LOCAL COMMUNITIES INVOLVED IN THE TERRITORIAL PLANNING OF SOUTH-BUKOWINA AREA. FACTOR AND EFFECT

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Abstract. Even though all of Bukowina has no longer functioned as a territorial system in itself, yet it has preserved much of the characteristic features of an aggregate whole, standing apart by a certain way of life, humanized landscape and the behaviour of its population. Therefore, we have deemed it useful and important to undertake such a study on the relationship between local specificity and territorial organization, a prerequisite for the implementation of efficient local and regional development policies.

1. INTRODUCTION

Despite the progress made by research on how to structure the geographical space, this notion remains a most controversial one. What is known for certain is that Human Geography studies man and space in their respective geographical space. In fact, geographical space is the subject of Geography as a whole, hence the need to redefine the essential concept of research in this field. A synthetic approach to geographical space could define it as a spatial projection of interdependencies between all of the geographical components (Ianoș and Heller, 2006). The systematic analysis of a space, in terms of its organization and planning, contains references to the organization and planning of its major components, which act as aggregates of features and functions. In view of it, among the primary tiers we must consider the built area, with functional areas, and unincorporated areas, with specific uses and functions, such as facilities for agriculture, forestry, transport and tourism, as well as waste disposal as intrinsic parts (Ianoș, 1990).

The other territorial planning levels down to the smallest analysed unit could be of interest to the researcher, provided they reflect maximum interconditionalities (Ianoș, Popescu, 1997). In this case, the household becomes a common point of reference, transposing physically, through configuration, appearance and role, the whole arsenal of natural favourability and restrictions, as well as the rules, habits and beliefs of the community (Barbu, 1976). Even if the principles of planning the geographical space are still the same, there are many peculiarities leading to the idea that local planning is essential to detecting the geographical macrosystem’s structure and functioning in order to individualize the strong imbalances occurring at planetary level.

2. TERRITORIAL PLANNING OF SOUTH-BUKOWINA AREA

The validity of geographical analyses at the lower levels of geographical space taxonomy is supported by the possibility of detecting the direct effects of interventions. It is clear that only on limited and relatively homogeneous functional spaces, one can see how change is propagating from

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one component to another. Finding direct effects is relatively easy and allows for reorientation and resizing interventions, but estimating the cumulative effects of change on the structure and the individual components remains quite difficult. Therefore, it is necessary to correlate the results with the sets of events that occurred, under identical conditions, in the history of the same system, or of similar systems. After obtaining such information, we can proceed to redefining strategies and policies for correcting aberrant evolutions on the microscale.

Proceeding from the general features of the Romanian space, we might distinguish three types of mental spaces corresponding to three distinct space levels: macro-territorial (the historical provinces), mezzo-territorial (the historical lands) and micro-territorial (the locality of origin). In this hierarchy, Bukowina falls into the first category of mental spaces which individualizes Dorna Land and Câmpulung Land, circumscribed to depressions by the same name, as functional and mental spaces at mesoterritorial scale (Cocean, 1997).

As a whole, the individuality of the south-Bukowina area is shaped both by its distinct natural characteristics and social-historical specificities, differing from the rest of the Moldavian space (after 1774) rather by the spatial and functional homogeneity that stamped its residents’ psyche of belonging to this space (lived space, perceived space) (Cocean, 2002).

Therefore, notwithstanding the natural heterogeneity and, hence, potential and habitat conditions, the south-Bukowina area is a relatively homogeneous functional space, different from the rest of Moldavia, a mental space perceived per se by the local communities. From this viewpoint, Bukowina has all the attributes of a regional entity bottom-up individualized through the associative participation of the local communities, which ensures the full functionality of the territorial whole. This individuality is projected in the residents’ psyche, the region becoming a mental space, a space which residents refer their identity to, a space of communion between man and his life environment, a fundamental element in the sustainability of any spatial structure. Mental spaces are both functional spaces, and spaces of ethnic and cultural homogeneity; bottom-up structured spaces, based on the relationships between the local communities.

After 1918, Romania displayed three distinct administrative regions: the Old Kingdom (Wallachia and Moldavia), Bukowina, Bessarabia and Transylvania. Thus, in terms of surface-area, Bukowina counties were 7–10 times smaller than the neighbouring counties of Bessarabia, or some counties in Transylvania and Banat. The tasks of prefects and of other local administrative institutions were very different: e.g. the population of Bihor or Caras-Severin counties numbered over 450,000 inhabitants, while that of the Bukowina counties was more than 10 times less (around 25,000 inhabitants in Vășcăuți), like a medium-sized city, governed by a mayor (Fig. 1).

**Stages of territorial planning**

Territorial planning in Bukowina covered three distinct periods:
- **The Middle Ages**: hearths type (Rom. vatra) (freemens’ settlements – Rom. răzășesc – Câmpulung, Vatra Dornei), Forest Reserve type (braniște) (monasteries of Putna and Voroneț), voivodal domain type (Suceava) (Iosep, 2009).
- **The Austrian period**: colonies, slobozii and towns type.
- **The Post-WWII period**: private forms (in the mountain area) and state farms (in the plateau area).

Organizing natural systems is a continuous process and self-organization assimilated. The south-Bukowina area has evolved according to unique rules of self-regulation and microscale equilibrium with minimum human influence, low population density (the mountain region covering 65% of the south-Bukowina area), in a pastoral and agrarian society with reduced dynamic, capacity of adjustment and regeneration of the natural mountainous environment. The scheme of territorial planning is a simple one, including material and energy flows moving within two systems: a mountain

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1 Settlement where houses are built among rare and old trees tree-cutting being banned.
2 Territory occupied and administered by a foreign state and dependent on it for administration, economy and culture.
system, with valleys and depressions and a plateau system, which is an ecologic system with biotic and abiotic circuits integrated into a fund of big water circuits and of dynamic geomorphology.

![Diagram of the administrative organization of Bukowina from 1925 to 1940.](image)

Fig. 1 – The administrative organization of Bukowina from 1925 to 1940 (after R. Săgeată, 2004).

Human communities were discreetly inserted, without causing major disturbances in the natural order, but subsequently, with the intensification and permanence of the human presence, the region was turned into a man-altered landscape, although the natural environmental footprint has remained visible and strong.

Territorial planning is a continuous process, becoming noticeable only on major thresholds. Given all the historical, economic, social and political changes, succeeding one another over the centuries, three stages of territorial planning have been identified in the south-Bukowina area based on constituent structures and dynamics.

2.1. The Middle Ages Stage (peripheral interferences – until 1774)

In an analysis of Mediaeval Times, there is the temptation to look for the forest range of the permanence and continuity of settlement within the entire Carpathian area and beyond, according to the leit motive which says that, in this part of the Continent, habitation dates from Ancient Times. Large spruce and beech woods were perceived as border area, rather than as habitat zones.
Frequently, in understanding territorial planning one resorts to the historical and political context, considering them essential prerequisites for modelling and boosting the space. The structural function of the political and historical factors can be found and manifest within the context of permanent housing scattered due to historical events (Chiriţă, 2005).

After the 13th century, the north-western part of Moldavia, still in its first stage of development, did experience faster population growth; however the hearth was not yet consolidated. Between the late 9th and 13th centuries, Petchenegs, Cumanians, followed by Taetar-Mongol tribes used to control the Carpathian valleys and passes. Justifying reduced population numbers, or even the absence of settlements, was also the fact that part of Moldavia was flat and larger than mountain area. Forests do, provide resources, but they did not provide the basis for lasting settlements, becoming a place of shelter or refuge only in hard times (Chiriţă, 2005).

Another important territorial planning element of the south-Bukowina area are some of the appellatives, e.g. land, which has many meanings today: state, motherland, province, region, county, territory (Oancea, 1979). Although considered minor today, the Romanian meaning of mountain country is the oldest, being regionally used as determinative for some Carpathian depressions (Dorna, Campulung), villages, crops, meadows, pastures and forests etc. In view of it, the continuity of settlement in such lowland areas becomes obvious (Iaţu, 1998).

Dorna Land corresponds to Dorna Depression and its mountainous surroundings. The term land is not used as a local appellative for Dorna region, the local meaning being of agricultural region rich in grain crops. Perhaps, given the toponymy (ex. Prisaca Dornei, at the eastern limit of Campulung), Dorna Depression was part of Campulung Country in the Middle Ages (Ilieş, 1999) (Fig. 2).

From an ethnographic viewpoint, one of the oldest types of household, with strengthened forest range (Rom. ocol) exists in the territory of small lands (Campulung). The geographical names found in old or new historical and cartographic documents, designated organizational entities of small or large, high or low lands. These names can be considered as part of the history and the national cultural heritage, being specific to the Romanian territory.

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**Fig. 2** – South-Bukowina – Types of lands.
As the valleys came to be more populated, or took on a polarizing function after the building of Voronet, Putna, Moldovița, and Sucevița monasteries, the space was divided between the estates of these monasteries, with all the consequences deriving from their neighborhood, e.g. boundary line, illegal use (Chiriță, 2005). The falling of these estates into the possession of the monasteries was a gradual process, the first estates having belonged to the inhabitants of Câmpulung Forest Range (Rom. ocol), who already had a freemens’ type of territorial planning (Rom. răzășesc). This involved a typical process of deforestation and the introduction of portions of land into the agricultural circuit (Rom. lăzuire), either as cropping or as hay-fields. The right to deforest and become master of the deforested place was a very old custom, dating from the time when there was not Ruling Prince in the country to grant estates, the residents clearing forest areas and building houses for themselves. This custom dates to the time of Voivode Bogdan, was usually observed in certain regions of Moldavia, mostly in the mountains, where life was difficult and few people wished to live there. Deforestations, practiced by the peasants of Câmpulung, created areas used for house-building and remained peasants property under their control (Bălan, 1960). In the Middle Ages, the south-Bukowina area was organized according to outside influences, namely, monastic centers and neighbouring free communities, which actually divided the space by centrifugal forces. The valleys became improper for lasting habitation. The internal planning of a territory, its administration, whether clerical or secular, can produce internal fractures, overlapping the natural convergent organization by a divergent one (see also Ianoș, 1994). Although the monastic boundaries, which cut the Bukovinian territory, did not always follow the same rule, they nevertheless had always been lines of separation between ownership and organizational systems.

To conclude, we would say that the Mediaeval sub-Bukowinan space had three forms of space organization: the freeholder’s (the hearth), braniște (the forest belonging to the Church founds), and the Princely feudal estate (belonging to the Princely Court).

2.2. The Modern (Austrian) Stage (1774–1918)

The Austrian presence in Bukowina, represented a hub of territorial planning. In the early years of Austrian occupation, the administration of the province of Bukowina was ensured by a military structure, shortly replaced by that of the Administrative District of Galicia. These entities used to believe that we talk about an organizational framework in which various population and economic, religious, and administrative entities became integrated (Chiriță, 2005).

That period was marked by the question of settling the borderline of the south-Bukowina area. This delimitation represents a departure from the Austrian-Turkish Map and from the agreement on the above-mentioned sector. Studying historical documents shows that the borderline with Moldavia set by the Austrian Empire, was advantageous for the latter.

North of this bordline, local organization reveals the actual implementation of planning and zoning policies. These are achieved through the introduction of a stable cadastre in 1879 (Chiriță, 2005).

Demographically speaking, the numerical growth, due mostly to immigrations, especially through incomings, led to the multiplication of permanent housing. However, that increase did not alter the general configuration of the settlement network which continued to preserve a punctual character. The flow of people allowed for the development of a local economy based on logging, shepherding and agriculture, limited to specific intra-montane or plateau crops.

As a consequence, villages appeared as small clusters of houses with links of communication between them, actually the beginning of a more intense humanization. Increased anthropization would manifest in the gradual change of land-use, greater housing densities, the mapping of new roads and the beginning of the exploitation of local mineral resources. All these elements were essential for a certain kind of territorial planning, both at provincial and local territorial level.
Forest areas continued to be the dominant structure of land resources despite the continuous territorial expansion of new villages. Planning attempts and administrative allocation were reflected in the creation of the first macro-regional structures, such as the Church Fund. These structures will possess a considerable area, especially forests, for a longer period of time, the Fund, consisting of the former monastic forest reserve, but also of the Forest Range of Campulung, or of other properties. Territorial planning depended largely on the structure and type of property, and the property located on it. New forest management structures established in this province, did not represent a form of cooperative management, but stressed the pressure of the Austrian government in the area. The Austrians co-ordinated the first forestry zoning, which played an important role for the local communities. An analysis of the network of human settlements in Bukowina throughout the period until the Greater Union, shows three types of settlements: slobozii (small villages belonging to a monastery or a squire), colonies and small towns.

2.3. The Inter-war and Post-war Stage (after 1918 – to date)

This is an inertial stage, strongly marked by the exploitation of natural resources and the building of the infrastructure inherited from the Austrian regime until 1945, followed by the communist period (collectivization and other state forms of organization in the plateau area). After Bukowina was integrated into Greater Romania, a series of activities that had become the brand of the region, continued to exist, with discontinuities, adaptations, or reorientation. The economic fluctuations recorded in the inter-war period reflected in some local changes, but remained the dominant mark stamped by the Austrian heritage and the relative conservation of the organizational structure in which private property was dominant (Chiriţă, 2005).

In Contemporary Times (after the last administrative organization of 1968), important changes and notable differences between the two distinct periods (before and after 1989) become obvious when analyzing the landscapes resulting from territorial planning, actually a new territorial zoning process, ie a new intentional and planned organization. We are witnessing an organized process generated by the interference of directions and flows of people and goods. After 1990, although a part of this organization began to fall as economic joint ventures appeared in the area, simultaneously with the crystallization of local cores, based on private initiative, the recovered resources fell under a new ownership regime (Muntele, Groza, Țurcășu, 2002). The unique form, almost a matrix (Chiriţă, 2005) of private trade effervescence, followed much later by solid production initiatives, reflected in Bukowina area by the numerical increase of private companies or joint ventures over the last 10 years (2000–2010). Characteristic of the post-war period were two types of territorial planning: public – especially in the eastern plateau, and private – in the western mountain domain (Chiriţă, 2005).

Humanization was decisive for the historical scale of the spatial structure and it continues to shape macro-sketches of land use. The first characteristic introduced by human activity are the two units of urban planning, the built-up area and the unincorporated area; these are almost synonymous with the hearth and the estate.

Removing from the natural whole that part of the territory suitable to housing and urban planning is the first form of human interference with territorial planning. The flexibility of the limits of the built-up area was determinant for including in this category all suitable land a very poor in technical infrastructure, or without constructions on it.

The territorial community (villages, communes and municipias) having local decision-making power, is an element of diversity which, though diluted after communist uniformity and a common history, still belongs to individual religious confessions (Fig. 3).
Local communities and territorial planning of South-Bukowina

Fig. 3 – Territorial administrative units (DJSS–2006).

The major part of landed estates (especially in the mountains) is occupied by forests, pastures and meadows, agricultural land totalling less than 1/3 of the surface-areas; the main occupation is animal breeding, because arable land is limited and the conditions proved unfavourable for crop cultures, excepting potato, sugar beet and fodder beet, maize, rye and barley.

Having in view all the geographical elements contributing to territorial planning and the complexity of transformations underway, we estimate that the areas with the largest human concentration are in the eastern plateau, and in the north-east of Bukowina, along the two main axes: Suceava – Câmpulung – Vatra Dornei and Radăuți – Suceava, along the valleys of Suceava, Moldova and Bistrița.

CONCLUSIONS

Overall, the individuality of the South-Bukowina area is due both to its natural specificities characteristics and social-historical that, distinguish it from the rest of the Moldavian space, especially through spatial and functional homogeneity that stamped the residents’ psyche (the feeling of belonging to that space – lived space, perceived space). Therefore, notwithstanding natural heterogeneity and, hence, habitat potential and conditions, the south-Bukowina area is a relatively homogeneous functional space, different from the rest of Moldavia, a mental space perceived per se by the local communities. From this point of view, Bukowina has all the attributes of a regional entity individualized bottom-up, through associative participation of the local communities, which ensures the functionality of the territorial whole. It is designated in the residents’ psyche, the region becoming a mental space, a space of its residents’ identity, the communion between man and his life environment, a fundamental element in the sustainability of any spatial structure. Mental spaces are both functional spaces and spaces of ethnic and cultural homogeneity; bottom-up structured spaces, based on the relationships between the local communities.

The fact that the region is the most complex geographical system is demonstrated by its great strength to outstand change, that is, not any intervention or set of interventions lead to a fundamental
change in the region, or in part of it. Its entire internal structural and functional organization helps maintaining the same order in the face of various types of external aggression. The various components and particularities of the spatial expanse make the region react to any environmental change through a series of changes in the opposite direction and equal in size to that which has given rise to it (Rosnay, 1975). The impact is gradually attenuated by the rapid communication capacity between the sub-systems, seeming that nothing practically happens in the entire geographical region. Due to the different transmission speeds of change, resistance to change is greater in the heterogeneous region than in the homogeneous ones (natural). The response of the heterogeneous regions components is quick, mitigating the effects of any intervention, with more response options and opportunities for adaptation. Chain diffusion processes of the mitigation effects delete the shock caused by intervention. Natural regions have fewer response options in mitigating intervention and only components in the adjacent area of impact do participate and not the entire region, as in the case of heterogeneous regions.

The operational entity in territorial planning, the territorial system, focused on a specific area, such as south-Bukowina, is composed of a plurality of sub-systems that rank in and integrate into the spatial ensemble according to its own laws, including both the historical-emotional and the natural ones. These sub-systems, regarded as sub-spaces of lower rank, are the result of the existence of geographical objects in a variety of moods and forms. The general characteristics and properties of these spaces are the same as the geographical space, but particular features are different, constituting the concrete reflection of interactions between components at territorial level.

The structure of the south-Bukowina area is rather complex, despite the relatively cultural and historical uniformity that left its mark on territorial planning, and a strong human community behaviour is stamped in the collective psyche. The organization prospect takes into account the resources of the studied space, the role of the physical and social infrastructure, the hierarchy proper to the settlement network (deeply confused by the new settlements raised to urban status in 2004) and the local, regional and national policies. The relationship between the local community and the regional community is a very complex one, and research into the south-Bukowina area shows how to optimize it.

All these elements lead to a linear-type concentration of habitation, the result being the emergence of relatively large settlements, deeply connected with their natural environmental resources.

The interaction with this natural environment was facilitated by the population’s culture of respect for its surroundings, typical of the Bukowinian individual. This relationship of interdependence has generated a sound and lasting territorial relationship, where violence on the environment is by far more reduced than in the other national geographical areas.

So, harmony is still preserved and reflected in the physiognomy, functionality and structuring of the south-Bukowinian space.

The guide-lines of structuring the geographical space and its stability, facilitates (despite some frequently contradictory policies), the process of detecting a specific organization model for the south of Bukowina.

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