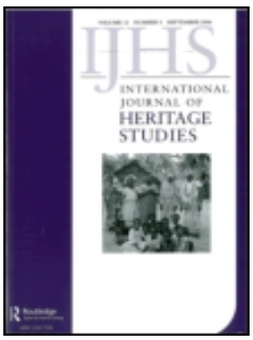

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Beyond the Models of Marginality

Miloslav Lapka, Eva Cudlinova

Abstract

The article focuses on a general analysis of two basic models for solving the problems of marginal areas: 1) linear economic models 2) non-linear ecological models. Following an examination of both types of model, the paper identifies the main successes and failures accompanying their application. We are especially concerned with the methodology and nature of these models, and in doing so, with the phenomenon of cultural capital. Empirical data from the Šumava Mountains, the environmentally rich area along the south western boundary of the Czech Republic, are used as an example of the application of the two models. Understanding the relationship between the linear and non-linear models in practice seems to ensure the successful solution of some problems in marginal areas.

Key Words
Heritage
Marginality
Czech Republic
Šumava
Ecological Planning

An examination of marginal areas can start with a significant statement which seems a bit like a word game. The problem of marginality is not a marginal problem from a global point of view. There is always conflict concerning the definition of marginality, no matter what kind of marginality we speak about, social, economic, spatial or other. This is a conflict based on the superiority of one kind of cultural capital which determines the future vision of the society. The marginal area lies at the periphery of this superior vision. The kind of conflict, and its parameters, determines the type of model for its solution which is to be used. These solution models may be divided into two groups:

1) linear 'economic' models
2) non-linear 'ecological' models

The current problems of marginal areas in Europe represent the conflicts of western culture. The way we solve these conflicts indicates, to some extent, the hopes and failures of our culture in protecting the environment, including the cultural heritage. In this context, the problem of marginality could be changed, paradoxically, to become a mainspring of future development. On the other hand, indicators of social and economic growth generally used at present could be, under current conditions of global environmental crisis, pushed to the margins of social interest.

The Šumava Mountains will be used as a practical example of the application of these models. These mountains are located along the south western boundary of the Czech Republic bordering Germany and Austria. The mountain range is roughly 100 km long with plateaux being prevalent. The entire region belongs to the cool climate zone with an average annual temperature from three to five degrees Celsius. The Šumava is an important watershed between the Black Sea (via the Danube) and the North Sea (via the Elbe). The most valuable parts of the Šumava Mountains were proclaimed a National Park in 1991, thereby giving it a higher level of nature and landscape protection.[1]

1. J. Tesitel & M. Bartos, *Guide to Practical Studies in Ecological Planning*, CAS, 1995. The empirical data used in our paper comes from the research J. Tesitel et al, *Land-use and the Future of the Šumava Mountains*, GACR 512/95/0725, 1996, and J. Tesitel et al, Sustainable *Development Strategies for Šumava Biosphere Reserve*, GEF-Biodiversity Protection Project, 1996.

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General Characteristics of Linear 'Economic' Models

To be able to understand this type of model, it is necessary to start with an economic interpretation of the marginal area. From the economic point of view 'marginal' means an area out of the main economic stream. It does not play an important role in the economic development of society. The origin of this situation may lie in complex combinations of social and environmental conditions. Marginal areas are frequently mountain regions. They may also be frontier or marcher areas as is notably the case in the post-communist states. The Šumava region is a practical example of just such a marginal mountainous frontier zone.

Such areas are considered marginal because of the comparative weakness of economic factors such as land, labour and capital. The labour pool is often small and poorly qualified. The land itself, the soil, is usually poor with low fertility. The availability of financial and technical capital is insufficient. Natural capital may be rich but in a form which cannot be used immediately for economic production.

The Šumava area fits the economic characteristics of marginal areas in almost all criteria:

- 87% of the agricultural land is of low fertility,
- there is a weak pool of labour, both in terms of numbers and of qualifications,
- a lack of financial capital is characteristic of this region

The Šumava area lies outside the main stream of Czech political and economic life, its citizens have restricted access both to the political decision-making process and to markets.[2]

The existence of marginal areas may be understood as an expression of an imperfectly functioning economy, in much the same way as phenomena such as inflation and unemployment. Marginal areas may be seen as one of the spatial dimensions of market failure. They may be considered as being a result of inefficiency, caused by a failure fully to exploit the available resources of society. Government intervention is one of the most common approaches in attempting to correct all market failures. Such interventions could be characterised briefly as efforts to improve both the efficiency and the justice of society's income distribution and to ensure a stable economy. The same approach can be applied to marginal areas. It is an effort to improve the efficiency of resource exploitation in the area, as well as to reduce the injustices in social income distribution, by providing an equal chance to gain a job and a comparable living standard.

Such governmental polices are an effort to offset the effects of the weaknesses of the economic cycle in marginal areas. This approach is a typical example of a linear 'economic' model solution. In a linear model approach the major problem is to determine the factors which act as limits to growth, and then seek ways to overcome them. This is done by comparing the limits and developmental resources of the area. Inevitably, the extent to which the limiting factors are overcome depends on the cost, including the social cost, of removing them. There is some similarity with cost-benefit analysis, but working in a spatial dimension

2. J. Tesitel at al., *Sustainable Development Strategy for Šumava Biosphere Reserve*, final report, 1997.

There are many political, social and environmental factors which, in addition to economic ones, serve to limit local development in marginal areas. In a linear model, the way of overcoming these limits is to introduce the missing resources into the area from outside sources, in the form of subsidies or other kinds of governmental assistance. Such models do not take into account the autonomous resources of the area.

Such linear, economic models do not take into account the causes of the emergence of these marginal areas nor the development of these areas in ways broader than economics. They represent a one-dimensional form of help from the government, which is based on the pragmatic support of a single vision. The only aim is to increase the satisfaction of needs in the area.

Linear models have several advantages.

1. The problem is simplified to enable the application of a number of isolated solutions. Such models are not complicated by complex interpretations of reality, as, for instance those supplied by sociology.
2. They allow the possibility of using existing legislative and economic tools without the need to change them.
3. They enable relatively fast solutions with the possibility of controlling the results comprehending the economic and decision spheres, which are similar to the administrative approach of problem solving.

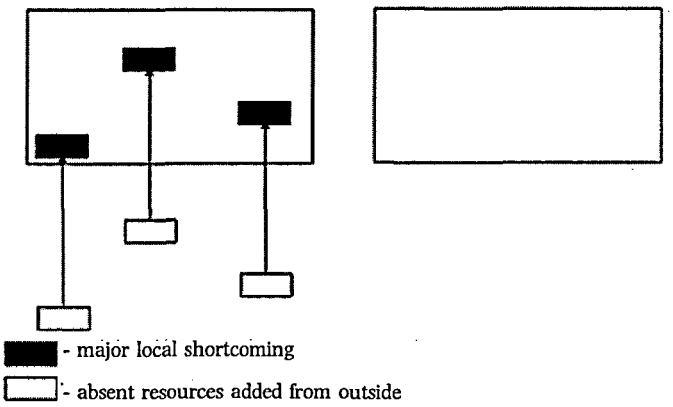
There are several disadvantages, however.

1. The linear model does not take into account feedbacks from the autonomous resources of the area, social, environmental, economic. Many of these resources represent the heritage value of the region. Unanticipated feedbacks, which so often accompany the suggested solution, then evoke many interrelated problems.
2. Linear models tend to produce short-term decisions, and many of the solutions remain isolated. Solutions which such models produce are frequently offered as being the only possible solution. Alternatives are rare.
3. The marginal area is unlikely to be considered as a source of positive benefits. The considerable advantages for society in the form of healthy environments, open air recreation, clear drinking water, are usually available without payment. They do not appear as costed profits for society.
4. Such models rarely respect the individual marginal area as an autonomous system with its own ways and sources of development
5. Linear models may cure symptoms. They do not investigate or reveal the frequently less obvious causes of the problem of marginality.

Altogether linear, economic models are largely unable to find sustainable and stable solutions for the problems of marginality. 'A basic cause of this failure has been the predominance of limited agency perspectives in managerial decision processes. Agencies tend to view those alternatives as ends. For example, dam construction can come to be viewed as a socially desirable end in itself by those agencies with a dam construction mission.'[3]

In Figure 1A, the linear model indicates three major problems or

3. B.S. Sadler & W.E. Cox, 'Water resources management: the socio-political context', *Nature and Resources*, Vol. XXII, No.3, 1986, pp.12-19.



Figures 1A & 1B. The linear model, ideal function.

shortcomings within the area. These problems represent 'local limitations' of the marginal area, which are to be removed by application of benefits from external sources.

When, in Figure 1B, the missing resources are added from, or implemented by, outside sources the problems of the marginal area are solved. In the ideal and imaginary final situation the 'local shortcomings' have disappeared.

Local Shortcomings in the Šumava Mountains

The main limitations to development in this area can be divided into five groups:

1) Financial problems

Financial problems manifest themselves in deficiencies of investment capital for developing infrastructure, making waste tips, investing in new services and building. In Šumava there is lack of capital for starting businesses in the obvious areas of recreation and tourism, including spa development, as well as in the ecological agriculture sector.

2) Demographic and social problems

The area is sparsely settled. There are simply not enough people to implement the new development plans for the area. The evacuation of the numerous German-speaking inhabitants after World War Two, meant a loss of 45% of the local population, and resulted in a lack of traditional connectedness with the land. Basic standards of good husbandry were adversely affected, and the security requirements imposed in a border area did not encourage post-war settlement.

3) The application of the law 114/92 - Law of Nature and Landscape Protection

This law has the same form for all three Czech national parks (Šumava, Krkonose, Podyji). It does not take into account the specifics of each area and its wording allows ambiguous interpretation. Both these facts are very important. Their combined result is that a clear legislative frame for the economic development of the area is largely missing.

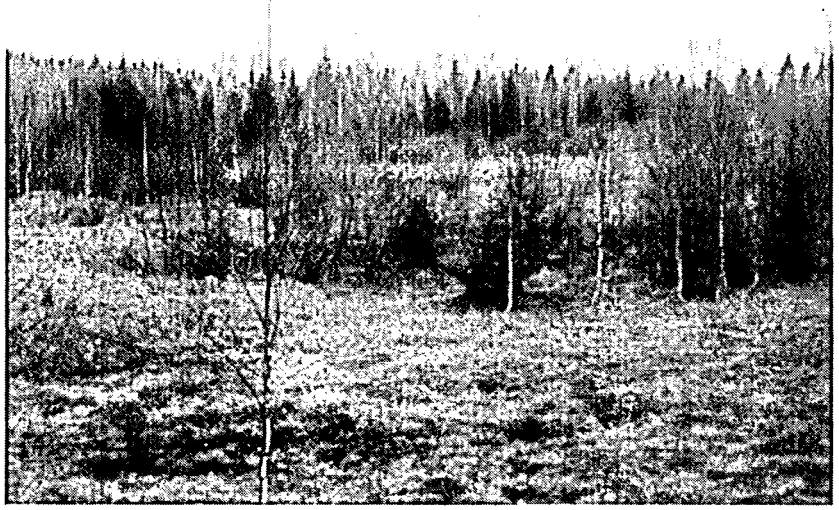


Figure 2A. Birch, spruce and moorland grasses in the Šumava.

Figure 2B. A tarn in the high Šumava.

4) Unfinished process of privatisation in the area

The history of this area over the last sixty years has resulted in great lack of clarity about property rights, especially those dealing with agricultural land and recreational buildings. Conditions in the property market are inevitably unstable.

5) Communication between Village administration and Šumava National Park Authority.

The National Park management authority is an important and powerful stake holder with much influence in the area. Its rules often impose significant restrictions on the economic development of villages.

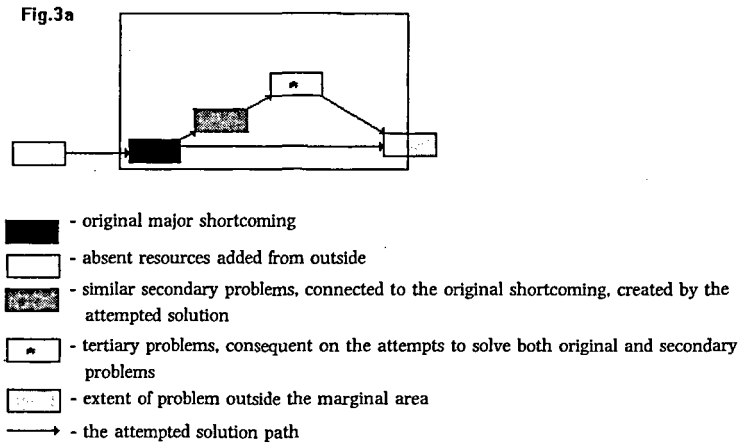
The empirical data used in identifying the five groups of problems mentioned above derived from a workshop, held in Vimperk in 1996. Among the participants were mayors of villages, members of National Park management and experts.[4]

4. J. Tesitel et al. 1996, op.cit.

3 a) In marginal areas the main, or initial, problem often produces a whole chain of subsequent secondary and tertiary problems.

3 b) The feedback occurs in a situation where the solution of a problem is removed from the marginal area only to return as know-how and the whole process repeats itself.

Figure 3A. The linear model - the reality. The rise of secondary and tertiary problems



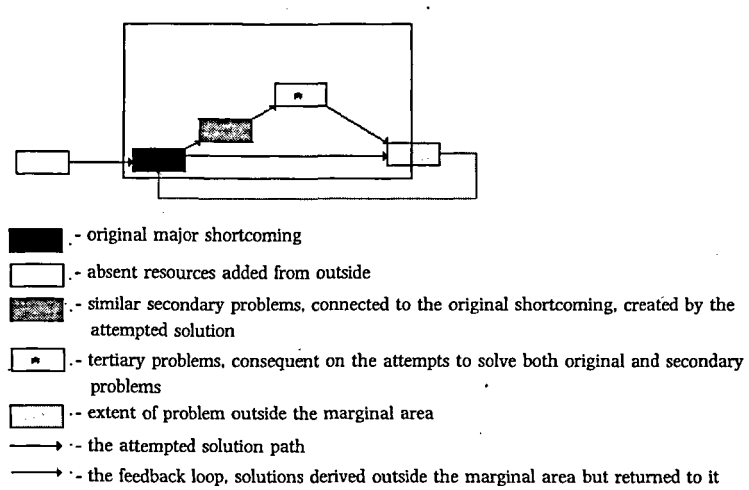


Figure 3B. The linear model - the reality. Solutions returned as knowhow and feedback

Examples of emerging secondary problems in Šumava Mountains

The lack of financial resources and the problems arising from an unsuitable demographic structure are used as exemplars of secondary problems in the 'umava Mountains. These two problems are closely connected.

Financial problems

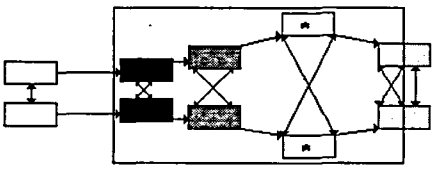
Direct governmental support is perceived as the solution to the lack of financial capital in the area. The success of this method largely depends on the existence of available participants in the society - those social groups who are able to use the input money in accordance with the intended social aims. At this point, a secondary problem immediately occurs. There is a major shortage of local businessmen or potential entrepreneurs in the area, who have appropriate qualifications and sufficient enthusiasm.

Unsuitable demographic structure

The problem of an unsuitable demographic structure could be solved by immigration into the area. There are indeed plenty of applications to settle in the 'umava Mountains. However, this solution also creates secondary problems because of the lack of capital and of space for building new apartments. Therefore, the mayors of many villages inevitably reject many of these applications. Furthermore the emigration of young people from the Šumava region exacerbates an initial demographic problem. Would-be emigrants are markedly younger than would-be immigrants.

In Figure 4 two initial problems are in conflict. For example, the general lack of parking places, while the only potential parking place is a meadow with a wealth of protected species. The solution of these problems creates chains of secondary and tertiary problems which have similar conflicts. Here are two examples of conflicting problems in the Šumava Mountains

Figure 4. Actual relationships betwen solutions in a marginal area



- Problem - original major shortcoming
- Solution - absent resources added from outside
- Secondary problems, connected to the original shortcoming, created by the attempted solution
- Tertiary problems, consequent on the attempts to solve both original and secondary problems
- Extent of problem outside the marginal area
- Conflict between problems - solving one problem exacerbates the second problem
- Non-conflicting problems - solving both problems together is possible

The building of new housing

The lack of flats, can also be seen as a conflict between the village authorities on the one side and the management of the National Park on the other. The conservative restrictions imposed by the National Park are regarded by many as the main obstacle to building new apartments.

Property Rights

The National Park is the only owner of the many forests in the area. Similarly, it has ambitions to own all the agricultural land in this area. This creates a potential conflict between farmers and the management of the park. The farmers do not accept the park's ownership ambitions and are very concerned at the amount of authority in the hands of the park's managers.

General Characteristics of Non-Linear Ecological Models

The outstanding feature of non-linear models is the existence of interactions and feedbacks with the environment, which in turn leads to an understanding of the system as an organised, autonomous unit. This can be referred to as an ecological type of model.

This kind of model focuses not only on the marginal area itself but also on the central one. The non-linear approach does not view the main problem as a specific kind of shortcoming, a problem which must be solved from outside, as in a linear model. A non-linear model views marginal areas as produced because of the conflict in visions of two socio-cultural systems. These visions do not belong to any specific geographical area; the adherents of these different visions may live in both the marginal and central areas. Quite frequently the same person may hold both visions, depending on their location.

The non-linear ecological model is a reaction to the very limited application of the linear model. Ecological models are more open to other kinds of data and knowledge enabling one to find the 'hidden predispositions'.[5] To uncover these hidden predispositions one must ask those questions which can, paradoxically, be very simply answered when one is within either the central or the marginal context. The problem arises when the answers to questions are generated outside the frame of these visions. The appropriate questions are often philosophical and concern visions of the future, perceived values of preferred life styles etc. Such questions may be thought to be of little value to the objective scientist, thus they are usually not dealt with.[6] But these questions are extremely valuable when it is important to identify the conflict between differing visions. In that case, they may help to reveal a possible solution to the problems of marginal areas.

The advantages of non-linear ecological models are: -

1) The solutions to the problems of marginal areas do take into account the mutual interactions within them.

2) Marginal area are considered as autonomous systems, though connected inevitably with the central area

3) The marginality of an area is understood to arise from the conflict between differing visions concerning the management of the area.

4) The proffered solutions to problems tend to be long term.

5. B. Blazek, *Method of Explication of Hidden Predispositions*,(in Czech), Prague: UKE, 1977.

6. K.R. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* , London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969.

5) The solutions take into account, and build on, the positive features of the area.

6) Such models consider the positive economic development of areas under examination and the possible transformation of the local economies in the future.

There are, however, disadvantages of non-linear ecological models, which can often lead to their being ignored especially from the centre: -

1) Non-linear models usually do not lead to immediately practical solutions to the problems.

2) Such models do not give sufficient emphasis to the practical, usually economic, shortcomings of the area.

3) They tend not to react very quickly to short-term changes in the area's circumstances.

4) Their practical application is often more difficult, especially more complex, than applications of a linear model. The language deployed is itself usually more philosophical and sociological than economic.

Figure 5 shows schematically how a marginalised area can be created by a conflict between the central and local visions of the management of the area, given existing environmental conditions. Both visions have a central core, which has also its spatial dimension, which can be called Respected Values and Respected Areas. When the general aim of these two visions is very similar (marked as + in the diagram) then the character of the area will be determined mostly by environmental conditions.

Figure 5B shows the case where the conflict becomes more intense, which will result in the enlargement of the area regarded as marginal. This situation occurs when the main aims of the two visions are largely opposed to each other. (Marked as + and - in the diagram). The border of the marginal area in this case will depend more on the local economy, local political structure and the attitudes and values of individuals and groups, than on the over-arching environmental conditions.

Figure 5. The marginal area as a conflict of visions

Figure 5a. Conflict between central and local visions

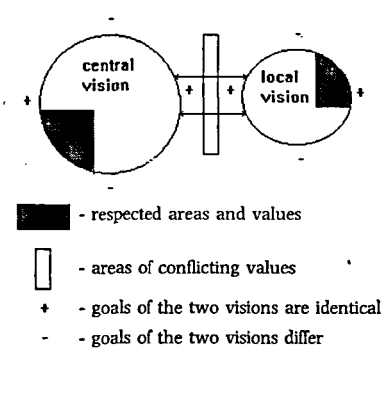
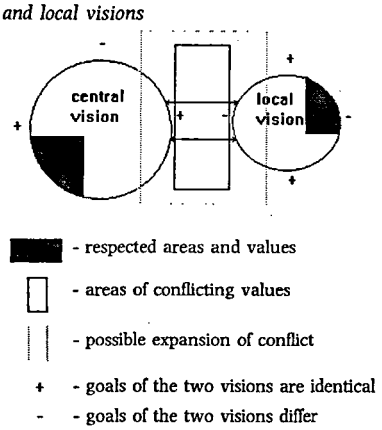


Figure 5b. Increased conflict between central and local visions



Potential Conflict between Visions in the Šumava Mountains

The conflict between the various visions of development in this marginal area is reflected in the wide range of plans, concepts and programmes both of central provenance and by local associations and organisations. The central vision does not seem in any way better, nor does it have more validity, than the local visions. There are several examples of this. There are various documents which are characteristic of the objective vision of central planning agencies and which relate to the Šumava. The *Territorial Plan of the Šumava Mountains* of 1991, represents the official, governmental, central vision. It is an attempt to describe the development of the area in all of its complexity. This plan is focused on improving the economic development and enhancing the prosperity of the area. The protection of the environment is taken into account in connection with potential environmental damage resulting from this development. The main weakness is the limited validity of many parameters of this document, which was written in 1989 and has not been updated. Economic and political changes, including ownership, have been dramatic in the intervening years.

The Plan for the Care of the Šumava is an example of a strongly conservationist vision, and is concerned solely with the management of areas perceived as environmentally valuable. This plan is only one-dimensional, as it takes no account of humans and their activities in the area.

The *Trilateral Concept of the Šumava Region Development* is a document which considers the Šumava region in a much broader context. Šumava is not seen as an isolated designated and protected area along the southern boundary of the Czech Republic, but part of a wider environmentally valuable area which includes the Bavarian Forest (Bayerischerwald) and part of Austria. Unfortunately, the parameters of this document are in no way compatible with other plan documents, and so it is used only in advisory manner. This document can be regarded as a combination of and compromise between three central visions emanating from Prague, from Berlin (or perhaps Munich) and from Vienna. The area is not aided by being viewed as trebly marginal.

There is a local, insiders' vision of the area, which can be examined by considering some characteristics of local organisations. Several local organisations arose as a reaction of the local population to the situation in the region, a reaction which changed after the proclamation of the National Park of Šumava. The main aims of these organisations are to support economic activity in the area based mainly on tourism and recreation, and especially health services with spas. Some of the main local organisations in the area are: the Union of Šumava's Villages, the Development Agency of the Regional Union of Šumava's Villages, and the Union of Lipno Villages. (Lipno is the large reservoir much used for water-based recreation.)

The application of an ecological model to the Šumava area demonstrates that two important questions are left unanswered. First there is nothing in the model to determine which parts of the local and which parts of the central vision will be combined to provide a unified programme for the area. Second, the model does not suggest where the responsibility for the future of the area ought to lie.

This model shows the probable evolution of a marginal area over historical time. At stage 1) centres arise which concentrate the resources of the region,

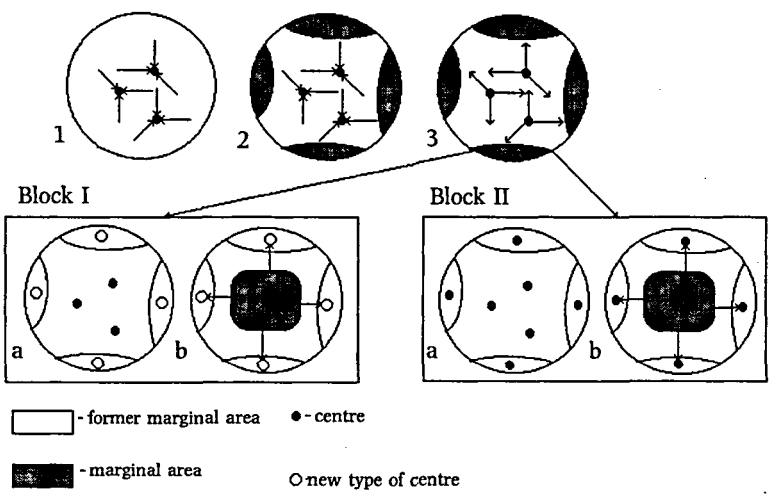
enabling the central places to prosper. Later, 2), there is further development of the centres, which has the effect of concentrating the region's resources in towards the centres thus resulting in the creation of marginal areas on the borders of the region. Stage 3) shows the later, opposite process. The centres are, by now, stabilised and expand their influence to the marginal areas. From that position two different evolutionary paths could occur. Block I shows the coexistence of two types of centres; the old type and new ones which developed in the formerly marginal areas. Block 1b suggests the possibility that these new centres may again centralise most of the resources, resulting in a new marginal area arising in the place of the former, older, centres. The development, and subsequent decay of, different cultural centres in all world cultures are examples of this process. Former marginal areas become recognised for their heritage values, and move once again to centre stage.

Block II, however, shows another kind of possible evolution. First the old centres expand into the marginal areas (IIa). Such a situation may happen when new deposits of raw materials are discovered in the marginal areas, when the expansion is not of a different nature from the old centre, but merely an extension of the same values. Again these once-marginal centres could begin to concentrate the labour and financial resources from the rest of the area and the process of marginality would be continued (IIb).

Discussion

Both types of model, non-linear ecological and linear economic models described above represent a considerable simplification of reality. In practice, neither the pure linear nor the pure ecological model can be found. There is a considerable danger in the absolute isolation, and juxtaposition, of these two kinds of models, when they can become considered as opposite, and opposing, views of reality. The relationship between linear and ecological models determines the future evolution of an area. The linear model contains features of an ecological model as indicators of the problems as, for example, when the opinions of experts,

Figure 6. Pulsary model of marginal and central areas.



town mayors, local businessmen are sought. Ecological models inevitably use the techniques more normally associated with linear models when concrete solutions to certain problems must be produced.

In practice, various combinations of ecological and linear models are used more or less intuitively. Each type of model has a time scale for which it is most appropriate. Non-linear models usually enable a detailed and qualitative discussion about the history and possible future of the marginal area to be encouraged. Such models provide platforms for the identification, in quite precise terms, of the basic conflict of visions usually obscured in debates about the marginal area. They make overt the agenda which is more normally hidden. This broader debate is best continued into more specific discussions about local problems, which are often best solved from the central governmental level in a manner typical of linear models.

The conflict of vision which can lead to the creation of a marginal area, can also be represented as a very intensive conflict of cultural capital. Some writers consider marginal areas as a place for preserving the heritage of cultural diversity.[7] Cultural capital may be viewed as an accumulation of the non-biological heritage, providing human societies with the means and adaptations necessary to deal with the natural environment. This process of adaptation in the context of cultural capital is composed of many technological and philosophical elements on the one side and the natural environment on the other.[8] This understanding of cultural capital is very close to Leopold's definition of human culture which is not based on opposition to nature, the more common viewpoint, but on understanding nature.[9] There are too many distinct elements in the whole of the cultural capital for an absolute equilibrium ever to occur. Each element of the system is accumulated in different time periods, and itself develops at variable speeds. This means that cultural capital is multi-dimensional in both time and space. We use only a part of this heritage, while creating other elements anew and forgetting many others. But, as a society puts to use one element of its cultural capital e.g. a technological element, all the other elements still remain available. It is a question of permanent coexistence. Paradoxically, sometimes the greatest wealth of cultural capital lies more in what is prepared as the reply to future questions than in what is being used currently.[10]

The geography of the Czech Republic has certainly helped to create its marginal areas as also border areas and heritage repositories. However, this investment of heritage cultural capital into marginal areas is commonplace. Perhaps marginality to the currently dominant economic central system is the most common reason for the survival of both urban and rural sites for sufficiently long to become repositories of heritage values. Marginal areas can be the places which allow the non-dominant levels of cultural capital their full identity, places of cultural diversity, mirroring the protected natural areas as areas of biological diversity, preserving potential cultural capital. Cultural reservations, such as open-air museums of folk architecture, or eco-museums, already exist in many countries. But marginal areas could be much more than places for heritage tourism or cultural sightseeing, so often taken out of their culture and period, and where the visitor is presented only with a facade. Marginal areas can be places where cultural capital, in the form of ethics, ways of thinking and managing land and

7. F. Berkers & C. Folke, 'Investing in Cultural Capital for Sustainable Use of Natural Capital'. Paper presented at the Second Meeting of the International Society for Ecological Economics, Aug.1992, Stockholm. A shorter version of this paper appeared in *Ecological Economics* vol.5, pp.1-8,1992.

8. J.W. Bennett, *Ecological Transition: Cultural Anthropology and Human Adaptation*, New York: Pergamon, 1976. A.H. Hawley, 'Ecology and Human Ecology' *Social Forces* , Vol.22, 1944. R.M. Netting, *Cultural Ecology*, Illinois: Waveland, 1986.

9. G.F. Vaughan, 'Ecology, Economics and Ethics', *Economic Policy Outlook, Delaware Agricultural Natural Resources*, vol.2, no.4, pp.1-4. 1992, after Leopold, 1949.

10. E. Cudlinova & M. Lapka, 'Cultural Capital, Rural Ethics and Approaching Sustainability,' in *Ecology, Society, Economy, Proceedings of the Inaugural Conference of the European branch of the International Society for Ecological Economics*, 23-25 May 1996. Université de Versailles, Paris-France. Tome I. Session V-A. pp.12, 1996.

life, values and attitudes of the inhabitants are normal parts of everyday life. Marginal areas can then be, not museums, but places for the carriers of non-dominant kinds of cultural capital, both traditional and alternative.

A fundamental misunderstanding sometimes occurs when discussing the future of cultural capital of marginal areas. Complete restoration back to the dominant cultural position is not possible. Indeed in the case of many marginal areas, such cultural dominance may never have been the case. Marginal areas may become places for the conservation of cultural capital, but complete historical reconstruction of the whole system of the area is not possible, even if it were desirable. Some kind of transformation is inevitable.

Countries which lack marginal areas become those without space for non-dominant levels of cultural heritage to flourish, either geographically or mentally. Paradoxically too, the potential of marginal areas, their cultural capital, could transform itself into development potential, becoming the driving force for the future development of society. In the case of a collapse of the dominant socioeconomic system, countries with many marginal areas are those which have reserves to provide alternatives as was shown in model Figure 6.

Such speculation can raise new questions. Perhaps the definition of marginality as evidence of a kind of failure of the social, cultural and economic systems of society needs to be revised. Such definitions inevitably suggest that the failures of the marginal areas need to be removed, at virtually any price, to make the marginal area compatible with the conditions of the central area. The new model suggests that many marginal areas may already be acting as alternative centres.

In general the overarching conflict which pertains in marginal areas is the conflict between the various visions for the management of the area, including the debate between marginality as a potential reservoir for cultural capital and identity and marginality as lack of development. Beyond this debate between visions are hidden deeper conflicts. There is the conflict between cultural capital layers, seen very clearly in the in-migration to many marginal areas. There is the shortage of resources and functions in comparison with the central area, which therefore tends to dictate the final outcome. Even the deliberate use of the marginal area as a reservoir of counter-culture may well be at the dictate of central resources and values. Lastly there are still many weaknesses in the economic valuation of qualitative indicators (positive externalities) in neoclassical economic theory.

Figure 7.

Conclusions

The major features of marginal areas have different definitions according to the kind of model used. Linear models regard problems and shortcomings as the most obvious distinguishing features of marginal areas. From the economic point of view these are mostly shortages of labour, land or capital, though shortages of entrepreneurship are also often identified. These shortages are then seen as the cause of the more concrete problems of the marginal area.

The most obvious feature of a marginal area in an ecological model is the conflict between the final visions of its function and management. This conflict is at the heart of all the problems of the marginal area. Such a conflict acts as a common denominator to the study of all the problems of the area. It is mostly a conflict between the visions of the future of the area held at the centre and those held locally.

Both models have their own value and importance in the management of marginal areas. The most important is the time scale at which the use of a particular kind of model is relevant. Linear models can be understood as a practical steps leading to the realisation of a certain vision. Ecological models offer the tools, needed to question and analyse this vision. Both models have advantages and limitations in application. Empirical results seem to reveal that the worst situation seems to occur when the body responsible for an ecological model has no presence in the marginal area. This responsible body needs to be an independent institution, with the core of its activity being to provide a synthesis. In our example of the Šumava Mountains, the most obvious body to take on this role is not well qualified to do so. The management authority of the National Park has a powerful preference for its own, mainly protectionist, interests. A general formulation of future visions of the area can hardly be expected to emanate from this institution, whose role is defined and limited under law.[11] Marginal areas represent a potential space for the permanent co-existence of both central and non-dominant layers of cultural capital. From this point of view marginality provides a potential place for the emergence of new centres. Such new centres cannot be simply mechanical reproductions, repetitions of all the former layers of cultural capital. This is always a process of accommodation of the cultural layers to new conditions. The main importance of cultural capital lies in the fact that, in its manner of thinking, values and attitudes, it may be a potential source for the solution of some problems which exist or will occur in present centres. In particular, of course, we may look for assistance toward the solution of major environmental problems and questions of the relationship between man and nature, pollution and energy use to which our present industrial culture cannot find a sufficient answer.

11. Law 114/92 Protection of the Environment and Landscape in the Czech Republic.

Endnote

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