make the Historical Quarters of Santiago de Compostela a place "without cars", for the use and enjoyment of the pedestrian "residents, visitors and tourists" was accepted as the way to level Santiago de Compostela with the big historical and tourist cities of Europe. This "pedestrian wave" of the historical quarters began shortly after the Second World War (in 1955 in Germany there were already 21 cities with some type of pedestrianisation) and this wave had reached its top in the decades of the 60's and 70's, with the pedestrianisations of many European cities (Nuremberg in 1962, Kassel in 1964, Cologne in 1965, La Haya in 1965, Gothenberg in 1967, Reading and Rouen in 1968, Madrid in 1969, Leeds in 1970, Madrid in 1971, etc)

(Pozueta, 2000). It is during the decade of the 80's when the moment came where these budgets began to be applied to small and medium sized cities in Spain.

In addition, in a context of economical growth, of increase in the number of tourists, and in the general environment of social and cultural dynamism, it was in 1985 when the recognition by UNESCO of Santiago de Compostela as a World Heritage City, which put Santiago de Compostela on the world cultural tourist map. From this moment, the authorities took over an even more clearer assumption of their responsibilities, and of the necessity to continuously and coherently develop policies that allow for Santiago de Compostela to conserve a vibrating, functional and dynamic Historical Quarters, not only for the tourists but also for the actual residents.

By including Santiago de Compostela to the group of World Heritage cities created a clear awareness for the need to watch over the city's interests by means of planning. All of these cities see mobility as a key element, capable of articulate and sustain the urban system.

In 1987, in the framework of the revision of the Municipal Planning Rules (PXOU), the writing down of what will be the main tool for the implementation of conservation, rehabilitation and dynamism policies of the Historical Quarters was discussed: the Special Plan for the Protection and Rehabilitation of the Historical Quarters. Throughout this time period, the interaction among the different administrations (local, regional, state) with responsibilities for Santiago was improved, reaching a consensus about the necessity of continuing the maintenance and promotion of the Historical Quarters of Santiago de Compostela as a privileged urban space.

As a result of this permanent dialogue between the different administrations, Santiago Consortium (Royal Decree 260/1991) was created in 1991, in which the different levels of public powers are represented. The Consortium is, actually, a reformulation and one more reform of the Royal Society of the City of Santiago de Compostela, created in 1964, and successively reformed in 1971, 1976 and 1979. The Royal Decree aims at the revitalisation of the Society, as well as at making it more operative, taking into account its challenges and the increasing importance of the tourist activity in Santiago de Compostela.

The 90s would bring, therefore, an even stronger reinforcement of planning and control over the Historical Quarters by the public administrations. The awareness of the importance of mobility in the urban life resulted in the elaboration of the Mobility Integral Plan in 1992.

This piece of work, ordered by the Council of Santiago to be elaborated by the Consultancy "Territorio y Planeamiento, S.A.", tries to offer a general approach of the main parameters, which characterise the mobility in Santiago de Compostela and, on the other

hand, to materialise the main spatial tendencies followed by movements inside the city, as well as characterising the modal distribution as a key element.

Mobility appears here as a key element in order to obtain the sustainability in the historical quarters as a whole, in agreement with the planning approaches which we have previously referred to. The survey highlights the importance of the pedestrian mobility in Santiago de Compostela, not only by the tourists who stroll around the Historical Quarters, but also by the residents, who have the well-rooted habit of walking within the city. But at the same time, an excessive use of particular cars is noticed, especially along the streets bordering the Historical Quarters. In a city with a narrow and not very functional network of streets, without any large avenues, such as the case of Santiago de Compostela, this is a problem, which conditions the integral city mobility. The plan verifies a low level of use of public transport, even in long movements inside the city. This is because of a series of elements, such as the insufficiency of the network of streets, its lack of punctuality and of the low habit among the population of using it, among other reasons.

Regarding the spatial standards, the Historical Quarters appears as a central area inside the city, with its own mobility and passing-through mobility, attracting and generating a lot of displacements and keeping, therefore, its functionality. Nevertheless, the previously mentioned saturation of the bordering streets and the importance of the Enlargement (newly developed quarter attached to the Old Quarter) in attracting and generating displacements can be noticed.

Among the planning practices, and as a logical consequence of the importance of the Historical Quarters of Santiago, the Special Protection and Rehabilitation Plan of the Historical Quarters (from now on, PECH) was approved in 1997.

The starring actions are focused on the rehabilitation and recovery of houses, as maintaining the architectural heritage of the former medieval city is considered fundamental. From 1995 to 2001, by means of the Council Rehabilitation Office (which gives individual attention to every house owner), 650 actions were carried out, with an average investment of $20,000 \in$ per house. In the last twelve years, 1,270 buildings have been rehabilitated, and façades were improved in another 1,000. The awarding of the European Urban Prices of the European Commission in 1998 —three years after its initiation— gives a good idea of the success of the rehabilitation policies.

But in addition, the PECH is in charge of regulating different mobility aspects, both inside and outside the Historical Quarters, but which, in any case, affect the mobility inside this fragile intramurally space. Among the fundamental action lines, the following can be highlighted:

• Creation of parking spaces on the borders of the Historical Quarters, and the reordering of the previously existing ones

• Improvement, diversification and enlargement of the pedestrian network of itineraries

• Actions for maintaining the characteristics of the specific traditional network of streets of the Historical Quarters of Santiago

Based on the PECH fundamental guidelines of 1997, Santiago Council approved the General Bylaw of circulation and use of the public way in the following year (March 1998). The Bylaw is a legislative document of compulsory fulfilment throughout the Santiago de Compostela territory, resulting from the systematisation of the specific actions, which had been carried out since the 1980s.

The municipal Bylaw regulates multiple aspects of the mobility in the city, among which the following can be highlighted:

- The use of the urban network of streets, including stopping and parking conditions
- Heavy and dangerous goods transport
- Loading and unloading

The regulation of these aspects is made for the whole Santiago City Council territory. The Bylaw includes a detailed list of the streets, with their corresponding spatial and temporal limitations for the circulation of vehicles in everyone of them. Therefore, the colloquially known "Pedestrianisation Plan of Santiago de Compostela Historical Quarters", which can be wholly found in this text, has been introduced into regulations.

In addition, the municipal transport Bylaw regulates another two fundamental areas regarding public transport, which condition and influence in the mobility in the Historical Quarters and its characteristics:

- The collective urban transport, school transport, taxis and health transport
- The stops and itineraries of interurban transport in entering and exiting the city, until the Bus Station

As we can see, before the 1990s, Santiago de Compostela urban planning had already regulated the main mobility aspects in the city. The action line was based on considering mobility as a key element to guarantee demographic, economical and vitality of the city, and

mainly of the Historical Quarters, Santiago's emblem and its principal urban and heritage value, as well as an identity reference. In the next chapter, we will explore every action group in detail, and, with a certain perspective, we will compare the planning's ideal reality to the real situation that can be found eight years later.

MAIN ACTIONS TRYING TO IMPROVE URBAN MOBILITY IN SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA: LIGHTS AND SHADOWS

As it is well-known, the urban mobility integrated management requires actions over different elements, considering them from an individual point of view but also taking into account that they must interact among themselves, from a systematic and group perspective. For instance, a restrictive parking regulation in a city centre involves a clear dissuasion for the flows of vehicles. In the same way, a good localisation of the bus stops can favour the creation of pedestrian networks of itineraries. There are many examples, always from an integrated planning approach, in which every individual action must be one more piece of the general system of urban mobility.

Conscious of the importance of these elements, we will focus now on their analysis. We will see how Santiago urban planning has been developing elements to manage the traffic flows, to regulate loading and unloading, pedestrian itineraries, parking areas, etc. The results, which can be observed nowadays, are not always the desired ones, although great advances have taken place, as we will see next.

REGULATION OF THE USES OF URBAN WAYS, INCLUDING STOPPING AND PARKING RULES

In the historical quarters, the main applied measure is to try to restrict and delimit the circulation of private automobiles. This is what happens in most European historical quarters, where urban morphology and, specially, the narrowness of streets, condition the vehicular transit (Monheim, 2000).

This kind of policies can be more or less restrictive, depending on the cases. As a general rule, the total forbidding of vehicular circulation is not feasible. Certain vehicular necessities of residents (transport of goods, movements of old people), and shops or businesses (regarding the supply or provision of products) must be taken into account. Residents and business owners usually have the right to circulate and to stop in the historical quarters. In addition, it seems advisable to permit the access of taxis and ambulances.

Starting from these premises, the restrictions to the use of private vehicles in historical cities result from two main parameters: space and time. The first is in allusion to the more or less amount of streets that an automobile cannot circulate. The second also limits, in function of the moment of day and the day of the week, the circulation of commercial vehicles (the commercial vehicles are normally assigned the first hours of the day, so as to interfere the least possible with the pedestrian transit). In reality, these policies are popularly known as the "pedestrialisation" of the Historic Quarters, in reference to the recuperation of the urban space by the pedestrians (Topp and Pharoah, 1994).

In Santiago de Compostela, the general order of circulation and use of the public roads of 1998 defines a precinct that includes the majority of the streets of the Historic Quarters, (...) "where the pedestrian use and the heritage protection predominates over the use as circulating roads and of the parking of vehicles". Also, the prohibition of circulation was fixed (except for taxis and emergency vehicles) to a series of streets for "historic, artistic, security or incompatibility with the mobility of pedestrians" reasons. This article constitutes to the basis of the pedestrian policy of the Historic Quarters of Santiago de Compostela.

The measures of pedestrianisation adopted in Santiago de Compostela had been implanted and carried out in parallel with other historical quarters of the Iberian Peninsula, such as Cuenca, Granada or Evora (Portugal). In Cuenca, the Special Plan of the Old Quarters presents, since the advance of 1993, a series of actions that tend to reduce the presence of the automobile in the city (Corral, 1998). In Granada, in the same year, the Mobility and Environmental Quality of the Centre Plan was approved where, with a coordinated action between the different administrations, the circulation of vehicles was restricted in the Albayzin and around the Albambra. On their side, the City Council of Evora have been working, for a long time now, on the pedestrianisation of an important part of their historic quarters, trying to recuperate citizen cohabiting spaces and to "make a city".

At a European level, examples of cities similar to Santiago de Compostela outstand, where these policies were also applied. York (United Kingdom), Montpellier (France) or Bologna (Italy), with a similar size to Santiago de Compostela, are important university centres where the automobile circulation within the historical quarters was restricted in favour of pedestrians and bicycles, creating meeting and cohabiting urban environments that enhance the value of the central and historical spaces (Bosselmann, Macdonald, Kronemeyer, 199; Appleyard, 1981; Peters, 1979).

REGULATION OF HEAVY AND DANGEROUS GOODS TRANSPORT. REGULATION OF LOADING AND UNLOADING

Taking as a basis the earlier precinct of the Historical Quarters, the municipal order prohibits the circulation of heavy vehicles, fixing the limit of maximum weight that a vehicle can have at 3500kgs. This limitation measure was put into practise not only taking into account the large amount of space that lorries over this weight take up in a street narrow enough as it is. Also the deterioration that is caused to the granite cobblestone of the old quarters of Santiago de Compostela was taken into account. For reasons also dealing with the protection of the heritage, the circulation of vehicles that transport dangerous goods is prohibited.

The loading and unloading is surely the aspect related to mobility that best reflects the conflict between the tradition and the modernity of the Historic Quarters, that is to say, the tension of change cited by Troitiño (1992). In effect, the Historical Quarters of Santiago de Compostela counts on various establishments (restaurants, diverse retailers, shops, etc) businesses that contribute in a large measure to maintaining its vitality and dynamism, thanks to the good economical situation that this space maintains. The same as other establishments of the city, the shops, supermarkets, bars and cafes need to be supplied with goods that is carried out in delivery vans and small lorries, and that theoretically can cause conflicts with the mobility of the pedestrians.

In order to try to minimise these impacts as much as possible, the Order permits the loading and unloading within the precinct mentioned before only from seven o`clock to half past ten in the morning everyday. This is, therefore, an important time limit, as the prohibition of loading and unloading takes place over twenty-one and a half hours of a total of twenty-four.

In practise, this measure can be qualified as suitable, although in certain points of the Historical Quarters a saturation of public space is produced by the delivery lorries, as can be seen in the photo, taken in the Toural Square, where a supermarket is situated.

BETTERING, DIVERSIFICATION AND AMPLIFYING OF THE PEDESTRIAN ITINERARY NETWORK

The concept of pedestrian itinerary comes from within a new concept of the role of the pedestrian in the urban dynamics. Against the predominating position of the private automobile in the urban road system, since the 1970's an encouragement of movement on

foot has been put into practice by means of the design and conditioning of "pedestrian itineraries", that extend over the city, favouring and facilitating the accessibility by means of a path along the principal mobility points (Monheim, 1990).

The idea of the pedestrian itineraries is based on the delimitation of clearly identified spaces exclusively for pedestrian circulation, and with optimum security conditions compared to the rest of the urban roads, used for other modes of transport which could cause a threat to the pedestrian. Deciding on this network of pedestrian itineraries signifies carrying out a variety of small actions over the urban roads, delimiting spaces that are wide enough and safe enough for the pedestrian, and efficiently resolving the crossing with the road network designated to the automobile or other motorised modes of transport.

In Santiago de Compostela, the PECH of 1997 "establishes, in ordering plans, the definition and delimitation of the public road system which includes the network of streets and spaces designated to the movement and circulation or stay of pedestrians, automobiles and wheeled forms of transport. Within the Road System plan, the spaces designated to the preferential use of pedestrians, which are configured to the pedestrian road system, are identified (...)".

There is, therefore, an assumption of the importance of the pedestrian itineraries as structuring elements of the mobility within a historical city such as Santiago de Compostela, and a delimitation of the principal pedestrian itineraries of the city is also implements within a pedestrian road system. This wish to recuperate spaces for the pedestrian within a historical city such as Santiago de Compostela, where in recent years the protagonism of the car has been overwhelming, compared to a very scarce support of pedestrian mobility, is clearly noticed in the followings cites, textually taken from the PECH of 1997 text:

Volume II, page 34: "The environment of the unit affects plots 05,26 and 55 of the block 4,210, and plot 08 of the block 4,024, such as indicated in the ordering plans. The action has as its objective the creation of a public pedestrian itinerary between As Chufas, Campo do Forno and Calzada de San Pedro, parallel to the Rua de San Pedro, forming a continuity of the pedestrian itineraries until reaching the Urban Park of Belvis (...).

Volume II, page 36: "U-10 Rua da Trisca (...). The ordering will try to establish a new pedestrian access between Rua da Trisca and Rua das Fraguas, that at the same time will act as a support for the public resources of the area/estate".

Volume II, page 28: "Unit of intervention of the As Hortas of San Clemente street and Galeras (...). The network of pedestrian paths will be maintained and completed, as established in the ordering plans".

As it is deduced in these cites, a clear intention to return the protagonism to the pedestrian mobility in certain parts of the city even outside of the Historical Quarters (such as the cases of the spaces that have been mentioned here). The reality is that these measures have, in many cases, gone no further than a declaration of intentions. A very illustrative case is that of the Rua San Pedro, a road outside of the Historical Quarters, along which pilgrims arrive the Catholic pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, either on foot or by bicycle. The road actually presents very deficient conditions for the mobility of pedestrians, due to the large amount of pedestrians (residents and tourists) and to the narrowness of the pavements.

The situation is worse for the pilgrims that arrive in Santiago de Compostela by bicycle, who must cycle contrary to the circulation of the cars, along a narrow road, with the consequent insecurity. This danger increases when an urban bus passes, a vehicle of large dimensions, as there is hardly any space for the cohabiting of the moving traffic and the pedestrian.

CREATION OF PARKING SPACES ALONG THE BORDER OF THE HISTORICAL QUARTERS, AND THE REORDERING OF THE EXISTING SPACES

The massive car parking along the public roads is one of the more serious problems that cities in general have (Bain, 2002), and the historical cities in particular (Corral, 1998). Each parked car in a historical quarters occupies a large extension of space, precisely in areas of high density, where it is scarce. Apart from this obstacle character, the parked cars create a notable impact on the historical cities, in diachronic contrast to the constructed heritage (Robertson, 1991).

As Campos (2003) noted, the restriction policies for cars or pedestrians must be framed within a global urban and traffic planning strategy. Along with the application of the parking rules by means of ORA, the decision to restrict and limit the circulation of automobiles within the historical quarters implicates the need to create parking spaces denominated "bordering spaces". These parking spaces are situated on the limit of the historical quarters border (in many cases, on the other side of the old wall), to facilitate the movement on foot within the historical quarters.

In Santiago de Compostela, the parking of vehicles within a major part of the pedestrian perimeter of the historical quarters is practically prohibited (and limited to some very concrete areas) except for residents. On the other hand, it is also restricted to a small series of squares and streets, and a temporary time limit (in the same way as that of

circulation) has also been introduced, as the cars may only park in the last hours of the afternoon or overnight.

In recent years, in the search for new solutions for parking, diverse "bordering" car parks have been built, destined to the parking of private vehicles. All these actions appear in the PECH of 1997:

Volume II, page 23: "About the equipment plot EM-10, D-6 La Salle College, and according to regulations established in the ordering plans, with a maximum surface of 5,000 metre2, and a maximum number of two floors, the reservation of an underground car park has been established".

Volume II, page 26: "(...) In contact with the Carretas Old Peoples Home, Galeras street and the new road projected for the side street of the hospital, affecting plots 01 and 58 of the block 1,202, as indicated in the Ordering Plan (...), a reservation for an underground car park with a capacity of 300 has been established, under a natural area and public domain"

Two car parks for coaches have also been made available in the space found immediately outside the compact city, taking into account the importance of group tourism in Santiago de Compostela, an excursion city par excellence, within a religious and cultural tourism that is continually growing in importance (Santos 2000).

As such, within the first group of car parks the Cornes, Belvis, Xoan XXIII and San Caetano outstand. The car park of Cornes, situated to the south of the city and by the city centre, is a surveillance car park from Monday to Friday from 7:45 to 22:15, and on Saturday from 9:00 to 15:00. It is only necessary to pay an entrance fee of 0.60 euros, which is valid for 24 hours.

When referring to the Belvis car park, managed by the municipal society TUSSA, it is situated very near to the Abastos Market, and has 120 parking spaces and are uninterruptedly offered. The fees are what we can call soft and are charged for each 15 minutes, which permit a higher flexibility in the computation of the prices to pay, up to a maximum of 4.20 euros per 24 hours. This car park is the most central of all the "bordering" car parks, and guarantees a good accessibility to the Historical Quarters, taking advantage of the Sar Valley that stretches towards the north to Belvis, where there are no buildings due to the humidity conditions that are registered for the area. This action was planned in the PECH of 1997: Volume II, page 36: "The area of the present unit affects plots 27 and 30 of the block 4,210, as indicated in the ordering plans. The objective of the ordering is the establishment of a parking reserve of 120 parking spaces in its location linked to the Abastos Market (...)".

The surveillance car park of Xoan XXIII, also managed by TUSSA, offers fees beginning from 5 minutes. Its position, near the Cathedral, facilitates an optimal accessibility to a large number of administrative, commercial, educative and leisure facilities. It is, along with Belvis, one of the best examples of good practises that have been carried out.

Within the second group of car parks (for coaches), the parking dock situated in Xoan XXIII is to be highlighted (in the same place as the afore mentioned car park), with an excellent accessibility to the main tourist resources, which is clearly demonstrated by the almost 20,000 coaches that used it during the past Holy Year 2004. The PECH of 1997 planned the correction of earlier committed errors, and the re-strengthening of the parking dock of Xoan XXIII in its role as a border car park for tourist coaches:

Volume II, page 30: "The opening of the Xoan XXIII Avenue and the construction of the former car park, although it functionally consolidated a northern access to the Historical Centre and a parking reservation in a tangential position, constituted to an attack from the optical point of view of the urban design and lay-out. Within this context the Special Plan aims improve the urban integration of the final part of Xoan XXIII".

Functionally, an interchange of tourist coaches is foreseen, defined on the outer dock in agreement with the Special Plan. Regarding pedestrians, better conditions are made available above the parking spaces. Given the intensity of the use of the area, the parking is consolidated and the increase of the available parking space is proposed for contiguous areas in the Special Plan.

These types of measures were successfully carried out in other World Heritage cities of the Iberian Peninsula. In Toledo, Cuenca and Granada the topographic emplacement of the cities was an important conditioner for the creation of border car parks. With the historical quarters being located on strongly sloping hills, the route between the car parks and the historical quarters involved saving important differences. In all the cases, hectometrical modes, mechanical stairs, were recurred to as an element of connection. These measures have also been adopted outside of the Iberian Peninsula, such as the case of Perugia (Ante, 2005). The study carried out by Bernard Winkler to try to solve the problem of traffic in Toledo was pioneering in this sector, recommending the creation of car parks on the north border of the historical quarters, and its connection by means of a system of mechanical escalators to the historical quarters. Later in Cuenca, a city sat upon a very steep headland with strong uneven levels, a bordering car park was created, the so- called "Interchanger of the Huescar" the same as in Granada, to facilitate the access to the neighbourhood of Albayzin.

The case of Evora (Portugal) is noticeably different, as when affronting the lack of space for creating car parks near the border of the historical quarters the municipal city council decided to locate them in the periphery of the city. Owing to the elevated time of the tourist route to the Historical Quarters, the mobility is guaranteed thanks to the Blue Line service (Linhazul). This is a municipal service that operates with four minibuses which are very frequent and carry out "Shuttle" type services, connecting the car parks with the main points in the historical quarters. The service is having a great success with the tourists and residents (according to the Council of Evora more than 160,000 people have used this service over the first year in action), and has contributed to the preservation of a historical quarters free of cars.

ACTIONS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SPECIFIC TRADITIONAL NETWORK OF STREETS OF THE HISTORICAL QUARTERS OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

In relation to the physical characteristics of the roadways of Santiago de Compostela, it is necessary to distinguish three big groups of employed materials. Firstly, the traditional asphalt. Secondly, granite cobblestone of various centimetres in size. Thirdly, the paving stone roads (cubic stone blocks, of various centimetres in size). The use of these materials in different parts of the city mark, in a symbolic way, the type of vehicle that has the circulation preference in each space.

In this way, in more recent sectors of Santiago de Compostela today we can find conventional bituminous materials (asphalt), adapted to the requirements of the vehicular circulation. In parts of the city dating earlier than the XIX century where the vehicular circulation is important, paving stones still remain, such as in the neighbourhood of San Pedro, these areas being spaces of cohabiting between vehicular circulation and pedestrians, where in numerous case, there are no pavements nor a dense traffic that endangers the pedestrian.

Lastly, in spaces where the pedestrian mobility is preponderant or exclusive (such as in the almond-shaped precinct of the Historical Quarters) the classic cobblestone granite can be found, whose characteristics appear perfectly regulated in the PECH of 1997:

Volume II, page 57: "In all of the Intramurally precinct granular material for the pavement settings are exclusively used (...). This criterion must be extended to all of the public streets and space of the Special Plan area that presents a pedestrian character".

In this way, the type of material used in the road surface of the Historical Quarters is coherent with the historical tradition of this part of the city, and adds a symbolic character basis that is associated with a predominant space for the pedestrian. In the photo we can see one of the few spaces where cars can freely circulate within the historical quarters.

ACTIONS IN THE SERVICES OF URBAN PUBLIC TRANSPORT

Within an integrated conception of the urban mobility, the public transport must hold a key role, permitting a very necessary transfer modal of personal automobile users. In the case of Santiago de Compostela, the re-strengthening of the role of the public transport is very pertinent, taking into account the intense urban mobility (owing to the importance of the peri-urbanisation) and also the inter-urban one (associated to the role of Santiago de Compostela as a highly specialised city in the political-administrative, educative and health sectors).

As a consequence of the growing importance of the study, regulation and follow-up of the mobility in Santiago de Compostela, at the end of 1999 TUSSA was created (Anonymous Association of Urban Transport in Santiago de Compostela).

This is an association of 100% municipal capital, started by the Santiago de Compostela City Council. The presidency of the company corresponds to the City Mayor, the vice-presidency is delegated to the Transport Councillor and all of the political parties with representations in the Santiago de Compostela City Council can be found in the Board of Directors.

Putting TUSSA into action is the result of the application of the recommendations and conclusions of the Public Transport Regulation Plan of 1989 and of the Mobility Plan of 1992, where (overall the first mentioned plan) carried out a diagnosis of the state of the Public transport, and recommended a reorganisation of the existing lines attending to demand and rationalisation criterions.

This role is precisely what has occupied the main efforts of TUSSA from its origins. Actually, TUSSA manages the public transport of Santiago de Compostela, such as the periphery car parks of the previously mentioned Xoan XXIII and Cornes. TUSSA also manages the Bus Station services and the Radio-Taxi service.

During this period of TUSSA, it is necessary to highlight the collaboration with the University of Santiago de Compostela, which has carried out regular and diverse technical reports (about the urban and inter-urban buses, about the taxi sector, etc).

REGULATION OF THE STOPS AND ITINERARIES OF INTER-URBAN TRANSPORT

Nowadays, one of the main barriers opposing the bettering of the mobility of the citizens in Santiago de Compostela is the lack of unification of urban public transport with inter-urban public transport. In recent decades, the demographic growth of the city has caused an overflow of the limits of the compact centre, and has directed towards a series of contiguous municipalities. These have seen the classic peri-urban growth, with a strong dependence of daily mobility to the city centre.

In the current situation, the urban transport is directly managed by TUSSA, municipal company that possesses all the competences over the design of the lines, the timetables and the situation of the bus stops. In reference to the inter-urban transport, which guarantees the mobility from the new periphery areas towards the city centre, it is a competence of the regional government, who at the same time manages the routes and services.

The lack of a single transport organisation causes a series of deficiencies in the working order of the service. The main problems that are detected are the lack of coordination of the timetables, the elevated price of service (as no coordinated ticket exists) and the absence of authentic interchangers that minimise the travelling distances of the service users.

To solve this situation the regional government has taken steps towards the creation of the so-called "Metropolitan Transport of Galicia", which is being introduced in the seven large cities of Galicia. However, the existence of legal rigidity in the Transport regulations, and the strength of the local power in Galicia are delaying it, and even impeding the start of a profound reform in this sector, necessary to optimise the existing resources and better the mobility of the residents in the area of Santiago de Compostela.

CONCLUSIONS

The World Heritage Cities, for their historical heritage and their urban evolution throughout the centuries, possess very specific characteristics, which individualise them compared with other city models. The main differentiating feature is the presence and importance of the so-called Historical Quarters, which can be found within these cities, a strongly symbolic space that links past and present, and that currently tends to be a place of maximum attraction for the tourist.

Apart from the tourism, other more modern functions cohabit with the traditional uses, provoking the denominated "tension of change", which becomes the daily reality for the historical quarters managers. This management should allow for the tourist or commercial activities to be combined with the classic residential function, trying to obtain an stable balance.

One of the most important aspects that is necessary to correctly manage in a Historical Quarters is the mobility. Frequently, most of the attention is directed towards the rehabilitation (interior and exterior) of the buildings, leaving behind the regulation and management of the mobility. However, its ordering is fundamental for guaranteeing the accessibility of the residents, loading and unloading of goods for the businesses and the necessary flow of passer-bys and tourists in general.

In Spain, where the territorial and urban planning in general places little importance on the mobility, Santiago de Compostela appears as an example to be followed for its assumption of mobility as a key element in the management of its historical quarters, within a systematic and integrated approach. From the decade of the 1980's, the different documents of urban planning regularly have incorporated clear directives on mobility, in agreement with the urban planning.

In effect, at the same time that the centre of the urban life was built around and depended on the Historical Quarters, an ambitious plan to pedestrianise it was put into action. The Special Plan of Protection and Renovation of the Historical Quarters (1997) and the General Bylaw of Circulation and Use of the Public Roads (1998) were the reference documents that fixed a model of sustainable mobility, that constituted to an important proposal for historical cities:

• Practically avoiding general vehicular circulation practice in almost all the Historical Quarters, and the limitation of the loading and unloading timetable is to be reduced to three and a half hours per day.

• Large limitations apply for parking within the Historical Quarters, and the creation of parking areas for residents only

• Construction of "bordering" car parks near the Historical Quarters, which will facilitate the pedestrian accessibility to within the Historical Quarters from outside

• Promotion of the pedestrian mobility, and creation of a pedestrian itineraries network not only within the Historical Quarters, but also in the surrounding neighbourhoods

• Use of diverse types of paving depending on the types of mobility used in each part of the city, and, specifically, of the traditional paving of the Historical Quarters

• Creation of a transport and mobility management municipal firm, with the aim of coordinating the public transport, the car parks and the dissemination of information, trying to promote forms of sustainable transport (pedestrian mobility and public transport).

• Decisive promotion of a regional transport model, trying to increase the number of public transport users and to create a more sustainable mobility in the city

The theoretical postulates, stated more than seven years ago, constituted to a guide for the implementation of sustainable mobility policies in Santiago de Compostela. Many of these directives were successfully implemented, such as the restriction of vehicles in the Historical Quarters, the creation of bordering car parks or different types of paving for the different parts of the city.

On the contrary, the municipal policies must promote the pedestrian mobility and the itineraries even more, mainly trying to link the Historical Quarters to the city centre by means of pedestrian pathways. As such, it is necessary to advance towards a regional integration of the public transport, able to liberate the compact city of cars, and to obtain thus a model where mobility on foot, by bicycle or by bus substitutes the primacy of the personal vehicle. In this sense, the good practices implemented in the Historical Quarters should, in the future, be extended to the rest of the city, aiming for a sustainable mobility for the global urban space of Santiago de Compostela.

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