

Centre for Urban and Regional Studies Publications  
Espoo 2010

B 98

# INTEGRATING AIMS

— BUILT HERITAGE IN SOCIAL  
AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Mikko Mälkki & Kaisa Schmidt-Thomé (eds.)



**Aalto University**  
School of Science  
and Technology



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Distribution:

Aalto University  
School of Science and Technology  
Centre for Urban and Regional Studies (YTK)  
PB 12200  
FIN-00076 Aalto  
Tel. +358-50-512 4618  
Fax +358-9-4702 4071  
E-mail: [ytk-tilaus@tkk.fi](mailto:ytk-tilaus@tkk.fi)  
<http://ytk.tkk.fi/en/>

Available also in electronic form at:

<http://lib.tkk.fi/Reports/2010/isbn9789526032849.pdf>

and:

[http://www.ebheritage.fi/literature\\_links/](http://www.ebheritage.fi/literature_links/)

[mikko.malkki@tkk.fi](mailto:mikko.malkki@tkk.fi)  
[kaisa.schmidt-thome@tkk.fi](mailto:kaisa.schmidt-thome@tkk.fi)

Graphic Design: Satu Karppinen

ISSN 1455-7797  
ISBN 978-952-60-3283-2 (printed)  
ISBN 978-952-60-3284-9 (pdf)

Yliopistopaino  
Espoo 2010

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# **Introduction: Multiple Roles of Built Heritage in Planning and Policy-making**

**Mikko Mälkki & Kaisa Schmidt-Thomé**

Defining what cultural heritage actually is may seem a mission impossible – if attempted in a general, universal manner that leaves no room for context. At the same time it is clear that cultural heritage is continuously being defined in different contexts and that this understanding is then used for various purposes, e.g. when arguing for or against the protection of a certain building. In such situations, value systems often clash and constructive discussions are rare. This is where research, when brought together in an innovative manner, has much to say in sorting out what the clashes are all about.

Within several academic disciplines and research traditions there are studies tackling the relationships that cultural heritage has with other sectors of the society. Research on historical cities, for instance, is increasingly stressing the social feasibility of protection and cultural tourism. Within regional studies in turn, it is acknowledged that cultural heritage does play a certain role in regional competitiveness. When focusing on built heritage in this way, there are four key discourses deserving attention:

- The discussion on potentialities of built heritage in regional (economic) development (e.g. heritage in branding, increasing the

attractiveness of locations, employment, economic value creation, and positive and negative externalities of different policies and practices);

- The changing roles of different types of expertise in defining aims of built heritage preservation;
- Democracy and empowerment of citizens in decision-making concerning built heritage (including the role of voluntary engagement);
- The suitability/applicability of different regulation and governance models in the changing contexts of built heritage management.

These discourses have been elaborated on in research projects in several disciplines (e.g. management and planning studies, archaeology, architectural history, and cultural economics) and are continuously being developed further. However, the arguments do not necessarily meet. Differing vocabularies and discipline-based meaning systems have created confusion that has been an obstacle in both scientific and societal discussion, not only concerning the potentialities of built heritage in regional development, but also in developing suitable tools and appropriate indicators for assessing the impacts of different strategies and decisions in heritage management.

We, referring at least to the editors of this publication, and probably to most of its contributors, wish that the key discourses can be brought together. There is a need for a frame that enables mutual dialogue among and coordination of all the discourses identified above. It seems that the ongoing discussions on social, economic and cultural impacts of different heritage management policies have much more in common than is currently recognized; what is missing are the joint reference points across disciplinary boundaries, but also across national and language borders.

Despite the somewhat marginal position that built heritage studies have within the discipline of cultural economics (Mason 2007), they do form a body of work upon which to build when seeking common reference points. In this publication, *Eva Vicente* introduces basic concepts and key questions that cultural economics as a field is dealing with when



turning to cultural heritage in general and built heritage in particular. She introduces the concept of heritage market and shows how the failures of the market leave much room for policy making. Vicente also argues that built heritage, when seen as goods, is considered a potential economic resource that, once valorized, may become a source of wealth, employment and welfare for the community. She also reviews possible methods to measure the economic benefits of heritage valorization.

It is also possible to see arts and culture as a sector of economic activity having many interconnections with the other sectors. Cultural industries, as the broader conceptualization of these connections could be labelled, are among the most rapidly growing industries of the world (KEA et al. 2006). In their article, **Timo Tohmo** and **Esa Storhammar** explicate the nexus between culture and economics widely, from the point of view of regional economic development systems. The article discusses both tangible and intangible manifestations of culture, and lays out the complexity of culture in regional development processes and especially as an element of regional competitiveness. Tohmo and Storhammar show that there is an important research topic awaiting exploration, namely the added value of culture as a location factor. Does cultural heritage support commitment to one's own economic region, or is this only hype? Can we estimate, or even measure, how significant a role culture, e.g. cultural services of some kind, plays when firms or inhabitants choose to settle in a certain region?

This publication presents a broad variety of regional contexts in dealing with built heritage. The title of the publication refers to a general aim of favourable social and economic development that can surely carry different meanings in different settings. Here Norway, for instance, contrasts with the Hungarian and Slovenian cases quite drastically.

**Grete Swensen** and **Thomas Haupt** discuss the benefits and drawbacks of the active utilization and development of locations that have heritage values. The authors use two fishing villages in different parts of Norway as examples when asking how new utilization can lead to revitalization of coastal societies. The built heritage assets bring positive connotations connected to places, and, on the other hand, dilapidate rapidly if they

are out of use. An "aura of authenticity" and "the experience of the unique and exotic" represent something that attracts a specific niche of tourists. There is, however, a cleft between the conservationists and tourist management concerning how to treat heritage. Swensen and Haupt look closer at concepts such as vulnerability and sustainability and specify what demands the cultural tourism sector has to fulfill to revitalize these areas without hollowing out their uniqueness. The authors discuss the need for using a precautionary approach, depending on the degree of vulnerability of the environment, and call for further development of methodology and criteria for vulnerability assessments.

Also presenting Norwegian examples, *Annegreth Dietze-Schirdewahn* discusses assessments of different types of values of historic parks and gardens. According to Dietze-Schirdewahn, there is a need for methods that integrate both natural and cultural values in assessments. Understanding both of these types of values will enhance the knowledge base for long-term, unified use and management of these cultural environments. According to the author, many of the natural values in historic gardens are dependent on the continuity of use and utilization. Besides analyzing methods, Dietze-Schirdewahn also discusses instruments for protecting these values. Linking the discussion to economics, she argues that fundamental understanding of both cultural and natural values of historic parks and gardens is the basis for successful marketing concepts and the economic utilization/development of these assets.

*Balázs Halmos, Kata Marótzky* and *András Szalai* base their paper on experiences of co-operation between municipalities in the Hungarian countryside and Budapest University of Technology and Economics. The project they describe aimed at defining the unique environmental and architectural character of each settlement and encouraging local authorities to develop their own heritage management concepts. The authors argue that when assessing values of historical settlements as built environments, the work must go far beyond the analysis of historically and architecturally valuable individual buildings. Analysis should also include aspects of larger scale and interrelations, such as the traditional

settlement structure; systems of streets, squares, and plots; characteristic usage of space in different periods in history, etc. According to Halmos, Marótzky and Szalai, modernization, changes in lifestyle and need for changes in the built environment do not inevitably lead to disintegration of the harmony of traditional rural built environments. Change is part of the tradition of the Hungarian villagescapes, having always been characteristic of these settlements. Sensitive changes, however, require that planning and design are based on a proper analysis and understanding of the context.

*Neža Čebbron Lipovec, Mitja Guštin and Zrinka Mileusnić* discuss the challenges of heritage preservation in the coastal town of Koper-Capodistria in Slovenia. The article provides an overview of the activities in Koper related to conservation of the historical core. When studying the views of local authorities, inhabitants, the business sector and heritage authorities, the authors identify diverging values and interests. Lipovec, Guštin and Mileusni conclude that currently there is a lack of historical information that would contribute to a local sense of belonging to the city, and lack of guidance for the property owners in taking care of their historical buildings. The market-prone views of local authorities also have an impact on the current development. Concerning the possibilities to guide the development into a favourable direction, key questions include how the inhabitants relate themselves to the historic environment and how the various actors contribute to the safeguarding of it. Related to this, the authors discuss the issue whether a research institute could actively contribute to creation of cultural capital, which can be seen a bridging concept between the economy and culture. The authors propose a scenario for improving the situation and fine-tuning the co-operation among multiple interests.

Many of the contributions in this publication, as well as in other achievements of the ‘Economics and Built Heritage’ initiative ([www.ebheritage.fi](http://www.ebheritage.fi)), reflect a number of ongoing larger shifts in approaches to heritage. This applies both to heritage as a research object and as a shared object of (diverging) interests in planning practice. There are at least three tendencies that deserve attention:

- The focus of heritage evaluations is widening from intrinsic values to instrumental values, seeing both at the same time;
- The management principles of built heritage are transforming from strict control to co-operative and innovative problem-solving, searching for new opportunities for both societal and economic development;
- Heritage management is increasingly aiming at preventive and continuous activities, rather than punctual operations, and heritage professionals are seen as facilitators and motivators of participatory heritage management and empowerment of the stakeholders.

**Stefano Della Torre** touches upon all these shifts in his article. Based on experiences especially in Italy, and on research carried out in Politecnico di Milano, Della Torre introduces the idea of planned conservation of built heritage as an innovative procedure, thought as a step from restoration seen as an event to preservation as a long-term process. Instead of being merely maintenance and monitoring, planned conservation is a strategy that also includes reduction of risks and organization of daily activities in the building sector. Planned conservation means setting a scenario as well as posing questions about links between preservation activities and wider local development processes. Preservation activities can be very stimulating for learning and innovation in general, he argues. If human capital becomes an interesting parameter by which to evaluate an economy, preservation counts because of its impact on players' capability to doubt, to learn, and to innovate. The focus shifts from heritage as a given asset to preservation processes as opportunities to increase intellectual capital. When designing better conservation policies, the objective is to use given resources in a way that yields strong positive outputs in local development processes.

The article of **Andrea Canziani** and **Rossella Moioli** continues the discussion on this theme. For Canziani and Moioli, cultural heritage is an open system that does not correspond only to monuments. The authors argue that heritage is comprehensible only within a vision integrating economic, cultural and ethic values. Canziani and Moioli introduce the so-called Cultural District model, under which it is possible to understand the role of cultural heritage within the economies

of a single territory in a new way, and re-discuss the changing role of culture within the contemporary society. In the context of a *learning-based Cultural District* the interventions are exploited to increase the capability of professionals in the building sector, disseminating the idea of preventive conservation and improving competences. Single activities become tools for the development of new skills, producing knowledge and increasing the citizens' awareness, thus supporting and enhancing culture and local economy.

**Stefania Bossi** analyzes the potential of small and medium-sized enterprises as participants in an Innovative Conservation Process. Planned conservation implies upgrading the conservation strategy from punctual interventions to continuative care. In this, there is a strong demand for innovation in building practices and the qualification of involved stakeholders. Bossi argues that restoration companies are currently not adequately evaluated – they are recognized only in order to realize the work projects. The restoration companies could, however, make valuable contributions to the management of the building system, by assuring communication and promotion, gathering information during the work, and advancing research co-operation in large projects. This would, however, require a rethinking of the organization of conservation activities. For instance, the separation of inspection and maintenance activities to different enterprises can be seen as a weakness from the point of view of documentation of the maintenance. She concludes that restoration companies could be important players in innovation. In order to undertake a planned conservation strategy on a wider scale, continuous service is needed, and the Cultural District model could have a role in this.

**Donovan Rypkema's** agenda places built heritage at its centre. The agenda is about promoting sustainable development through heritage preservation in a way that brings economic, social and ecological benefits. He wishes that the economic downturn following the 2008 financial crisis would initiate a learning process, bringing about a sustainable economy that cherishes the value of built heritage. Rypkema presents a ten-point list of characteristics of the improved system, relying more on local assets, small-scale business and long-

term thinking. He sees heritage preservation as an investment in the quality of life, as a means to create significant societal benefits, and presents a considerable number of examples to back his arguments. In a globalizing world there are few things that cannot be relocated, and heritage environments with creative economic activities connected to them certainly belong to those.

**Zorán Vukoszávlyev** discusses heritage, continuity and tradition from a perspective that includes conservation activities, but changes and additions as well. He presents Portuguese examples, showing different strategies on how to relate new development to the history of the place. He argues that the maintenance of the building complexes – which are organic parts of the human historical memory – can be realized in many ways. New additions can be made, according to analyses, awareness and understanding of the existing sites. Vukoszávlyev presents specific cases and shows how expressions of modern times have been embedded into the memories of the location. A very important aim is always the continuity of the life of the object, and he argues that only in this way can its cultural value be bequeathed to the following generation.

When discussing issues such as continuity of local life, and local memories, we inevitably also encounter the question of local knowledge concerning values. How can (and how should) values be discussed in the best way in planning processes? **Iacopo Zetti** describes practical experiences with participatory processes aiming at preservation and enhancement of built heritage in Tuscany, Italy. Zetti analyzes three cases of local community involvement in planning activities. Comparing these three case studies helps in identifying why participation and built heritage enhancement are inseparable, and how citizens' participation should be linked with territorial planning practice in order to be useful in the process of heritage improvement.

**Krister Olsson** echoes Zetti's claims about the necessity to incorporate the general public into the heritage management process. In his article Olsson argues that societal development challenges the view that cultural heritage management is an activity led by heritage experts only, based on allegedly objective criteria. Such a view on heritage management

is detrimental not only to the heritage sector as such, but it also hinders the utilization of heritage resources in regional development activities. It seems that city marketing activities have come to stay, and such work would also better succeed if it was backed by local public interest. According to Olsson, a new understanding of how to recognize heritage qualities in the urban environment is required. This means collaboration across value systems.

Cultural heritage sites are essentially unique. The uniqueness applies not only to their historic and social values, but also to the degree to which they can be utilized and exploited. The local decision-making processes, leading either to utilization or some other kind of development, are greatly individualized as well. Is it possible to say something general about them?

*Peter Ehrström* discusses in his article the long-term development of the town district Palosaari in Vaasa, Finland. He focuses on two close-knit sites within the district: the former 'Vaasan Puuvilla' (Vaasa Cotton Ltd) industrial site and the adjacent former park 'Wolffin puisto'. These sites are historically connected and geographically close, but they have experienced very different outcomes of the planning process. Experiences from these two sites show that political and institutional support is vital for preservation of built heritage, and the usability and physical condition of the built heritage are of great importance. A building in a run-down state, left to decay, is more likely to be chosen for demolition. Public opinion has its impact on decision making. In his article, Ehrström touches on the possible reasons why 'Wolffin puisto' never truly became locally beloved, seen as a part of "our" heritage.

*Raine Mäntysalo* discusses the nature of planning problems, with reflections on the case of Nurmes, a small eastern Finnish town, and presents the theory of strategic integration. Mäntysalo elaborates the complexity of the planning problem by using the distinction John Forester (1993) has made between the two dimensions of planning problems: uncertainty and ambiguity. The dimension of *uncertainty* is the technical dimension of planning. It refers to e.g. lack of information about the planned object in its present and some future state, or lack of

time or resources. The dimension of *ambiguity* is the political dimension that concerns the *legitimacy of the ends and means of planning*. Uncertainty is characteristic of problems that emerge in professional inquiry; there is a lack of adequate information (What will happen ‘out there’? Will a strategy work?). Ambiguity has to do with questions about the practical and epistemological *context* of the planning procedure itself – how to justify the proposed choices.

Long-term strategic planning typically takes place in both uncertainty and ambiguity. But even if different ‘social worlds’ coexist and have their own interests, a case-specific planning solution, meeting the different demands set by each social world separately, can be achieved, Mäntysalo argues. Moreover, single planning projects may have crucial importance for the generation of a local planning culture of managing ambiguity. Strategic integration as management of ambiguity would mean a determined, long-span activity for the construction of a participatory planning culture relying on mutual trust and respect – with mutual awareness that each planning process is a link to this construction work.

Returning to the point about the context-specificity of heritage is inevitable. When seeking solutions utilizing built heritage as an asset, there is no shortcut. It will require negotiations to integrate the aims of several stakeholders in case-specific solutions, in order to create a basis for true co-operation. Cherishing and utilizing built heritage requires understanding of the local resources, and, in this, the resources encompass not only the sites and/or objects, but also all the possible actors.

What planning can contribute here is not only to find a case-specific solution for the situation at hand, but to support the development of a favourable local planning culture and operational practice. In the long run this dimension of planning bears a considerable, if not decisive, role in determining what kind of a resource built heritage is seen as.

An essential part of heritage values cannot be converted into the language of economics. This allows at least two readings. If at least a considerable



part of the heritage values allows a translation into numbers, it is already very helpful. On the other hand, the nonconvertible aspects offer wonderful material for the discussion on values. Such discussions can be taken into account in planning with all the ambiguity involved. Often the process has come quite far already if the participants have at least agreed on where they disagree.

Here research can offer a helping hand. Interdisciplinary work can clarify the confusions created by the different meaning systems. It is not futile to aim at mutual understanding even if it is not possible to merge the views into one value system. We wish that this publication has for its own part provided evidence of this, thus developing further the expertise in finding the most suitable roles for heritage in specific contexts.

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# **Economics of Built Cultural Heritage**

**Eva Vicente**

## **Introduction**

The paper discusses the complex relationship between economics and built heritage and points to the contributions that economics can make in heritage sector. The first part conceptualises built heritage in terms of demand and supply and puts forth the concept of heritage market. The second part of the paper then presents the common failures of the identified heritage market as well as the available policy instruments to intervene where convenient or necessary. The paper concludes by discussing economic valuation methods and by underlining the social demand for cultural heritage.

## **Economic analysis of the cultural heritage sector**

Cultural heritage as well as policies for protection and conservation of that heritage have for long been a matter that has lain beyond the reach or interest of economics. Decisions about cultural heritage have traditionally been made by the specialists and experts in the matter (Throsby 1997b; 2001). Nevertheless it is undeniable that decisions

regarding conservation and management of heritage resources have important economic repercussions and conditioning factors. On the one hand, conservation and valorisation policies affect individual and collective welfare: public interventions generate individual and collective costs and benefits; affect the decisions of economic agents; and they also consume public resources, and thus compete with other public policies and programmes. On the other hand, the heritage policies are conditioned by a wide range of economic factors that affect the decision making process, the choice of tools and the incentives or disincentives for the valorisation and use of heritage goods. These aspects, jointly with the growing economic importance of the heritage sector and the increasing use of heritage in development programmes and urban renovation strategies, have contributed to an increasing interest in the heritage as an object of economic analysis. At present, the “Economics of heritage” is a well-established area of investigation in cultural economics, with an expanding literature that has been developed mainly around three fields of study: the economics of museums, the art markets and the economic aspects of built heritage (Klamer & Zuidhof 1999; Towse 2002).

Within the mentioned fields, the studies of heritage policies occupy a significant place. These studies usually concentrate on the analysis of the decision making processes, on their implementation and the assessment of the effects of their measures and instruments. However, these studies do not aim to question either the preservation decisions or the existence of this kind of policies: the existence of these policies and the social consensus on the necessity of preserving the cultural heritage precedes the interest of the economists. Economists actually do analyse the rationality of heritage interventions and develop instruments that advance the design of efficient and effective heritage policies. To achieve these advances, the decision making process must be preceded by a thorough knowledge of the heritage market and the social costs and benefits derived from the heritage conservation and use. Economic analysis provides support in this task.

Like any other consumer or capital goods, heritage goods are subject of economic activities (Krebs & Schmidt-Hebbel 1999, 211). their

protection, knowledge, conservation and diffusion have a cost; they are traded in formal and informal markets; they generate satisfaction and benefits to individuals and communities that have access to them; and they constitute a potential input in the production of other goods and services. Therefore, it is possible to analyse the heritage sector from an economic point of view. The fact that it is feasible, nevertheless, does not mean that it is a simple issue. One of the main difficulties derives from the extension and diversity of the current concept of cultural heritage; thus the object of study must first be delimited. This paper will concentrate, like other economic studies of this sector<sup>1</sup>, on the tangible cultural heritage and, more specifically, on the built heritage. The focus is necessary due to the great heterogeneity of heritage goods, that not only require specific analysis methodologies, but also diverse preservation policies and very different management models. As the notion of heritage, the concept of built heritage likewise admits a multitude of definitions, showing also considerable variation between countries. The concept of built heritage will be used in a general sense to include all man-made structures, ranging from archaeological sites to historical buildings and historical urban centres (Throsby 1997b; Towse 2002; Benhamou 2003; Peacock & Rizzo 2008). In what follows, the heritage sector will be analysed using a typical economic approach, through a supply and demand analysis.

## **The demand of heritage**

Due to profound transformations in developed economies<sup>2</sup>, cultural heritage has received an increasing interest over the last decades and new wants and demands have appeared in relation to built heritage goods. An indicator of this interest is the increase in the number of visits to monuments and heritage sites, nowadays traditional points of tourist concentration. It must be pointed out, however, that the

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1 See Lemaire & Ost 1984; Vaughan 1984; Greffe 1990; Koboldt 1997; Schuster & Monchaux & Riley 1997; Throsby 1997b; Klamer & Zuidhof 1999; Towse 2002; Benhamou 2003; Vicente 2007a.

2 Herein we may highlight the increase in the available income, the improvement in the population's educational levels and the greater availability of free time, together with an increasing interest in cultural consumption.

value currently assigned to these goods, and also their demand, are a complex phenomena that do not simply include a demand for direct use or consumption by visitors and tourists. Other demands related to intangible values of cultural heritage goods, which lead individuals to demand their conservation independently of their possible present use, must also be considered.

Talking about the “value” of built heritage goods makes reference not only to their simple physical asset value. In fact it refers to all kinds of cultural and social values, in their intrinsic and extrinsic forms, that are currently assigned to these goods<sup>3</sup>. Hence, the heritage value is a multidimensional phenomenon that depends, in addition, on the context and the implied agents, so it evolves through time. These arguments explain why there are so many different classifications of the value of heritage goods in the literature on this field. This is nothing more than a reflection of different motivations that lead modern societies to assess –and to conserve – these goods.

From an economic point of view, most authors distinguish two basic components in the economic value of heritage goods: the use value and the non-use value. These two categories are also used to determine the two components of the present demand of built heritage. The first type of demand is the demand of use, based on the use value or immediate utility coming from the benefit derived from the direct consumption of built heritage goods and services. Within this demand we may also distinguish between a *demand of cultural use* and a *demand of non-cultural use*. The former may include, among others, the demand of those people who wish to visit a monument or heritage site (access demand), the demand for heritage services directly linked to them (guides, displays) and other ancillary services (Towse 2002, 11). The last-mentioned comes from individuals, firms and public institutions that wish to use them for housing or, for example, installing a site for their activities. The second type of demand, the demand of non-use, is made up of

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3 We may talk about these values in terms of cultural value or cultural significance, a term that would include, among others, its aesthetic, artistic, historical, symbolic, cultural, educative, religious or political value.

three components: an *option demand* deriving from those individuals that are not users of the heritage goods at the moment, but assign a value to the possibility to visit them in the future; an *existence demand*, based on the existence value assuming that heritage goods have an intrinsic value independent of their use value; and finally a *bequest demand*, that is based on the utility that individuals of present generations obtain from the knowledge that heritage goods can be enjoyed also by future generations.

The demand of heritage at the present time is very complex, because there are manifold sources of demand, that in many cases are even incompatible. Furthermore, these demands are not usually revealed through the market. It is in principle possible to charge for satisfying the demand of use, either cultural or non-cultural, but the situation is very different when considering the demands of non-use of the heritage goods. Such demands are not expressed through conventional market mechanisms, and will thus have no effect on resource allocation processes of the heritage market.

### **The supply of heritage**

On the supply side we cannot generally speak of the existence of a true “supply” of cultural heritage<sup>4</sup>, but of a stock of goods that, in most cases, were not originally produced with the idea of reminding future generations of their heritage, but as a means for satisfying contemporary tastes (Peacock 1998, 3). As a consequence, it is necessary to “transform” the heritage goods at present in such a way that they can satisfy the new wants and demands of the society, and become the support of the social use to which, by definition, they are destined. This has in fact been the objective of many heritage valorisation processes of the recent years. Such valorisation is aimed at converting heritage goods once more into sources of services for society, into products adapted to the contemporary preferences and demands, suitable for their use and social enjoyment (Vicente 2002; 2007a).

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4 In the economic analysis context the term “supply” makes reference to the amount of goods or services available to the demand at any given time.

The process of conservation and valorisation, which, using an economic terminology, could be called the process of heritage “production” or model of heritage supply, is shown in figure 1. This process begins when individuals, institutions or communities decide, by means of a selection process, that several objects or places deserve to be preserved, as they represent something belonging to themselves and their past that ought to be transmitted to future generations (Avrami & Mason 2000, 8), i.e. by means of their valuation<sup>5</sup>. Then, those “selected” goods become part of the cultural heritage or, following the terminology used by Throsby (1997b; 2001), of the existing *stock of cultural capital* in a country or community at any given time<sup>6</sup>. Later on, from these goods of the heritage, and after a process of production or transformation, the heritage product is obtained. This generic “product” corresponds, in fact, to a wide range of goods, services and values, jointly produced, aimed at satisfying diverse and segmented demands.

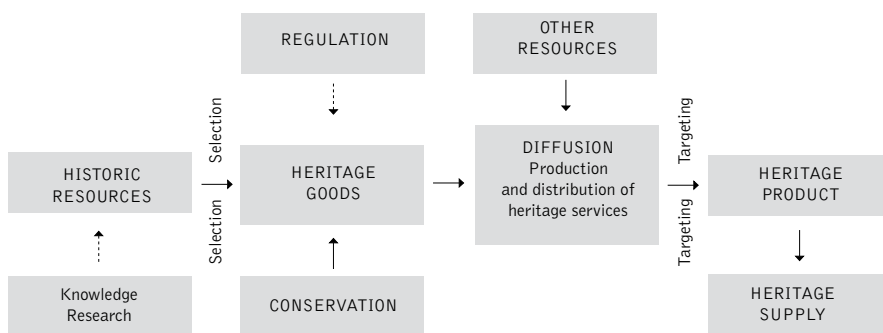
With all of this in mind, we can say that the heritage supply of a country, region or community at any given time will be made up of the set of outputs or products derived from the production process of heritage goods that make them available to the demand. In fact, the dimensions and characteristics of this heritage supply will be the result of the aggregation of the production decisions made by different agents who participate in this process – owners or managers, local governments and so on – that, *a priori*, are adopted independently, although within the same regulating framework established by the State (Grefe 2003, 68). These decisions will reflect the different objectives and restrictions of each of these agents, often very different to each other.

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5 In this case, following Peacock (1998, 4), there is a process of accretion, in which specialists and experts have an outstanding contribution, rather than a form of organised production.

6 Throsby uses this term to distinguish cultural goods – characterised by a cultural and economic value – from typical economic assets that only provide economic value. In the case of built heritage, the “cultural capital” can be defined as “the capital value that can be attributed to a building, a collection of buildings, a monument, or more generally a place, which is additional to the value of the land and buildings purely as physical entities or structures, and which embodies the community’s valuation of the asset in terms of its social, historical or cultural dimension” (Throsby 1997b, 15).





**Fig. 1:** Model of the supply of Heritage. Adapted from Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996).

In this analysis the concept of heritage production makes reference to any type of activity that maintains or increases the value of heritage goods. That is why the term “valorisation” is regularly used to signify this process. Activities included within this process are varied; however, considering its features and their common purpose, it is possible to distinguish two main groups (Johnson & Thomas 1995; Vicente 2002; 2007a). The first group comprises the conservation activities, i.e. all activities related to the improvement and maintenance of the heritage goods<sup>7</sup>. The second group includes the activities oriented to the production and distribution of heritage services and to the diffusion of heritage, in general. This group would include all the activities whose purpose is the production and commercialisation of services derived from heritage sites as well as facilitating access for visitors, from a physical and intellectual point of view<sup>8</sup>. In other words, we are in fact talking about two different kinds of activities, about two phases of the productive process, with a clearly differentiated purpose: on the one hand, activities oriented to guaranteeing the survival of the heritage goods and, on the

7 Following Lichfield (1988, 26), this term would include: prevention of deterioration, preservation, consolidation, restoration, rehabilitation, reproduction and reconstruction. The choice between these different possibilities is not neutral; each one will produce different effects on the heritage values, as well as leading to different economic costs.

8 This group includes different aspects of heritage management: presentation and interpretation of heritage goods, management of visitor flows, scheduling, production of ancillary services, and so on.

other, those that facilitate their use and enjoyment. Each phase will therefore have different effects from the point of view of the benefits and values they generate: whereas the conservation of heritage mainly produces important non-use values –values of existence, bequest to future generations and potentialities of future benefit– the activities of diffusion and production of services generate important use values for individuals and collectives. However, in practice these two activities are usually closely related: the state of the stock affects the services that can be generated, in amount and quality, but also the use and management of the heritage will affect its state of conservation. In addition, it may be difficult to classify many interventions into one or another group, because many developed activities take care of both objectives simultaneously (Johnson & Thomas 1995, 172). In spite of the disadvantages of any generalisation, this description clearly explains the process applied to most built heritage goods before they reach the citizens. Logically, depending on their final use, this process can be simplified or become more complex. In many cases, this process does not even take place: the “supply” is just the heritage good. Thus, in the field of heritage, the existence of a stock does not guarantee the existence of a parallel flow of services (Grefe 1990, 74), that is, the transformation process that we have described above will not necessarily happen spontaneously.

## **Economic basis of the heritage policies: failures of the heritage market**

Once the main features of the supply and demand of heritage have been analysed, it is possible to consider whether the “heritage market”, defined as the place where the supply and demand of heritage meet, can reach an equilibrium by itself. From a normative point of view, we can ask whether the outcome would be socially desirable. The dominant understanding is that the market fails and provides insufficient levels of conservation and heritage services. In fact, most economists consider that the failures of the heritage market are not the exception but the rule, and thus collective intervention can and should improve market results by promoting the valorisation of heritage goods. In what follows the paper will discuss the main failures of heritage markets that call for

public intervention in this field due to the increase in social welfare that heritage conservation and use can provide.

Starting with the principle of consumer sovereignty, a basic hypothesis in the study of competitive markets, the supply of heritage in a society (i.e. conservation and valorisation of heritage goods) will depend on the existence of a demand from its citizens<sup>9</sup>. The market is the usual mechanism through which individual preferences for different goods and services are revealed, providing the necessary information to assess the demand. In the case of the heritage market, however, the confluence of a series of circumstances gives rise to inefficiencies or failures in the allocation process. Herein it is possible to emphasize the public good characteristic of many values and services derived from these goods<sup>10</sup> and the presence of externalities in their production and consumption<sup>11</sup> (Peacock 1978; 1995; 1998; Mossetto 1993; 1994; Benhamou 1996b; 1997; Koboldt 1997; Throsby 1997). Thus, decisions made by different agents will only reflect the demand or private value expressed through the market, but not the true value, the social value that citizens attach to heritage services, so it is likely to get inferior levels of provision than those which are socially desirable.

In the economic literature, the public-good character of built heritage is a well established starting point (Peacock 1978; 1995; Mossetto 1994; Benhamou 1996b; 1997). However, given the extension of this concept, any generalisation must be taken with caution. First of all, considering built heritage as a whole, it fits the characteristics of pure public good very well: the collective values that they support and transmit to the society to which they belong are not rivals in their consumption and they

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9 Accepting the principle of consumer sovereignty supposes, in this case, the assumption that users know the value of cultural consumption and cultural heritage conservation for society as a whole, and are willing to pay for it.

10 The economic concept of “public good” implies two features: they are non-rival in their consumption, in so far as their consumption by a person does not reduce their availability for others; and they are also non-excludible, in the sense that it is impossible to prevent anyone from consuming them once they have been produced.

11 Goods generate externalities when their production or consumption affects the benefits, costs or, in general, the welfare of agents different from their producers or original consumers, with no reflection on the market price.

are also non-excludible. Secondly, and with regards to each individual good, a great variety of situations can be found: from pure public goods, to mixed public goods which exhibit the features of non-rivalry and non-exclusion to different degrees, to goods that can simultaneously be private and public. Therefore, the question is to first assess the degree of public good for each heritage good (Klamer & Zuidhof 1999, 29), to then determine what the extent of the intervention must be<sup>12</sup>.

At first glance, and with respect to the *rivalry*, it seems that, except in cases of congestion, the benefit of a consumer enjoying a monument or historical building does not reduce the enjoyment available for others. The analysis of the *non-exclusion* is more complex: in several cases, when exclusion can be fully applied – a historical cave, for example – the use benefits of such goods will be excludible. However there are other cases such as, a cathedral or a palace, where only a part of the benefits can be excludible – those derived from the visit to the inner parts – but others are clearly non-excludible – the benefit of the vision of the outside. Similarly, in the case of rehabilitated historical buildings used for living, the enjoyment of their facade is a non-excludible public good, whereas their interior and the housing services that they render are totally excludible, in fact they are private goods. Finally, a historic city centre is closer to a pure public good, because the whole entity is greater than the sum of the parts – the individual buildings, monuments and squares that make up the city. The benefits of the totality could not be appropriated even if each individual item was private (Towse 2002, 11). In addition, there is a consensus on the existence of important *positive externalities* derived from the production and consumption of the heritage services. As regards to the production externalities, intangible benefits derived from heritage goods conservation (non-use values as option and existence values) have been addressed previously, and in addition the economic benefits induced to the surroundings by the

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12 In practice, the more public good features are found on heritage goods, the more public intervention or collective action is necessary to guarantee an efficient provision of heritage (Peacock 1995, 203).

production of heritage services must be highlighted<sup>13</sup> (Koboldt 1997). The consumption externalities are widely used as arguments to justify public intervention in the heritage sector. Their positive effects are seen to be diverse. First of all, the consumption of cultural activities supports the education of citizens, and this improvement in the educational level is linked with the diffusion of further advantages to the society as a whole: an increase in creativity and aesthetic sensitivity, positive effects on innovation and also on cultural and economic development (Pommerehne & Frey 1993; Heilbrun & Gray 1993). Furthermore, numerous authors emphasise the benefits derived from the preservation of cultural heritage for future generations (Duffy 1992; Koboldt 1997). The consumption of heritage can also contribute to the strengthening of the national identity, which can benefit society in terms of social cohesion. Finally, it contributes to the formation of an attractive image and prestige for the country, from which all inhabitants can benefit.

The heritage sector is also characterised by the existence of important *information failures* (Mossetto 1993; Benhamou 1997). It is worth mentioning that the taste for heritage, or in general for cultural goods, is an acquired taste that is progressively obtained with the consumption of cultural goods, their related services and the experiences in this field (Heilbrun & Gray 1993; Benhamou 1996a). With no previous experiences, consumers cannot anticipate the benefits that cultural consumption will provide in the future. Similarly, potential heritage consumers cannot know the value or the authenticity of many heritage services. The lack of information also affects heritage owners, who may ignore the value of those goods they own and, therefore, the necessity to conserve them. In these circumstances, the owners could make undesirable decisions in relation to the conservation and use of these goods that would affect their integrity as well as their survival, a very important aspect in a field characterised by the irreversible nature of many decisions (Benhamou 1997).

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13 These positive externalities mainly arise from the effects that the availability of heritage activities has on other economic sectors, essentially on tourism and their related activities, which use heritage services as an input of their productive processes.

The above arguments support public intervention in the built heritage sector from the point of view of efficiency in the allocation of resources. However, more arguments from a distributive point of view are also used<sup>14</sup>. In particular, an argument based on the nature of “merit good” of the heritage goods and services constitutes one of the traditional pillars of the heritage policies (Peacock 1995; Klamer & Zuidhof 1999). Goods receive the denomination of “merit goods” when they have an intrinsic value recognised by a majority of the society. The problem that often appears in this case is that such goods will not reach the socially desirable levels of provision if such provision is trusted to the market.

All these arguments constitute an *a priori* justification for public intervention in the heritage sector. They can be considered as a necessary but not sufficient justification, given that it will be necessary to evaluate the convenience of public intervention by analysing the derived social benefits and costs. Here we are talking about the problems derived from public intervention, which are commonly known as “state failures”. The fact that public intervention *can* improve the outcomes when market failures exist does not necessarily mean that it *will* do so. In practice, this depends on the information level of the system and also on the mechanisms used to make collective decisions.

## Public intervention in heritage markets

Some authors classify the instruments used by heritage policies based on the degree of interference in the heritage markets (Monchaux & Schuster 1997). This classification thus tells apart very interventionist tools, such as ownership and direct governmental management of the heritage goods, and also regulation, from other tools with a smaller degree of intervention, such as incentives or dissemination of information. A classification based on the economic features of the instruments is also used. This, traditional in public economics, distinguishes between three

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<sup>14</sup> Unlike previous ones, these arguments are based on value judgments concerning the major or minor fairness of the market outcomes.

major groups (Rizzo 2002; Peacock & Rizzo 2008). public expenditure, taxation and regulation. The most relevant issue concerning them is to analyse how each instrument contributes to the objectives of the heritage policies. In particular two aspects seem especially important from an economic point of view: the analysis of the benefits and costs of different tools and their effects on the economic agents' behaviour. A brief review of the main features of the most commonly used instruments follows.

Of the instruments mentioned above, regulation is possibly the most widely used tool in heritage conservation (Throsby 1997b). It is aimed at controlling the stock of heritage from both a qualitative and a quantitative point of view (Peacock 1995; Rizzo 1998; 2002). Its objective is usually pursued by keeping registers of those historic resources that have cultural value and by consequently obliging their owners to comply with a series of requirements. In the built heritage context, regulation can take many forms (Throsby 1997b, 20). several requirements can be related to the existence of heritage goods (e.g. the prohibition to demolish historical buildings), they can also be related to their appearance, function and/or use, or also to the land use of their surroundings, and finally there exist regulation related to the processes by which heritage decisions are made. Such requirements infringe on private property rights and usually impose important costs on the owners (Hutter 1997; Mazza 2002). This kind of regulation, known as “hard regulation” (Throsby 1997a; 1997b; 2001), is implemented via legislation and involves penalties for non-compliance. However, regulation is not only about the use of sanctioning measures. Sometimes regulations just encourage different agents to voluntarily adopt a certain behaviour in agreement with the goals pursued. This is the case of “soft regulation”, the main exponents of which are the different treaties, conventions and recommendations approved by various instances and international organisations. These operate more through agreement than coercion (Throsby 1997a).

One advantage of regulation in heritage sector is, following Throsby (1997a), that directives may be implemented and revoked relatively fast, when compared to other instruments. Also, the flexibility of regulation in the short term is important, making regulation a very useful

instrument for urgent needs. In addition, it has advantages in situations with a high risk of social damage, because it is direct and resolute in its results. The use of regulation has also several disadvantages (Giardina & Rizzo 1994; Throsby 1997a; Benhamou 1997; Rizzo 1998). First of all, from an economic point of view, it is considered that regulation generates inefficiency when it increases the protection levels above the social optimum. Following the postulates of the welfare economics, this would be that level of provision in which the marginal social benefit of the last conserved element would be equal to its marginal social cost. Above that point, the increase on social cost due to an additional heritage good decided to be conserved is greater than the social benefits it will produce: that behaviour is socially undesirable in a context of scarcity of resources<sup>15</sup>. Another critique makes reference to the high costs of regulation in relation to other instruments. The costs would include the administrative costs (elaboration of norms, control, etc.) and the compliance costs, i.e. the expenses of different agents incurred to satisfy the requirements imposed by the regulation. Furthermore, regulatory processes are actually executed by officials, who may interpret them in agreement with their own preferences or be influenced by third parties having vested interests (Hale 1978; Throsby 1997a; Rizzo 1998). Regulation also alters the benefits and costs derived from the conservation and use of the heritage and consequently has an effect on agents' decisions (Pignataro & Rizzo 1997). For this reason, regulation may often have the opposite effect to the desired one, discouraging conservation and use of the heritage resources, in particular by private agents.

A second tool available to governments to assure satisfactory conservation levels and a suitable use of built heritage consists of directly taking over its production by means of the ownership of the heritage goods and/or the investment in their acquisition, conservation, maintenance and

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15 Difficulties faced by the regulating authority when determining the optimal level of protection are evident, given the difficulties in assessing the benefits and costs derived from public intervention. Currently, protection laws are usually based on considerations regarding the heritage bequest and existence value and, therefore, they only consider the social benefit of conservation. The under-valuation of costs increases the production of heritage protection services above socially desirable levels.



management. An advantage of this instrument is that it can provide an inducement for others to improve their heritage properties, which allows strategic actions of renovation or complete conservation to be undertaken (Bianca 1997). Besides, such heritage production can rely on the expertise of the heritage administration, which is usually notable. Furthermore, public ownership or operation can be the only way for many heritage goods to survive, protecting their collective values when no other agent can assume this task (Klamer & Zuidhof 1999). However, there are also disadvantages when applying this tool, because bureaucratic systems are prone to inertia and their agents may lack such initiative and motivation that directly concerned agents would have (Bianca 1997).

The state can also offer incentives for heritage conservation and valorisation activities undertaken by other agents. This financial support can be direct (mainly through subsidies) or indirect (through fiscal devices), and it can be aimed at the heritage owners or other agents involved in their conservation. Governments, when applying these incentives, try to modify individual behaviour to adjust the heritage production process in agreement with the collective interests. For this reason, the financial supports are usually conditioned to obtaining a return from the agent who benefits from them. These returns can take many different forms (Grefe 1990; Schuster 1997; Vicente 2007a). In many cases, it is justified from a social point of view to provide assistance for the conservation of a historic property, because of the generation of non-use values (existence and/or bequest); in other cases, when the aimed returns are ampler it is required, in addition, to maintain the property or to allow some form of public access to the property, or even to facilitate its investigation and study, thus generating collective use values. In practice, the choice of a greater or smaller return will depend on the importance that policy makers assign to the use and non-use values.

Incentives have several advantages (Schuster 1997): they can stimulate multiple agents to participate in the production and financing of heritage; they can contribute to balancing rehabilitation and new construction in the private market; and finally, they can also be used to compensate

for losses or costs driven by other governmental interventions, such as regulation. However, some problems may arise with their use (Klamer & Zuidhof 1999). First of all, this kind of instruments has the greatest control difficulties, when compared to previous ones. In addition, the design of these measures is based on a hypothesis about the agents' behaviour, but when these assumptions are erroneous, they will probably not obtain the desired incentive; in those cases, incentives are just a transference of rent to the heritage owners. Finally, we may consider that even with the proper incentives, proper care of heritage goods is not guaranteed.

As can be seen, there are different instruments available to heritage policies. The choice between them depends on different factors, such as the economic and social context in which they are developed, the available resources, as well as the aims and goals pursued by policy makers. These decisions always have opportunity costs, because resources can be used for alternative purposes. In order to rationalize them, public authorities must be able to assess the social benefits and costs, the social value, derived from their activities, so as to compare them with other alternatives. Economics has in this sense competitive advantages, because it has techniques and methods that allow the different values derived from the activities in this field to be assessed in economic terms. As shown below, the aim of all these methods is to evaluate the economic benefits and the variations in social welfare derived from these activities.

## **Economic tools for cultural heritage valuation**

There is a broad social agreement about the benefits that conservation and use of cultural heritage provide to society. However, this recognised importance in modern societies has for long contrasted with the scarcity of empirical studies on the type and extent of these benefits in the past. Nowadays, though, we witness a proliferation of economic studies that try to identify and quantify these effects. Although it is too soon to consider whether a dominant model has emerged to measure the

benefits derived from heritage conservation and valorisation (Mason 2005, 5), there is no doubt that this kind of studies are an important advance in showing the existence and relevance of the positive effects.

When assessing economic benefits derived from a heritage project, the first step is to identify such benefits. Following Throsby (2001, 91–92), it is possible to distinguish three foci: the use value, the non-use value and the externalities. The first one makes reference to all private goods and services that a project generates. These goods and services can be destined to final consumption or otherwise becoming part of the production process of other goods and services. We may also have non-use values derived from conservation and valorisation of heritage projects – such as the values of option, existence and bequest analysed above – that benefit all individuals were they users or nonusers of the heritage goods. A project also generate others externalities and induced effects on the economy, because they usually produce increases in the levels of revenues and employment, attraction of tourism, attraction of new activities and businesses, etc.

The assessment of the total economic value derived from these projects deals with important difficulties, mostly because of intangible aspects and the characteristic of public good of many of the benefits previously enunciated. Economic theory provides, in this sense, several techniques that may help to estimate the economic benefits and social values derived from heritage projects and policies. The more relevant techniques are the economic impact studies and the willingness-to-pay studies.

The methodology traditionally applied to cultural economic impact studies is based on identifying and measuring the set of benefits or flows that can be imputed to the existence and development of an activity from the existing financial flows in a reference economy, and considering their joint impact (Heilbrun & Gray 1993, 310)<sup>16</sup>. This

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16 See Agnus et al. (1985a; 1985b) for studies applied to Built Heritage. A recent application of these studies in the Heritage field can be seen at Vicente et al. (2007; 2008).

is a reductionist approach, limited to the assessment of the monetary impact of this kind of activities. For this reason, in the last few years, a methodology that also measures, or at least identifies, the social impacts of these activities is under consideration. Although these studies are not free from criticism<sup>17</sup>, they perform a vital function in supplying data, which allows alternative urban or regional planning strategies to be compared in terms of their tangible financial consequences (Throsby 1982, 1).

The willingness-to-pay studies adopt a microeconomic approach focused on the assessment of the utility that individuals obtain from the heritage service or, in equivalent terms, on the estimation of the value that individuals assign to those services through their willingness to pay for them. Whereas, due to their characteristic of public good, many of the values assigned to the heritage goods and services are not materialised in an effective demand through market, it is necessary to choose other valuation methods. Throughout the last decades, economists have developed several estimation techniques that assess the economic value of this kind of goods and services. These techniques, known under the generic denomination of *nonmarket valuation methods*, have been applied successfully in other fields, mainly in the evaluation of environmental resources. It is possible to highlight three specific methods. The first, the *contingent valuation method*, which basically consists of asking, through a survey directed to the population involved (those potentially benefited), what they would be willing to pay for the conservation or enhancement of a good, and thereby simulating the contingency of a market<sup>18</sup>. The *hedonic pricing method*, in turn, is based on indirectly calculating the value associated to the heritage goods through the prices of other associated private goods, for example, the house prices in a historical centre<sup>19</sup>. Finally, the *travel cost method*

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17 See Seaman (1987; 2003), Greffe (1990), and Klamer & Zuidhof (1999).

18 This method has received the greatest attention from researchers in this field. Compilations with lots of examples can be found at Noonan (2002) and Navrud & Ready (2002).

19 See Hough & Kratz (1983), Schaeffer & Millerick (1991), and Moorhouse & Smith (1994).

that, assuming that the cost of the trip to heritage sites is a suitable *proxy* of the visitors' willingness to pay, estimates the value of heritage goods by measuring the costs people are willing to pay when travelling to visit them (including the transport cost and the entrance fees)<sup>20</sup>. These methods allow not only the use value assigned by individuals to the heritage goods to be assessed, but in some cases also, with the method of contingent valuation, for example, its non-use value.

Although all these techniques have a great potential in the assessment of benefits of heritage projects, they have several difficulties, from a methodological and also from a practical point of view, which limit their daily application. It must be pointed out that none of these methods can make a global assessment of all the economic benefits provided to the society (Mason 2005, 5). In addition, these methods only measure the economic value acknowledged by individuals to their heritage goods at a given time. However, these goods have also an important cultural value that, although partially reflected in their economic value, could not be measured in its totality using these methods. Thus, these results must not be taken as grounds of decision making, but simply as a means to provide information for those who, in last instance, have been assigned with the responsibility of making decisions in the matter.

## Discussion

The heritage sector has been transformed greatly over the last half century. Nowadays conservation and enjoyment of heritage goods arouse an increasing social interest, and heritage is called to perform multiple functions at different spatial levels. In this context, heritage managers and policy makers have an important and renewed role. Heritage policies must be adapted to this new context and must be aimed to answering

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20 The application of this method to built heritage is not very frequent, at least in comparison with the other methods. Works in this field are Poor & Smith (2004), and Alberini & Longo (2006).

increasing social demands related to heritage. These greater citizens' exigencies can lead to advances in the design of heritage policies and to improvements in efficiency and the effectiveness in the commitment of their objectives. In this process, the analytical instruments of economics are very useful, because they can provide heritage administrators and policy makers with a greater understanding of the cultural heritage sector as well as of the preferences and values assigned to heritage properties and derived services by different stakeholders. In the same way, they can help to clarify the relationship between any regional or local economy and its heritage, providing cultural institutions and local governments with information that is useful for the implementation of development programs and urban renovation strategies. In the long run, all of this will result in greater levels of social welfare.

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***Eva Vicente**, PhD in Economics, is an Associated Professor in Public Economics at the Faculty of Economics and Business, University of Valladolid, Spain. E-mail: [evicente@eco.uva.es](mailto:evicente@eco.uva.es)*



# **The Nexus between Culture and Economics**

## **– Culture as a Contributory Factor in the Competitiveness of Regions**

**Esa Storhammar & Timo Tohmö**

The paper lays out the complexity of culture in the context of regional development processes. The focus is on the role that culture plays as an element of the competitiveness of regions. The first part shows how culture is gradually becoming a notable component of competitiveness studies. Then it is shown that examining culture as a regional attribute must be based on clear definitions that comply with the multi-level effects that culture can have. The paper ends by summing up the deficiencies that have been identified in the attempts to understand the nexus between culture and economics in the context of regional competitiveness.

### **Background**

The connection of culture with tourism and so economics is often recognized. It is also clear that arts and culture account for a significant amount of economic activity. Furthermore, culture is often perceived

as a significant factor of attractiveness, which helps regions compete for entrepreneurs, labour force and tourists. However, culture as a competitive factor of regions has proved to be a multifaceted and problematic question. Culture as a factor in the competitiveness of regions can mean different things such as regional identity, cultural capital, production of culture, cultural cluster or consumption of culture. This creates an obvious need to clearly define culture in each context.

In the studies and surveys that examine the competitiveness of regions, culture has generally been left to the background. Cultural affairs are not included due to difficulties in measuring them or they are included only by way of indirect factors. However, some studies on culture as a contributory factor in the competitiveness of regions do exist and will be reviewed later in this paper.

Brought along with the strengthening globalisation, the role of regional economies has grown. National and international co-operation processes have strengthened the identities of regional economies as independent and responsible economic units. Changes in the operational environment have tightened the regional competition and formed individual development paths for regions. On the other hand, the structural problems of regional economies have forced the regional actors to look for new strategies and operational models. As a result, more attention is paid to regional strengths and to the allocation of the limited resources to certain areas of emphasis and expertise. This is where culture comes forward, also in Finland.

According to Kangas (1999), cultural policy in Finland has gained “new clothes” and found an ally of the market. The breakthrough of information technology has, together with globalisation, brought culture to a wholly new context in international trade. This leads us, quoting Khakee (1999), to ask to what extent productivity and competitiveness are determined by the ability to combine cultural and knowledge capacity. What is the role of culture as inducement for investment? To what extent do culture and arts act as instruments of urban growth?

The beginning of the economic study of culture is generally considered to be *Performing Arts – the Economic Dilemma* by Baumol and Bowen (1966), which discusses the financing difficulties of the art sector, i.e. the need for public funding caused by the gap between profit and cost (so-called Baumol's cost disease). Baumol and Bowen (1966) and Robbins (1963) created a basis for the economic arguments for the public funding of the arts. There are four such arguments<sup>1</sup>: (1) the merit good -attributes of art (culture), (2) the failure of the market in reaching the optimal allocation of supply and demand, (3) the public good -attributes and spillover of art, and (4) the financial benefits produced by culture. According to Blaug (1976) and Globerman (1980), the effects of public funding are an increase in the number of performances, and a slower increase of ticket prices in relation to the consumer price index. Heilbrun and Gray (1993) set forth that the effect of public funding to theatres is that ticket prices can be set below the actual production costs, and the deficit generated is covered with public funding. The funding also enables the improvement of the quality of performances.

Based on the merit good argument we can say that the demand for culture is either too low or of wrong quality, because people can not see all the benefits they receive from investing in culture. Optimal allocation means that financial resources are allocated to alternative purposes in the best possible way. Based on the public good attribute we can see that culture is diffused into society on several different levels causing significant spillover. Examples of the societal benefits of culture can be various. For example, cultural activities can enrich the lives of individuals and generate markets for new enterprises in the region. Cultural heritage can also improve the quality of life and the living environment or contribute to a sense of community. The economic study of culture certainly also emphasises the economic benefits of cultural services as an argument for the public funding of culture.

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1 On the arguments for the public funding of culture see also Cwi (1979) and Taalas (1993)

## **Culture as a contributory factor in regional competitiveness**

The concept of competitiveness seems to have gained a strong position in regional development. The competitiveness of regions is defined through various resources and attributes of regions: the better the combinations of the resources/attributes surveyed are in relation to other regions, the more competitive the regions can be considered. Thus, competitiveness refers to the ability and potential of regions to produce, induce and maintain operation that increases the (economic) well-being of the region (Huovari & Kangasharju & Alanen 2001, 3–5).

The factors that represent the competitiveness of regions have been classified in various ways: into static and dynamic, structural and dynamic, material and immaterial as well as hard and soft factors of competitiveness. These studies have put emphasis on factors, the measuring of which has been considered unambiguous and comparable between regions. The idea is that at their best the “right kind” of indicators can reveal the developmental needs and possibilities of regions, and thus steer development activities and resources towards right targets.

The significance of culture as a factor in the competitiveness of regions has been brought up more and more often during the past years. Culture is increasingly linked to the context of tourism and economy. As a result, culture has become more tightly linked into the systems of regional development (Tufts & Milne 1999; Vaughan & Booth 1989). Although culture is considered to have a significant and growing role in attracting tourists to a region, culture and cultural services have an even more important role in e.g. enriching the lives of the local population (positive effects on identity, cultural capital, regional development culture etc.). Cultural activity does not only improve the lure of a region to its inhabitants, but it is presumed to increase the human and social capital of the region, which further increases economic growth. Cultural trade is also one of the fastest growing trades in the world. (Florida 2002; Throsby 2001; Karttunen 2001).



Whereas it has been easy to link culture and attractiveness, framing culture as a competitive factor of regions has proved to be a multifaceted and problematic question. First of all, even defining what is meant by culture in examining the attributes of regions is not unambiguous. Secondly, separating culture from the other attributes of regions into its own category is problematic. Culture seems to intertwine in many ways into the attributes used to describe a region. Thirdly, the same kind of problems arise in measuring culture as do in measuring other “soft” factors of competitiveness. It should also be taken into consideration that cultural factors are not merely tools for improving the competitiveness of a region, but culture should be considered as an intrinsic value, for instance from the point of view of regional identity.

In any case, it seems that regional culture, cultural factors, are more and more at the focus of interest in evaluating the competitiveness of regions based on enterprises and people. Examining culture as a regional attribute requires a sufficiently clear and unambiguous definition of the concept. In anthropology, culture has been given various kinds of definitions that can coarsely be divided in two groups. The first one perceives culture first and foremost as a system of shared information, shared codes and meanings, which people use to structure their lives. According to the second one, culture is a system of shared habits and beliefs which people have adopted as members of a community; i.e. culture is seen as a collective way of life. Despite the differences in emphasis, these two trends share a view of culture as a shared phenomenon, i.e. culture is something that connects people who have adopted a collective culture as members of a community, and, on the other hand, sets them apart from other groups of people. Using the concept of culture in economics transfers the ideas into the economic values of culture: culture is evaluated, regardless of its definition, from the point of view of its economic significance and effectiveness.

Culture as a factor in the competitiveness of regions can mean different things on different levels. In the following subchapters we review the key assumptions related to the different notions of culture: regional identity, cultural capital, production of culture, cultural cluster and consumption of culture.

## **Culture as identity**

Interpreting culture through regional identity converges with the anthropological interpretation of culture. Regional identity is seen an ever developing state that is constructed through social, regional and historical process. Identity bears a meaning not only to individual lives, but also to political-administrative systems. A strong regional identity is considered to have positive effects on the development of economic, cultural and political practices (Paasi, 2003). It is postulated that strong regional identity also improves work motivation on both individual and collective level, and effects people's interest in education and participation in citizen activity. At its strongest, regional identity encourages participation in social activity and taking responsibility for the development of one's own region. A strong identity can also be perceptible in the development culture on the region. (Sutinen, 2007; Raagmaa, 2002).

## **Culture as cultural capital**

The concept of cultural capital connects culture to economical thinking (cf. physical capital, human capital). Cultural capital, in a way, links also the various levels of culture: intangible cultural capital in a wider sense is similar to the phenomena, habits and values that are included in the concept of identity; on the other hand, tangible cultural capital covers the variety of issues that belong to both cultural heritage and cultural production, such as cultural buildings, institutions, events etc. Cultural capital also has a direct connection to both human capital and social capital. It could even be said that cultural capital has a strong effect on their formation and development. An important factor connected to cultural capital, which also has economic effects, is creativity. Innovativeness and innovations are perceived as essential sources of economic growth.

The concept of cultural capital, however, has been used in varying scope and meaning. For example, cultural capital can also denote the way in which productive factors are turned into production processes. In this case productivity can be used as an indicator of cultural capital, because productivity reflects the effectiveness of the utilisation of productive factors.

## **Culture – Tangible Cultural Products and Services**

In regional economics the concept of culture has often been connected to cultural products and services. The economic effectiveness of both culturally valuable sites and cultural events has been surveyed. Especially cultural tourism utilises valuable cultural sites and events. The economic effectiveness of heritage sites can be examined through immediate (direct and indirect) effects, and indirectly through factors that affect the region's economy. Direct economic effects are generated by tourism into the region. Heritage sites may also have effects on the behaviour of people and organisations operating in the region, that are significant for the region's economy. Based on what is described above, essential themes include *economic effects*, *the benefits* that the inhabitants of the region feel they gain *from the cultural sites*, *willingness to pay*, *willingness to accept* and *the public funding of cultural services* of the chosen cultural sites.<sup>2</sup>

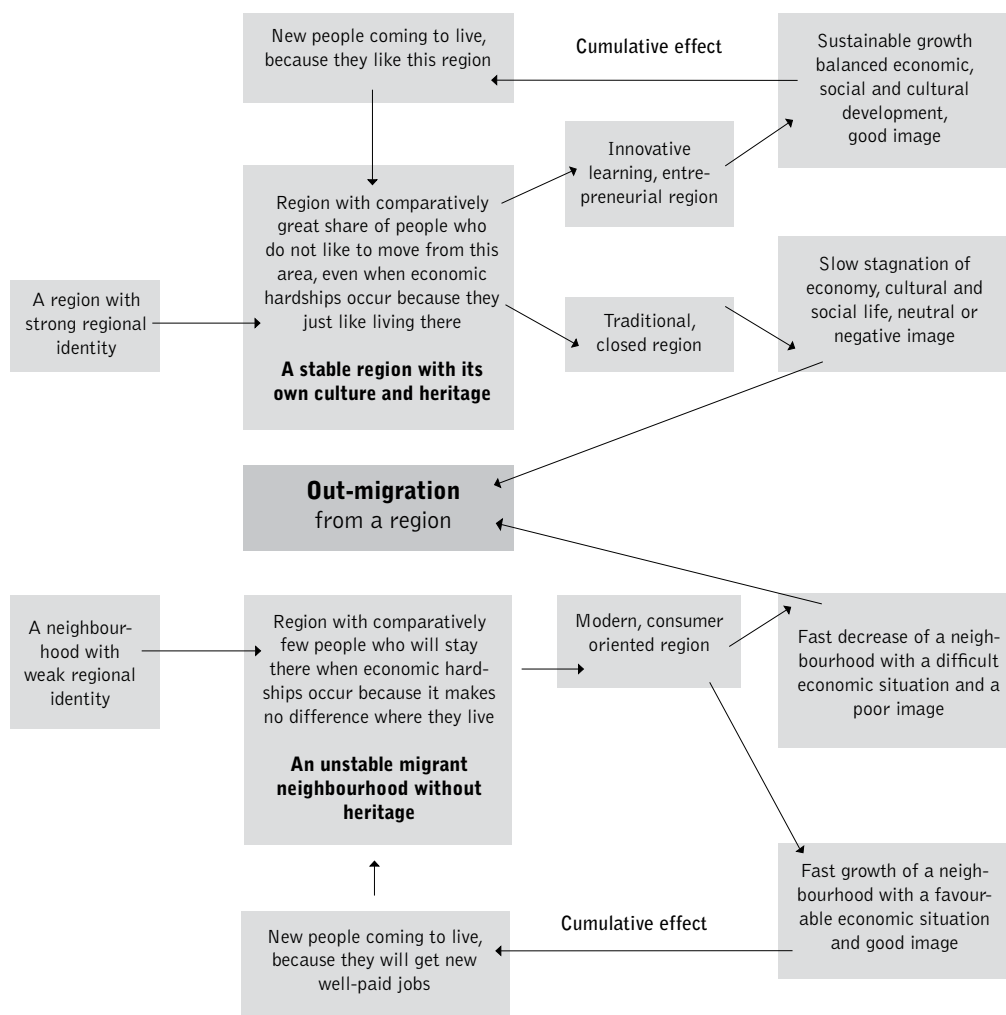
Cultural offerings are significant also in the competition for occupants and enterprises. There has also been an increase in the significance of the cultural trade as an economic operator. Cultural cluster in itself is considered to be important for the regional economy, especially in the cases when culture related trades are considered to be growing. Creative trades are considered to cast their effects even wider into economic operations and activity.

## **Culture as a contributory factor in the quality of life**

Perhaps the first time in Finland that attention was paid to culture in evaluating regional competitiveness was in surveys of the quality of life in the 1980s (Kainulainen 2005, 340). Various cultural factors, such as cultural services, cultural diversity, life style and regional atmosphere were examined as factors of the quality of life in the region. The significance of factors concerned with the quality of life to the placement of labour force (and enterprises) in regions has been brought up again

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2 Analyses of the economic effects of culture: e.g. Myerscough 1988; Bohlin & Ternhag 1990; Gratton & Taylor 1986. The benefits of cultural sites to the occupants of regions are examined in e.g. Throsby & Withers 1983; Morrison & Westi 1986; Martin 1994; Bille Hansen 1996 and 1997.



**Fig. 1:** The hypothetical effects of regional identity on the migration pattern of the population. Modified from Raagmaa 2002 and Sutinen 2007.

in the 2000s, especially following Florida's study of the behaviour of the creative class (Florida 2002). In Finland there has also been an increase in the interest towards culture and creativity behind economic development.

## Culture and the competitiveness of regions

Evaluations of regional competitiveness have mainly used indicators that represented the economic capacity and potential of the regions (see Hanell, 2009). Studies of migration and the placement of enterprises have put more emphasis to the attractiveness factors of regions. However, also in these cases the cultural viewpoint is generally rather narrow and reduced to cultural image or cultural services. Tourism studies have, naturally, examined the attractiveness of cultural sites and economic significance to the region (Aho 1994).

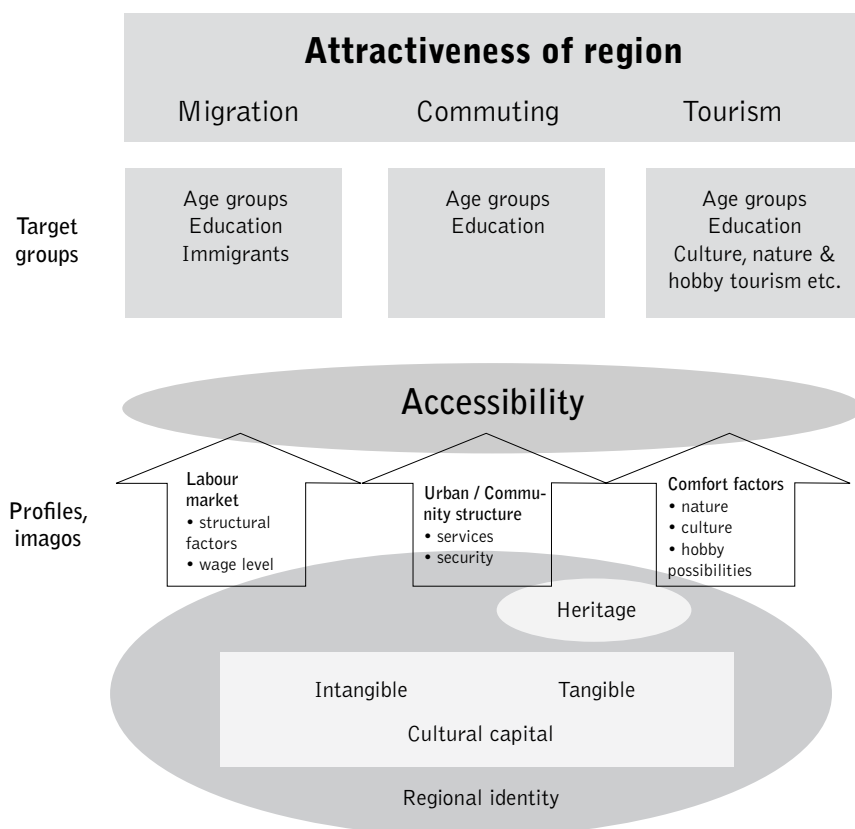
One example of measuring regional identity is Raagmaa's (2002) study of identity as the basis for regional development in three Estonian municipalities. The effect of identity on migration patterns of the population is especially interesting (Figure 1).<sup>3</sup> Regional identity is considered to have a significant effect on the commitment and the reasons for migrating into the region: the diagram shows that low and high regional identities have different effects on migration patterns during e.g. a change in the economic situation. A strong regional identity also has a positive effect on regional development (Raagmaa 2002; Sutinen 2007), and cultural heritage is an essential factor in constructing this regional identity.

Another interesting example of measuring cultural capital is given by Alasuutari (1997), who, based on enquiry data, constructs an exemplary sum variable to describe cultural capital. Although when measured this way cultural capital seems to be evidently related to the educational background of the respondents, it also creates a new dimension to the values of people that deviates from their educational background.

The economic significance of culture on regions is most concretely expressed in examinations of cultural production and cultural heritage. The economic significance of events or cultural sites is not only in their direct economic effects – often the deep rooted cultural products have

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<sup>3</sup> A natural addition to the figure would be the connection between regional identity and the placement patterns of enterprises.



**Fig. 2:** The connection between the needs of culture, economics and mobility

diverse effects to the development and preconditions for development of regions. This kind of effects can be seen, for example, in the case of Kaustinen and the Kaustinen Folk Music Festival, where an event based on cultural heritage has produced, alongside with direct economic effects, also social, communal, spiritual and image effects, which also bear economic significance to the region (Tohmo 2005, 2007).

The multi-level effects of culture on the competitiveness of regions can be described as follows (Figure 2).

The “multilevelness” of culture means that culture can be a contributory factor in the competitiveness of a region, as well as in the background of

competitiveness factors. The identity and intangible cultural capital of a region affect the operations in the region in various ways. For example, through satisfaction factors tangible cultural capital may grant the region direct competitive benefits in the competition for labour force and tourists. Clusters formed around culture also have direct effects on employment.

Culture can be perceived as an economy of the activities of concrete cultural trades, e.g. an economy of cultural events. In such a case we can talk about a culture cluster, which, for example in the music industry, includes music education, band activities, producing, distribution and sales, and even exporting of music. Included are naturally also instrument industry, and organising of concerts and venues. In other words, that kind of culture activity brings revenue, and therefore its economic significance can be calculated.

On the other hand, this kind of cultural offerings function as satisfaction and attractiveness factors. Figure 2 shows how cultural activities are potential programme services for regions, or may even generate tourism. Cultural offerings also have an indirect effect on migration and commuting, i.e. choosing places of residence inside a commuting area. The significance of culture is probably emphasised in a different way in the different groups of people; for example, in the travel and habitation choices of older and younger age groups.

Another way, essential to regional competitiveness, of perceiving culture is to look at it as a value-based collective way of interpretation. In this case, closely related concepts include ideology, tradition, vision (Sutinen 2007) or identity (Kettunen 2003). Culture, then, is a background, in the light of which people give different acts or situations their functional meanings (see e.g. Eskola 1998). On the other hand, culture defines what kind of activities – for example cultural activities – are wanted in the region. This way they manifest the inhabitants' idea of a good life. This, in turn, tells us that culture in this sense functions as a committing factor that prevents out-migration and increases return migration.

Let us evaluate, for example, the Savonlinna Opera Festival from this point of view. Although the first opera festival was held in 1912 in Savonlinna castle, the festival was closed for many decades. After a restart the opera festival has grown during the years from a one-week event in 1967 into the one month lasting festival. The festival attracts visitors to the town gathering a considerable attendance of around 60 000 each year, with 10% of the audience coming from abroad. It could be presupposed that not many people would migrate into the region because of the festival. The effect is more likely to be created by tourists increasing the demand and thus benefiting the region than by new occupants migrating into the region. This proves that the attractiveness of cultural services from the point of view of people and enterprises is an important area of research.

## **Conclusion**

Little attention has been paid to culture in surveys of regional competitiveness, and this is likely to have been caused by problems in creating indicators that are sufficiently clear for measuring cultural factors. The significance of culture, however, creates a need for the qualification of the cultural characteristics of regions. Producing indicators requires a clear starting point: what is measured (identity, cultural capital, cultural services), and how they are measured (statistics, questionnaires, interviews, composition).

A clear deficiency in the examinations of culture has been neglecting the connections between different concepts and levels of culture mentioned above. Similarly, the dynamic traits of culture have not received enough attention in the examinations. Neither have cultural indicators been systematically produced for measuring at least tangible cultural capital, not to mention the intangible aspects of culture. Statistics covering cultural institutions and the production of culture offer one source for evaluating the tangible cultural capital of regions. Analysis and interpretation of the statistics require a conceptually clear starting point for producing functional indicators.



In our view, three crucial issues should receive more attention in the regional studies of cultural factors. The first one is the commitment to and by the region. Having enterprises and occupants stay in the region is essential for competitiveness. The second issue that calls for further studies is how the perceived attractiveness varies between groups and individuals - who can in the first place be induced into the region by the competitiveness and attractiveness factors. The interests to migrate into or travel in the region vary for many reasons (age, education, cultural background: values and attitudes). Therefore, the attraction of a region is not perceived in the same way by different target groups.

The third important issue is the target area of cultural factors. Could the target area of cultural services be the same as the commuting area? Does culture induce people and enterprises to move into the region? What kind of regional and temporal dimensions cultural factors have? We can ask at least the following central study questions from the effects that the culture have on the competitive ability of the areas on the basis of the matters that have been brought out above:

- What are the identity of an area and its effect for the commitment of the individuals to the area like?
- Can we produce indicators that describe the immaterial cultural capital?
- How do different target groups experience the cultural factors of an area?
- How are the culture clusters regionally rooted and what is their economic effectiveness?
- How widely does the effect of the cultural factors reach beyond the area itself?

Answering these questions or even the attempts to search for answers to the questions can give considerably new information about the significance of culture for the economy and the competitive ability of areas.

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*Lic. Econ. Esa Storhammar is Senior Researcher at the Faculty of Business and Economics, University of Jyväskylä, Finland.*

*Email: esa.storhammar@econ.jyu.fi*

*PhD Timo Tohmo is Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Business and Economics, University of Jyväskylä, Finland.*

*Email: timo.tohmo@econ.jyu.fi*

# **Coastal Cultural Heritage in Norway: Between Function-deprivation and Over-utilization**

**– Exemplified by Two Coastal Villages:  
Nyksund and Kalvåg**

**Grete Swensen & Thomas Haupt**

## **Introduction**

For many areas along the marginalized coastal zones in Norway the future for the heritage assets might appear perilous. Major environmental changes in fishing, centralization, quota schemes etc., are exerting a decisive influence on the maintenance and further development of fishing-based cultural environments. In this paper the challenges the cultural heritage assets are facing in such areas will be discussed. The heritage assets consist of a combination of dwellings, economy buildings, wharfs, boathouses and shanties that together constitute a varied coastal cultural landscape with a series of local particularities. They bring positive connotations, but they are at the same time dilapidating rapidly when out of use. On the other hand, in the new wave of cultural heritage tourism new alternatives are opening. An "aura of authenticity" and "the experience of the unique and exotic" represent the core that this niche of tourists gets attracted by.

The opposite interpretation of the concept authenticity creates a cleft between the conservationists and the tourist managements however. The paper requests more attention to be paid to vulnerability analysis of cultural environments. The argument is that a turn from elaborate value assessment towards more general environmental vulnerability analysis can help the cultural heritage management in providing useful case papers for the local planning authorities. The vulnerability concept is discussed in the paper in connection with demands the cultural tourism sector has to fulfil to revitalize these areas without hollowing out their uniqueness. The paper is part of a project in preparation.

## **Background**

During the last fifty years the coastal areas in Norway have undergone a general transformation process, which has led to an increasing degree of centralisation of businesses and settlements. A parallel process of stagnation or decline has taken place in communities that are situated far away from the developing areas in or close to larger urban areas. Environmental changes and decline in the fisheries have had major consequences. Changes both in technology and organisation have promoted a process which instigates fewer and more efficient fishing vessels in fewer and larger harbours. At the same time sea farming and other additional businesses, such as tourism are growing businesses (Christensen & Guldberg 2004). Population decrease along the coast has major consequences for a lot of the varied cultural environments, where the combination of ordinary houses, stores and business buildings, quays and wharfs have created a varied cultural landscape with local characteristics. Population decrease will accelerate the dilapidation process of buildings and constructions.

The coastal cultural environments represent distinctive cultural heritage assets in need of being revitalised and adapted to be able to be used for tourism purposes. This process is well started, and we have gained a larger appreciation for the important values these environments represent. But there is a need for more insight into measures that can

be put into action to be able to integrate the cultural environments as a resource in the development of coastal communities. Coastal culture can be considered a resource that can be used in a series of connections: to create adventures for visitors – in connection with development and marketing of products rooted in traditional production processes – and/or in connection with reuse of buildings emptied of former functions.

Cultural or heritage tourism is a branch of tourism in growth, and it is a pronounced niche market. In general the tourism business experience that wishes of new, exceptionally and exotic adventures from the more quality conscious and sophisticated tourists are increasing the competition for the tourists' attention and demands development and adaptation of attractions and destinations. Cultural tourism is based on utilization of already existing historic, cultural and nature based resources (Lyngnes 2007). Often it is a question about resources in need of rehabilitation as well as in need of passing on the knowledge about the cultural historic forms of adaptation they have belonged to. It is just in this transmitting and communication of the stories from the past that the potentials lie. An "aura of authenticity" and "the experience of the unique and exotic" represent the core that this niche of tourists gets attracted by. Tourism and cultural heritage management in a wide meaning have several common interests, but there are also particular and even conflicting interests that have to be attended to.

In this article we will focus our attention on the various new forms of use of the built heritage that have taken place in the Norwegian coastal zone. We use two fishing villages in two different parts of the country as examples when we ask how new utilization can lead to revitalisation of coastal societies. We also ask if there is a need for using a precautionary approach when larger revitalisation projects are starting up, depending on the degree of vulnerability such environments contain. What do we mean by a vulnerability assessment and are there lessons to be learnt for the antiquarians and conservationists from other disciplines?

It is important to underline that this paper does not present new results of ongoing research, but is to be read as a preliminary input to a research project in preparation.

## **When the situation in the coastal zone started to evoke worries**

Within the cultural heritage profession the awareness about the challenges the coastal communities were facing have been recognized for a long time. In 1977 the county antiquarian Nils Georg Brekke presented the situation in an article and asked if anybody regards the coastal warehouses useful any more... An increased public awareness about the built environment in general had been awoken by the European Architectural Preservation Year 1975. Nusfjord, which today is recognized as one of the best preserved fishing villages in Norway, was one of the three pilot projects that were started in Norway as part of the occasion (Riksantikvaren 2007). An example of another coastal area that came into focus among antiquarians relatively early is Sjøgata in Mosjøen, Nordland County. The street had grown along the river and consisted of a mixture of quays, warehouses and living quarters for craftsmen, which were strongly threatened in the late 1960s. Due to initiatives from architects and local activists in the 1970s it succeeded in gaining preservation status in 1977 (Nilsen 1988). It is likely that such pilot measures led to a situation where more attention was paid to the major changes that were taking place in the coastal regions and hereby added to raise the general awareness about these particular forms of cultural heritage. During the 1980s and 1990s several museums and cultural centres specialising in maritime culture and preservation started up. A program instigated by The Nordic Council laid a fundament for cooperation and exchange of experiences in how to tackle the problems in focus (Christensen & Guldberg 2004). In discussions about sustainable tourism (Iversen & Moen 1999) and the value-added perspectives in cultural heritage (Marstein 2007) the problems that the coastal culture faces have been discussed. In other words, the coastal culture today plays a more prominent role both as a problem to be addressed in literature and as examples of best practices, and in this respect it is important not to forget the symbolic effect successful conservation projects like Bryggen in Bergen and the preservation of warehouses both in Trondheim and Stavanger have had. When the planning procedures in the coastal zones in densely populated municipalities have been tightened up recently, it is a sign that the awareness of safeguarding limited resources is gaining ground.



Before we turn our attention to the built heritage, we will give a brief summary of some of the recognized and most commonly known methods in traditional conservation field concerning documentation of larger cultural heritage entities and structures that are in practical use. A series of methods have been developed. In Denmark, the two methods SAVE (Surveys of Architectural Values in the Environment) and CHIP (Cultural Heritage in Planning) are interrelated. Both are developed on commission from the Danish Ministry of Environment and Energy 2001. SAVE focuses specifically on architecture and urban built heritage assets. Both methods relate to fundamental questions most cultural heritage managers have to face: (1) how can the historical contexts and links be identified, (2) how can especially valuable cultural environments be delimited and priorities set, and (3) which instruments can be used to safeguard the cultural heritage (Bech-Nielsen 1998; Schou et al. 2001). In Sweden, several reports have been published by Riksantikvarieämbetet about cultural heritage environments role in planning (e.g. Riksantikvarieämbetet 1998, 2007). In Norway, DIVE (Describe – Interpret – Valuate – Enable) is a method or management tool developed by Riksantikvaren, with contributions from researchers, two municipalities and architects. Behind the method lies a wish to contribute towards integrated planning. The process contains four steps: (1) Mapping today's situation and describing the development of the studied area. (2) Interpret the studied area's history and significance. (3) Assessment of values and potential for changes. (4) Input to planning processes and implementation (Riksantikvaren, year not indicated [2006?]), see also Swensen 2006). DIVE has to be read and interpret in relation to the methodology developed for place analysis (stedsanalyser) founded by Ellefsen & Tvilde (1988). Fairly recently a study in Sweden has focus on the process of balancing heritage-related, functional and economic values in re-development projects (Krus 2007). A last example of approaches that will be mentioned, is the Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) for Cultural heritage and cultural environments. These assessments are today required in Norway, but also in other countries. Provisions and guidelines within the Norwegian Planning and Building Act regulate the procedures to be followed in EIA, but the methodology used in the value assessment, however, will vary from project to project.

In other words, the coastal zone has gained a recognized position in the discussions today about the diversities of qualities that constitute the essence of cultural heritage assets. We will, however, later draw attention to the challenges that arise when over-consumption and over-utilization are about to take place, and we suggest that more emphasis should be put on carrying out methodological testing in order to make us better prepared to handle such challenges.

## **A short description of two well recognized Norwegian coastal villages**

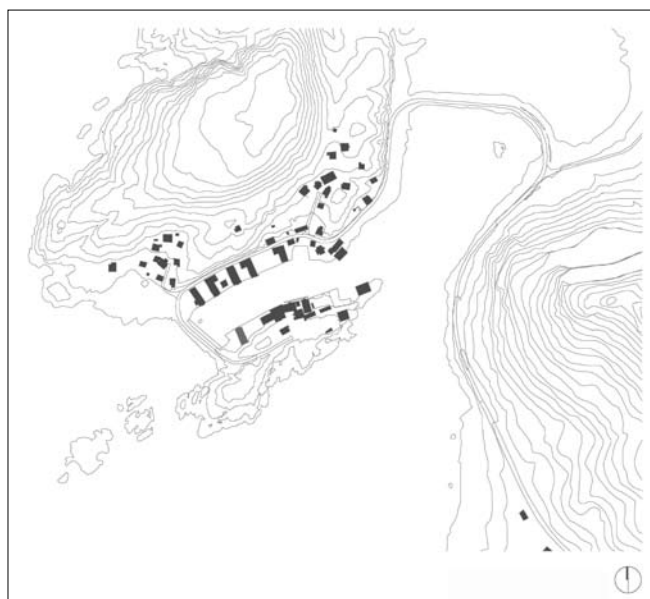
### **Nyksund in Vesterålen, Nordland**

Nyksund has been chosen as an example because it is one of the first revitalised villages where the principles of the cultural heritage management have been followed. Based on the investigation report “Nyksund-utredningen” from 1978 (Nyksundgruppen, Røvik & Larsen) the process of bringing new activity to the village started. The report consists of several independent analyses where a set of central problems are presented and discussed: documentation and value assessments of the built environment – a sociological analysis of attitudes to conservation – possibilities for development of tourism, various cultural and commercial activities. Different financing models are presented. The presentation that follows is to a large extent based on information from “Nyksund-utredningen”.

For a long period the people that lived in Nyksund primarily relied on the combination of local fishing and sparse farming. The first settlement goes far back in history. The closeness to the rich fishing areas was the reason that a rich merchant in end of 1700 laid his eyes on the place. After a new quay connecting two islands was built in 1874, a big and safe harbour gave good protection from the tough weather. The number of permanent residents grew and around 1900 there were 114 persons living in Nyksund. During the fishing seasons that lasted around three months the fishing shanties were filled up with fishermen and in the most successful fishing years, like for instance 1885 and 1894, the



**Fig. 1:** Norway.



**Fig. 2:** Nyksund, location plan.

number of people in Nyksund increased with 506 and 750. The coming years the place underwent a rapid expansion and at its peak it was the second largest coastal village in its region Vesterålen.

In a historical document from 1777 it is clearly stated that Nyksund at this time had reached a considerable size: 13 fishermen's shanties and turf-huts were in use. Two years after two inns were established in addition. In the end of 1800 the village could render several official services: A port of call for the regular steamer was established in 1882 and four years after a village post-office was opened in 1886, the same years as the religious community hall were consecrated. When the "Nyksund-utredning" started in 1978 the settlement consisted of 83 separate buildings/constructions, and approximately one quarter of these were wharfs. The developmental stages this fishing village has undergone are well documented by Lundevall & Ellefsen. In their contribution to the "Nyksund-utredningen" they present in details Nyksund at three stages: 1870, 1903 and 1965.

The place was totally depopulated by 1975 and for some years to come it was characterised as a "ghost town". The reasons are complex, but a lot of the explanations are closely linked to the official policy that was promoted on national as well as local level. There was a general opinion that municipal services should be centralised to particular assigned areas, and this promoted centralisation on regional level. The negative population trend started in Nyksund around 1950. Due to the motorization of the boats in the fishing fleet, the advantage Nyksund had by the closeness to the fishing grounds were not so obvious anymore. Fewer fishermen stayed over in Nyksund, and people belonging permanently to Nyksund gradually moved away into the centres. Larger reorganisation of the fishing industry had to be considered, and Nyksund did not offer the right infrastructure. For a short period alternative business such as for instance mink raising was tried out but without long lasting success. When Nyksund in 1971 ended up being classified by the municipal politicians as an "abandoned area" ("fraflyttingsområde") which gave a right to economical support, its days as a fishing community were numbered.



**Fig. 3:** Nyksund, areal view from north. Photo: Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage and Research.

A turn took place in the 1980s. The need of developing new opportunities was recognised soon after the last permanent settlement ended, and a strong contributing factor was the fact that the characteristic cultural assets of the place were well recognised. At this time a political will existed in the municipality to start up investigations to bring forward what opportunities existed. When the investigations started, it was also hoped that it would bring results that had relevance for other communities in similar situation.

In the end of 1970s when the “Nyksund-utredningen” was being carried out, the general opinion in the municipality went in favour of conservation. In the sociological analysis of the attitude in the report it is stated that 68,5 % of the inhabitants were positive to conservation. The



**Fig. 4:** Seaward approach to Nyksund. Photo © Hugo Asphaug.

thorough and qualified analyses that were done as part of “Nyksund-utredningen” strengthened the arguments of the cultural heritage preservationists for promoting conservation efforts. In the report, the buildings and piers were described from a cultural historic point of view. The building registrations in the report sought to work without



any preconceived ideas of values (Nyksund-utredningen 1978, 39). By using a three level classification system as a tool for describing the buildings' conditions the two authors ended up with a survey on the level of damage they found. The buildings/constructions included dwellings, piers and warehouses along with the quays. The uniqueness

of the two-storey warehouses and the compact building pattern are stressed in the report. In the detailed description the two authors operate with six groups of buildings (or what we today rather would describe as six groups of cultural historic environments). The building report ends up with a conclusion which may appear rather surprising by today's eyes: according to the two authors none of the buildings in Nyksund stands out as absolutely worth protection, although this statement is moderated later when it is stated that the most interesting parts of the piers and quays ought to be protected. This approach is in accordance with the general view among architects and antiquarians at the time.

Its particular cultural history and distinctive architecture led to an interest from the outside. Apparently a social pedagogue from Berlin hit on the idea to turn the place into an international meeting place for young people in the mid-1980s. An international foundation was established in 1986 to ensure maintenance and rehabilitation. For around ten years hundreds of young people came to Nyksund with the intention of working and holiday making (<http://www.nyksund-info.com/norskhistorie.htm>). This helped to instigate a new interest and new activities in the place. Nyksund has gradually turned into a popular place for visiting artists and tourists. To day about 15 people live in Nyksund all year round. In addition a few have returned to the home they left in 1975 and use them for recreational purposes. There are several overnight accommodations, restaurants, an art gallery, a grocery shop and recreational offers (Bladet BO utgave 5/6 2005, <http://www.nbbl.no/1587/>)

### **Kalvåg in Bremanger, Sogn & Fjordane**

Kalvåg is chosen as an example because it is sharing some of the characteristics with Nyksund and has succeeded in finding new functions for old buildings out of traditional use. In 2008 the old coast village had 350 inhabitants. The presentation that follows is to a large extent based on information given by Bjørn Fjellheim (1991).

The expansion in Kalvåg took place primarily in the period from 1860 to 1920. It was based on the winter fishing of herrings that took place in





**Fig. 5:** Kalvåg, location plan.

the northern region of the county. Fishermen from the very southern part of Norway and up along the coast of Vestlandet were partaking in the fishing fleet. In 1868 the fishing was supposed to have given remarkable good return and up to 11 000 fishermen are known to have gathered in Kalvåg. The rich fishing resources turned Kalvåg into an attractive place to settle. In addition to the fishermen various merchants, manufacturers and craftsmen took up residence. Kalvåg was one of the largest coast villages in Vestlandet. What made it particular attractive, was the combination of closeness to rich fishing resources and a sheltered harbour. The warehouses were built at the harbour and functioned as centres for the various activities: salting, drying fish, and cod-liver oil production. A canning factory preserving crabs was

established, and a lot of craftsmen connected to fishing found their income here – for example the coopers who were producing barrels and the tradesmen that found work in the mechanical workshops that serviced the fishing vessels. During the post war period major changes took place. Readjustments were made that led to fewer and larger enterprises with sufficient capacity but reasonably fewer places of employment, which gradually led to population decrease (Fjellheim 1991).

At its peak the settlement consisted of 50 warehouses. When the rich fisheries stagnated around 1920, the building activities also stopped, and gradually the former activities the buildings had housed died away and the buildings were primarily used as storage and a base for hobby fishermen (Fjellheim 1991).

In the late 1980s an initiative was made to save the warehouses by giving them new functions. A private enterprise AS Kalvåg Næringsbygg took the initiative to turn the situation marked by stagnation into a new direction. A project where local industry, bank and the municipality were partaking as co-owners (“Kalvågprosjektet”) was started up.

**Fig. 6:** Kalvåg live. Photo: Kystmuseet i Sogn og Fjordane.



The leader of the county's culture sector and the regional museum contributed with advice and expertise. The intention behind the project was to create new workplaces and more possibilities for income by hiring out and promoting commerce. As much as 20 owners showed interest for the initiative and a pre-project concluded that the idea of filling the old building with new functions was economical feasible. The regional museum received one of the old warehouses as a gift from the municipality in 1991 and today it houses exhibitions and a local division of the museum (Fjellheim 1991).

New functions require changes, and Kalvåg offers examples of various degrees of interventions in the old buildings. Some of the warehouses have been turned into a hotel. In their advertisement the hotel describes the efforts they have put into rehabilitation and total renovation of "houses nobody else wanted", as a sign of social awareness. Since 1986 the hotel has restored 5 large warehouses and some other buildings (<http://www.knutholmen.no/>). The cultural historic environments are undergoing changes. However, it can be discussed how planned or thought-through some of them are. "During the autumn 2008 several changes have taken place in Kalvåg. New houses are being built, while both old trees and warehouses are being torn down" (<http://news.kalvaag.net/>; translated by the authors). Two warehouses which have been recently built in a top modern standard are being advertised as Waterfront houses (<http://kalvaag.net/utleie/imt/>). They have been built in a style we could characterise as "modern adaptation" to former architectural styles and with various degrees of integration to the surrounding buildings.

## **When new opportunities arise, threats follow**

As shown, the heritage assets in many communities along the coast consist of a close-knit structure where a combination of dwellings, economy buildings, wharfs, boathouses and shanties together constitute a varied coastal cultural landscape with a series of local particularities. They bring positive connotations, but they are at the same time dilapidating rapidly when out of use. Now, in the new wave of cultural heritage

tourism, new alternatives are opening. An "aura of authenticity" and "the experience of the unique and exotic" represent the core of what attracts this niche of tourists. The opposite interpretation of the concept authenticity creates, however, a cleft between the conservationists and the tourist managements.

Cultural and heritage tourism has been referred to as the oldest form of the 'new' tourism phenomenon (McKercher & du Cros 2002, 1). Certain factors in the 1980s, however, gave this type of tourism theme an upheaval. The tourism market became more diversified. More tourists turned away from package holidays to more sophisticated breaks where exclusivity, differentiation and unique personal experiences became the norms. The unique, and at the same time collective, nature of heritage resources means that such attractions have developed into a 'special' niche in the industry (Urry 1990; Apostolakis 2003). It is, however, important to bear in mind that tourism and cultural heritage management are two different sectors with fundamentally different objectives and motivations. Understanding cultural and heritage tourism, therefore, is predicated on developing an understanding of what tourism is, how it works, and what drives tourism decisions (McKercher & du Cros 2002, 25). When Kercher & du Cros describe the nature of tourism, some of the important characteristics they stress are these:

- tourism is primarily a commercial activity
- it involves the consumption of experiences
- it is entertainment
- tourists want controlled experiences
- tourists want 'authenticity' but not necessarily reality
- not all cultural tourists are alike.

Cultural heritage management might see tourism as an important collaborating partner, but it is only one of many parties that it has to take into consideration. Tourism and conservation requirements may sometimes clash (overuse, physical deterioration of assets, unplanned tourism infrastructure development, etc.) (McKercher & du Cros 2002, 26–40). What happens when vernacular architecture, such as the one we find in coastal area, turns into a tourist commodity? Do the expectations of the cultural tourists affect – either positively or negatively

– the management of vernacular architecture in a sustainable way? New trends show that the list of subgroups in tourism are continuously being elongated, one of the more recent trends being more attention paid towards ordinary landscapes and ordinary people (Timothy & Boyd 2006, 7). Emphasis on the built historic environment, so-called ‘architourism’, is one of the latest global tourism trends (Willson & McIntosh 2007, 76; Lasanky & McLaren 2004), where people are significantly drawn to visiting a destination because of its architecture. To some tourists vernacular architecture will represent a notable asset because it combines the ordinary and the built historic environment and stimulates images of what many city-dwellers today would consider an exotic past (Swensen 2008).

It is a well known fact that the conflicting demands between use and conservation are well recognized and much discussed by the cultural heritage management. The cultural heritage management is often accused by outsiders of requiring too many restrictions and prohibiting necessary changes, while the tourism sector on the other hand often is blamed for instigating modernisations that dilutes and vulgarises the cultural heritage. In the coastal villages one of the challenges is safeguarding *the totality* of building forms. It is not so much the single buildings that would not tolerate changes. Rather, it is the layout and the close relationship to the surrounding landscape that are vulnerable.

## **Need for assessment of degree of vulnerability and sustainability in cultural environments**

These threats can be met in advance. We can ask why they have to occur, and some of the answers might lie in the planning legislation. When new building activities take place the cultural heritage assets will often get affected. Whether the consequences are of positive or negative nature depends on various factors, including the role the cultural heritage management plays in the initial phase of the planning process. In Norway there are “tools” in the Planning and Building Act (PBA) that are accessible, and in active use, for safeguarding cultural heritage values and connections in complex environments:

- Use of paragraphs which regulate certain zones for conservation (§25, punkt 6)
- Municipality plans, including neighbourhood plans (kommunedelplaner) and cultural heritage preservation plans (kulturminneplaner).
- The recent reforms in PBA are also proscribing use of Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) for building projects in urban contexts.

Cultural heritage sector has relatively strong instruments at hand via legislation and it can raise objections etc. related to both paramount plans and more detailed plans. Today's planning is to a large extent based on private initiatives. Ideally the private initiated plans could have been based on the framework set in paramount plans, but the actual situation reveals that many plans that are promoted are in opposition to such plans (Bowitz et al. 2002; Børrud 2005; Røsnes 2008). The way a project-based development and a reduced role of paramount planning affect the possibility to safeguard connections and contexts for cultural heritage assets in complex areas is to a large extent unknown. Today there is a need to introduce vulnerability assessments on various level in the planning process – both on the paramount level (where the strategic municipal planning is taking place) and on the detailed level of individual plans.

Vulnerability is a concept relatively frequently used in Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). However, it is far more seldom used as a central interdisciplinary approach in such analysis. The increasing awareness of the subjectivity of value assessments (Weston 2004) and environmental impacts overlooked in EIAs have brought both vulnerability concept and vulnerability analyses more into focus. There is no general agreement of what should be assigned to vulnerability in an EIA, and the term turns up in various contexts. Traditionally different disciplines use different terms, e.g. vulnerability, fragility and sensitivity, for describing the vulnerability concept, even though the definitions of the terms might be quite parallel. Despite the fact that different disciplines relate to vulnerability in various ways, the concept generally expresses how exposed natural and cultural environments are to be changed by

external impacts. When an interdisciplinary approach is requested, the general definition formulated by two Swedish ecologists, Nilsson and Grelsson (1995), is useful: the “degree of sensitivity of habitats, communities and species to environmental change”. The vulnerability concept defined in this way is not dependent on value assessments. A generalisation of this definition, “degree of sensitivity to environmental change by external impacts”, covers the concepts traditionally used in other disciplines, and can also easily be used in disciplines with little or no tradition of vulnerability analyses. A discipline such as Landscape planning has developed methodological tools for dealing with larger landscape formations and entities. It makes it possible to put forward substantiated arguments of the risk that clearly defined areas are facing (Kværner et al. 2006). Disciplines like for instance Cultural heritage and Natural environment studies have traditionally often been more focused towards single species (or artefacts) and their properties, and, consequently, face greater methodological challenges in estimating vulnerability at an aggregated level (Swensen 2005). Further development of methodology and criteria for vulnerability assessments are desired in many disciplines. It is important to develop content and methodology of vulnerability classification, which are able to catch totalities and which several disciplines can agree on in practical assessment projects (Kværner et al. 2006).

## **Concluding remarks**

There are many lessons to learn from projects like Nyksund and Kalvåg in Norway and other cases in marginalized coastal areas in other European countries. Based on an evaluation of recognized value assessment methods the planned research project intends to develop further a “tool-kit” that can prove useful in assessing the vulnerability in exposed coastal heritage communities. A challenge today is to provide an adequate method that encompasses the complex unity of dwellings, economy buildings, wharfs, boathouses and shanties as well as detailed management plans for single buildings, constructions and structures. In the assessments of the potentials that these close-knit cultural heritage

structures contain, there is a need for bringing in various professions and parties. Various professions, like architects, landscape planners and cultural historians have a role to play. But without the interest and vitality present both among the local property owners, small entrepreneurs and the residents, most revitalising efforts are in vain.

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**Grete Swensen** is ethnologist and senior researcher at the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage and Research (NIKU) with special interest in studies related to how cultural heritage and cultural environments can be incorporated in today's physical planning, including how to integrate cultural heritage as a vital component in a sustainable urban development.

**Thomas Haupt** is an architect, M.Arch/BSc (Hons) who worked until recently for the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage and Research (NIKU) before started his own practice which focuses on conservation and restoration of historical structures and buildings.

Email: [thomas@th-arkitekter.no](mailto:thomas@th-arkitekter.no)



# **The Dynamic Relationship between Culture and Nature: The Management of Historic Parks and Gardens**

**Annegreth Dietze-Schirdewahn**

Historic parks and gardens combine natural and cultural assets and values. They are dynamic objects in cultural heritage research. Methods are needed that integrate both natural and cultural values in the assessment of cultural heritage interests and the protection of historic parks and gardens. The discussion on the relationship between nature and culture, along with the interpretation of values, underlines the interconnections between the environmental quality, cultural heritage and cultural environments in the context of value creation. A better understanding of the significance of the historic parks for ecosystems and individual species, and the awareness of their importance for cultural development enhance the knowledge base for a long-term, sustainable use and management of these natural and cultural assets. This article gives a review of research activities at the Department of Landscape Architecture and Spatial Planning at the University of Life Sciences in Ås, Norway.

## **Value creation**

In the context of historic parks and gardens, culture and cultural heritage research include social and economic values. Historic parks and gardens

are a knowledge base and have value for the understanding of history. In recent times garden historians have discussed more and more the social aspects of garden creation. Questions like who made the garden, what did the makers expect from the garden, and which returns were produced have been seen as more important aspects, rather than what the garden looked like or which style it represents. Garden styles mirror the aesthetic, social, technological, economic and political attitudes of their times. Gardens have a role in production of food and economic return. But garden owners measure value also in terms of prestige, self-sufficiency, power, and even aesthetics. Population changes, changes in industry and trade, changes in country life, and changes in legislation etc. form the background for all this. Gardens can be seen as social symbols or status symbols, representing social aspirations, lifestyles, affluence and class. They reflect wealth, education and power of their possessors (Quest-Ritson 2003, 1–5).

Gardens also mirror the exchange between different cultures and nations. Social classes with money, knowledge and networks travelled to family or business partners collecting garden novelties during these visits. Garden enthusiasts could work as *pioneering agents*: they were, in the initial stages, able to import and accept garden art to new environments, with e.g. special features and plants (de Jong, E. 2005, 37–84). A new style could be introduced by creating a new infrastructure and/or adding an expansion to a garden, with help of these pioneering agents (Dietze 2006, 18). Garden fashions usually spread top-down. The rich are the principal movers (activators) of fashions, the middle classes then imitate their tastes and habits whilst the poorer classes copy the styles of the middle classes (Quest-Ritson 2003, 5–6).

From today's perspective all gardens are different and it is "their individual encounters with history that bring [them] alive" (Brown 2000, 13). Gardens and gardening are associated with pleasure, they give enjoyment and happiness. A garden represents also a "place of enchantment and peace, where all our ills can be cured" (Brown 2000, 50). Gardening is a means of self-expression and a garden is a place where dreams can be planned and realized. In a restoration-context gardens are a way to experience history on the ground.

In an economic context, historic parks and gardens have a value for cultural marketing concepts and economic utilization. They are generators of revenue, jobs, and training opportunities. In general, parks and gardens are not necessarily mentioned in the discussion of “cultural environment”, and this shortage in the discussion erodes *both* cultural *and* natural values of parks and gardens. Meanwhile, the value of historic homes is more often analyzed as a report by the English Heritage illustrates. People benefit from living and working in older well maintained properties in “areas with a positive character”. The cultural environment plays a significant role for this experience. A well maintained park or open countryside in the vicinity is the number four on the list of features positively affecting house prices. The report states that this feature increases the value of the average home by 6 % (English Heritage 2009, 40).

Historic environments reinforce local distinctiveness which is a key to sustainable communities. The historic environment, including parks and gardens, is an asset and a driver for regeneration and development. It underlines the value of good design and its role in regeneration (English Heritage 2009, 42–56). Historic parks and gardens form an image of the environment which can be advantageous in the regional competition e.g. in attracting business to a specific environment (Brandt 2006, 20). Historic parks and gardens and their surrounding areas and landscapes play a huge role in promoting tourism. But historic environments need also an investment in terms of maintenance costs and employment from the private, public and voluntary sector that meets the demands of the visitor and communities (English Heritage 2009, 56).

The discussion on nature in the context of historic parks and gardens includes three different categories of values: ecological, social and economic values.

To protect “unspoiled nature” was for a long time the main task of nature conservation. In Europe, however, in practice “unspoiled nature” does not exist any more. The biodiversity is closely connected to utilized landscape. Nature is a subject to ecological and cultural dynamics (Plachter 2003, 150). Some researchers see the term *landscape* better

suited than the term *nature*. Natural science describes *nature* with focus on its functionality as an ecosystem but in the context of human culture in general, *nature* also includes aesthetic and teleological perspectives – all individual parts have a purpose. The aim of this view is to reflect on *landscape* as a whole (Trepl 1998, 78–79). Nevertheless, historic parks and gardens contribute to a deeper understanding of nature as an ecosystem as well.

Nature in historic parks and gardens has an intrinsic value as a gene resource. Many garden-owners and gardeners were driven by a desire for novelty. Search for novelty applied as much to design as to plants. In particular the landscape gardens from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century included many new exotic species that in today's parks and gardens or even in the landscape represent an important part of biodiversity. In historic parks and gardens and cultural landscapes it becomes apparent that biodiversity is dependent on maintenance and the human and cultural impact on ecosystems. Gardens include elements like meadows and lawns, trees (individual, groves and forest, alleys) and shrubs, ponds and smaller lakes, walls and buildings. The individual elements can have

**Fig. 1:** Rosendal Barony. Pond and pavilion in the park. Different garden types and levels of maintenance increase biodiversity. Photo © Jochen Schirdewahn.





different levels of maintenance, and this, again, increases possibilities to form different habitats (Kowarik 1998, 117–129). The different types of habitats in historic parks and gardens give an opportunity for learning and understanding of ecosystem and the ecological interaction.

In a social context nature is important as a source of experience, belonging and learning. Individual species or characteristic landscapes could be associated with *home*, strengthening people's sense of belonging. Experiences of nature and landscape increase the quality of life and also have impact on health. Especially for children, experience of nature in different contexts is essential for their social and mental development (Job-Hoben & Erdmann 2008, 47). Considering values of historic parks and gardens, concerning both aspects – culture and nature – a pre-study carried out for the Directorate for Cultural Heritage in Norway (Riksantikvaren 2008, 12) concluded with the following list of values:

1. Fundamental values: historic parks and gardens as a knowledge base, concerning both cultural development and ecological interaction.
2. Nature and culture as a base for experience, quality of life, identity and belonging.
3. Nature and cultural values in historic parks and gardens useful for marketing concepts and economic utilization.

Awareness of these values could advance identifying significant historic parks and gardens in Norway. The Directorate recommended expanding knowledge of value creation process in the continuation of the project.

## **Garden inventories and criteria for identification of values**

To identify important historic parks and gardens, an inventory is essential. However, researchers in different disciplines do not agree on one universal approach concerning the criteria for selection of historic parks and gardens and the identification of their values. Therefore, an

inventory requires many criteria to make it possible to identify both natural and cultural values of historic parks and gardens. The main issue in this discussion is whether the gardens should be viewed as dynamic or static objects. Most researchers agree that historic parks and gardens are dynamic systems – “ephemeral and continuously subject[s] of change” (Laird 1999, 8). However, meaning of the term “dynamic” is not clear. For cultural heritage research (and management) the aesthetic aspects of plants are in the main focus while the nature conservation is interested in biodiversity and the protection of the ecosystem. In many cases historic parks and gardens actually contribute to a broader biodiversity due to the human impact. The introduction of exotics, the collection of different garden types, and the distinct use and maintenance contribute to a higher variation of biotopes. In nature conservation, however, the basic idea has been that the human impact should be limited to a minimum which makes the maintenance of historic parks and gardens difficult. Due to a stagnation in theory development in landscape architecture and landscape planning since the 1920s, nature and culture are seen to be in confronted/disturbed relationship to each other (de Jong, E. 1998, 17).

The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) has tried to unify both aspects in several conventions and guidelines (ICOMOS 1982, *Florence charter*). However, when listing criteria and values on a global scale there is a risk of selecting and assessing only “star monuments” that fit into these general criteria and definitions of values (Nehring 1985, 116). This again would have a negative effect on preservation of significant parks and gardens in peripheral regions in Europe like Scandinavia or especially the Northern areas of this region.

The development and use of criteria in a single research environment is often based on its own tradition and its view on nature and culture. The range of methods extends from value-benefit analysis and the use of quantitative approaches to qualitative approaches such as art and historical aspects; how historic gardens have been “experienced and received” (Hunt 2004, 7). When using criteria for the selection of historic parks and gardens, there is often a lack of separation between values

and the development of measures for protection (Nehring 1985, 114). Current research assumes that the use of criteria for the identification of values and for the selection of historic parks and gardens worthy of protection is still incomplete (Köhler 2007, 27).

The awareness of garden art as an “interdisciplinary garden science”, considering the complexity of values in historic parks and gardens appeared as late as in the 1980s (von Buttlar 1989, 104). Publications and conferences in the recent past focus on the relationship between nature and culture in cultural heritage protection. A new approach appeared in the 1990s when historic parks and gardens were seen as a subject of “monument-oriented nature conservation” (Kowarik 1998, 111). Often historic parks include both formal and natural design with various natural layers. They represent different times and cultural changes. And these layers have no strict borders/boundaries but they interact. Therefore historic gardens contribute to a broader biodiversity. The authentic character of the garden (in this context: the age of garden elements) and the growth of nature (plants in the garden) are regarded as high values in terms of *both* nature conservation *and* monument protection. Natural values in historic gardens depend on the continuity of use/utilization. In connection to this view, the idea of “substance protection”, rather than “image protection”, appeared (Kowarik 1998, 128–130).

Cultural heritage management in Norway has until now worked mainly with criteria from other disciplines such as archaeological and architectural monument protection. Natural values are taken from the report and proposal for the new Act of Biological Diversity (NOU 2004). The Directorate of Nature Conservation lists three criteria for the selection of historic parks and gardens for protection: representativeness, authenticity, and physical condition. The Directorate for Cultural Heritage (Riksantikvaren) uses the same criteria in the context of cultural heritage management. But the Directorate also points out the need for a set of value criteria for parks and gardens including both natural and cultural values (Riksantikvaren 2008, 12). In collaboration with the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research (NIKU), the Directorate for Cultural Heritage of Norway, and German and

English researchers at the Department of Landscape Architecture and Spatial Planning (ILP) are planning to develop these criteria in a research project. At the same time, some of the most significant parks and gardens should be listed in an inventory. This inventory would be the base for the management and preservation of important historic parks and gardens on the Governmental/administrative level in a conservation plan. Until now the financial support for the project is insufficient. Nevertheless, the pre-study defines and explains three criteria – representativeness, authenticity, and physical condition – because of their common use in nature conservation and cultural heritage protection (Riksantikvaren 2008, 12–13).

### **Representativeness**

To ensure a broad range of different historic parks and gardens in the conservation plan, representativeness is the most significant criterion. The listed gardens should reflect a choice of garden types, different periods, geographical areas, functions and social groups. Terms like *rare* and *characteristic* have to be discussed in this context.

### **Authenticity**

Authenticity represents originality and reliability. Properties and sites may be understood to meet the conditions of authenticity if their cultural values are truthful and credibly expressed through a variety of attributes including:

- form and design;
- materials and substance;
- use and function;
- traditions, techniques and management systems;
- location and setting;
- language, and other forms of intangible heritage;
- spirit and feeling; and
- other internal and external factors (UNESCO 2008, 21–22).

Point 2, ‘materials and substance’, includes both dead material, such as stones, gravel or wood, and living material such as plants and other

species. Contrary to other cultural monuments, parks and gardens include an extra dimension: time. Plants undergo natural development cycles, ranging from one season to many hundred years. Every new stage/phase of this development is as authentic as the former. For plants the attributes form and design depend on time. Also the term *form* is difficult to describe as vegetation shows more undefined organic forms, apart from geometrical gardens with cut/trimmed trees and shrubs. In general it is important that a garden represents a wide range of dead and living material to achieve the status “worthy of protection”.

### **Physical condition or integrity**

Integrity is a measure of wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes. The UNESCO guidelines define three different aspects. Examining the conditions of integrity requires assessing the extent to which the property

- includes all elements necessary to express its outstanding universal value;
  - is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property’s significance;
  - suffers from adverse effects of development and/or neglect.
- (UNESCO 2008, 23).

The elements of the garden should be in good condition, and the impact of deterioration processes should be controlled. Biophysical process and landform features should be relatively intact. Maintenance is an important criterion for selecting gardens in an inventory. But in some cases also rare gardens with insufficient maintenance and financial support could have value. Important elements for historic parks and gardens are the original terrain, constructions like walls, slopes and water features and the vegetation.

Depending on the individual garden or park, various criteria can overlay and support each other. Due to the fact that the historic garden is a process of gradual development and not simply a static system, these criteria have to be defined and adapted to the special character of parks and gardens.

## Perspectives for future management strategies

Nature has today an enormous potential for economic utilization. Today many people live in densely populated areas, and they are interested in holidays in countries that have what the tourists consider as “unspoiled nature”. In Norway, German tourists are represented by 21% in the major group of commercial accommodation (SSB 2008). Studies in Germany show that 36% of the population are interested in “nature holidays” (FUR 2006). Aspects like healthy climate and nature experiences are important for this group (Job-Hoben & Erdmann 2008, 50). Historic parks and gardens reflect the relationship between people and their environment and how inhabitants live with and view on nature. Especially peripheral regions like Norway offer unique opportunities to promote these aspects also related to parks and gardens.

In the past, Norwegian parks and gardens were created by common people, owners or gardeners but seldom by an artist. These parks/gardens are smaller in scale, and not so elaborate or extravagant. In many cases they represent fashion and style of the middle class (Dietze 2006, 137–157). Although these gardens give important information to the research of garden art and horticultural history their value is often underestimated. Contrary to the assumption that parks and gardens exists only in the southern part of Norway a significant number of them can be found along the whole coast all the way up to the northern regions. Norwegian parks and gardens are a significant part of cultural heritage. Most of them are owned by foundations, museums or private owners. Only few of them are currently protected by law. Because of low level of maintenance or the so-called restoration projects, significant gardens in Norway have disappeared. Even important projects lack independent and critical academic research in the discussion and proposals of restoration plans. In the future management strategies of these projects, the values of the gardens are often underestimated or not recognized or viewed at all.

Successful future management strategies depend on the knowledge about the existence of valuable parks and gardens, and the definition of their values and range according to different criteria. In Norway, like in many other countries, an inventory of historic parks and gardens,

based on different criteria that address both natural and cultural values, is required. Inventories are essential for the protection of remains or intact gardens and parks but also a basic tool for future marketing strategies. As an administrative tool, inventories are the source for specific *conservation plans* on both local and national level. Values and assets defined in conservation plans will, in turn, pass into *governmental planning* emphasizing the utilization of cultural and natural values and its economic outcome. If governmental planning is able to integrate the values of landscape and gardens with strategies concerning tourism, it can be beneficial for both protection and utilization. Current research states that protection of natural and cultural values is only possible when strategies and goals are moved from the level of an individual object to the level of landscape. Those working with nature conservation and cultural heritage protection have realized that monuments or species cannot be protected individually or separately. A successful strategy includes the cultural environment and the ecosystem. The term *cultural landscape* could become a “common communication and action base” (Plachter 2003, 150). However, depending on the researcher and his/her background, the perception of cultural landscape is different. This makes it important to discuss the diversity of cultural landscape, paying attention to both natural and cultural values.

Current research focuses also on the development of marketing strategies for historic parks and gardens. The conflict between the utilization and the protection of gardens pose a major challenge. With the Florence Charter, ICOMOS underlines the relationship of protection and marketing of gardens: “Interest in historic gardens should be stimulated by every kind of activity capable of emphasizing their true value as part of the patrimony and making for improved knowledge and appreciation of them: promotion of scientific research; international exchange and the circulation of information; publications, including works designed for the general public; the encouragement of public access under suitable control and use of the media to develop awareness of the need for due respect for nature and the historic heritage” (ICOMOS 1982, *Florence Charter*, article 25). In practice it is fundamental to consider whether the marketing activities (leading to a wider economic utilization) would destroy the garden.



**Fig. 2:** Rosenal Barony. The kitchen garden originally from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is one of the latest restoration projects. Photo © Jochen Schirdewahn.

Economists work with different marketing concepts concerning gardens and parks. The garden visit is seen as a process, an intangible experience rather than a finished product (Brandt 2006, 21). *Service marketing concepts* distinguish between facilitating services (e.g. guided tours and ticket sale) and supporting services (restaurants, events etc.). However, their work with historic parks and gardens offers opportunities to find shared interests: the expectations of the visitors could also meet aims of other groups. For instance, satisfactory maintenance is important for the artistic expression of the garden, the aesthetic perception for the visitors and also for the protection of cultural heritage and nature conservation. Restoration projects in different scales are additional attractions for the visitors (Brandt 2006, 23). However, restoration projects need fundamental research of the cultural and natural values of the garden. At the same time media presence is very important for successful marketing.



Another important concept related to promoting parks and gardens is the so-called *internal marketing*. It includes the education of employees – also on the administrative level – about the garden: what are its values and how should the garden be presented to visitors (Brandt 2006, 24). Landscape architects, architects, and other professionals responsible for the administration of historic parks and gardens need fundamental education about the different values and criteria. The discussion about cultural and natural values of parks and gardens will enhance the awareness that will further function as a basis for restoration and maintenance plans. This in turn helps to protect and improve/develop these values.

*Strategic marketing concepts* initially require an analysis of the market before goals and tasks can be defined (Brandt 2006, 24). Economists distinguish between *market analysis*, *competitor analysis*, and *strength and weakness analysis*. The market analysis uses visitor surveys to analyse their interests and reasons for visiting the garden. The competitor analysis compares the supply of various parks and gardens. Also the competition in attracting business or new residents to a specific environment with a positive historic image could be analyzed. The strength and weakness analysis includes a discussion of the natural and cultural landscape as well as cultural, touristic and economical potentials. For the analysis and development of historic parks and gardens, all three approaches should be used in order to get a satisfactory basis for future marketing concepts. However, the strength-weakness analysis especially emphasizes the natural and cultural values of historic parks and gardens.

On the basis of the market analysis it is possible to identify different strategies that are useful for the marketing of historic parks and gardens. One could focus on certain target groups, for instance visitors with a particular background, age, or from a specific region/nation. It can also be useful to combine development of new services/products to this. Important aspects to be discussed could be whether the existing visitor structures should be changed and/or the marketing activities increased. Future strategies should also include new collaborations with internal and external players/stakeholders and the discussion of a separate identity (Brandt 2006, 24–34).



< **Fig. 3:** Rosendal Barony. Apart from the mountain and waterfall, everything in this picture is “man-made nature”. Photo © Jochen Schirdewahn.

In Norway, marketing strategies are seldom used in the context of historic parks and gardens. As an exception, the Rosendal Barony, located about 100 km southeast from Bergen, seems to have an elaborated concept. The estate offers garden and house tours, concerts and theater performances in the historic environment, sale of garden products, restaurant/café facilities, accommodation in the former barn/cottage, and letting for private and business events. The activities address a wide range of visitors, from local residents to international tourists and groups with business and educational purpose. However, in general, there is a lack of discussion of the interrelation between the surrounding landscape and the park/garden. Is the garden the most important experience, or is the landscape most important for the visitor? Is the “nature tourist” also interested in a garden visit?

As Rosendal is located in the southern part of Norway, the approach for management and marketing strategies is not so different from what it often is outside Scandinavia. But, then, are there changes/variations in the High North? The Department of Landscape Architecture and Spatial Planning at the University of Life Sciences has in collaboration with the Department of Culture and Literature, the University of Tromsø applied for a research project (2009–2011) at the Research Council of Norway where among other things potential marketing strategies for parks and gardens in northern Norway will be analyzed and developed. The results of the project will enhance the quality of the heritage and the natural environment, and contribute to the branding of the High North as a destination that provides a sustainable use of the heritage.

For successful marketing, the garden is not the only focal point. Rather, the landscape, the village/city or the local surroundings are important. Landscape offers the experience of „spatial, historical and cultural relations“ including historic parks and gardens as a cultural and natural contribution (de Jong, R. 2006, 18). Further research is needed to discuss this relationship in peripheral regions. Successful management

of parks and gardens is dependent on the approach that addresses both sides of the value-creating process. Nature conservation and monument protection have in many cases common goals that can open possibilities for finding new concepts for protection and conservation strategies.

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*Annegreth Dietze-Schirdewahn is assistant professor at the Department of Landscape Architecture and Spatial Planning, University of Life Sciences (UMB) Ås, Norway. She holds a Dr.Sc. degree (UMB), a MA of Arts degree (Bristol University) and a Dipl.-Ing. degree in landscape architecture (University of Hannover). E-mail: [annegreth.dietze@umb.no](mailto:annegreth.dietze@umb.no)*

# **Maintenance of Rural Built Heritage – Experiences of an International Workshop**

**Balázs Halmos, Kata Maróty & András Szalai**

Disintegration of traditional Hungarian villagescapes, beginning from the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, is getting more and more distressing by the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This phenomenon is even more challenging in areas without any significant touristic potential upon which heritage preservation programs and economical development could be built. Even in those villages, however, maintenance of harmonic built environment is still an important factor advancing general wellbeing of inhabitants as well as forming their identity and attitude to the place. Lack of attention and interest of the local community can intensify loss of traditional character of built environment and significantly contribute to the decrease of real estate value in the area as well.

Scholars of Department for History of Architecture and of Monuments at Budapest University of Technology and Economics have contributed to several projects helping local authorities to elaborate development concepts and regulation master plans with rural built heritage in view. It is important to underline however, that elaboration of general schemes adaptable in any situation is not in the agenda. Inadequateness of building regulation issues prescribed by the central administration has done a lot of harm to the image of Hungarian villages in the past decades. Our emphasis is put on recognition of the unique environmental and

architectural character of each single settlement and on encouraging local authorities to develop their own heritage management concepts.

One of the projects mentioned above was the 2006–2007 international workshop carried out in the villages of Abaliget, Boda and Kővágószőlős, in Baranya county, Hungary, in co-operation with Oulu University Department of Architecture and University College Dublin School of Architecture. This program was part of a three-year workshop session called “Heritage at Risk in Rural Europe” (see e.g. Ihatsu & Mäntysalo 2006; Ihatsu 2007). This was preceded by the 2002–2005 project “Urban Renewal and Cultural Heritage Development in Europe” accomplished in co-operation with Oulu University and University of Florence Department of Technology and Design. In this former research and education program we undertook introducing students of architecture to a wide range of built heritage preservation problems: revitalization of central urban areas in the Corvin-Szigony project of downtown Budapest (Brandt et al. 2003); rehabilitation of suburban areas in Brozzi and Le Piagge neighborhoods in the outskirts of Florence (Zetti & Brandt 2005); and maintenance of rural built heritage in Siikalatva region of Finland (Mäntysalo et al 2004). Based on the good co-operation with our Finnish partner we decided, after the three years, to focus on the question of rural built heritage. In the new project, supported by the LEADER-Programme of European Union, also local municipalities and private partners were involved besides universities from each country. Villages that were interested in co-operation served as case studies for historical, typomorphological and architectural analysis and as target areas for development suggestions and building designs elaborated by students of architecture, supervised by experts of history of architecture, urban design, building construction and monument protection. As local residents and decision makers, heritage professionals and students of architecture contributed to the project, the aim of the outcome was at least fourfold: first of all, to help local villagers to recognize the values of their everyday built environment with the help of public participation in the process of making development decisions. Secondly, to supply profound preparatory analysis for local municipality officials in order to develop their heritage management concepts. The third aim was to introduce students of architecture to



complex problems of heritage protection in practice, too, besides the theoretical approach. And last but not least, we aimed at exchanging knowledge between the professionals and refining a complex analysis method adaptable in different rural architectural environments in Europe.

While working on the project we have encountered theoretical issues and also several contradictions between theory and general practice of heritage evaluation and heritage protection in a rural architectural context.

One observation was that *development* and *maintenance of tradition* are notions often opposed to each other even in professional discourse especially in Eastern Europe. Development frequently appears as industrial, economical, touristic or even demographic growth and is regarded as a phenomenon endangering rural built heritage. As opposed to this idea our common concept of development involves reconstruction of traditional buildings, increasing comfort of traditional estates as well as maintenance of traditional values without any profound intervention.

Another observation is that in order to maintain harmonic traditional villagescapes the meaning of *heritage value* of these built environments has to be interpreted in a wider sense. Historical monuments of national or even local importance cover just a very narrow segment of built environment. Masterpieces of contemporary architecture of a high artistic standard are also just a small percentage. The rest, way over 90 % of present buildings – both old and new – surrounding us every day are common products of human building activity but these determine the general look of our environment. These buildings and all the collective knowledge behind their construction is major part of our built heritage. It is especially true in a rural context. When desiring to build something new in harmony with a historically developed environment – an office building in a historical town center, or a simple family house in a village – we have to examine the heritage aspects of the environment as a whole. It is necessary not to refer to the outstanding only, but to the average. Being able to create fitting

new elements into an existing context depends on learning some sort of traditional architectural behavior.

Considering the aforementioned questions, the main concept of the present study is twofold. On the one hand we would like to outline our conception of defining the heritage value of rural built environments. On the other hand, using the case studies of the workshop as examples, we would like to expose major challenges the rural heritage protection is facing.

## **Heritage value of rural built environment**

### **Relationship between settlement and landscape**

Agricultural activity attached to village lifestyle postulates close connection between settlement and its surroundings: plough-lands, forests, meadows, farms, vineyards etc. This relationship is materialized in building structures and forms characteristic to each region that – together with settlement structures and geomorphological features – determine the image of the neighborhood. This traditional relation between village and landscape had remained balanced in the past even in the course of permanent renewal until it was drastically influenced by dramatic intervention to social and economical circumstances. We usually think of the traditional relation as a value, traces of which can still be palpable despite the radical changes in the recent past. Harmony between settlement and landscape can be described as a complex organic relationship, altering in time but always determined by the vigor and energy of the natural environment.

### **Settlement structure**

Morphological structure of villages has also developed and is changing correlated with the way of life. Systems of roads, streets, plots, residential and farming areas as well as public buildings – churches, mills, inns – and public areas – graveyards, marketplaces – have also been formulated

in an organic way, determined by environmental factors. This system or structure is the primary bearer of the value of rural built heritage. If this system perishes as a whole, or in case of fundamental changes of this system, any unit in it – even when protected in itself – is endangered. The unity and the frame that holds the elements together will get lost. Even though this approach seems to be evident in theory, it is ignored in most cases in practice of rural development and rural heritage preservation. Typical example is that in most Hungarian villages heritage protection covers only single traditional estates generally used as museums of local history. Their architectural value is maintained but their original functional and spatial context disappeared. They become unfamiliar elements in a foreign environment. Since 2001 in Hungary municipalities are bound by the law to prepare a study on the aspects of built heritage while preparing their urban master plans. However, these documentations generally do not go beyond suggesting protection of the best preserved historical buildings and traditional street view fragments. Maintenance of historical settlement structures remains a theoretical issue.



**Fig.1:** Structural map of Boda.



**Fig. 2:** Morphology: dwelling houses and barns on the long plots in Boda.

### **Building up plots, building volumes**

Units of the village structure are plots or estates, consisting of a dwelling house and outbuildings. Hungarian villages are usually composed of long plots perpendicular to the street. Dwelling houses are placed along the neighbouring plot and with the main façade facing the street. Depending on variations in lifestyle and agricultural practice, however, there are slight differences: dwelling house and outbuildings can be attached or separately positioned; barns can be parallel or perpendicular to the main axe of the plot; street facades can be attached to or pulled back from the street line; etc. These typomorphological features are distinctive characteristics of each region, subregion, settlement or even quarter of a village.

If this disposition is changed, the morphological character of the whole settlement will be transformed, as it has happened and is happening today in most Hungarian villages. When the sudden storm of modernization reached the Hungarian countryside in the 1960s, governmental subsidy system favoured “up-to-date” housing forms – freestanding square-shaped buildings, often with loft in the attic – significantly different from the traditional building forms. Recently new residential areas have been pasted to historically grown villages with altering plot forms and building disposition. These enclosures are rather “camps of family houses”, showing an embarrassing image of some kind of permanent temporariness, compared to the timeless beauty of the remaining old quarters.



**Fig.3:** Typical traditional street views of Boda. Photo © the authors.



**Fig.4:** Examples of buildings that maintain the original shape and disposition, even if they were otherwise historically insignificant (Boda). Photo © the authors.



**Fig. 5:** Examples of misfit elements in a village (Kővágószőlős).  
Photo © the authors.

The argumentation above also means that in our heritage concept traditional values are not necessarily attached to historical buildings only. New housing – even with modern structures and details – can be bearer of rural architectural heritage value if the traditional disposition and coherence of space and building volume is adopted.

### **Street view, architectural details**

In a village where organically formed settlement structure and traditional disposition of the buildings on the plots are preserved, street views (in coherence with the structural characteristics) are also bearers and mediators of fundamental value of tradition. Formal/structural wholeness and proportion of the system of facades are important transmitters of traditional values. Besides that, the smaller scale elements of the surfaces, the typological elements of architectural and esthetical quality (the system and details of façade decoration, windows, fences, trees, plants, ditches, pavements) determine the image of a street. All these elements have their historically developed form which is an integral part of the architectural tradition of the place. The variety of these elements, within the frame of typological uniformity – i.e. diversity

within unity – is the most conspicuous value of rural built heritage that we usually regard as unique and irreplaceable.

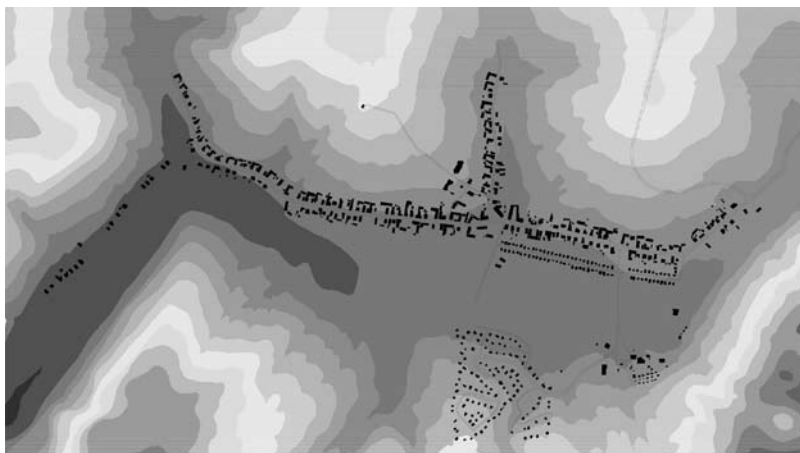
This, however, would not exist without structural value-bearers such as settlement structure and disposition. A common mistake in value protection practice is that it concentrates primarily on the details of the surface. From this point of view, an old house that had lost its original ornaments, window-frames, decorative elements does not appear to be valuable and worth examining and protecting. Yet, these buildings are important reminders of the original structure. Missing elements can be remodeled on them, while the complete dissolution must be seen as a wound on the body of the whole village.

## **Challenges of rural heritage preservation – experiences of the case studies**

### **Abaliget**

Abaliget is a popular touristic destination in the Mecsek Mountains. People are attracted by a curative dripstone cave, a pair of artificial lakes, the vicinity of the holiday resort Orfű, and last but not least by the friendly atmosphere of the village itself. This popularity, however, resulted in a very harmful intervention to the village structure in the 1970s. Abaliget is a typical example of the so-called one-street valley settlement. The village is settled along a valley, slightly moved upwards on one hillside to avoid swamps along the stream running nearby. The village has grown along the main road and into a couple of glens on the upper part of the road in complete harmony with the natural surroundings. Long plots on both sides of the road, stretching up and down the hill, were originally divided: there was a yard on the front and a garden with household agriculture in the back.

The withering of the traditional form of agriculture resulted in loss of functional utility of the backyards and outbuildings, such as barns, sheds, storages etc. These backyards on the lower side of the main street in the central quarter of the village were simply cut off and parceled



**Fig. 6:** Geographical map of Abaliget.

out as tiny plots for holiday houses. In the next couple of years, diverse cottages of very low architectural and technical quality were built up without any esthetical or environmental control. Another similar zone was assigned on the hillside near the cave. Having a look at the map of Abaliget, these look like morbid proliferations in the healthy tissue of the settlement. Not only the general architectural level of the village dropped significantly but also the organic structure of the village was damaged. This happened with the co-operation of those individuals – mainly middleclass from the towns nearby – who decided to buy a plot in Abaliget because they were attracted by the harmony and traditional atmosphere of the village. Economically, with the help of proper governmental measures, they would have been able to maintain traditional buildings. But the authorities of that time were enchanted by a misunderstood myth of modernization and were not aware of this opportunity. As a result, people seeking the beauty of the traditional villagescape were misguided by short-sighted settlement policies and became tools of destruction. This process from the 1970s is an expressive example of how sensitive the balance between promotion of tourism and maintenance of traditional rural image is. Today, when many people optimistically think of tourism as a key to prosperity of the Hungarian countryside, it is important to be aware of this risk. Raising the question of proper development measures is also very timely in Abaliget. The recent development master plan, suggested in 2005, marked an area on





**Fig. 7:** Structural map of Kővágószőlős.

the confines of the village as a zone for new housing with a structure that is not adjusted to the historically grown system. Parceling and selling municipality-owned real estate on the periphery is apparently one of the easiest ways for village municipalities to get income, in order to be able to run the basic public and social services. As a consequence, public and private resources are appropriated for development of the outskirts of the settlement while traditional values of the historical core gradually deteriorate. Societal aftermaths, such as segregation or aging of population of the central areas, follow. This strange type of “suburbanization” is already recognizable in several villages.

There are few positive examples of municipalities that systematically buy the estates from old village residents’ inheritors who are not interested in staying in the village. With this measure authorities can protect the houses from becoming abandoned and in this way advance the revitalization of village centers. Supported by proper promotion

reselling such estates could be an alternative to parceling peripheral land for new residents. However, authors of this study are not aware of any published calculation comparing the costs of this type of real-estate transaction and the costs of building entirely new infrastructure for new housing areas.

### **Kővágószőlős**

Kővágószőlős is a representative of a wide number of settlements that were boosted by the industrial development of the communist era and are now getting in trouble after the breakdown of this artificially generated prosperity. The village was traditionally famous for quarrying and stone-carving activity. In the recent decades, until the late 1980s, major part of the population worked in the surrounding uranium mines. Modern blocks of flats were built in the 1950s for the growing population, and derelict constructions of the mines are still to be seen everywhere on the surrounding hills. However, the settlement structure in the historical core was not affected much by this development. The system of irregularly branching roads and widened squares at their junctions, grown naturally and determined by the geographical features, subsisted. Meanwhile, the relative wealth based on mining left its mark on the building stock in Kővágószőlős: only few of the dwelling houses or outbuildings have remained in their traditional condition. They were partly replaced by new buildings, partly renovated or “modernized”, regardless of their historical or architectural values. The village is a fine example of another phenomenon that affected Hungarian villagescapes in the 20th century: welfare usually damaged, while poverty usually conserved traditional values.

## **Solving the apparent contradiction between tradition and utility?**

According to the value categories of Alois Riegl (1903), dominant factor of the *memory values* (*Erinnerungswerte*) of rural built heritage is what he calls *age-value* (*Alterswert*), while in the everyday practice of

planning and development the *use-value* (*Gebrauchswert*) has a priority – which is listed among the *present-day values* (*Gegenwartswerte*) in Riegls terminology. Though these observations are obvious for heritage professionals, we have to underline, that for most village residents – especially in the former communist countries of Eastern Europe – there is an almost insolvable contradiction between these values. Old and traditional buildings are still associated with outworn, old-fashioned, even useless and something that should be replaced. To detect the roots of this stance could be the topic of a separate study which has more to do with psychology and sociology than architecture and monument protection. It is also evident that solving this problem is a long-term challenge for education, and the work has to be started on a very basic level. Architects and monument protection professionals have a consultative role in this process mainly. Our activities, however, should by far exceed the elaboration and enforcement of strict regulations. Society of architects has to take responsibility for giving examples on how this apparent contradiction between *tradition* and *utility* can be solved. The challenge is to awaken the village residents to consciousness of the fact that traditional building forms are feasible, or at least adaptable, to satisfy the requirements of modern lifestyle. This is the main reason why we gave our students assignments to design new buildings on empty plots of the villages during the workshops, and these suggestions were presented to the villagers as well.

Rural heritage protection must of course not disregard modernization, changes in lifestyle, and village inhabitants' need for more comfort. It is a delusion, however, to believe that these phenomena and needs would inevitably lead to disintegration of the harmony of traditional rural built environments. Change – growth of the village, renewal of the original building stock, replacement of single elements in the rhythmic streetscape – has always been characteristic for these settlements. Change is part of the tradition.

## Afterword

Budapest University of Technology and Economics Department for History of Architecture and of Monuments was proud to join recently an international scientific network focused on Economics and Built Heritage. Authors of this study are architecture historians and monument protection professionals. We are no experts in economic issues. We are, however, aware of the importance of developing a wider discussion on relationship between heritage protection and economics, and bringing new perspectives to it, even though our main point is not to prove or demonstrate that preservation of built heritage is economically profitable. It does of course aid monument protection professionals in their work if this kind of statement is given evidence in general. We have to underline, however, that preservation of historical monuments, maintenance of reminders of our past, taking care of the goods we inherited from our fathers, is a basic human need. References to modernization, economy and public interest have in the past often been misused in the argumentation for interventions that have turned out to be harmful to built heritage. In many cases people are not aware of the value of something until it gets lost. This is typical to heritage value. For this reason, it is fundamental to collect economic arguments in favor of heritage protection, too. Our contribution to this process – as described in the Faro Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society – is to “enhance the value of the cultural heritage through its identification, study, interpretation, protection, conservation and presentation” (Council of Europe 2005).

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*Balázs Halmos is architect, PhD in History of Architecture, and works as senior assistant at Budapest University of Technology and Economics, Department for History of Architecture and of Monuments.  
E-mail: halmos@et.bme.hu*

*Katalin Maróty is architect, monument protection engineer, PhD in History of Architecture, and works as senior assistant at Budapest University of Technology and Economics, Department for History of Architecture and of Monuments. E-mail: mkata@et.bme.hu*

*András Szalai is architect and art historian, and works as senior assistant at Budapest University of Technology and Economics, Department for History of Architecture and of Monuments. E-mail: szalai@et.bme.hu*



# Urban Heritage and Development in Koper: Values, Interests, Scenarios

**Neža Čebtron Lipovec, Mitja Guštin & Zrinka Mileusnić**

## Introduction

The contribution deals with value-based conservation practice, with specific attention to sense of belonging and identity. Focus is placed on the port town of Koper in Slovenia, where the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially the last decade of it, brought about significant changes to the historical core. The observations derive from an on-going research, started within a project-proposal for a Centre of Excellence, and based on twenty years of archaeological, documentation and dissemination activities. The issue at stake is the possible contribution of research centres in the process of identifying and eliciting values for a sustainable and informed conservation while building a cultural capital.

In the 1990s, conservation research dedicated great attention to value-based conservation (Mason 2002), considering both cultural and economic values, stressing especially the role of the community in the preservation of historical town cores as the bearer of a great deal of authentic dimensions. Yet, communities are a changing parameter as well, and thus their valuation of heritage needs continuous cross-checking.

The present paper discusses the role of ‘culturalist’ values in a changed and changing community and analyses the possible contribution of the

dissemination of knowledge about these values for an economically sustained and participatory care of heritage in a historical core. We build upon the suggested research agenda of the Getty Conservation Institute dating from 1998, which called for a focus on research case-studies about landscape-scale conservation and the related embeddedness of immovable heritage in its communities, as well as on developing 'bridge concepts' between economist and culturalist valuation (Mason 1998, 16). Taking the example of the town of Koper and its specific conservation-related problems, we posed three questions:

*(1) How do the different actors contribute to the safeguarding of immovable heritage of the historical core?*

*(2) Do the inhabitants relate to the historic environment and which values do they recognize in it?*

*(3) If a cultural capital is a bridging concept between economy and culture, how can a research institute actively contribute to its creation?*

Since the research is part of preparatory work for a project of a Centre of Excellence, it is both a conceptual and an empirical analysis. The latter derives from previous sociological research and observation, so it concentrates on the identification and not on the elaboration and elicitation of values. The paper consists of a triple outline of the contexts defining the conservation activities: history, community and economy of the town. The aim is to provide an overview of the activities in the town related to conservation of the historical core. Finally, a scenario for improving the situation towards a sustainable approach is proposed.

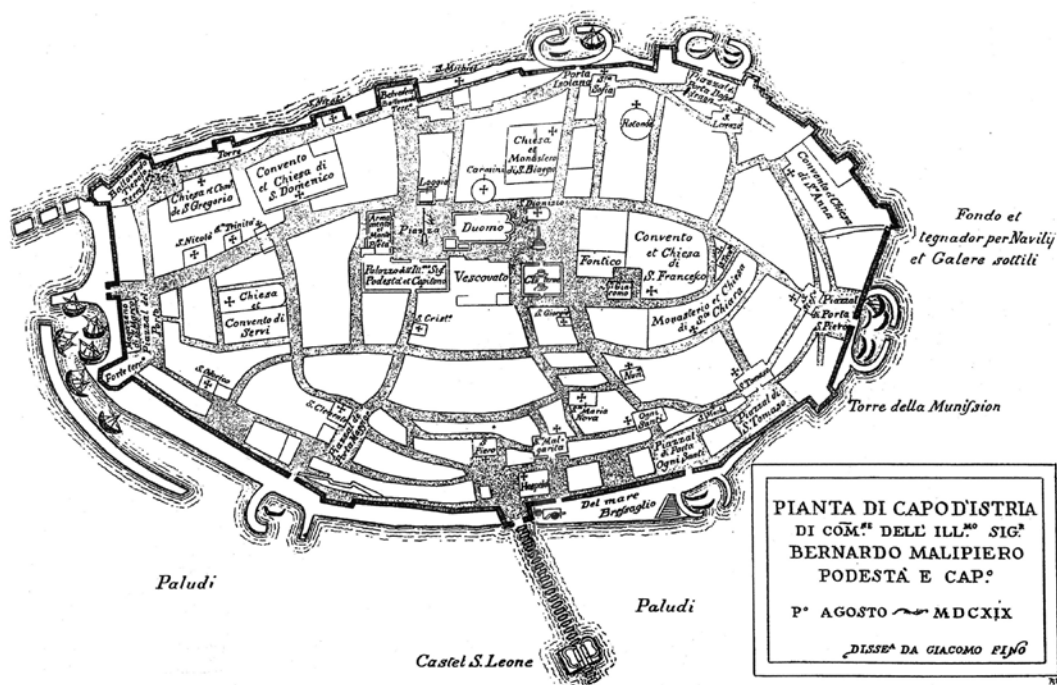
## **Contexts**

### **Context I – History: the town and its heritage**

The town of Koper-Capodistria is located on the Adriatic coast, at the northern peak of the peninsula of Istria, which is today partly in Slovenia, partly in Croatia, and neighbours on Italy. Situated on a former island, the town core still shows clear characteristics of a medieval historical



town, with its double central square, a cross of major radial streets and a pattern of concentric ones. The high and late middle ages were the heyday of the town. In those days it was, despite of its dependency on Venice, a major maritime, trade and administrative centre of Istria. This is also reflected in its name *Caput Histriae* – the head of Istria. The urban tissue underwent major transformations primarily in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries when prominent palaces were baroquized. Conversely, the northeastern and eastern quarters of the town, populated by less wealthy inhabitants, maintained their form and structures for longer periods, some even until present time. The Napoleonic regime and industrialization under Austrian rule in the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought about demolitions as well, building and restoration activities took place during the rule of the Italian Fascist government.



**Fig. 1:** Map of Capodistria (Koper) in 1619, made by Giacomo Fino.  
Source: Archivio di Stato di Venezia; ASVe, Senato, Mar, f.223, dis. 1.



**< Fig. 2:** Streets of Bošadruga, the oldest part of the historical core.  
Photo © Institute for Mediterranean Heritage SRC University of Primorska.

After World War II and especially after 1954 the town and all of Istria became an integral part of the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Koper became the regional capital and the port-town for the Republic of Slovenia, and so major changes happened to the historical core. The late 1950s' town-plans foresaw a three-pier port terminal and the covering of the former salt pans surrounding the island. In the historical core prime monuments and historical sites were to be saved, while vernacular buildings were to be demolished and replaced by a new urban structure according to the CIAM principles in terms of height, greenery and open space. New structures were to host the increasing amount of inhabitants, working in the port and emerging industries. Due to the planned colossal demolitions and controversy in heritage terms, the plan was only partially carried out. From the 1970s until 2000, no major interventions took place in the historical core, apart from documentation activities and sporadic renovations. Documentation efforts since the 1960s have led to the listing of the whole historical core as a local monument in 1987, as 'settlement heritage', including 106 local monuments listed individually. Since 2003 and the change in local government, intense work has been carried out in the core, including demolitions, large building activities and the refurbishing of facades.

## **Context II – Community and identity**

At present the municipality of Koper has about 40 000 inhabitants in total – the historical core has about 7000 inhabitants. Historically the territory has had a multiethnic composition, with a majority of Romance population in the urban area and Slavic in the rural one. Such a plural identity defined the territory of Istria. As a result of the period of Nazi and Italian Fascist atrocities against Slavs in this area (since the 1920s), strong feelings of Slavic national belonging arose among the Slavs in Istria. The annexation of Istria to Yugoslavia after 1954 brought geopolitical convulsion and a major shift in the structure of the population in the urban cores. The majority of the former inhabitants left the

historical core, this culminated in 1954–1955, and new inhabitants moved in (Pirjevec et al. 2006). The migration of mainly Slavic populations took place in waves: in the late 1940s education and culture sector people came from the neighbouring Karstic region; in the mid-1950s the first labour force for the new industry and the port moved in from other regions of Slovenia; from the mid-1960s on migration from other Yugoslav republics was continuous. Although initially supposed to be seasonal workers, several of them settled down in Koper. Many of them live in the aforementioned newly built blocks of flats in the historical core itself, others were lodged in the deteriorated (and thus cheap) historical buildings and vernacular houses of the core. In most of the cases, the historic buildings are treated merely as lodging facilities, with no recognition of their heritage value. A certain percentage of the Italian-speaking population remained, and today they constitute the Italian minority, living also in the historical core, yet their impact on the present local identity is minimal.

After the declaration of Slovenian independence in 1991 and the consequent denationalization, many of the dwellers bought their flats and houses. Several new owners have invested significant amounts of their income to improve the living places, especially as to interiors, roofs and openings. However, despite the legal protection, these renovations are only rarely carried out under the supervision of heritage experts, so several buildings have lost their historical character due to the intensity of transformations, additions, extensions, new colours etc. In most cases changes have followed current trends and/or available cheap products, depending on the offer of the market. Consequently, the open and public spaces are also losing their character.

Since 2003 an increasing migration to the coastal town is taking place due to the recently opened new university. Especially students from other Slovenian regions represent a high percentage of inhabitants of the historical core.

### **Context III – Economy**

Since 1954 the economy of the town has been based on the trade activities of the port and other industries developed on the outskirts.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the service sector has improved consistently, and tourism is exponentially growing in importance since the turn of the millennium.

A major shift took place in 2003, along with the foundation of the University of Primorska, with six faculties and two research institutes, counting ca. 6800 students and 400 employees. This brought new people to the city from other Slovenian regions and the neighbouring countries. Their presence has generated significant commercial activities, namely in lodging, food catering and leisure services. Increased commercial activities influence the ‘improvements’ to the appearance of the historical fabric.

Another important change happened after the local elections in 2002, when a neo-liberal new local government was elected. Since then the city started selling collectively owned estates to private owners as to increase the budget that was used also for financing major interventions in the core.

## **Diverging values and interests**

The contexts show a rather common ‘post-communist Eastern European’ situation (Petkova 2002), yet it is idiosyncratic. A result of the above factors is that heritage in Koper is undergoing questionable interventions or suffering from a total lack of care.

By identifying the ways in which the different actors deal with and invest (or not) in this heritage, we shall try to pinpoint the values that they seem to pursue. The set of values used derives from both the ‘culturalist’ and the ‘economist’ area. The former refer to international documents (ICOMOS 1999 [Burra Charter]; ICOMOS 1994 [The Nara Document on Authenticity]) and encompass historical, aesthetic, technical, and social values (including feeling and spirit). The ‘economists’ values, namely use (market) and non-use values, refer to the theories provided by Klammer and Zuidhof (1998).

## **Inhabitants**

The inhabitants have a primary role in the preservation of historical urban heritage – as recognized by several scholars and lately, with the Faro Convention, also by politicians – since inhabitants are the first caretakers of heritage. However, their will to preserve depends largely on their personal appreciation. Koper is a rather unique case in this regard. The drastic changes in the social and ethnic structure and the disappearance of the majority of the once-autochthonous population in the town's centre conveyed what Serageldin defined as “disintegration of the sense of place and [...] loss of the significance attached to elements of physical setting” (Serageldin 2000, 54). Thus, all the intangible heritage also disappeared, i.e. all the tangled details of local history that help appreciate even the least prominent building: local legends about past events and people who shaped the story of the town, local rituals such as carnivals and festivities etc. As an example, a survey among high-school students in 1996 showed that 66% of them could not list even one traditional local game (Hočevár 1998). The lack and oblivion of content information that constitutes the base for historical, social and emotional value has contributed to the negligence of the form and material.

An illustrious local intellectual, Vlado Šav, defined this situation as a “classical identity crisis of all immigrants” (Šav 1996, 287). Researching the “authenticity of the Istrian culture”, he studied the inhabitants’ sense of belonging to the place, and he stressed the opposition between two different populations: the population of the continuously inhabited hinterland, and that of the urban centres. The latter have a recent and very heterogeneous composition, and are strongly affected by the contemporary, mass global culture. As a result, Šav says, the lack of “intense intimate perception and interpersonal connection with the place” is even stronger, and, as a result, ruined old houses resemble “ghost houses”, and streets and squares are only “traffic channels”.

However, research by sociologists provides challenging data about the “new local identity” especially among the youngsters, that represent the majority of autochthonous population. A survey from 1996 showed

that 85% of the people born in the town were aged between 18 and 25, whereas those older than 65 years represented only 21% (Hočevár 1998). The “sense of identity” of the younger – “new autochthonous” – generation is based on a specific territorial appurtenance to the region of Istria and on a direct and outspoken connection to Italian culture, gained primarily through television (Mlinar 1998). Significant is also the relation to the recent history and the inhabitants’ perception of the built environment: when asked about the symbol of the town, the first one mentioned is the main square with its Gothic Loggia (Fig. 3), while number two is the port (Fig. 4). The ranking is meaningful because it hints to the people’s ability to value a historical monument for its aesthetic historical value, whereas the choice of the port points to their personal perception of an element that shaped the welfare of the town, tells its recent history, and defines their identity.

In terms of built environment, the inhabitants seem to have a formally taught and learned appreciation of the aesthetic and historical value of prominent buildings, whereas emotional binds are based on personal memories of events and on remnants of recent history. A thorough participative anthropological investigation, in form of a survey and interviews, is needed and essential in order to study and define the people’s sense of belonging and their appreciation values. Yet, there



**Fig. 3:** Gothic Loggia, Koper, in 2006. Photo © Andres Rus.



**Fig. 4:** Port of Koper. Photo © Neža Čebtron Lipovec.

seems to be a gap between the taught appreciation and the more personal emotional binds. Bridging the gap could occur if the aesthetic and historical value of the image merged with the anthropologic and social values that are personal, local, transboundary and thus supranational: by enabling the owners to get acquainted with the history of their buildings and giving them a recognizable place, role respectively, in the history of which they are now the heirs.

### **Local authorities**

Since 2003, a remarkable amount of money has been invested in the historical core. In connection with the reopening of the bypass road, intense building activity took place on the periphery, and several buildings in the core were thoroughly renovated as well. Two 1950s' elementary schools (of unique historical value of the post-war period) were demolished and replaced by a single, larger residential building for pupils. New public lighting was introduced all over town, and historical flora was replaced by new palm trees throughout the core.

Since 2006, the town allocates an annual budget to be distributed for the inhabitants of the core for the works to maintain the historical core (200 000 Euro in 2006, 400 000 Euro in 2009) (Mozetič 2009). Yet, these sums are invested without a comprehensive strategy into plastic windows, glossy renders and pre-fabricated doors and fences.



We can group the interventions of the local authorities into two categories: (1) improving the accessibility and communications, and (2) enhancing the appearance of the town. The former is a contribution to heritage conservation as it opens new public spaces and catalyst points reviving the town. The second is a contribution to commercial activities and tourism, carried out without a long-term strategy that would safeguard the preservation of historically valuable substance. This attitude is visible in the activities of the town: selling any building in the core for its real-estate value to anyone who wants to buy, without any requirements of proper safeguarding, seems possible. The attitude is emblematic for Eastern Europe (Petkova 2005, Serageldin 2000), where urban tissue is treated by political authorities as mere real-estate item. Instead of being renovated, buildings are left to deteriorate, leading to demolition in the end, and new buildings, generating more direct income, are built in their place.

Lately, the municipality decided to move the main offices of public services out of the core, to the periphery, and among the large scale shopping malls where the construction is realized without a strategic plan for a calibrated distribution of functions, and with no consideration for the identity of the existing environment. Rare examples testify to minor public investors that remain and invest in renovation in the historic core where none of the expected support by local authorities is provided. Such is the case of the Health Insurance Institute of Slovenia office in Kreljeva ulica.

The rare protection efforts of the authorities are outweighed by the negative results of their other activities.

### **The University as an economic entity**

The new university is becoming a dominant actor in the town's life. We have already pointed to some of the impacts of this.

As for heritage, there is an increasing use of estates and buildings for teaching needs (classrooms, cabinets, libraries), as well as for the lodging of students and staff. This has its consequences.

Several historical buildings (palaces and vernacular) are being adapted for university needs, aiming at revitalising the core by providing working space. For instance, two major palaces were adapted in 2005 with high costs, and an additional new building was added on the side of the main square. The intervention did revitalize the deteriorating buildings, yet the restored monuments seem like stage setting, and the new additions out-tunes its historical environment in size, proportions and design. Use value and facadist attractivity of the 'old image' had priority over a comprehensive significance of the historical place.

At the same time, many building owners in the core have turned their houses into student rooms by transforming all spaces, from cellars to attics, into student rooms, tearing down walls, creating new openings, rebuilding in a manner that is rarely reversible, with miscellaneous material, mostly ad-hoc, without a long-term vision and without guidance, and so history is getting lost even in terms of material and form. The approach of food and leisure activity providers is similar. Meanwhile, it has to be acknowledged that the new uses bring about, not only economic, but also social added value, especially from the viewpoint of students, who became the most frequent and numerous inhabitants of the historical core. The question remains, how integral their relationship with the town can be, considering that their stay is only temporary, as they arrive on Sunday evenings and leave every Thursday afternoon.

## **Business**

As mentioned above, the small business of the third and fourth sector have a great impact on the physical preservation of the town core, especially on the spaces on the ground floors, facing the street. Their investments in opening new services, however, do not seem to follow a long-term revitalization strategy in terms of neither economics nor conservation. All functions are getting increasingly homogenised, and so the majority of activities belongs to dress-stores, bars and restaurants, to which the historical character represents only a facade to attract customers. Transformations take place regardless of the historical forms and materials. Rare are the owners or building managers that seek professional guidance in the renovation of their properties.

## **Heritage authorities and heritage law**

In Koper, the official heritage protection consists of two types of orders: the obligation to carry out preliminary archaeological research, and the obligation to preserve the typical features of the building envelope. Nevertheless, these obligations are often not followed. The fines are ‘affordable’, so that several owners decide not to respect the rule. At the same time, the officers stress that the number of personnel in the inspection department of the heritage authorities is so small that the department cannot cope with the needs (Kovač 2009).

According to a recently adopted new law on cultural heritage (Law on the protection of cultural heritage 15/02/2008) the heritage office has a rather consultative task. Furthermore, the new law established the “compensation measures” (Odendahl 2008) according to which the loss of a monument can be compensated for by restoring another monument. Finally, this same law gave a great role to archival preservation that eventually implies the option of safeguarding a monument only virtually, through its documentation. Heritage officers are becoming like policemen, forced to use the hard tool of fines to pursue their mission of protection. Even here, the protection is almost exclusively directed to the protection of historical and aesthetic values, i.e. the image, whereas the social and urban aspects, through participative adaptive reuse, seem to be out of focus. Finally, awareness raising and community participation is not an activity undertaken or promoted by the heritage authorities.

## **Third sphere: civil initiatives**

The gap in the awareness of the value of Koper’s heritage was recognized by some interested groups of intellectuals and civil organisations that set up civil initiatives to promote the heritage of Koper. However, due to the lack of financial resources they could only offer sporadic events. Civil initiative in Slovenia has not yet been recognized in all of its potential, neither by the civil sphere neither by the authorities. Despite the few singular events that tried to highlight the potentialities of the historical core as a point of social encounter or “urban stage” (Bugarič 2003; Mlinar 2000), this sphere remained neglected. This was the case until

February 2010 when a major civil demonstration took place in Koper to protest against the disrespect that local authorities show towards the towns and its inhabitants. About 200 civilians met on the main Tito square for the “Requiem for Loggia” where they ‘commemorated’ the dying jewel of the town: the Gothic loggia, which the authorities left to decay since 2006 when the café inside it was closed and the building abandoned, hosting pigeons and beggars. The group also presented an official petition “Vivat Loggia!” sent to the major institutions in the country, from the President to the ministers in charge, to present their concern and claim a reaction against the autarchic approach of the local authority towards the built heritage of the town. At present (March 2010) it reached 400 signatures and provoked a public debate; the real results are still a question.

Civil initiatives, as opposed to heritage authorities, show a stronger and more integrated appreciation of historical, historical social, contemporary social and urban values. However, the groups behind these civil initiatives are small, often limited to highly educated people, and they lack financial means to gain enough outreach. Still, their presence appears as a catalyst for a slow but constant awareness-raising and improvement.

## **A possible scenario: research institute and the concerted building of cultural capital**

The outlined contexts show the variety of attitudes of the different actors in Koper and the clear dissonances among them. In the middle of it stand the poorly informed but influential individual inhabitants. Even if in the first post-war period newcomers appropriated the place through radical change (French & Hamilton 1979), sixty years of distance and the global awareness of the value of heritage demands an accommodative approach and a change towards an informed community “that recognizes the value of cultural heritage ... regardless of its origin” (Council of Europe 2005 [Faro Convention], art. 5). Since uninformed local residents tend to narrow the significance of culture and

impoverish it (Serageldin 2000, 58), only an informed community can efficiently contribute to a sustainable care for heritage. Dissemination and education are essential especially for unveiling the values that are intuitively not understood, and for building awareness.

For the specific case of Koper and its historical turmoil, the following statement catches the spirit and potential: “Change can violate traditions, create a sense of loss, and disempower people. It can cause a recombining of fragments, such that cultures develop a new sense of themselves from what had existed before” (Bluestone 2000). As shown, the inhabitants of Koper have been building up a new sense of identity. Thus, the research community in conservation, such as the Institute for Mediterranean Heritage, represents a potentially influential actor that could help bridge the dissonances and play a catalytic role by providing the missing historical information.

### **Experience-led plan**

The Institute for Mediterranean Heritage works in archaeological research and conservation, at the same time it is in charge for the teaching programme of the study of ‘Heritage’, at the Faculty of Humanities of the local University of Primorska, since 2005. Twenty years of joint experience of the research team on field excavations and the simultaneous presentation of results, brought valuable experience in heritage interpretation, education and dissemination. The market nature of projects brought experience in the collaboration with local enterprises. Having worked primarily as a private project-funded institution, its activities led to collaboration with all of the aforementioned stakeholders.

### **Centre of Excellence**

Considering the presented diverging values and the need for continuous and comprehensive historical information, the Institute decided to attempt to establish a Centre of Excellence that would deal exclusively with the research and conservation of the heritage of Koper, with a strategy on three levels.

The *first level* includes the systematic scientific research through excavations, archival research, documentation of buildings, and collecting archival documents and publications. The information already gathered, along with the newly found, would constitute the core of the documentation centre, and the main information source. In the following stages the documentation would extend to oral history. Continuous and participative anthropological investigation about the core's inhabitants' sense of belonging in relation to local urban heritage should run parallel, in order to elicit the spectrum of values of this heritage (Mason 2002, 18–21).

The *second level* makes the public nature of the Centre visible: the Centre would provide consultation for anyone interested in local history. At the same time, dissemination of new findings, be it in publications, exhibitions, or happenings, would constitute a continuous task. Here the Centre would link with the activities of the civil initiatives.

On the *third level*, the community level, the centre would have a 'free-of-charge helpdesk' for the inhabitants interested in the research and/or conservation of their properties in the town core. Its role is meant to be a friendly adviser, with a rather bottom-up approach. The helpdesk would enable the owners to accumulate information on the history of their buildings (in terms of ownership, alterations, the role of the building in the urban life etc.) and on the methods and techniques appropriate for its protection.

Such parallel activities aim to bridge the aforementioned gaps: the lack of information on local history and the lack of guidance in the treatment of historical buildings. This way the Centre would help build an informed society and raise awareness on the different values present in the historical core. Eventually, the whole management and work could be taken up by an NGO in the heritage field. The involvement of NGOs and other civil initiatives would have an impact on the promotion of non-use (non-market) values, through their voluntarism or 'third sector' nature (Mason 1998; Klammer & Zuidhof 1998; Council of Europe 2005).

At present, March 2010, the 'Centre of Excellence' is still only a plan. However, in autumn 2009, a proposal arrived from a private investor in the economic sector to the Institute to set up a joint initiative that would include the restoration of a historic vernacular building in the centre of Koper. The project aimed at reusing the building also as a 'Heritage helpdesk', i.e. a non-profit assistance service to the inhabitants in the conservation of their historic buildings, where the restored building



**Fig. 5:** Romanesque-Gothic house on Ribiški trg 9, Koper, September 2009.  
Photo © Institute for Mediterranean Heritage SRC University of Primorska.



**Fig. 6:** Remains of the Romanesque-Gothic house on Ribiški trg 9, Koper, November 2009. Photo © Institute for Mediterranean Heritage SRC University of Primorska.

was to serve as an example of good practice. Even before the final evaluation of the project, during the first works in the building site, the economic factor won all others again, with the support of local heritage authorities. What remains of the building today is only a portion of its front façade (Fig. 5 and Fig. 6).

### **Cultural capital**

However, the proposed plan persists. It reflects a strategy that tries to meet Throsby's six criteria of cultural capital (Throsby 2002). The "generation of tangible and intangible benefits" is achieved in the informed community (intangible) and better care for the buildings (tangible). "Intergenerational equity" is achieved through the retaining of the authentic material that will persist as a document of the past and a



potential of welfare for future generations. “Intragenerational equity” is achieved, since the service would be a public source of information for better management for all social classes and income groups. “Diversity” is maintained by researching and promoting all layers of the past, as well as by offering information and help in the physical interventions. The informed society that better understands its environment can adopt a more “precautionary principle”, focusing on maintenance rather than big restorations. Finally, the “recognition of interdependence” would happen when inhabitants/owners become aware of their rights and duties, as well as the authorities, and so investments including annual subsidies and grants, become part of a planned long-term strategy (Nypan 2006). This way it is possible to keep in the historical core a heterogeneous and more permanent population that is willing to live, produce and consume in an environment in which the population recognizes itself.

## Conclusions

Looking at the specific situation in the coastal town of Koper-Capodistria in Slovenia, we presented a problematic, yet challenging situation for the conservation of a historical urban core and its economic potentials. The preliminary analysis pointed to the crucial role of the community’s sense of belonging and to the set of values pursued by actors in the revitalizations. Analysing the situation through the lens of a value-based approach, we highlighted essential gaps on the way to achieving a respectful and sustainable conservation culture, namely the lack of historical information that would contribute to a local sense of belonging, and the lack of guidance for the owners in taking care of their historical buildings, as well as the market-prone views of local authorities.

A practical ‘bridge’ that we propose, based on previous practical experience, is establishing a Centre of Excellence that accumulates all local historical information and permanently disseminates it to the local population, while at the same time providing a helpdesk for any building owner willing to undertake a respectful conservation. The

hypothesis builds upon the concept that active citizenship can steer a change in conservation approaches, especially if it creates cultural capital.

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*Neža Čebtron Lipovec graduated in 2004 in History of Art and Italian Language and Literature (University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Slovenia). Having enrolled in the RLICC in 2005, in September 2007, she achieved the degree in Master in Conservation of Monuments and Sites at Raymond Lemaire International Centre for Conservation – RLICC of the Katholieke Universiteit in Leuven, Belgium. Her master thesis dealt with Modern architecture in historic city centres, focusing on the case study of the architect Edo Mihevc in Koper, Slovenia. Since October 2007 she is external collaborator of the RLICC as a PhD researcher focusing her research on organized practices of preventive conservation, monitoring and maintenance of the architectural heritage in Europe. Between 2006 and 2008 she collaborated in the European 7<sup>th</sup> Framework project SPRECOMAH (Seminars on Preventive Conservation, Maintenance and Monitoring of the Architectural Heritage) and then in the setup of the international PRECOMOS network and the UNESCO Chair on preventive conservation, maintenance and monitoring of monuments and sites at the RLICC in Leuven. Since January 2009 she is employed as researcher for architectural heritage at the Institute for Mediterranean Heritage at the Science and Research Centre of Koper (University of Primorska) in Slovenia and she works as teaching assistant at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Primorska, Slovenia.*

*Dr. Mitja Guštin graduated in 1972 in archaeology (University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Slovenia) and in 1987 completed his doctoral*

dissertation in archaeology (University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts). In his professional experience he covered different functions: curator in the Museum of the Posavje region in Brežice (1974-1985), independent researcher (1985-1987), editor in chief at SAZU – Slovenian academy of sciences and arts Publishing (1987-1989). In 1987 he became first assistant professor, then associate professor and full professor at University of Ljubljana, Faculty of arts, Department of archaeology (1987-2003). Between 1988 and 1992 he was President of Slovenian archaeological association. Between 1989 and 1996 he was Head of the Department of archaeology, Faculty of arts, University of Ljubljana, between 1990 and 1992 he was Deputy Dean at Faculty of arts, University of Ljubljana. In 1993, until 1996 he was President of the Humanities council and a member of National committee for science and development at Ministry for education. Since 2003 he is Head of the Institute for Mediterranean heritage, Science and research centre of Koper, University of Primorska. Since 2006 he is the Coordinator for study programmes (European and Mediterranean heritage, Archaeological heritage of Mediterranean) at Faculty of humanities Koper, University of Primorska. His research is focused on prehistoric periods (from Neolithic period to classical antiquity), in particular on the Iron Age and Celtic tribes in the Eastern Alps and the Balkans during that period. He has also conducted many research projects on the settlement of early Slavs in the area lying between the Adriatic and the Eastern Alps and on medieval and post-Medieval archaeology. He has been in charge of a number of archaeological field research projects (in Posavje, Koper, Prekmurje, Čatež and Brežice).

**Zrinka Mileusnić** graduated at the Department of Archaeology of the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana in 2002. In 2009 she finished her Masters course at the Department of Archaeology of the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana. In the same year she enrolled in a Doctorate study programme History of Europe and the Mediterranean at the Faculty of humanities of the University of Primorska. Between 2002 and 2004 she was employed by the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana as a researcher on the Murska Sobota – Nova Tabla project. Since 2004 she has been employed at the Institute for Mediterranean Heritage (IMH) of the Science and Research Centre (SRC) of Koper of the University of Primorska (UP) as an assistant. Since the 2008/09 academic year she has been an assistant at the Department

*of Heritage of the Faculty of Humanities UP in the subject Archaeological Heritage of Slovenia. Her scientific and research work activities include working on field research, the processing, analyses, preparation and publication of archaeological material. The fundamental scientific and research work of the candidate is based on research of the medieval and new age material culture in north-western Slovenia. Most of the scientific and research tasks and activities of the candidate belong to the project activities of the IMH SRC UP, in national and international projects (EU Culture 2000, UNOPS-PASARP).*

# Economics of Planned Conservation

**Stefano Della Torre**

## Introduction

Planned conservation is an innovative procedure, thought as a step from restoration as an event to preservation as a long-term process. This paper introduces planned conservation of built heritage, in its relationships with integrated conservation and sustainability issues, as well as with the already established idea of preventive conservation in museums, libraries and archives.

Planned conservation is something more than maintenance and monitoring: it is a rather complex strategy, merging a large scale reduction of risks and a careful organisation of daily activities in building sector. Implementing planned conservation, therefore, is something more effective than implementing maintenance: it means setting a totally new scenario, posing questions about strategies and links between preservation activities and local development processes. The attempt is to go beyond the basic statement that heritage counts because of its impact on economy of tourism. The planned conservation research program focuses on external benefits of preservation processes. If human capital is seen as an interesting parameter to evaluate an economy, preservation counts because of its impact on capability to doubt, to learn, to innovate. In other words, focus shifts from heritage

as a given asset to preservation processes as opportunities to increase intellectual capital. The ultimate thesis is that planned conservation yields more of external benefits, and makes their management easier than the traditional restoration-promotion model.

Economics of built heritage, and/or of historic preservation, has been widely developed through many researches. In general, international interaction and exchange of information are very important for inspiring and supporting preservationists, like it proved to be at the time of World Fairs in the last decades of 19th century (Swenson 2006), when the shared aim was to set legal frameworks for preservation in the different countries. Nowadays we are looking for best practices, and for figures showing the tangible success of preservation policies.

As it has been clearly pointed out, the task is difficult, not only because of the numerous stakeholders involved, with so many values to price, but also because of the number of skills and methodologies that are needed for the analysis.

Economists (most of them, at least) deal with built heritage as if its benefits to local economy were only given by use, and/or by attracting tourists. Even in the best studies on economy of built heritage, restoration is usually represented as a cost which becomes interesting for the investor when restoration produces, or “mines”, a major added value for the property. In Italy, some years ago, the metaphor of “culture as petrol”, or of “cultural fields”, was fashionable: as there is a mining cost for gold and diamonds, also for architectural heritage there is a restoration cost necessary to make properties available for fruition (Scandizzo 1988). Economic evaluation focuses on the restored object or property: restoration produces value because it produces knowledge, research and reputation, besides better conditions. This approach and related assumptions hold true, perhaps, when evaluating the benefits of historic preservation in a private perspective. But cultural heritage has both a private and a public nature. As a public good, it deserves different analysis tools (Mason 2005). For example, further discussion is needed about

- the cost efficiency of different preservation strategies: e.g. restoration vs. preventive conservation (Leon 2008);



- the external benefits of conservation activities: the distinction between production externalities and consumption externalities (Koboldt 1997) could be convincing but not exhaustive;
- heritage as an economic development tool: perhaps, in some of the newest models proposed in the regional economy sector, impact evaluations may not be satisfactory any longer, and some new understanding is needed.

The contribution of a researcher who does not come from economics but from the preservation field (battlefield) will be focused on the quality of preservation actions, rather than on econometric methods. As a first step we need to crosscheck if the same words bear the same meaning in different sectors. So let us introduce “planned conservation”.

## **Planned conservation and its first implications**

Preservation includes one activity which looks much more relevant and influential than others. That is restoration. In the 19th and 20th centuries, restoration grew as a discipline, with its own deontology, techniques, and debates. Generally speaking, restoration has only two purposes: to conserve the object, and to reveal its hidden values (often going back to former states, modified in the past but judged more desirable now, again). Therefore restoration, especially when dealing with architectural objects, grew up as a discipline dealing with problems of choice and design, and as a task for architects. In recent times, the problem of material conservation seems to have taken priority, as new techniques and skills have been developed. Thus the gap between theories of conservation applied to buildings and those applied to works of art have become wider. Statements and principles are much easier when they refer to objects (Muñoz Viñas 2005, 20–23), while they become more uncertain when referring to the complexity of a building.

Preservation of built heritage includes many phases, tasks and activities, like restoring, maintaining, monitoring, but also planning. It may be easy to define preventive conservation from a conservator’s perspective,

but it becomes difficult to understand all the consequences of extending the definition from single objects to built environment.

In recent decades, many efforts have been done to set up a strategy for going over the limits and criticalities of traditional restoration. The problem has been felt at various levels: the lack of maintenance as cause of damages, the need of a long term vision in choosing appropriate uses for monuments, the need for a coherent strategy in planning, the need for interventions at environmental scale... Different solutions have been proposed and tested in different countries. The best practices in the Netherlands and in Belgium are well known (Verpoest & Stulens 2006). They can show a long story of increasing success and consensus. The institution of the UNESCO Chair in Preventive conservation at Leuven University, supported by PRECOMOS network, is a milestone and the starting point for new developments at international level.

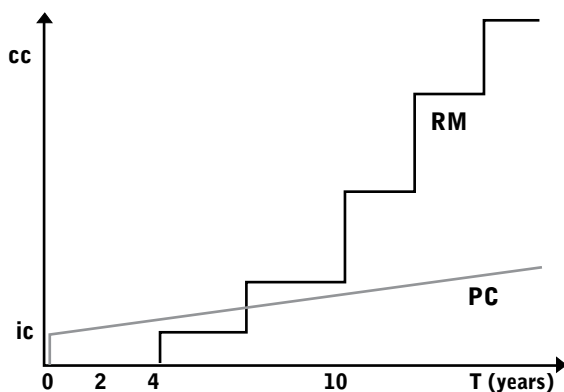
In Italy, we use the concept of “planned conservation”, which means an innovative procedure, thought as a step from restoration as an event to preservation as a long-term process. This approach tries to keep together, and maybe to merge, a top-down approach (prevention of territorial risks, such as floods, quakes, abandon, neglect...) and a bottom-up approach (everyday behaviours of stakeholders: i.e. architects, conservators and users).

It is generally argued that this kind of preservation (based on information management, regular maintenance and control of environmental factors) is less expensive and more cost efficient. The claims are “prevention is better than cure”, or “from cure to care”. The good old metaphor of the restorer as a doctor has been updated to compare the activity to preventive medicine rather than to surgery.

A few years ago I tried to understand something about the potential of such form of preservation in decreasing costs (Della Torre 2003). The aim was to set an agenda of research with the aim of giving the decision-makers support and advice in form of data and formulas, beyond our wise assumptions. My effort arrived only at the definition of a factor E, probably depending on time, necessary to take into account the

preventive efficacy of a given set of maintenance works. The purpose was to underscore the difference between maintenance oriented just to restore the image of a building, and therefore not necessary nor directly useful to avoid future problems, and works required to keep the durability of a building system. In the first case money goes by, in the second case prevention of damages will pay the investment back within a span of time to be foreseen evaluating this preventive efficacy.

The basic problem was, and still is, that the impact of proposed change in preservation paradigm becomes measurable only at a very long term. So, it is difficult to show figures, and you can just handle reasonable hypotheses and theoretical schemes.



**Fig. 1:** Comparison of cumulative maintenance costs in conditions of reacting maintenance (RM) versus planned conservation (PC).

The diagram in figure 1 shows the comparison between two basic styles: planned conservation and unplanned restoration (or reacting maintenance). It is worth noting that planned conservation requires an initial investment for setting up the plan, an information system, and a network of competences. That is, a cost of soft activities which are required by the strategy but which do not act directly on the building. Regular preventive maintenance promises to spend less but requires

spending in the early stage, and savings will be visible only after some years. Furthermore, the best way to increase the long-term efficiency of a maintenance system is to invest in those soft activities (inspection, monitoring, recording) which look totally unfruitful at first glance. That is why “owners see little apparent benefit from preventive maintenance, tending to react to a problem rather than seeking to prevent it from occurring in the first place” (Dann 2004, 14). In a sense, it is a problem of behavioural economics. Furthermore, it is a problem of vision, awareness and responsibility: owners *do* consider the historical significance of their property, but most of them are conditioned by the common idea that what is relevant in cultural recognition is just the appearance. This compels them to avoid preventive, or even regular maintenance, and to delay the intervention until the moment when a full restoration will be necessary. Restoration will imply some replacement, but they do not consider this as a loss of authenticity. On the contrary, they are willing to pay for the brilliant result of a restoration, and they feel that after restoration a quiet period (no technician at the door, no problem) will come.

Built heritage involves private and public interests and perspectives. In a general perspective it is definitely sure that, as Nigel Dann has written, “any interpretation of building conservation and sustainability principles should lead to the conclusion that prevention of damage and, in particular, preventive maintenance is the optimal approach for the care of historic buildings” (Dann 2004, 14). The vision is clear: prevention is convenient, it pays, and it is the best policy from the viewpoint of the public interest. If prevention implies an increment in the efficiency of public spending in preservation, the straightforward conclusion is that the switch towards prevention is exactly the change needed in the future, in front of the scarcity of financial resources. In recent decades the capability of recognizing something as heritage has exploded, and, as a consequence, we have to conserve virtually everything: this is well known as the first paradox of conservation (Mossetto & Vecco 2001, 25).

The experiences in the Netherlands and in Belgium can teach a lot about technical issues, but the reasons of the growth of *Monumentenwacht*

organizations in both countries are to be found in the coherence of boundary conditions. If an increasing number of Belgian property owners have understood their private interest to join a regular preventive conservation system, this means that they have understood the message: prevention is better than cure, and less expensive, from an individual owner's perspective as well. Perhaps it will be useful to remember that the cost of Belgian inspection organisation is 90% financed by public sources, and that Belgian provinces yield grants for maintenance. These have, in recent years, become more requested than the grants for restorations. It is worthy of remark that incentives are available for non-listed buildings as well, so that what is stimulated is just the owner's will to care.

We can learn a lot from the best practices in Belgium, as well as from the problems occurred in the UK and in Italy when trying to implement similar strategies. A very important lesson learned, in my opinion, is that it will be impossible to get any good result without putting together a set of actions. It will not prove to be useful to change a single phase or a single activity, applying only one tool. To make preservation happen, a set of tools are available, and in any context a combination of different tools is needed (Schuster 1997). It will be impossible to get the change from restoration/event to conservation/process only by regulation, or only by incentives, or only by persuasion. A combination of tools is needed.

Therefore, the open problem of preservation policies is how to go forward, and how to make visible the general and individual benefits of what Dann (2004) calls preventive maintenance, and I call planned conservation, speaking of the same thing but trying to give it a broader context. "Planning" calls for regional scale: the research agenda for economy of preservation focuses, in my opinion, on the opportunities of planned conservation for local development.

There is a general consensus about the statement that impacts and challenges of globalization are to be found at local and regional level. It is well known that the preservation has local economic impacts because local firms are involved. This impact becomes even greater

in planned conservation activities, as they involve local contractors for a long period, recognizing their competitive advantage given in the knowledge of local specificities and in continuity of terms with the owners and the sites. It has been argued that this local market of planned conservation is preferred by enterprises, because it gives longer perspectives, smoother cash flows, more stable employment. These arguments are generally endorsed, in our experience, by workers and entrepreneurs. Thus, it is easy to argue that, by moving the emphasis from restoration to maintenance, an improvement of the direct and indirect economic impacts is expected.

## **Planned conservation as a catalyst for innovation**

Impact analyses may offer satisfactory information for approaches concentrating on local growth, but perhaps they overlook some relevant features in terms of competitiveness of a region.

In recent decades, research on regional economy has focused on such themes as local development factors, innovation, and mutual externalities exchanged inside a regional border. Models of exogenous and endogenous development have been proposed, Marshall's and Shumpeter's theories have been worked out in new forms. Theories "seek to identify the endogenous elements that determine local competitiveness" (Capello 2007, 161). As built heritage (or built environment, in general) is a feature of local space, and one of the main factors of its diversity, it is obvious that these theories are of the utmost relevance for any research on the economics of preservation.

Models like "learning regions" (Capello 2007, 200–203; Florida 1995) have been largely adopted since the mid-1990s to study local development in a variety of situations (that is: in developing countries, in marginal areas, in urban areas). These models could be useful also for understanding the mechanisms by which culture and heritage, and

forms of their recognition, determine local identity, social capital, and a weaker or stronger attitude to innovation.

In regional economy “the complexity and systemic nature of innovation... entail that learning is an interactive process. Put otherwise, learning springs from cooperation and interaction between firms and local scientific system, between different functions within the firm, between producer and customers, and between firms and the social and institutional structure” (Capello 2007, 201). In cultural economics there is a shift from models based on tourism as the way of boosting heritage potential as value generator, to models in which culture gets a new role as catalyst of innovation. As Pier Luigi Sacco has written, “culture is assuming an increasingly strategic role for the definition of a new competitive context in the post-industrial society... In the post-industrial economies... culture tends to become the basic platform for the construction of the individual and societal capability building for the production and circulation of high intangible value added that distinguish the newest local development models” (Sacco 2007).

But economists like Florida, Sacco or Santagata generally speak of culture in terms of creativity. What about cultural heritage and cultural heritage activities? The answer is that preservation activities can be very stimulating toward “learning”, although scholars often seem to be unable to see this feature. It is easy to think that preservation is keen to glorify past and its values: stability, tradition, nation... But it is not difficult to argue that the best examples in the management of cultural resources show the attitudes of learning organizations. Schönbrunn Castle is a world famous attraction for tourists, thanks to Sissi’s myth, but it is also one of the leading research centres in Europe in the field of conservation technologies (let us refer as an example just to Dorninger & Kippes & Jansa 2005), and this contributes to the success and the fame of the property.

In the experience of someone who works in conservation field, heritage conservation is a continuous challenge to standard solutions and to established beliefs. However, most of the experiences are not communicated, and thus a potential value gets wasted.

It is relevant to underline that the learning attitude operating inside conservation activities is also the attitude to unlearn, i.e. to criticize common beliefs and to free oneself from the bounds of misunderstood traditions. Heritage sector activities are full of aberrations created by misuse of heritage itself. For example, there are lots of odd ideas about traditional crafts and skills. In the building sector it is possible to find a lot of proposals of “traditional” materials, forms and crafts. Therefore an advanced work of criticism is needed to unlearn what has been vitiated by industrial and commercial attitudes, to discover again the sense of authentic tradition, and to revive old know-how. In western countries, reviving traditional techniques correctly can be said to be a matter of creativity, as a lot of intellectual commitment is required.

For example, in Northern Italy the historical use of magnesia lime was forgotten, and in books it was written that a high magnesia lime is not a good lime. Research made in the field of restoration and post-mediaeval archaeology put into light that old production techniques were able to give a better material just because of magnesia content, while heating the same stone (dolomite) in modern furnaces produces poor lime. This research was able to create the conditions for reviving traditions, but the intermediate step was to unlearn some certainties born in the last century.

In a sense, going back to the values of the past can also be an innovation, if the path goes through the unlearning of invented traditions and false banalities, and if learning from the past is a critical work, done with all the tools of modern science. To quote another example, historic natural ventilation system in the Hofburg in Wien inspired the new project of a more sustainable ventilation equipment in Schönbrunn Castle (Käferhaus 2004).

In general, it is possible to recognize a set of rules:

- Learn from traditional practices and crafts.
- Keep alive the traditional practices which are today still alive. They include practices of both production and maintenance. Traditionally people have had not only skills required to produce things but also to maintain them, by means of activities which have been necessary because of scarcity of resources.



- Unlearn the methods that vitiate traditional crafts. When an old technique is revived only for production or re-production (giving up the skills for prevention and maintenance), within the framework of a society oriented to a rapid consumption and replacement of goods rather than a long lasting use of them (consumption-oriented mentality, commercial supply of materials, Gantt diagrams...), there can be no authenticity, and attitude to *long-durée* is definitely lost.
- Learn new technologies and new processes.

Once you have unlearned wrong use of old techniques, and learned the fundamentals of contemporary research and problem solving, you are able to learn from old techniques.

## **Exploitation of externalities: defining the tools**

At the very end, it is possible to state that conservation activities lead to learning the art of “learning and unlearning”, which is a pre-condition for innovation. This is a very important social and economic asset. Then a new research problem arises: what is the way to make conservation more effective for this aim, or, in other words, what is the way to exploit this external benefit that conservation sector yields to local system?

Looking inside conservation process, we know that a lot of money is spent every year on interventions on listed buildings. To give some figures from Italy, recent researches estimate at least 3 billion Euro per year in Italy, and more than 400 million Euro per year in Lombardy region alone. Most of works are a matter of ordinary craftsmanship, but there is a “noble” or “soft” fraction which is matter of high technology: survey, monitoring, diagnostics, fine treatment of materials etc. In this “soft” fraction, a commitment is needed to “learn” and to improve skills. The quality of an intervention is often evaluated just by this fraction of sophisticated activities: the higher the share of the noble part, the higher the attention paid to the monument values. It can be argued that the externalities will be higher as well.

The noble fraction of the conservation market may be aided by regulation, but also by incentives. Loans and grants are often designed to support the whole preservation sector, so that they tend to go the easy way: sometimes they encourage to work for triviality and against quality, as it has been noted in the case of Main Street Program (Stovel 1985). To clarify, we can compare some grant system used to promote façade restoration, and the carefully designed regulation studied for the historic centre of Chiavenna, which has been one of the best practices supported by CULTURALP project. In the latter case, grants were available for detailed investigations in the layers of the façade rendering, often painted and precious, producing mainly knowledge and tips for the future. The main benefit is that in Chiavenna owners and practitioners became aware and proud of the renaissance frescoes, but also accustomed with the method and with the needed skills of the restorers who made preliminary samples.

It is obvious to remark that Chiavenna activities are not strictly restoration: they can be better described as a preparatory phase to programming a restoration. They are coherent with the attitude that has in Italy been affirmed by the 2004 framework law for preservation: “conservation can be achieved through a coherent, coordinated and planned activity of study, prevention, maintenance and restoration”. That is, through planned conservation.

The next remark is that planned conservation maximizes the fraction of noble activities, and of learning (and unlearning) attitude. This happens (1) because planning requires study and information management, (2) because in preventive conservation advanced techniques of monitoring are applied, and (3) because, as already argued, even reviving old forms of know-how is, nowadays, the result of a process of criticism and unlearning. Planned conservation is not only maintenance. It is a framework which includes maintenance, but also gives attitude to innovation.

The new models linked with knowledge economy give a major relevance to externalities. In the planned conservation framework, positive externalities for innovation are born, and the change of attitude is, in the end, a more relevant contribution to local development

than the production and consumption externalities. While currently restorations are managed without a vision of the process (that is: they lack management), once a planned conservation strategy is implemented, any activity is seen as a step of a long term process: planning entails management, so that the positive externalities are not wasted but harvested.

## Conclusions

Planned conservation entails scale economies and cost reduction, and, above all, it moves investments to more qualified activities (survey, monitoring, diagnostics, data filing, information management, research, communication...). A discussion concentrating on the reduction of preservation costs would be very complex and perhaps misleading, because it would put aside many relevant dimensions of heritage preservation, e.g. heritage properties as merit goods. For designing better policies, the objective is rather to focus on using given resources in the way that yields the maximum of positive outputs in a local development process. That is: economic impact and local growth, but also externalities oriented to catalyze innovation attitudes. Planned conservation entails process management, which contributes to harvesting these positive externalities and strengthening the attitude to innovation of the regional system.

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*Stefano Della Torre is full professor of Restoration in the Politecnico di Milano.*



# **The Learning-Based Cultural District and the Monza and Brianza Case. Learning from Cultural Heritage.**

**Andrea Canziani & Rossella Moioli**

## **Heritage as a resource**

Culture, in its intangible and tangible manifestations – from performing arts to audiovisual arts, and from publishing industry to museums and monuments – has currently a key role in developing policies and strategies. Nowadays we know that culture is a source of exchanges, innovation and creativity (UNESCO 2001).

At EU level a straight connection between culture, innovation and socio-economic development has been mentioned e.g. in the *European Spatial Development Perspective* and the *Lisbon Strategy*, although without any explicit reference to cultural heritage (European Commission 1999 & 2005; Council of the European Union 2009). At the local level several strategies for urban regeneration have considered cultural heritage (CH) as one of the main assets. The success of the strategies has been explained using the argument of the inclusion of cultural functions (e.g. Alcozer et al. 2004; Sacco et al. 2008).

This notwithstanding, there is no abundance of sample cases where the CH has been the real development factor for a local community,

instead of being just the motor of a tourist oriented territorial marketing. Furthermore, even within culture-driven regional development success cases the role of CH still needs to be fully studied, especially when referring to built heritage, including architecture and landscape as a whole.

Significantly, a recent EU report on economy of culture in Europe states that figures on real economic value in the field are still almost non-existent, although CH presents two main socio-economic spin-off effects: (1) the creation of local jobs and the development of corresponding skills, and (2) the transformation of territories, and notably cities, through the improvement of buildings, thereby increasing local attractiveness and generating significant “returns on investments”. (KEA European Affairs 2006, 303.)

CH is mainly read and interpreted in relation to its ability to generate economic value. Therefore, beside keywords like *identity*, *innovation*, *competitiveness* – proper to the intangible scenarios of our knowledge society – we find also catchwords like cultural tourism and land rent. Festivals and exhibitions are instead the most common keywords that stand for culture in popular perception, and in politicians’ preferences they have replaced the structural and long-term interventions for preservation and enhancement of CH.

As Randall Mason (2007) has highlighted, there are two distinct ways of thinking about CH which are not merging (at least not yet): there is an ‘economic discourse’ and a ‘conservation discourse’. “Conservation discourse accepts a priori the benefits of heritage conservation; economic discourse questions the benefits of heritage conservation sceptically, deferring to the judgement of markets as efficient means of making decisions and allocating resources” (Mason 2007, 10). On the one hand, we should remark that the most advanced theories of conservation do not regard economics as a remote and alienating discourse anymore. On the other hand, as Panu Lehtovuori and Kaisa Schmidt-Thomé conclude (2007, 7): “...among researchers of cultural economy, there is a broad agreement that historic preservation is a socially significant activity and that its benefits outweigh the costs. Heritage can be seen



as an asset in the knowledge and creative economy. There is a lot to do, however, to raise the economic analysis of built heritage to a level where it truly helps decision-making in the various scales from single projects to national budgets”.

The economic engagements required for CH conservation and fruition can be understood and accepted only if the positive impacts that might derive from it are known. Among these impacts, positive externalities have a crucial role. These may have a private character, for instance touristic development, or a public nature, e.g. the enhancement of the level of civilisation of a country.

It is obvious as well that it is necessary to pursue scale economies together with cost containment, such as reduction of intervention or running costs. Efficiency of interventions and running costs of a heritage site should be evaluated in relation to the usability and the communication ability of the site. In the case of architectural heritage, the latter is in turn proportional to the historical and archaeological authenticity that heritage holds. The quality control of preservation and valorisation, as well as the ability to create links between heritage and territory are crucial for preserving the authenticity and improving communication ability of heritage.

Built heritage is acknowledged as a non-renewable resource and its conservation definitely has an ethical dimension. Sustainability in this case means the possibility to use the cultural resource without excluding the future generations’ possibilities (Fusco Girard & Nijkamp 2004; Gustafsson & Rosvall 2008). That is why we shall agree once more with Mason when he states that there are misleading questions like “Does preservation pay [generate profits]?” or “Does government conservation policy or direct investment in conservation yield sufficient returns?” (Mason 2007, 15). The value of built heritage is only comprehensible within a global and integrated vision, involving economic *and* cultural and ethic viewpoints. Therefore it does not make any sense to separate the protection processes from their territorial/environmental context. This is the basis for conservation as a coherent, co-ordinated and planned activity. It is also important to consider and take into account

the systemic relationships between CH and the observers, users and other stakeholders.

## From networks to districts

During the recent decades the first partial answer to complex and systemic nature of CH was the creation of *networks* of cultural institutions – such as museums or libraries – which, later on, have been evolving into *Cultural Systems* (Valentino 2003; Zanetti 2003), stressing the ideas of programming and management. Later on, the evolution in *Integrated Cultural Systems* expressed the awareness of the importance of territorial connections and resources diversification. Within these models, the idea of actions totally planned and controlled was still crucial.

The *Integrated Cultural Systems* have been recently followed by *Cultural Districts* (CD). Moving from the model of industrial districts (Porter 1989; Becattini 2000) and from the success of culture-led development processes in clusters or quarters within urban environments, the economics of arts has been studying a set of models for new scenarios of culture-driven development.

There are actually several connotations of CD in the recent literature, developing theoretical frameworks and classifications (see Scott 2000; Valentino 2003; Evans 2001; Santagata 2005; Sacco et al. 2008). A CD has been defined as a relationships system integrating enhancement processes of cultural resources with infrastructures and productive chains (Valentino 2003). From a theoretical standpoint there are a few factors that set up the conditions for having a potential CD; among these e.g. the awareness of the idiosyncratic nature of culture – i.e. its peculiarity to a given place or community and to a specific time – joined to a dynamic and creative economic environment. The presence of efficient institutions is the political factor that can transform a potential district into a real outcome (Santagata 2005, 141). Most of the models underline the importance of the Marshallian capital – i.e. national

capital including technical, human and social resources – joined to the planning carried out by public sector.

The word “district” recalls an industrial/economic matrix and the idea of income generated by the CH, by a commercialisation of cultural expressions or related services. But a model based on a trivial/literal transposition of the industrial district scheme, with its supply and value chains, clashes with some substantial differences between industrial and cultural environments. One of the most significant points is that the industrial production is not promoting the collective identification of people with the productive system and its vision.

A substantially different perspective has been introduced since conservation and cognitive sciences have begun to take an interest in the topic. The main issues and assets for them are the cultural heritage and the cultural capital. The study fields include situations fundamentally different from the urban ones, like e.g. marginal regions (Della Torre 2006; Schürch 2006; Putignano & Canziani 2007).

CD models are nowadays at a crossroad between being an attempt to exploit heritage for sheer territorial marketing and the possibility to become an instrument for a sustainable valorisation. For economics of arts, the built heritage is still a strange subject, most of the time either misunderstood or forgotten (Benhamou 2004; Bodo 2004; Santagata 2009). Studies, evaluations and figures are mostly limited to performing arts, festivals and museum sector, since they can more easily be related to economic evaluation criteria. Architecture or landscape cannot be evaluated by the number of tickets sold or just by the declared willingness-to-pay. It would rather be sensible to evaluate the capability of built heritage to actively increase cultural and social capital, i.e. to construct cultural citizenship (among others: Lampis 2009). But these values are neither easily recognisable nor measurable, and their recognition has to deal with a more clear acknowledgment of the role of built heritage in our contemporary society.

The idea of CD is connected to an inclusive vision, under which we can understand in a new way and re-discuss the role of CH within the

development economies of a single territory, and the changing role of culture within the contemporary society and its present intellectual and emotional metabolisms (Trimarchi 2005,138).

## Heritage and society

The most advanced studies on built heritage agree that it is an open system which is not limited just to monuments and which is comprehensible only within a vision integrating economic, cultural and ethic values, as is typical for non-renewable resources (Teutonico & Matero 2003; Montella 2003; Della Torre 2005). Such a vision of the role of built heritage might be found in a transdisciplinary vision of man and his works within the ecosystems and the environment which arose during the second half of the 20th century. It is enough to recall the integrated conservation, forwarded in the Declaration of Amsterdam (Congress on the European Architectural Heritage 1975) and, within the Italian context, Giovanni Urbani's work on preventive conservation and risk map project.

The current idea of CH is articulated in certain conventions and statements<sup>1</sup>. According to them, CH includes “all the goods having a reference to civilisation history”; and cultural goods are “material evidence having value of civilisation”. This view overtakes an aesthetic conception (which former laws have been based on) in favour of a wider idea of the cultural value: a value that includes every tangible and intangible evidence and that is not limited to aesthetic or historic excellence.

From this standpoint the value consists of in the social function of CH, as an intellectual development factor for a community, and as a historical element which defines the identity of the community (Pitruzzella

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1 The reference is internationally The Hague Convention, 1954, and in Italy the statements of the Commission for the Protection and Enhancement of the Historical, Archaeological, Artistic, and Natural Heritage established in 1964. See: Report of the Franceschini Commission on the Protection and Use of Historical, Archaeological, Artistic and Natural Heritage (1966).

2000). Therefore, CH is proposed as “resource and instrument for innovative civil, cultural and social development, and also, as nowadays underlined, as a vehicle and instrument for economic development: and this not only for the national collectivity, but also and particularly for the many communities and territorial environments which such heritage belongs to” (Pastori 2004).

The term *valorisation/enhancement* is then to be perceived as the overall choices and activities that, in agreement with protection policies, allow “exploitation” of the heritage potential, aiming at achieving social advantage. Therefore, to enhance means neither to restore nor to bring profit. One of the meanings of *enhancement* “roughly coincides with realisation of potentials, both in synchronic and diachronic terms” (Cicerchia 2002), i.e. having also future users in mind.

In order to understand how such a utilisation can take place, we should also take into account that in today’s post-industrial economies, cultural experience corresponds to an investment in personal identity building. This is a “profound motivational re-definition of buying and consuming actions, which lose their meaning of typical answer to primary needs [...] to become an integral part of the quest for an individual well-being strategy linked to the consolidation and assertion of individual identity models” (Sacco & Tavano Blessi 2005, 13). The main issue is to “confer significance to personal choice paths” (Sacco & Zarri 2004, 501). Within this context, the idea begets a profound logic that innovation does not answer to a rational economic need, but rather to a desire for social acknowledgement (see also Schürch 2006).

## **Learning-based Cultural Districts**

Within the most progressive models of CD, built heritage is a catalyst which activates on a territory processes integrating cultural offer with more traditional linked activities but, above all, with the cultural/intellectual capital of local communities. In our immaterial economies, where creativity and adaptability to change bear strategic importance,

culture plays the role of a mediator for innovation, through hybridising of ideas and stimulating creativity (Canziani & Della Torre 2008a). The objective pursued is the capability building in the territory: reference authors are indeed Richard Florida, with his version of “learning regions” (1995), and Amartya Sen (2000; 2002).

The use of the word “district” recalls the existence of relationships and local community participation, the answering to government incentives, and the capability of such a system to produce and spread innovative cultural issues and externalities connected with innovation. Indeed, the idea of district stresses the added value of concentration and localisation, but also the systemic emergence of the processes linked to CH enhancement activities (Canziani & Della Torre 2008b; Minati & Collen 2009).

If development policies applied to CH in many cases have not achieve the expected economic revenues, this has occurred mostly “because they have not taken into consideration the fact that the CH resources valorisation process is more important in relation to the impacts generated on the outside, on the territory” (Valentino 2003, 10). And, results have not been achieved because the heritage-territory-people links have not at all been taken into consideration. The externalities that we consider the most interesting and appropriate to CH are mainly related, not to economic chains, but, to the increase of cultural/intellectual capital. It is possible to recognise in people’s mental space the main infrastructure that has to be the aim of programming and planning. The economic revenues are therefore considered as a consequence of local community’s capability improvement, enhanced by CH’s *fruition*<sup>2</sup> which may generate the positive externalities.

Within the built heritage preservation field, direct revenues do not seem to cover costs, at least when considering only the monetary revenues and not considering the profit deriving from the growth of users’ knowledge or the conservation of their memories/identity. The development

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<sup>2</sup> A term that is more suitable than consumption because it is spontaneously linked to the idea of valorisation.

dimension has to be sought, not in the number of visitors nor in the few job opportunities created on the spot within the related chains, but instead, from the transversal, innovation hybridising opportunities that will be transferred from the CH areas to training and to the various economic supply chains. Facing this situation, and moving from the thematic background of architectural conservation sciences, there has emerged the need to find a shared ground with other disciplines, such as cognitive sciences and economics of arts. Thus the aim of the discussion is to investigate what can be the role of built heritage in regional development processes, with regard not only to material and economic aspects but also, and especially, to the intangible and cognitive ones (Putignano 2009).

The unsuccessful involvement of the communities implies the impossibility of using CH interventions as occasions to activate awareness, re-appropriation and re-interpretation processes and learning by un-learning (see Della Torre in this volume), stimulating knowledge towards innovation and development. Consequently, a remarkable investment must be assigned to education and training. The resulting model, called *Learning-based Cultural District*, is strongly centred on knowledge and learning. Within the Learning-based CD, the role of built heritage can be reviewed together with the regional development on three sides:

*A: People.*

The CH enhancement processes involve local communities, becoming a growing factor for human and intellectual capital, fostering the acknowledgment and willingness to care.

*B: Institutions.*

The Learning-based CD rationalises the heritage programming processes and defines the management plans. Furthermore, the Learning-based CD model can pursue strategic objectives related to the involvement of private sector for support, and enhancement of culture and local economy.

*C: Builders and other professionals.*

In the Learning-based CD, conservation is exploited to increase capability of professionals in the building sector, to increase the presence of highly skilled workers, thus increasing the human capital and disseminating advanced ideas, i.e. preventive conservation.

## **The Monza and Brianza Province scenario**

Within these circumstances it was interesting to carry out a case study, in which it was possible to implement this kind of approach, to study more efficiently both the strategic actions (descending from this model of CD), and the expected outcomes from the realization of such activities.

The CD of Monza and Brianza<sup>3</sup>, developed following the system-wide model (see Sacco et al. 2008), is one of the ten projects funded by Cariplo Foundation within the call “Cultural districts, economic wheels for the territory”. The call asserted that “the valorization process, which is based on restorations of buildings at risk, or of buildings which need a functional adjustment, will be conditional on the way those restorations will be realized and presented [...] Therefore, it is important that the districts choose course of action suitable to guarantee a continuous impulse towards choices of high profile, in order to maximize the interventions on built cultural heritage so as to the growth of human capital, to the production and dissemination of knowledge, to the update and the strengthening of individual and collective sensibility, to the implementation of more up-to-date methodologies for the protection of BCH [built cultural heritage] (Planned Conservation)”.

Within this model, the territory has to be able to create networks and policies focused on system logic. Such aptitude rises from

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<sup>3</sup> Elaborated by Pier Luigi Sacco, scientific director of the system-wide cultural district project of the Province of Monza and Brianza. The team: Federica Carlini (Studio Carlini Moioli), Cecilia Conti (goodwill), Rossella Moioli (Studio Carlini Moioli), Giulia Prada (Monza and Brianza Province) and Federica Viganò (FEEM).



entrepreneurial faculties and from the willingness to promote the local productive system. The model leads to preservation and enhancement of built cultural heritage and to the ability to create and disseminate innovative ways of thinking, by developing the best practices present on the territory. In our case study we consider the role of built heritage as central in the strategic vision.

The aim is to construct a new development model which focuses on culture as a connective tissue factor in the local productive chains. The feasibility study has set up a suitable methodology to recognize criteria for choosing strategic interventions (restorations) and complementary interventions (planned conservation), which are necessary to CH enhancement and for cultural production inside the learning district.

During the phase of the specification of strategic and complementary actions it is possible to have two scenarios, closely linked to the characteristics of the territory:

(1) The territory has well-defined vocations, and/or well-characterized environments (for instance alpine valley, industrial district...). The context analysis brings to highlight the specific productive chains which become an active subject, together with the built heritage, within the integration device.

(2) The territory is characterised by a high level of complexity due to the conjunction of different productions, a remarkable critical mass and a diversification of the supply chains and CH. The context analysis points out the cultural context of people and the main cultural aptitudes.

In the first case (scenario 1) there is an easier acknowledgment of the integration dynamics between CH and the economic system, while in the second case (scenario 2) the method has to be built up on the definition of strategic actions, choosing main players from time to time, while keeping the central role of CH.

In Monza and Brianza instance we are in the situation type 2. A set of actions has been pointed out, each action composed by some projects,

planned in such a way that they express as clearly as possible the connection between cultural activities and built heritage. Built cultural heritage is not only composed by “monuments”; it includes all the historic buildings which are experienced as the roots of the territorial identity. A very important factor for the conservation of CH and for the development of a local system is the identity: a territory must be identified and recognised by its own inhabitants.

The expected outcomes that will have impact on built heritage are:

- awareness of the values of built cultural heritage;
- new jobs in enhancement processes (tourism, media, web, design...);
- capability of the employers in technical offices;
- capability of professionals in the building sector (architects, restorers...);
- dissemination of the idea for prevention and care;
- new jobs in conservation process.

This model acts on two levels. On the one hand it spreads innovative behaviours and ideas through social milieu. On the other hand it produces opportunities for learning and for social interaction, which leads to an aptitude of innovation and change.

Two of the main aims are (1) to optimise the public spending for preservation and enhancement of built heritage, and (2) to implement the production of intangible cultural heritage.

Four main objectives were pointed out, and for each one of them some projects have been proposed.

Objective 1: Culture as conservation, fruition and production.

Objective 2: Innovative conversion of the productive tissue.

Objective 3: Education, training and research.

Objective 4: Identity of the territory.

The strategic actions have been chosen having the three previously described development factors in mind: people, institution and building sector. The link between the specific projects of the case study and

the three factors of development of social and human capital will be shown.

## People

Some theories related to the implementation of cultural policies claim that public's tastes should be driven, by a provision of proper information and by "correcting" cultural consumption, in order to obtain, in the long run, "better informed consumer choice" (Roskamp 1975; Mazzanti 2002). In the same way, when talking about built heritage it is useful to think about some learning paths which should be able to bring up all the actors involved, from public administrations to professionals, restoration companies, and the public, enjoying the use of cultural heritage and of the production of new knowledge, obtained by the implementation of the conservation process.

Such paths, apparently imposed, actually have to be planned by starting with a bottom-up approach, analysing the territorial context analysis. The community, beyond using the CH, has to take charge of the preservation of this resource. This is a concept based on the idea of establishing relations between inhabitants and territory, and between users and cultural goods.

In the proposed case study, some of the strategic actions are dedicated to the conservation and the valorisation of built cultural heritage (objective 1). These activities become a tool for the development of new skills and to produce knowledge, increasing the citizens' awareness.

The built cultural heritage re-qualification means both enhancing the quality of cultural supply and increasing the public use; requalifying takes then a strategic role for the growth of social capital.

In this territory, the context analysis highlighted a marked preference for performing arts. So a "widespread event" (related to all of the four objectives) will be one of the projects. Concerts, dance and theatrical

performances will be brought into ancient buildings. Each performance is thought and planned according to the architectural characteristics and peculiarities of the selected building. For instance, theatrical performances will take place in a Villa where there is a rare pattern of “teatrino”.

Thus, built heritage does not become only a stage for cultural activities. The aim is to provide a high level supply of culture which could be a vehicle for a new type of fruition of built cultural heritage.

## Institutions

In this specific instance, it had been decided to limit the research to the public property cultural goods, as this is a project based on a public funding.

The nature of built cultural heritage as a *collective* or *public good* – regardless of property ownership questions – means that an individual consumption does not exclude other people’s possibility to consume the same quantity of the same good. Indeed, built heritage sites can be also defined as *merit goods*, whose production, i.e. valorisation for CH, spawns systematically positive externalities. Therefore we think about the public nature of built cultural heritage in a double meaning: it is public in a juridical sense (property) and it is public because it is a *merit good*, and not a consumption good (Montella 2003, 68–80).

Education is a positive consumption externality associated to services provided by cultural institutions. In this sense it is correct to separate out *educational externality* and *educational policies* aimed at providing and sustaining education by increasing the stock of human capital and increasing potential demands (Mazzanti 2002, 533).

Public intervention in cultural activities is justified by the production of positive externalities “to advantage of other activities or of the future generations” (Benhamou 2004); this motivation seems to prevail on the



**Fig. 1:** Villa Sottocasa, Vimercate. Photo © Rossella Moioli.



**Fig. 2:** Teatrino in Villa Sottocasa. Photo © Rossella Moioli.

classical dynamics, which foresees a public intervention because of a weakness of the market. Within the restoration field, the function of public funding is to be a motivating force for the transfer of the know-how on the territory, both in the field of conservation processes and in the field of a long term planning of local resources, including the fund raising.

In the business plan for the start-up phase of the implementation of the CD, a share of resources is assigned to training activities and education.

Three main training sectors have been defined as follows:

- Education to cultural heritage;
- Training for cultural animation, which includes attracting outside talents to the district (e.g. residency programs for artists, hosted in historic buildings owned by local public bodies);
- Training courses for planned conservation.

## **Building sector**

The cultural market is characterized by the clear preponderance of public sector. It has the role of an almost exclusive purchaser in the restoration field (the public share of the market is believed to be between 75% and 80%), and it is the main employer in the labour market of cultural institutions (*Professioni e mestieri...* 2008, 6). In the CD model, CH is the core and will be the main receiver of funding for the restoration of some relevant buildings or sites. Nevertheless, the main aim is to drive towards preventive activities planned within a management strategy, in order to avoid in the future heavy interventions required because of lack of care. Therefore, all the professionals in the building sector (architects, restorers, employers in technical offices or SME etc. ) must get proper skills, and they have to be introduced to the best practices of planned conservation.

As the first step in Monza and Brianza feasibility study, an extensive context analysis has been drawn up, gathering data related to the area by using significant indicators. After this, a context analysis has been done, focusing on the specific targets linked with built heritage.

Building contractors are the fourth biggest economic sector in Monza and Brianza, representing 17,6% of the total. The context analysis checked the situation of property developers because of their link with interventions on built heritage. The analysis focused on companies that are certified and allowed to realise interventions on listed buildings<sup>4</sup>.

The analysis pointed out that

- there are big players in the building sector;
- there are very few restoration companies<sup>5</sup>; and
- there is a quite well-balanced distribution of the companies in two of the three subareas of the province (centre and east).

This analysis shows that, although most historic buildings have been restored in recent years, preservation has not become a strategic activity, and local people are not so well involved in heritage preservation. On the one hand, in Monza and Brianza the building contractors are economically leading actors, but they are not interested in the built cultural heritage market because of the high special requirements, the market saturation, some critical legislative issues and the high number of stakeholders. On the other hand, the restoration companies could become an important factor for the integration between built cultural heritage and the productive chains, if they are aware of the value of built cultural heritage and if there is a clear possibility to make profit.

This data, therefore, leads us to think about the role of restoration companies and the methodologies for integration. Restoration companies may have different roles depending on the steps of implementation of

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4 First of all, the company must have a SOA certificate, which is a document issued by the Certificate Organism Companies, demonstrating that the company possesses the requirements established by a national law (D.P.R. 34/2000). It is needed in order to perform any public contract work (not only restoration intervention) whose tender starting price is superior to 150 000. Companies must meet quality requirements according to regulation UNI EN ISO 9000, then they get a qualification for categories of general works and of specialized works. In the restoration field, building companies have to be certified for two categories:

- OG2 (general works): “restoration and maintenance of real property under protection pursuant to provisions concerning cultural and environmental assets”.
- OS2 (specialized works): “decorated surfaces and movable objects of historic and artistic interest”.

5 Restoration companies are based in five municipalities: Carate Brianza (1 OG2 company), Gussano (1 OG2 companies), Concorezzo (1 OG2 company), Vimercate (1 OG2 company), Monza (3 OG2 companies and 1 OS2 company).

the CD. We can identify two main phases of the CD project: the initial phase, and the long term planning.

The initial phase is characterized by specialized training actions, in order to provide new skills, to make the companies more competitive and to create a new sector in the construction market. Restoration companies attend training courses, seminars and workshops. Specialized training is one of the strategic actions of this CD. The task is to create the knowledge and the know-how that are considered indispensable for the competitive growth of the restoration companies, as well as of the whole territory. Specifically, the needs expressed by the stakeholders must be taken into account, in order to define those skills which are necessary to the companies implementing the planned conservation of built cultural heritage.

The long term vision includes such objectives and expected results as knowledge dissemination, creating awareness and skills, and, above all, ability to put planned conservation process into practice. In this case restoration companies are expected to become active actors in preventive and planned conservation process. They develop ability to carry out exemplary interventions and capability to document their interventions and disseminate knowledge. With a high quality offer and by taking advantage of the economies of scale (created by the district) they can also create new market opportunities. They can take advantage from implementation of new productive sectors and raise the quality of the supply (see Bossi in this volume).

The district is an open system, and its boundary is permeable. Attracting external talents to the district, and dissemination of best practices and skills, is made possible. Everything that is learned – also by unlearning – will be applied in other territories too, because all the actors involved in the conservation and valorisation processes of built cultural heritage can apply their advanced knowledge and skills to their activities on a wider territory than the district itself.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> While the ideas expressed in the present paper derive from common analyses and reflections, the writing of the first four chapters should be attributed to Andrea Canziani, and the rest (from the chapter 'The Monza and Brianza province scenario' on) to Rosella Moiola.



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*Andrea Canziani, architect, Ph.D., is adjunct professor at the Architecture and Society School of Politecnico di Milano and architect of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities, Italy.  
E-mail: andrea.canziani@polimi.it*

*Rossella Moioli, professional architect, is grant researcher at Politecnico di Milano – Building Environment Science and Technology Department. She works in the field of preventive and planned conservation.  
E-mail: rossellamoioli@tiscali.it*



# **The Requisite Evolution of Small and Medium Enterprises for Participation in an Innovative Conservation Process**

**Stefania Bossi**

## **Introduction**

The paper is focused on the capability of a “responsible” company – small and medium enterprises (SME) in heritage site restoration – to be able to work as a productive factor in the built cultural heritage sector, and analyzing the SME’s potential as an inspector and/or maintainer of heritage.

To upgrade the conservation strategy from punctual interventions to continuative care (*ie.* planned conservation), a strong demand for innovation in building practices is required which first and foremost necessitates the qualification of involved stakeholders. In this way, the SMEs have to re-think their role and organization in the well-established building process. Moving from the operative procedures that allow the restoration company to set up a planned conservation service for historic buildings, the process of innovation involves not only organizational issues, but also know-how, innovative skills, and responsibility.

Through an analysis of the externalities in the management and enhancement process of built cultural heritage, it is possible to understand the strategic role of conservation and to investigate the relationship between culture, innovation, competitiveness and social cohesion. In particular, it is important to be aware of the social and economic scenarios, with the opportunities and critical aspects related to a globalized market. Working in a global scenario is directly related to the local context, because the effects are not only felt in terms of the “enormous widening of the contexts”, but also – from an apparently opposite viewpoint – of the local dimension (Bocchi & Ceruti 2004). This is even more the case in the field when considered by the present research that implies a need to assemble different readings of a built heritage asset which by its nature is locally characterized. In fact, conservation is a strategy not only to conserve the built heritage, but also to preserve skills and processes, and then to contribute to the local development. Moreover, a strong demand for innovation in building practices, notably the qualification of stakeholders involved, is required to upgrade the conservation strategy from punctual interventions to a continuative care, ie. planned conservation (Della Torre 1999). Amongst others, this research analyses the SMEs by re-thinking their role in the well-established building process. In particular, the research is finalized to differentiate an innovative organizational model for a responsible company.

In conclusion, the hypothetical scenarios show that a structured inspection procedure and a critical assessment of executed maintenance work can lead to a sustainable market in the economic and cultural field, if properly processed, stored and disseminated.

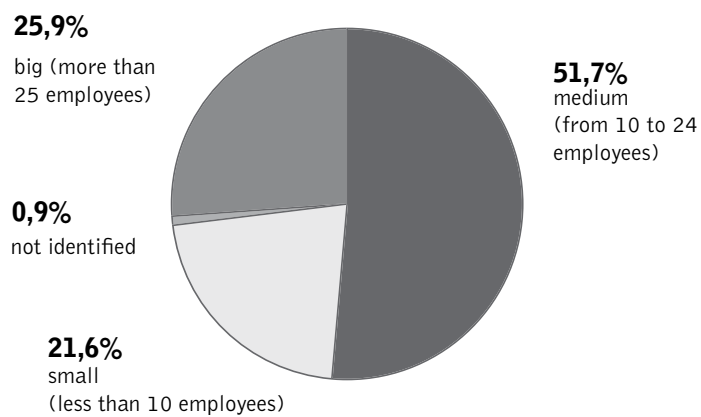
## **Restoration SMEs in Italy**

In Italy, the term “restoration company” represents a large kind of enterprise that works on historic buildings. In the cultural sector, economic evaluations have shown that this kind of company is a very important factor in establishing the role of the actor and their possible

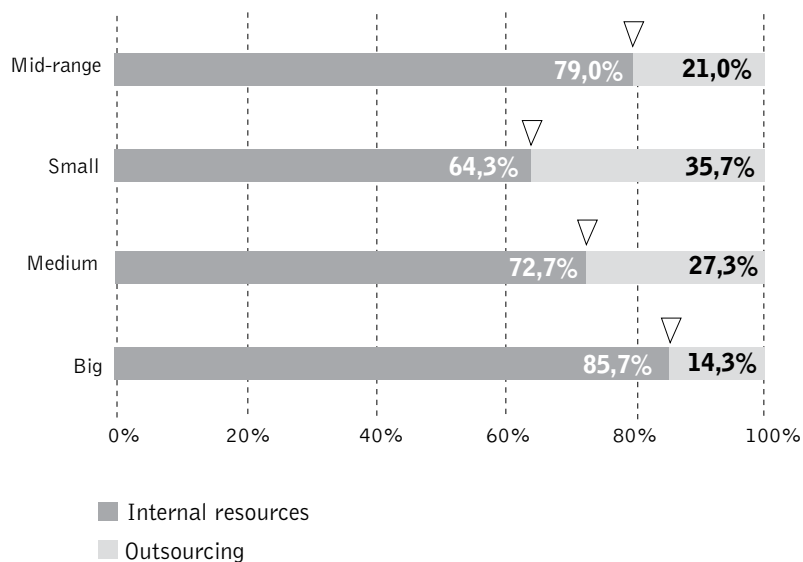


innovations. In the present scenario, the SMEs that work in restoration sector are multifaceted: there are both building contractors specialized in restoration (work class OG2: Restoration and maintenance of built cultural heritage) and smaller restorers comprised of one or several employees who specialize in surfaces (work class OS2: Restoration and maintenance of decorated surfaces and art work of historical and artistic interest). Only a small segment of building contractors has both specializations (OG2 and OS2): a recent research affirms that it is about 20% of the enterprises (Cabasino et al. 2008, 32). This data, representing the capability of qualification, also depends on the size of the enterprise. Usually in this sector, the restoration companies are quite small: in fact, analysis of the figures shows that the 51,2% of the enterprises (sample group: 116 enterprises analysed) has a medium size (range: from 10 to 24 employees) and only 30% of enterprises has more than 25 employees (Fig. 1). The size of enterprise is one of the variables to take into account: in particular, the large building contractors are more organized in the public market, have a strong number of employees, and are also safer from an economic perspective. Despite this, the qualification demand is not very high in a large company. It is possible to summarize that the qualification is necessary, but there is not yet an awareness of this amongst the operators. On other hand, while the craftsmen and the restorers association have few employees, they are more flexible, making greater use of outsourcing. The diagram shows clearly that the trend toward outsourcing is in inverse proportion to the enterprise size (Fig. 2).

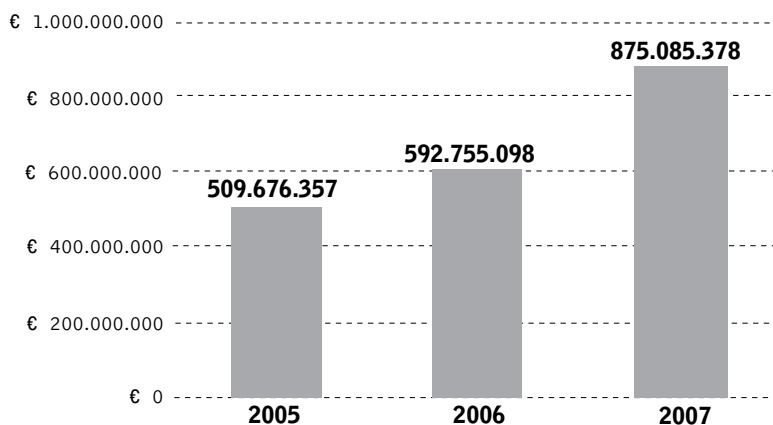
The role of the restoration company depends also on the kind of market, which is an important variable to define. First, the cultural market in the Italian framework is characterized by the important role of the public stakeholder. Consequently, there are many financial and administrative problems regarding the management aspects. Second, there is an excess of qualified supply: at this moment, a large part of the workforce is not employed or is underemployed. However, this sector has a particular development potential, whereby an increase in quality could create additional employment (Gasparoli & Talamo 2006). Moreover, it describes a remarkably well-funded market: indeed a considerable amount of money was invested in the intervention of the



**Fig. 1:** Size of enterprises analysed (Cabasino et al. 2008).



**Fig. 2:** Different trends in outsourcing, related to the enterprise size (Cabasino et al. 2008).



**Fig. 3:** Number and amount of public competitions in 2005-2007 in nine region analysed (Cabasino et al. 2008).

built heritage (Fig. 3). For instance, the Lombardy region spends more than EUR 400 million each year. It is all the more impressive given that this analysis does not include the private interventions that represent an important part of the whole amount (e.g. each year the Milan church invests about EUR 50 million for the restoration works) (unpublished research).

However, in the present scenario, the restoration company is not adequately evaluated. This stakeholder is recognized only in order to realize the work project. In a different way, the restoration company could make a contribution to the management of the building system; by assuring communication and promotion, by gathering information during the work, and by making more of a contribution in the research cooperation in large projects. This aspect is more critical and necessary to study in an innovative scenario, such as in the planned conservation. The involvement of the company has more positive consequences than in a traditional process by defining the innovative criteria of evaluation, introducing new organizational models and increasing qualified trades.

## The hypothetical scenarios

In the last few years, the BEST Department<sup>1</sup> in Politecnico di Milano has studied some possible scenarios to begin planned conservation strategies, in particular through some PhD research dedicate (Minosi 2006; Turati 2007). The difficulties for the public administration and the local community to participate in this process underline the necessity to undertake an integrated approach involving every stakeholder. With regard to these aspects, the research has investigated the point of view of the restoration company in order to understand which strategic role the SME could play in the process. In this way, we have demonstrated that, above all, the restoration company has to implement some innovative services. In particular, there are two different kinds of service that would be of value: inspections and planned conservation services.

In order to launch an inspection service, companies can find an essential reference in the experience of the *Monumentenwacht* organization. This membership-based organization is independent and offers many years of experience in inspection services for private and public customers of listed and non-listed buildings. After each inspection of a valuable building, the organization provides reports for owners and managers which includes objective advice on further steps to take (Stulens & Verpoest 2006). Established in 1973, the success of the *Monumentenwacht Nederland* in the Netherlands led to further expansions to current six organizations which share the same core principles: in Belgium/Flanders, Denmark, England, Germany, Hungary and Scotland. Although the new inspection organizations refer back to the Netherlands model, they are quite different, in particular in relation to the service, legislation and goals (Čebrov Lipovec & Van Balen 2008). If a similar organization were to be launched in the Italian context, its service could offer advice services for private and new customers. It could be especially interesting for managers of a large building system (like a church organization) to assure a minimum level of control and conservation. Briefly, the SWOT analysis shows that an inspection service similar to *Monumentenwacht* could offer important

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<sup>1</sup> Department of Building and Environment Sciences and Technology.

### **Strengths**

- Fair service for public and private buildings
- For customers, the low cost guarantees a minimum preventive level
- For companies, this advertises its core business (restoration and maintenance activities)

### **Weaknesses**

- Insufficient service, requires incentives for both customers and companies
- Conflict of interest if the companies also carry out the maintenance activities
- Lack of adequate training for these innovative activities (e.g. inspection and information management)
- Separation of inspection activities risks reducing the maintenance quality as it does not recognize the potential for inspection of the maintenance activities

### **Opportunities**

- The innovative services attract more owners increasing the number of customers
- Dissemination of “planned conservation” culture: less inconveniences by decreasing large damages

### **Threats**

- The high cost of unplanned activities means fewer non-listed buildings use the service
- Poorly explained goals means the service is not understood, and then seen as not applicable

**Table 1:** SWOT analysis of inspection service

strengths such as instilling the concept of impartiality, disseminating information, and creating awareness and responsibility (Table 1). However, in the Italian context, these models have also many weaknesses such as a lack of training, skills and supporting financial tools. This last aspect in particular is very similar to the problem experienced in England (Maintain our Heritage 2004).

### **Strengths**

- The inspection and maintenance activities are made simultaneously, guaranteeing continuously and constantly managed information during the contract period
- Innovative service assures a longer and more sufficient cashflow for the enterprise making it a self-sufficient service

### **Weaknesses**

- Complexity of service: it is an integrated service but not a global service: the management is in-house. This requires a company consortium and qualified contracts. Each enterprise needs adequate information management tools.
- Requires qualifications for the outsourcing assignment to estimate the technical and professional weakness

### **Opportunities**

- Service more attractive with other facilities (e.g. cleaning services, gardening or electrical system maintenance)
- Innovation in the legal framework (instruments and laws) and the market (skills and enterprises)

### **Threats**

- Conflict of interest: a risk for excessive unplanned work and low attention to planned activities
- A unqualified company risks having poor information management, underestimating critical issues, and causing harm to the material authenticity of building

**Table 2:** SWOT analysis of planned conservation service

By experimenting with a large restoration company and simulating an inspection service, we studied the cost-effectiveness of the activities in terms of materials, resources and time. The study was oriented toward the ecclesiastic goods. In our analysis of the pilot cases, we estimate that it requires about eighty buildings to guarantee sufficient work for one dedicated inspection team (two new full-time employees). Therefore,

the research has demonstrated that the cost of this activity when it is not supported by grants and other financial tools, needs to achieve an “economy of scale” to function adequately. Consequently, when working on the local level, such as a province, it is necessary not only to offer continual service but also to guarantee an adequate potential market.

Another important weakness of this scenario is the separation of inspection and maintenance activities. This can lead to a reduced quality of maintenance activities, because the information gathered in the maintenance works might not be fully recorded.

A different option would be to refer to an integrated service, where the SME offers not only an inspection service, but also the maintenance works that may be necessary after the inspection activity (Table 2). In this way, the service could be interesting for the customers after completing the restoration work, as an assurance. In this case, the same subject would need to do both the maintenance and inspection activities. An important strength of this scenario is that the financial aspect is satisfied through the incomes related to the maintenance activity as the English experience has extensively demonstrated (Maintain our Heritage 2003). Nevertheless, in order to be attractive, the service has to include other kinds of externalities such as cleaning services, gardening or electrical system maintenance. In addition, this kind of service would be much more complex to manage. As such, it is likely more risky both for the material authenticity and for the customers. If the services are not adequately monitored, the costs for the service could be expensive.

However to undertake these different scenarios, we need an operative context where it is possible to *alter* the rules of the market through a combination of different tools such as regulation, incentives, awareness. One of the positive scenarios to help in this implementation could be the *Cultural District* model (CD), and also a local virtuous process such as oriented grants (Della Torre 2006). The CD can represent one of the ideal scenarios to implement quality in the cultural process and then, to view conservation as part of a cultural *productive factor*. In fact, the CD integrates the processes which increase the value of resources

and favour integrated action programs in spite of single interventions. This generates virtuous links with productive and training factors to propose new economic opportunities and to guarantee improvement of territorial immaterial goods. In this way, the qualified company is one of driving forces in self-financing, able to offer a qualified product and service. These kinds of companies represent an assurance for local communities to invest in a long term strategy and overcome not only financial hardships but also the absence of a shared vision that is necessary for cultural care. For the company, the cultural district is on the strategic level which helps make an innovative, free market that is solid and qualified. To create this market, the Cultural District works directly with financing maintenance and training activities. But it also works indirectly promoting a “planned conservation culture” through a communication strategy. At the moment in the Italian situation, these approaches are evolving and in the near future could be able to qualify the demand and the offer in the cultural sector. For instance in the Lombardy region, the Cariplo Foundation, a key grant-making foundation, has performed a decisive role in starting a change of mentality. It dedicated two specific calls for control and preventive activities, of EUR 1,5 million budget each, where training was a strategic part of the project.

## **The SME innovation**

At the same time as other innovations, it is necessary to reorganize the SME’s management activities. On the one hand, it is necessary to develop a methodological framework creating both contractual tools for process control and information tools for knowledge sharing. On the other hand, there is a need to qualify the human resources that are a very decisive variable.

In this situation, our research has elaborated a procedure for a restoration company to undertake the innovative service analyzed. The procedure, shared with a restoration company, is structured on the Qualification System. This system constitutes a strategic evaluation instrument to



assure quality control according to the definition of quality related to the International Standards (UNI ISO 9000:2005). The UNI ISO quality system assures both the externalities in the process such as increased role of human resources and the internal benefits for each company such as continuous improvement, non-conformity management and inspections. The procedure was organized in different phases (commercial, planning, management, operative). For each phase, the procedure analyses the related activities, roles, documents and operative instructions. The procedures have to consider the complexity of the historic buildings and their “unreliable” nature. In this way, the research has shown that the innovation in the company involves not only the organizational aspect, but also know-how, innovative skills, responsibility, and worker training. In fact, one of most important resources is the intangible capital which means considering the role of traditional building crafts and the relationship with the actual market on local and global levels. It also means qualifying technicians and companies with quality certifications and long life learning.

## Conclusions

The analysis of the scenarios, where the company is a major player in the process, shows that a structured inspection procedure and a critical assessment of executed maintenance work can lead to the development of a sustainable market and an increase in the intellectual capital if properly processed, stored and disseminated. In order to offer a continuous service, the research has demonstrated that it is necessary to work on the local level which is also an important value for the long-term development process (Schürch 2006). This confirmed that the CD could be an operative dimension in order to undertake the planned conservation strategy on a wider scale.

For SMEs, this implies an innovative role in the process with an important “responsibility” in the social and economic context. In fact, if the company is adequately structured, it can promote activities and training that use mainly the inputs such as goods, services and human

capital that are present in the local area. Consequently the restoration company as a local productive factor could be an important aspect in innovation through specialization and qualification.

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*Stefania Bossi is an architect. After a PhD in Programming, maintenance and rehabilitation of urban and building systems, she works at the Department of Building and Environment Sciences and Technology (BEST) in Politecnico di Milano, Italy. E-mail: stefania.bossi@polimi.it*



# **The Role of Heritage Conservation in a Sustainable Economy**

**Donovan Rypkema**

## **Introduction**

In the fall of 2008 the world fell into economic chaos. It quickly became apparent that there are no longer safe havens from international financial crises. As a result governments, working individually and together, initiated an unprecedented array of responses to stem the economic decline.

There is a danger is that we do not learn from this crisis and apply those lessons to future policies. I will argue in this paper, that heritage conservation has a central role in responding to the two simultaneous challenges that governments are currently facing: (1) in the short term, how to get the economy rolling again; and, (2) in the intermediate and long term, how to restructure our economies so that they become sustainable. I will offer some principles of sustainable economic development, and then suggest how heritage conservation advances each of those principles.

## **Measures envisaged during the financial crisis**

We have known for some time that unless we make significant changes quickly, our environment is not sustainable. What we have learned from

the financial crisis is that we have built our economy on foundations and assumptions that are also not sustainable.

To immediately stimulate economies it has been necessary to quickly appropriate public funds, to stabilize credit markets and especially to put people back to work again. But even though those expenditures are necessary to have an immediate impact, they should be made in areas that are creating long term assets, not merely short term fixes.

France has committed 100€ million per year for the next four years to the restoration of heritage buildings. Why? To create jobs, to extend the life of valuable assets, to make sure valuable skills are not lost, and to support the local economy.

In Hong Kong under the heading of Global Financial Crisis the government is doubling the amount of money made available for heritage conservation, half for investment in government owned buildings, and the other half as grants to private owners of heritage structures.

And Norway is perhaps the best example. The national budget of Norway is highly oil revenue dependent. And when the price of oil drops from \$140 per barrel to \$40, obviously there's a huge impact. So the Norwegians, too, enacted a financial crisis package. And how did they spend their money? Mostly on long term assets like measures for greater energy efficiency, repairing and developing their railway system, bike paths and walking trails, and 26 million Euros for heritage conservation – most of which is going for rehabilitation and maintenance of privately owned historic properties and to add fire safety systems to historic wood buildings and churches. In fact over eight percent of the Norwegian crisis package is heritage related<sup>1</sup>.

Why was this the Norwegian approach? Because they learned in their last recession in the 1980s that it put people to work, improved local skills and enhanced local economies. These countries have recognized that stimulus investments should be long term, and that heritage resources

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<sup>1</sup> Presentation by Dr. Terje Nypan, Norwegian Ministry of the Environment, to the European Heads of Heritage Forum, Bratislava, Slovakia, 28 May 2009

are long term assets. Unfortunately that has not remotely been the case in the US where we are essentially buying Big Macs with a 40 year mortgage.

The US Congress passed a \$780 billion stimulus plan. But here is how those dollars are allocated:

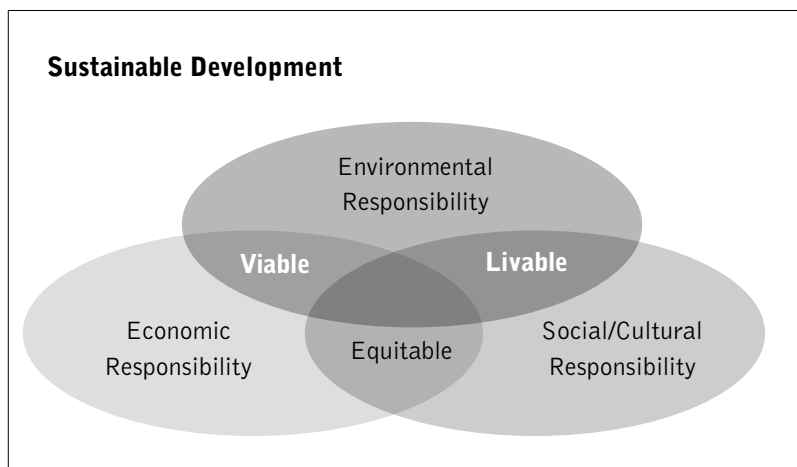
- 57,8% of the money is going to be spent on operating expenses and cash distributions, the impact of which will be entirely in the next 12 months. Another 14,8% will be spent on short term assets – those that have a life of 5 years or less.
- 17,4% of the money will go towards assets with a useful life of between 5 and 19 years.
- Leaving 10% of all of that money invested in long-term assets.

My grandchildren, who are not even conceived yet, will spend most of their working lives paying off this bill.

In Europe at least some have taken a more responsible approach. In March Member of the European Parliament, Cristina Gutiérrez-Cortines, chaired a hearing in Brussels about the role of heritage conservation in times of financial crises. I was fortunate to participate in that hearing and at the time made somewhat of a distinction between the immediate counter-cyclical strategies to address the recession, and longer term strategies to move us toward a sustainable economy. Since that time I've concluded that was a false choice. If we make the appropriate decisions to stimulate the economy now, they can support the transition to a sustainable economy. Conversely if we commit ourselves to strategies advancing a sustainable economy, it can have an immediate stimulus effect.

## **From sustainability to sustainable economy**

Europeans generally understand the components of sustainable development: environmental responsibility, economic responsibility, and social/cultural responsibility. These three components create three important nexus: for a community to be viable there needs to be a link between environmental responsibility and economic responsibility; for a



**Fig. 1:** Components of sustainable development with their inter-linkages

community to be livable there needs to be a link between environmental responsibility and social responsibility; and for a community to be equitable there needs to be a link between economic responsibility and social responsibility (Fig 1).

What would a sustainable economy look like? I believe it would have ten characteristics.

*First*, a sustainable economy would be based on using local assets.

*Second*, there would be widespread, measurable local benefits.

*Third*, sustainable economic development would depend primarily on the private sector, particularly small business.

*Fourth*, the components of a sustainable economy would be contributors in economic downturns as well as up cycles.

*Fifth*, a sustainable economy would participate in economic globalization but mitigate cultural globalization.



*Sixth*, sustainable economic development strategies would acknowledge quality of life as a major component of economic competitiveness.

*Seventh*, sustainable economic development strategies would be long term.

*Eighth*, sustainable economic development would not be a zero sum game where for one country to win another has to lose.

*Ninth*, a sustainable economy would advance the cause of environmental responsibility.

*Finally*, a sustainable economy would advance the cause of social/cultural responsibility.

Others might have a different list, but perhaps this is a starting point.

## Characteristics one by one

How does heritage conservation fit the criteria for a sustainable economy?

### 1

Start with **local assets**. Obviously, the historic buildings themselves are local assets, but it does not stop there. Heritage buildings are invariably where millions of Euros of infrastructure investment has already been made by previous generations. All too often that infrastructure is left unrepaired and underutilized as we substitute peripheral development for neighborhood reinvestment.

One of the great success stories for cities and for heritage conservation has been center city revitalization. In every European city I have visited that has experienced an economic rebirth of its core, heritage conservation was a key component of the success. That has also been

true in the US. Conversely the examples of very expensive failures in center city revitalization have nearly all had the destruction of historic buildings as a major element. Center city revitalization through heritage conservation is one of the best examples there is of sustainable economic development.

In fact by far the most cost effective program of economic development in the United States – not just of historic preservation or downtown revitalization – but the most cost effective program of economic development of any kind, is a program called *Main Street*. *Main Street* is commercial district revitalization in the context of historic preservation. *Main Street* started as a program for downtowns of small towns. In the last 25 years some 2200 communities in all 50 states have had *Main Street* programs. Over that time the total amount of public and private reinvestment in those *Main Street* communities has been nearly \$45 Billion. There have been 83 000 net new businesses created generating nearly 370 000 net new jobs. There have been 200 000 building renovations. Every dollar invested in a local *Main Street* program leveraged nearly \$27 of other investment. The average cost per job generated – \$2 500 – less than a tenth of what many state economic development programs brag about<sup>2</sup>.

## 2

**Widespread, measureable benefits** – how does heritage conservation stand up there? Consider the process of building rehabilitation itself. Wisconsin is a Midwestern state in the US whose numbers can provide a typical example. In Wisconsin, a million dollars spent in the rehabilitation of an historic building adds 22,0 jobs and ultimately \$792 000 in household income to the state's economy. That is 6,5 more jobs and \$243 000 more in household income than \$1 000 000 of manufacturing output in Wisconsin<sup>3</sup>.

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2 Data from the National Main Street Center, National Trust for Historic Preservation, <http://www.preservationnation.org/main-street/about-main-street/reinvestment-statistics.html>, accessed 24 May 2010.

3 Calculations by the author based on data from RIMS II, Regional Input-Output Modeling System, US Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis.

This greater degree of economic impact is a result of labor intensity. As a rule of thumb in the United States, new construction is half materials and half labor. Rehabilitation will be sixty to seventy percent labor with the balance being materials. This labor intensity affects a local economy on two levels. First, we buy a heating system from across the country and lumber from half way around the world, but we buy the services of the plumber, the electrician, and the carpenter from across the street. Further, once we install the sink, the sink doesn't spend any more money. But the plumber gets a haircut, buys groceries, and pays local taxes – each time re-circulating that paycheck within the community. That is what makes a sustainable local economy.

But this ratio of labor intensity isn't limited to the US. Analyses done in the West Bank in Palestine, in Viet Nam and in Scandinavia have demonstrated this same pattern.

Those are not just jobs. They are good, well-paying jobs, particularly for those without formal advanced education. They are not make-work jobs; they are real, productive jobs.

Heritage conservation strategies target the construction trades – one of the industries most adversely affected by this recession. Simultaneously, throughout Europe there is a shortage of craftsmen in a variety of restoration skills. So job training, job creation, and a life time profession can be encompassed within the same strategy. In other words, expenditures on heritage conservation provide an immediate stimulus but also generate long term physical and human assets.

### 3

Next a sustainable economy is orientated toward the **private sector, particularly small business**. Certainly public sector employment is important. In times like these we need to have public employment as part of the social safety net. But public employment is not a long term generator of economic growth; that comes from the private sector, particularly small business. 70% of the jobs and nearly 70% of the European GDP comes from small business.

The heritage industry itself is largely made up of small businesses – contractors, architects, conservationists, historians, consultants. Unlike building highways or skyscrapers where the bid winners are invariably giant, multi-national firms, for heritage projects the expertise is usually in small firms who spend their profits at home.

#### 4

Next on the list of a sustainable economy is that its components would **contribute in economic downturns as well as up cycles**. Heritage conservation fits this criteria in a couple of ways.

First, in economic downturns a variety of factors affect the ability to implement large scale plans. Financial constraints, political conflicts, and environmental concerns are all reasons that large projects are often delayed or shelved. Heritage conservation, however, can be done at virtually every scale, from the smallest shop building to massive revitalization of large urban areas. Smaller projects can proceed while larger ones are still on the drawing board, thus providing a measure of employment and income stability to a local economy.

Second, the recovery from this chaos is likely to be varied geographically, with some cities and regions returning to economic health sooner than others. Because heritage buildings are spread throughout Europe and are located in both the largest cities and the smallest villages, a heritage-based strategy can be useful at any stage of the business cycle and utilized throughout the continent.

Third, regardless of whether a local economy is in an up or a down phase, emphasis should be directed toward projects that are catalytic to other economic activity and leverage public funds with private investment. One of the most impressive economic characteristics of heritage conservation is how the investment in one building tends to spur investment in nearby buildings. Further, many European countries have developed incentive programs through which public investment is matched two and three and four to one by private investment, effectively leveraging scarce public resources.

In the United States the most obvious negative impact of this financial crisis has been on residential property values. In the past, historic districts have been much less vulnerable to value declines in economic downturns. Anecdotal evidence indicates that's going to be true this time as well. The neighborhoods most adversely affected are those new subdivisions, filled with houses of mediocre quality, which require lengthy commutes to work.

## 5

Next on the list was **globalization**. What neither the supporters nor the critics of globalization understand is that there is not one globalization but two – economic globalization and cultural globalization. For those few who recognize the difference, there is an unchallenged assumption that the second is an inevitable outgrowth of the first. I would suggest those are two different phenomenon, which while interrelated, are not inexorably linked.

While there are sometimes painful disruptions, on a composite basis economic globalization has far more advantages than disadvantages. But cultural globalization has few if any benefits but has significant adverse social and political consequences in the short term and negative economic consequences in the long term.

If cities are to succeed in the challenge of globalization, they will have to be competitive not only with other cities in their region, but worldwide. However, their success will be measured not just by their ability to foster economic globalization, but equally in their ability to mitigate cultural globalization. In both cases, a city's historic built environment can play a central role.

Globalization means change — change at a pace that can be disruptive politically, economically, socially, and psychologically. Adaptive reuse of the historic built environment can provide a touchstone, a sense of continuity that helps counteract the disruption which economic globalization tends to exacerbate.

Here's what the Inter American Development Bank has concluded, "As the international experience has demonstrated, the protection of cultural heritage is important, especially in the context of the globalization phenomena, as an instrument to promote sustainable development strongly based on local traditions and community resources." From the other side of the globe Professor Belinda Yuan of Singapore National University writes, "...the influences of globalization have fostered the rise of heritage conservation as a growing need to preserve the past, both for continued economic growth and for strengthening national cultural identity (Yuen 2005)".

## 6

Sustainable economic development strategies would recognize that **quality of life** is a major component of economic competitiveness and that knowledge workers in particular place a high value on quality of life criteria in their choice of where to live and work.

When we finally recover from this economic chaos, the European economy will resume a sizable shift in its economic base and the nature of doing business. Much of the "product" produced by European workers is knowledge and information. And those commodities can be produced virtually anywhere and can be transported for nearly no cost. This means that more businesses and their employees will be locationally indifferent.

I do not know the numbers in Europe, but today in the United States perhaps 20 percent of American businesses and a third of American workers can literally be located anywhere. How will that choice be made? On the quality of life the city provides.

What constitutes "quality of life"? There are many possible variables including good schools, public safety, the weather. But when the physical attributes of a place are measured, the historic built environment is a significant quality of life contributor.

A great Australian study reached these conclusions: (1) a sustainable city will have a sustainable economy; (2) in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a competitive,

sustainable economy will require a concentration of knowledge workers; (3) knowledge workers choose where they want to work and live based on the quality of the urban environment; and (4) heritage buildings are an important component of a high quality urban environment (Baum et al. 2007).

## 7

Sustainable economic development strategies would be **long term, not short term**. There are multiple causes of this economic chaos, but underlying them all has been the short term perspective of Wall Street, consumers, and politicians.

Real estate and real estate mortgages have traditionally and appropriately been long term assets. But too-smart-for-their-own-good MBAs in investment banking converted long term mortgage assets into short term trading vehicles ...looking for a profit in the next fifteen minutes, not the next fifteen years. Wall Street was far more concerned with the next quarterly dividend than the next quarter century. Politicians concerned more with the next election than the next generation.

There cannot be sustainable development without thinking long term. Heritage buildings, almost by definition, are long term in perspective – how long they have lasted already and how long they can last into the future if they are protected.

Earlier was noted job creation through historic rehabilitation. However that argument is sometimes challenged saying “But those are just short term jobs. Once you’ve built the building the job creation is done.” Yes, but there are two responses to that. First, real estate is a capital asset – like a drill press or a railroad car. It has an economic impact during construction, but a subsequent economic impact when it is in productive use. Additionally, since most building components have a life of between 25 and 40 years, a community could rehabilitate 2 to 3 percent of its building stock per year and have perpetual employment in the building trades. Local jobs which are in demand for the foreseeable future is the ultimate in sustainable economic development.

## 8

Sustainable economic development would **not be a zero sum game**. From a European perspective, economic development should not be a zero sum game where for one city to win another has to lose. But that is how most economic development in the past has been. For Barcelona to recruit an industry Bratislava had to lose it. From a European perspective, what is the sense of that? There is no net economic benefit, just a shifting from point A to point B.

Heritage conservation based economic development strategy is not that way. For one community to effectively use its heritage resources in no way precludes another city from doing the same. To the extent that they both use heritage buildings, both are advancing sustainable economic development.

## 9

How does heritage conservation advance the cause of the **environmental component** of sustainable development? We could begin with solid waste disposal which is increasingly expensive in Euros and in environmental impacts.

Let me put this in context. We all diligently recycle our aluminum cans because we are told it is good for the environment. A typical North America commercial building is 7,5 meters wide and 36 meters feet deep and two stories high. Assume that today we tear down one small building of that size. We have now wiped out the entire environmental benefit from the last 1 344 000 aluminum cans that were recycled. We have not only wasted an historic building, we have wasted months of diligent recycling by that local community. And that calculation only considers the impact on the landfill, not any of the other sustainable development calculations like embodied energy.

*Embodied energy* is defined as the total expenditure of energy involved in the creation of the building and its constituent materials. When we throw away an historic building, we are simultaneously throwing away the embodied energy incorporated into that building. So we start with the energy embodied in the building then add the energy expended



tearing it down and hauling it to the landfill. What have we wasted? Over 212 000 liters of gasoline.

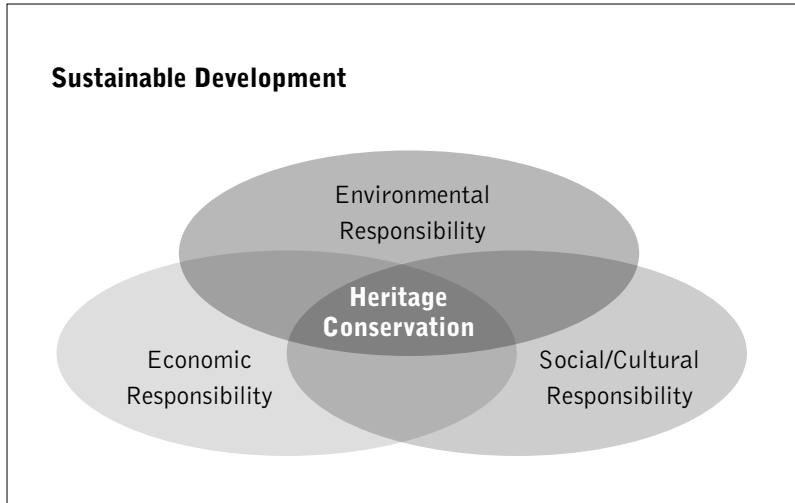
Much of the “green building” movement focuses on the annual energy use of a building. But the energy embodied in the construction of a building is 15 to 30 times the annual energy use. A recent study from the United Kingdom found that it takes 35 to 50 years for an energy-efficient new home to recover the carbon expended in constructing it.

Razing historic buildings results in a triple hit on scarce resources. First, we throwing away thousands of Euros of embodied energy. Second, we are replacing it with materials vastly more consumptive of energy. What are most historic houses built from? Brick, plaster, concrete and timber – among the least energy consumptive of materials. What are major components of new buildings? Plastic, steel, vinyl and aluminum – among the most energy consumptive of materials. Third, recurring embodied energy savings increase dramatically as a building life stretches over fifty years. You are a fool or a fraud if you claim to be an environmentally conscious builder and yet are throwing away historic buildings, and their components. **A heritage building is a renewable resource when it is rehabilitated; it is nothing but landfill when it is razed.**

## 10

Finally sustainable economic development would advance the cause of the **social/cultural component** of sustainable development. My professional practice is in the economic side of heritage conservation, but I truly believe that of all of the values of heritage conservation in the long run the economic value is the least important. The educational, aesthetic, cultural, environmental and social values are far more important.

Heritage conservation’s role in helping us understand who we are, where we have been and where we are going is central to the social/cultural component of sustainable development. The American sociologist Robert Bellah wrote “Communities...have a history – in an important sense they are constituted by their past – and for this reason we can speak



**Fig. 2:** Heritage conservation has it all

of a real community as a ‘community of memory’, one that does not forget its past” (Bellah 1985). Heritage buildings are the physical manifestation of memory.

## Conclusion

Now if we go back to the graphic representation of sustainable development I would suggest that heritage conservation is, in fact, the singular strategy that is simultaneously environmental responsibility, economic responsibility, and social/cultural responsibility.

In both the United States and much of Europe the mentality is so focused on the technologies of green buildings that the comprehensive concept of sustainable development isn’t grasped at all. **At most perhaps 10% of what the environmental movement does advances the cause of heritage conservation. But 100% of heritage conservation advances the cause of the environment. You cannot have sustainable development without a major role for heritage conservation, period.**

The established definition of sustainable development is “...the ability to meet our own needs without prejudicing the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” The loss of historic buildings is the polar opposite of sustainable development; once they are gone they cannot possibly be available to meet the needs of future generations.

Heritage conservation is certainly not the only strategy for reestablishing economic, environmental or cultural responsibility, but in all three areas heritage conservation is the one indispensable strategy.

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*Donovan D. Rypkema is president of Heritage Strategies International and principal of PlaceEconomics, both consulting firms based in Washington DC, USA. He was educated at Columbia University (M.Sc in Historic Preservation). Email: DRypkema@HS-Intl.com*



# Redefining Memory<sup>1</sup>

**Zorán Vukoszávlyev**

In Portugal, the reinforcement of local power and new metropolitan management structures have led to the creation of policies for intermunicipal planning over the last twenty years. Portuguese regions aim to stay “on the map” for the attribution of European funds and foreign investment. The establishment of primary urban systems (infrastructures, accessibilities and basic health and education facilities) has been combined with new urban marketing strategies, in order to launch the “brand” on the international market as well as to attract investment and improve employment especially in depressed areas. By creating converging policies, the central government and the municipalities are looking to stimulate or launch new lines of facilities – in such distinct areas as universities, culture, health, thematic tourism and sport – by offering sustainable “added values” such as qualification of urban spaces and architectural heritage.

As for these qualities of the built environment, architect Álvaro Siza, and, later his colleagues and followers in the context of the so-called “Escola do Porto”, have developed a methodical approach to programmes and places and gained prestige on the international architectural scene. In

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<sup>1</sup> This research has been funded by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund No. OTKA 68610 and by the Bolyai Grant of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

fact, Siza had been working both academically and professionally on an apparent impossibility: the linking of modern abstract rationalism with the formal and cultural diversity of the locations where he has built, thus establishing bridges between “tradition” and “trend”, “local” and “universal” which would act as references for many other architects. (Oliveira 2005.)

In this paper, we present a number of cases, concentrating on the question of re-finding the place of man within his traditions with the help of cultural values protection.

## **Contemporary Portuguese architectural culture**

The development of the contemporary Portuguese architectural culture is rooted in the rich soil of the 1940s’ Art School of Porto. The modern movement, as a wider discipline and social programme, served as a reference for the works of students and young architects (Costa & Landrove 1997; Tostões 2003). Involving various arts in the everyday process of architectural education and design established a harmony between professional practice and artistic poetry. This displaced the dominant approach of the beaux-arts and created a relation with society again. The School of Architecture at Porto University, headed by Carlos Ramos, became the symbol of resistance; during the dictatorship Porto gave the modern movement and its specific development a chance to survive (Tostões 1997), thus laying the foundation for a truly ‘Portuguese architecture’ (Távora 1947). Its modern language and approach that builds upon tradition have been fulfilled in the works of Fernando Távora and Álvaro Siza (Távora 1982).

Between 1955 and 1960, an extensive survey of vernacular architecture had been conducted throughout the country, and its results published in 1961 offered the intellectual basis for combining modernity with tradition. This became an organic part of the education and served as a reference (Afonso et al. 2004). Topography, typology, building technology and the order and use of materials have thus become analyzable and

clearly traceable in the design process – creating a special methodology for combining the use of modern technologies, form giving and design attitude with a consciousness of the *genius loci* (Fernandes 2001).

The new generation that grew up in the politically changing atmosphere after the 1974 revolution was prepared to answer to the demand of co-operation; sociologists and economists together with architects have created new living environments required by the spirit of the age. Scarce economic resources revived the aesthetics of modern handicraft. The extraordinary works of the transition period were created by the 'bauhaus' approach, with clear functionality and the form language of modernism. Methods of scientific analysis once again provided feedback, but now from a socio-economic direction, which has resulted also in the real compliance of education in this practice-orientated period. (Portas & Mendes 1992)

Architects born in the 1960s have been able to build upon this tradition. The intellectual development of this generation could be determined through consciously led individual surveys with the use of their wide international practice and relationships. However, their fresh approach did not separate them from their cultural environment. Rather, they have only reinterpreted it. The architects of this generation are looking for materials and samples within local traditions and culture and utilizing their own intellectual and technological heritage (Gadanhó & Pereira 2003; Gadanhó & Pereira 2004; Tostões 2008).

## **Large-scale projects and urban development strategies**

In the mid-1990s, Portugal announced several large-scale projects with related urban development strategies. Going back in time, we can mention the 2004 European Football Championships as the greatest success (Afonso 2005). The 2001 European Capital of Culture project in Porto, integrated with overall rehabilitation projects, shows the same advanced mentality. The first significant achievement of these developments was the organization of the 1998 EXPO in Lisbon. 1998

was a special year for Portugal at any rate: besides organizing the Lisbon EXPO this was the 12<sup>th</sup> anniversary of EU accession, and in that year José Saramago, the much-admired Portuguese writer, won the Nobel Prize in literature.

The success of the urban and environment development processes related to the Lisbon Expo launched the Polis Programme in 1999. Of course, specific adaptation of general strategies for different sites and the changing economic environment could not ensure the same resounding success at every location, but about 30 large development projects could be realized with the re-use of this 'model'.

The rehabilitation of the coast of Viana do Castelo, a small northern port town, can be mentioned as an example. In the re-interpretation of the public spaces of this North Portuguese town, lying at the feet of the mountains that rise up to the Galician Spanish border, the prominent figures of the Portuguese architecture of the turn of the millennium were offered an opportunity: architects Fernando Távora, Álvaro Siza and Souto de Moura. The 15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century core of the town had earlier been cut from the estuary of the Lima River by a zone of warehouses and shipping buildings. Now, for the emptied area of the former port that had been moved, Távora has created a basically green belt, into which he has integrated the new buildings demanded by the urban life of the turn of the millennium.

Tourism has been booming already since the 1960s. Several resorts have been established along the coast, mostly near the big cities (Lisbon in the middle and Porto in the north) and along the southern border of the country (Algarve) hosting people seeking recreation and leisure in the hot summer. As a result of urbanization, the population of these settlements has grown today as well: these locations in the vicinity of the cities now have large resident populations.

## **Different approaches in rehabilitations**

Portuguese neighbourhood rehabilitations have been given much architectural publicity in the last two decades. To become acquainted





**Fig. 1:** Lisbon, Terraços de Bragança. Architect: Álvaro Siza. Photo © Tamás Szentirmai.

with the various approaches and the ideas behind them we have to go back in time.

On 25 April 1974, following the non-violent revolution, a political democracy replaced 48 years of dictatorship in Portugal. The start-up of building social housing in harmony with the local needs of self-organized residential communities was a powerful demonstration of spiritual freedom (Portas & Mendes 1992). In the last years of the old regime, in the centre of Porto, Álvaro Siza designed a small social residential building complex Bouça in Porto (1973) which was realized as a part of the SAAL programme after the political changes. In Siza's unique exploration of the urban texture, the historic topology contrasts with the new houses that were built to meet the demands of a new quality of life.

Alvaro Siza does not intend to quote history, not even in an urban context (Wang 1998). Another example of his attitude is present in a district destroyed in Lisbon's major fire in 1988. There he has, at the turn of the

millennium, created contemporary architectural works with reserved elegance and with the characteristics typical of his design process. The Terraços de Bragança block (2004) finds its place in the historic context, not by adopting formal clichés but instead by the coherence of the scale and use of materials.

However, when architects must intrude into a continuously developing architectural environment, they mainly attempt to avoid making their work too visible. In the historic core of Porto one of the elements of the “Ilha” (Islands) block rehabilitations (2001) was formulated by Pedro Mendes in a way that followed the conventional typology of the workers’ housing area from the 19th century (2G 2001). Taking into account the identity of the existing spaces, structures and scale, an extension was constructed in such a way as if it had already been there once before, and had now been re-created on the basis of the consistent analysis of an architect.

In the 1990s, practices and principles of architectural design also in historic environments have been developed further in the renovation programme of the old monasteries. These monuments bear a forceful identity and, thus, the architects take a characteristic stand. One of the most known examples is the extension in Crato (1995) by architect João Luís Carrilho de Graça. In this project, the traditional building materials of stone appear side by side with the white-washed wall carrying more contemporary connotations (Albiero & Simone 2003).

As another example to name, the minimalist architectural attitude of Eduardo Souto de Moura has resulted in unique solutions, always based on preparatory works investigating the given situation (Trigueiros 2000; El Croquis 2005). In his first outstanding work, Santa Maria do Bouro, the monastery church was kept in the use of the village community. Only the connecting building wings were altered with a slight intervention, and completed with accommodation units fitting to the original function. The same foresight can also be discovered in

**> Fig. 2:** Porto, “Ilha” block rehabilitations. Architect: Pedro Mendes. Photo © Zorán Vukoszávlyev.



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another project, the church of Viseu, where the 16<sup>th</sup> century rooms of the former seminary were filled with the collection of the local museum named after the famous Portuguese Renaissance painter Grão Vasco. The robust appearance of the ancient walls completed with new steel doors and windows represent Souto de Moura's idea of the architect's humble respect for history. The simple, clear spaces host and give due credit to the exhibitions of both religious arts and contemporary works.



**Fig.3:** The church and the former seminary of Viseu. Restoration architect: Eduardo Souto de Moura. Photo © Zorán Vukoszávlyev.

## Objects of cultural memory

Portuguese examples also reveal several ways to relate new constructions to existing structures. With an understanding of the periods of the 'location' spanning over historic times, Aires Mateus architects have completed the rehabilitation of an industrial monument in Cascais, a small museum in the vicinity of Lisbon. The forceful landscape and the heterogeneous built environment demanded a moderate extension,



**Fig. 4:** Cascais Museo del Faro de Santa Marta. Architect: Aires Mateus architects.  
Photo © Zorán Vukoszávlyev.



**Fig. 5:** The library of Ílhavo. Architects: ARX Portugal.  
Photo © Zorán Vukoszávlyev.

stressing the characteristic elements (2G 2001). Thus the Mateus brothers unwrapped the history of the small fortress built in several periods from the 17th century, and with extreme austerity they have only done the most important interventions in those parts that could be reconstructed. (Seixas Lopes 2005; 2G 2003.) At the same time, they generously continued the history of those architectural elements which – through multiple transformations – carried the imprints of relevant reconstructions of later periods, clarified through abstraction. The emblematic element of the building complex, the renovated

lighthouse, is functioning even today. The buildings of the military encampment house the exhibitions; the pure blocks were uniformly covered with white tiles. Moving away from the archaic figure of the tower, these joined buildings seem to be completely abstracted. The other supplementary building parts are designed in the visual language of a fortress wall.

The library of Ílhavo was constructed with the use of the ruins located at the boundary of the small town in Northern Portugal. The suburban palace originating from the 17th century had only one wall standing along the street; beside it remained only the ruinous mass of the joint little chapel. The architects aimed to create coherence with the surrounding environment by all means, using the basic elements that had been documented. Through the restoration of the old elements they brought back the thread of continuity in the history of the place. After the renovation, the chapel is now functioning again. The office rooms of the library are placed behind the balanced rhythm of openings in the new facade of the palace. The library and the Youth Centre, both completely new buildings, aim to become the border walls of a planned provincial square, thus giving identity to this area on the outskirts of the town. The generous gate of the library magnetizes the reduced form of the chapel and provides a dynamic transition to the public spaces, rising like towers. The formation of the building is strongly influenced by the architects' intention to introduce a new element in the environment, improving the peripheral context of the town, but, at the same time, fulfilling the spatial demands of the users with consistency. They achieve all this by revitalizing an old story on the ruins of a historic building, thereby re-positioning to the place a building that belongs to the identity of the small town.

It must be emphasized that in this large a scale of re-construction, the role of carrying spiritual values should be regarded important. And obviously, the acceptance of a project is, to a certain extent at least, determined by the recognition whether the public is able to find in the reconstruction such elements that they can identify with their memories.

## Design in the urban scale

In the context of the block rehabilitations affecting large areas, the social relations between inhabitants have an influence on the success of the renewal of urban public spaces.

As an outstanding early example of a positive local effect of design in an urban context, the main square of Aveiro can be mentioned. The city hall, constructed as a closing wall of Praça da República, has created a new situation. The longitudinal space arrangement is steadily closed by the building composed with features of traditional Portuguese architecture, translated into international modern architecture. Classic façade articulation elements appear, and the proportions refer to historic compositions. Nevertheless, the overall image with the enormous vertically stretched windows makes the work of architect Fernando Távora a modernist building of the period (Esposito 2005). At the same time, the architectural quotations can be identified as elements of urban space, thus creating a building that can be accepted by the residents.



**Fig. 6:** The city hall of Aveiro. Architect: Fernando Távora.  
Photo © Zorán Vukoszávlyev.





**Fig. 7:** Castelo Branco square reconstruction. Photo © Zorán Vukoszávlyev.

The large-scale reconstruction of the former marketplace of Castelo Branco, a town in Eastern Portugal, has been waiting for restructuring due to the changes in this form of commerce. The new city library under construction, the public collections placed in the nearby palaces under monument protection, and the lack of an urban square for activities motivated its complete rehabilitation. The green surfaces of the sloped town park were designed for recreation. The large underground parking lot helps ease the traffic system of the town centre. The continuous sections of the diversely used paved surfaces create the scene for urban activities. Good connections between the neighbouring streets, the nearby bus station and the public buildings of the city considerably improve the small town's quality of life.

## Conservation of location

The analysis of the residents' cognitional connection to the location could be a subject of rather specific research. We started the story from the developments following the example of the successful Lisbon Expo, presented methods of continuation of urban texture and unique building



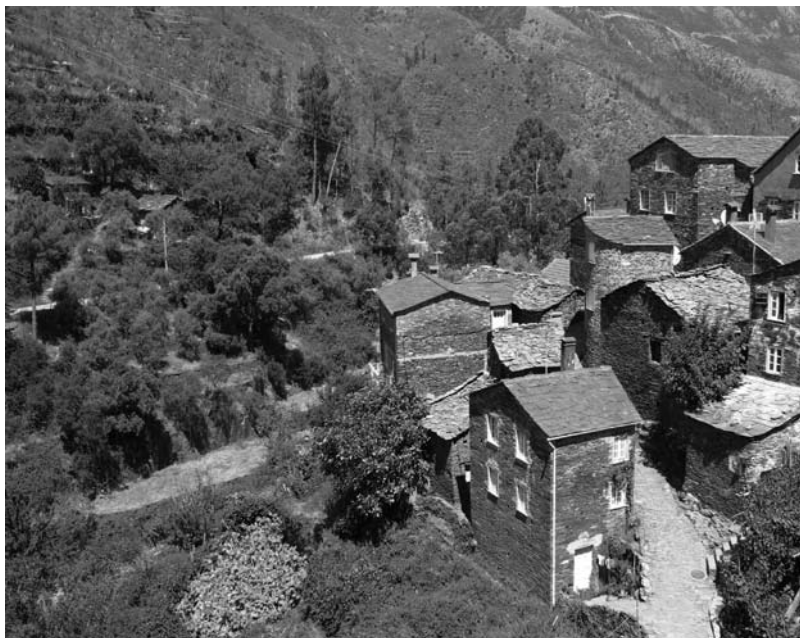
**Fig. 8:** The museum of the resettled village of Luz. Architects: Pedro Pacheco and Marie Clément. In the background, the relocated church. Photo © Zorán Vukoszávlyev.

alterations, and finally showed examples of approaches to conserving memories with socially acceptable strategies. We would like to finish our case study presentation with stories of two small settlements. Both of the last examples are special, but represent almost opposite extremes.

Along the eastern frontier of Portugal, in places in the mountains that are hard to access even today, time has (fortunately) stopped. Here we can grab the last opportunity to protect classic lifestyles and the related architectural monuments with minimal interventions. With this curving train of thought, we would like to refer again to the vernacular architectural research since the 1950s that has determined the cultural mentality of generations of architects. With these roots, contemporary Portuguese architecture, carrying special values, has become unique.

First we would like to present an extreme case, the small village of Luz in Eastern Portugal, located at the same altitude as Lisbon. With the construction of the Alqueva valley dam along the Spanish frontier at the turn of the millennium, the farmer houses of the village of Luz (meaning *light*) were submerged under water. Following the decision of the inhabitants the village was resettled some one hundred metres higher. In the new village, mental and social relations and encouraging a relationship to the location have been supported by architectural means. The houses of the resettled village follow the typical pattern of the region, and the created public spaces are enriched with public institutions. Prior to the relocation of the old village, the life of the resident population had been followed for years, and film and photo documentation had been prepared. In the new location, a local museum was established, based on the material records. In the new location in general, architects Pedro Pacheco and Marie Clément intended to reconstruct important characteristics of the old village: the presence of the material objects of the old village within the strong visual features of the surrounding natural landscape (Pacheco & Clément 2003). The small church of the original village was disassembled, then transported to its new location and rebuilt. Today it stands at the end of the road that leads to the reservoir (and the former village). It is located with its white walls vis-à-vis the new, expanded cemetery. The two plaza elements are connected with a stone-covered plateau, which forms a terrace emerging from the terrain slope. The road running out of the village is continued between the two public buildings, forming a ramp leading to the bank of the reservoir – the museum of local history is hidden under the terraces. The exhibition of the museum presents preserved material records and the documentation of the process of the relocation. The consistency of the intention is defined in the white-walled “Luz” hall: it shows us, simultaneously, the openness of future identity and the opportunity for the continuity of history in the relocation of Aldeia da Luz.

As the village of Luz is a very special case in the context of cultural values protection, our last example presents another extreme. Piodão in Middle Portugal is one of the hidden small villages in an area where infrastructural conditions are not so advanced. Here, existing environments have thus far been well preserved, postponing for decades



**Fig. 9:** Piodão. Photo © Zorán Vukoszávlyev.

falling into the trap of glitter for the sake of tourism that overwrites everything else. So far, the chances for survival of the stone houses of Piodão are still promising, thanks to the one-hour long twisting and turning drive. Not even the complete re-asphalting of the road means any danger, as thus far only some desperate (architectural) tourists make the journey.

## Concluding thoughts

The examples presented of Portuguese architecture at the turn of the millennium have illustrated the chance for the revival of cultural heritage in several respects. The maintenance of the building complexes which are organic parts of the human historical memory can be realised in many ways; but the most important aim always has to be the continuity in the life of the object, since its cultural value can be left to the following generation only in this way.

The case-studies have analysed the unique features of Portuguese architecture developed within the regional value system of modernism. In our approach, the presentation of tendencies was replaced by an analysis of specific situations; which – beside the presentation of the creative activity of some architects – showed a cross-section of the exemplary characteristics of contemporary Portuguese architecture, providing visualization and experience of our modern times, embedded into the memories of the location. By looking at buildings that are part of the everyday culture at the turn of the millenium, we can get closer to an understanding of a regional European cultural sphere – such as, in this case, the specific historic features of Portugal, visualised in unique master works.

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*Zorán Vukoszávlyev, architect and PhD, is an assistant professor at Budapest University of Technology and Economics (BUTE), Hungary. He is a lecturer in the following themes: architecture after postmodernism, contemporary architecture and sacral architecture. He is also a critic and journalist. Vukoszávlyev is the author of the book 'Contemporary Dutch Architecture' (Budapest: Terc Publisher, 2005), a co-editor of the book 'New Lutheran Churches' (Budapest: Luther Publisher, 2008) and a researcher on contemporary Portuguese architecture.*





# **Built heritage, local communities and the production of territory.**

## **Citizen participation in heritage preservation and improvement**

**Iacopo Zetti**

### **Introduction**

When we use the expression ‘built heritage’ what meaning precisely do we have in mind? Do we consider the buildings included in an official list of architectural masterpieces or everything having an essential value for a local community, everything that is part of a local identity and sense of belonging?

In the experience of European citizens built heritage is something that is part of everyday life. In Italy the entire territory has been shaped by human action for at least two thousand years and the material traces of this long-lasting work are everywhere. This means that, while working in the field of territorial planning, planners have extraordinary raw material to work with, but at the same time opportunities, challenges and risks.

This article gives some suggestions for dealing with this kind of settings. It is asserted that citizen participation in planning practices is essential in defining what should be considered heritage, in transforming built

heritage into an asset for local self-sustainable development and a hub of local identity, as well as in preserving and enhancing built heritage. The topic will be discussed through an analysis of the local situation in Tuscany regarding citizen participation in planning processes. Three different case studies will be considered, showing three situations where citizen participation represented an important part of built heritage (BH) management.

## Why participation?

Why should citizen participation be an inevitable element in urban and territorial planning? This topic is the centre of a large number of books, dissertations and debates and as a discussion exceeds the limits of this text. The central question here is simply: what kind of relationship between citizen participation and valorisation of BH can we identify when our goal is to preserve and enhance BH through a planning process?

The word heritage means ‘features belonging to the culture of a particular society, such as traditions, languages or buildings, which still exist from the past and which have a historical importance’, (Cambridge Dictionary on-line). If we consider the buildings or, in a wider sense, everything that shapes a territory and has been produced by human work, the surveying and study of BH seems to be a typical domain of technical knowledge. However, if we consider BH a fundamental element for planning, in this domain a single historic building or object does not have a significant meaning *per se*, but only insofar as it is part of a territorial pattern linking a local society to a specific territory. This means that we can talk about BH when the objects we are considering are still part of ‘the culture of a particular society’ and we can consider this heritage a hub for planning when we are able to reinvent a new meaning for objects that have otherwise lost their functional linkage with everyday life, their Vitruvian *utilitas*.

This is the first reason why we need inhabitants to participate in planning processes. Indeed, we have to ask ourselves if an external observer can

wholly grasp this linkage between objects, territorial pattern and local society. Furthermore, it is essential to consider local, empathetic place experience in addition to the technical knowledge.

Planning is frequently presented as an essentially technical question, where technicians have the duty and ability to define what is relevant, but, as a famous aphorism says, the idea that ‘there is no democratic [...] way to pave a road belies the more basic question of whose street will be paved’ (Kweit & Kweit 1981, cited in Day 1997). In our case we can say that if there is no democratic way of studying and documenting BH, on the other hand, there is no simple, technical way of writing the list of BH. In addition, when dealing with territorial planning we have to remember that we are working in the field of relevant and not absolute expertise (Nadel & Rourke 1975), where a monopoly of information is inconceivable, and where we are dealing with probabilities and not absolute truth.

This leads us to a new problem that emerges the moment we connect BH and land use planning. A historical object (building, monument, infrastructure, etc.) is a value *per se*, but if we want to understand the role it can play in the setting of a strategy for future use and enhancement of the territory, it is not only a problem of preserving a value (which is the minimum task we can take up), but a challenge to transform values into resources. The difference between a value and a resource is simple. The first is something that can simply be preserved because we recognise its importance for future generations; the second is something that is part of a strategic project, part of a planning strategy. So something becomes a resource when we decide to give it a ‘use value’<sup>1</sup>. Who decides what must be considered a value and what a resource, and how resources must be used in the framework of planning? For a long time theorists have known this is not a simple problem of technique but a complex problem of democracy. The space of planning is a contested space (Sassen 1998).

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<sup>1</sup> Here I use the same distinction between use and exchange value as Raffestin, but in a slightly different way (Raffestin 2005).

A brief note about identity should still be added. The territorial patterns that have linked a local society with its own territory are what Bachelard called trembling values (Bachelard 1964) i.e. values that must be given a new meaning everyday to maintain their role in the social, economic and cultural self-promotion of local societies. All this is done through the practice of everyday life (de Certeau 1984) and through participation in BH enhancement, planning and maintenance.

## The context of Tuscany

The previous paragraph tried to clarify why citizen participation and BH valorisation are closely connected, but now we need to explain why Tuscany can provide a significant example and case study regarding this subject.

Land use planning in Italy is largely dependent on regional laws. Every region has a system that must fit into a national framework, but with significant differences. In Tuscany the territorial management act of 2005 established that planning had to be organised according to the levels of public administration. As a result, we have three different instruments: regional, provincial and municipal plans. This happens more or less everywhere in Italy, but is a peculiarity of Tuscany that the three levels are considered not as a hierarchical sequence, but as three moments of co-planning. What is important to notice here, is that provinces substantially have no power to control the decisions taken by municipalities and the same for the region. At the same time the real centre of any master plan is the so-called '*statuto del territorio*' (which can be translated as the 'charter of the territory'). A charter in this sense is a sort of constitutional pact between the inhabitants regarding their territory. Its aim is to decide if and what part of BH is relevant in the construction of local self-sustainable development, and to deal with 'the fundamental conceptual distinction [...] between heritage (long-term value) and resource (a temporally and typologically specific form of the use value)' (Magnaghi 2005, 89). Moreover, the master plan is the document that sets the limits of growth and the strategy for the future territorial setting.

In short, this explains why BH, or what many people call territorial heritage, is one of the most relevant elements in our planning system and why the entire system must guarantee heritage preservation and enhancement (see Zetti 2008). To do this, the regional planning law establishes that coordination between the three levels of planning and control at the local level is more important than hierarchical control. Local communities must be the protagonists in this control activity.

Considering participation a central element of the system, in 2007 the regional assembly started to work on a new law: 'rules on the promotion of participation in the formulation of regional and local policies'<sup>2</sup>. This act does not strictly concern planning processes, but more generally the entire domain of public administration. The need for its elaboration probably came about following a tradition of local groups becoming directly involved in decision making and claiming for empowerment, especially in the field of town planning (Paba et al. 2009). The law states that 'participation in the formulation and making of regional and local policies is a right [...] this law promotes forms and instruments of democratic participation to render this right effective' (art. 1). The underlying idea is that traditional representative democracy suffers from a lack of communication and is experiencing a critical legitimisation crisis. It is thus every day becoming less representative of people's needs and purposes, and more self-referential.

Practically, the law intends to promote new forms of participation within a clear time scale and inside a well-defined frame of relationships between the players involved in participatory processes. Technically, the participatory processes can be organised in the form of a public debate, which has to reach an agreement on specific problems; or in a more open process aimed at involving the maximum possible number of people in critical local decisions.

In the context of this text the law is extremely relevant because if we take a look at the projects and processes that are now under development

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2 Available online <http://www.consiglio.regione.toscana.it/partecipazione/normativa.aspx> [Accessed on 4.5.2010].

(some two years after the law enactment), we can see that 80% of all the experiences are directly connected with the design of new master plans at municipal level or with urban and territorial planning processes, and that the centre of many experiences is precisely BH preservation and valorisation<sup>3</sup>. This means that the connection between BH, planning and citizen participation is not only a theoretical idea, but is part of administrative practices and part of bottom-up planning. It is too early to judge the concrete effect the law will have on BH preservation and enhancement, but we can start to analyse how participation is put into practice.

The task of the next paragraph is to relate three cases where a participatory project, each connected with a planning process in different ways, was the central element of BH management. The idea that will be highlighted is that the way participation is organised, the way the problem is set out and the people are involved, matters a lot. The dynamics and limits of participation have a direct influence on the results and the impact that planning has on BH.

## **Multinational companies, municipal master plans and parish maps: three cases of BH management and citizen participation**

### **Public debate in Castelfalfi**

Castelfalfi is the name of a small medieval village and of an old, partially disused, farm. It lies inside the municipality of Montaione in the middle of the classic hilly landscape of central Tuscany. Castelfalfi was the stage of the first public debate regarding the future use and transformation of a BH site. The debate took place before the approval of the law described in the previous paragraph, but it is very relevant

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3 The regional government also funded participatory processes using a special fund managed by the 'Authority for Participation' through an open call that comes up three times per year. A list of funded projects can be found at <http://www.consiglio.regione.toscana.it/partecipazione/progetti.aspx> [Accessed on 21.4.2009].

because it is frequently quoted as one of the best examples of the spirit and practice of citizen participation in planning processes<sup>4</sup> (Floridia 2008).

In 2006 the municipality approved a new master plan. For Castelfalfi the plan set a future of tourist activities integrated with agricultural production, in the frame of conservation of the landscape and regeneration of the historical buildings. At that time agricultural production was, and still is, not really relevant, and in the village there was a restaurant and a hotel in an old tobacco factory. Considering the special value of the area, of many buildings and of the landscape, the master plan states that any reuse and transformation of Castelfalfi must follow a unitary design scheme. The owners must propose such a scheme to the municipality, for evaluation and approval.

In 2007 the multinational company TUI<sup>5</sup> bought the village and the farm, including all the buildings, and presented a feasibility plan to the municipality. The plan proposed a large investment in order to transform the entire complex into a high-standard tourist resort. The local administration took the plan into consideration, but due to the fact the proposal implied modifying the master plan and required an official approval, they decided to organise a public debate. They also made it a precondition for TUI to take part in the debate and fund the participatory process.

The regional law on planning says that in any planning process the administration (regional, provincial or municipal) has to appoint a so-called ‘guarantor for communication’ (*garante della comunicazione*), a person who is responsible for facilitating the access of individual citizens to the decision-making process. To coordinate the public debate in Castelfalfi the local administration decided to ask to take as the guarantor (and so to structure and lead the participatory process) the same person who is the guarantor at regional level, hence underlining the attention reserved to the case.

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4 This was the assertion made by the president of the regional government during one meeting in Montaione.

5 Website <http://www.tui-group.com/en>.

TUI's proposal implied a large investment and a large amount of new buildings. The old village would be considerably enlarged, some isolated farmhouses would become the centre of a small tourist settlement, the existing golf course would be doubled in size and new shops and facilities (including a spa) would be created. The farm itself would remain – not for the sake of production but rather to maintain the landscape, which is one of the main attractions for tourists. All this naturally implied a great change in local life, as well as major environmental impacts, and, most importantly in our context, a precise model for reusing the BH. This model included the idea that landscape is no longer the product of a local lifestyle, but an artefact to be used as engine for a tourism enterprise.

The public debate started with the preparation of a series of documents edited by the guarantor with the aim to give participants an understanding of the situation, the land use planning frame and the TUI proposal. All material was available on a website and parts of it were printed and distributed<sup>6</sup>. A guided tour was organised, a public forum opened on the web and it was possible to send to the guarantor any sort of written contributions. At the end of 2007 the proposal was presented by TUI and discussed by the local population in five public meetings.

At the end of the debate the guarantor wrote a general report (Morisi 2007) that summarised the process, reaching the conclusion that 'we have to do it as far as it is possible'. Therefore, the decision made was positive, but there were also a series of suggestions to improve the project and transform it according to a more sustainable attitude.

After this the local administration officially asked TUI to make some changes to the plan, and to re-present their proposal respecting the improvements and limits the inhabitants had suggested. The company prepared a second version of the project and, as expected, this was approved and the master plan modified.

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6 The web site is still working and the entire set of documents, including the documents regarding the results of the public debate, are still available at <http://www.dp-castelfalci.it> [Accessed on 12.7.2010].



This is a brief summary of the story, but what can we learn regarding our subject?

The public debate was strongly criticised in a controversy that expanded to the national level and some criticism is now coming up as to how the master plan was modified (according to the critics, the plan did not really take the results of the public debates into consideration)<sup>7</sup>. So it is a controversial case, but by calmly taking a look at BH valorisation we can notice that:

- the public debate was a sort of single choice answer process;
- the problem was how to re-use BH, but the main subject proposing the capitalisation strategy was an external entity, with no connection with the local community;
- the debate was certainly open to any kind of contribution and opinion;
- the coordinator of the debate was sometimes accused of not acting as an impartial referee, but upon reading all the documentation and also judging in accordance with some personal conversations, his role was really carried out in a neutral manner;
- TUI was asked to give detailed information about the project and they really had to give all the requested information;
- but was the set of possible choices really open?

If we analyse the case by looking at the participatory process, we can probably discover some problems, such as the fact that TUI presented the idea in a way that a big company is capable of (perfectly prepared slides, a studied communication strategy, drawings and rendering, etc.), while the opponents had to defend their ideas with more simple communication strategies. In addition, the entire debate was related to a master plan that is not a simple object for non-experts to handle.

We are here talking about an asymmetry of information inside an instrument that inevitably implies unbalanced power relationships

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<sup>7</sup> It is possible to read the entire debate at <http://eddyburg.it/article/archive/294/> [Accessed on 12.7.2010].

(Söderström 2000). If you use a single-choice question that implies a yes-or-no answer in this kind of communicative context, you can expect that a participatory process can, at most, break that rigid scheme with a third way, corresponding to the answer *yes but...* This is what normally happens and what indeed happened in Castelfalfi. The result is then, in a way, obvious and the space left for local creativity regarding the future of territorial heritage was limited to detecting problems and suggesting limits. Strategies for BH use are external and, to a large extent, directed top-down. The process is more communicative and advisory than participative.

### **Community mapping and the new master plan of Montespertoli**

The geographical setting of the municipality of Montespertoli is not very different from Montaione's. In this case we are closer to Florence, in the Chianti region.

At the end of 2007 the municipal assembly decided to start the preparation of a new master plan. As guarantor of communication they appointed the same person who acted as the guarantor at the regional level (i.e. the same guarantor as Castelfalfi had). The administration asked him to organise a series of meetings to discuss the contents of the plan. As in the previous case, the guarantor prepared a guide for participation and a series of written materials to inform inhabitants, as well as a website and a web-based forum.<sup>8</sup>

In terms of methods, techniques and instruments, the experience is not very different from the one in Castelfalfi. However, the central question of the process is quite distinct because here it was not about a yes-or-no choice of a proposal, but an open question regarding the strategy for the use and valorisation of the territory. In this frame it is very interesting that while the plan was in progress, some local associations, together with a group of researchers from the Florence University Department

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<sup>8</sup> Everything is accessible at <http://www.dp-montespertoli.it/> [Accessed on 27.4.2009].

of Urban and Territorial Planning asked the administration to organise and lead a series of workshops in all the villages of the municipality. The workshops' goal was to involve local inhabitants in mapping BH, investigating the elements of local identity and the connection between people and their *homeland*. After this phase several proposals were elaborated regarding BH preservation and valorisation. The workshops were coordinated by researchers and served as a real workplace for sharing knowledge and establishing a real hands-on relationship with the territory, giving inhabitants, coordinators and the guarantor the opportunity to build a positive sum game<sup>9</sup>.

At the end of the workshops a report was written and so inhabitants' proposals became a part of the master plan survey<sup>10</sup>. The report is composed of a series of maps, drawn with and by local communities; written 'charters of the territory', one for each single village, containing rules and recommendations for future projects; specific proposals to be inserted in the master plan such as parks, new pedestrian and cycle paths, upgrading of public spaces, etc.

In some interviews that I carried out, the involved researcher highlighted also some of the problems they had to face when leading this activity. In short:

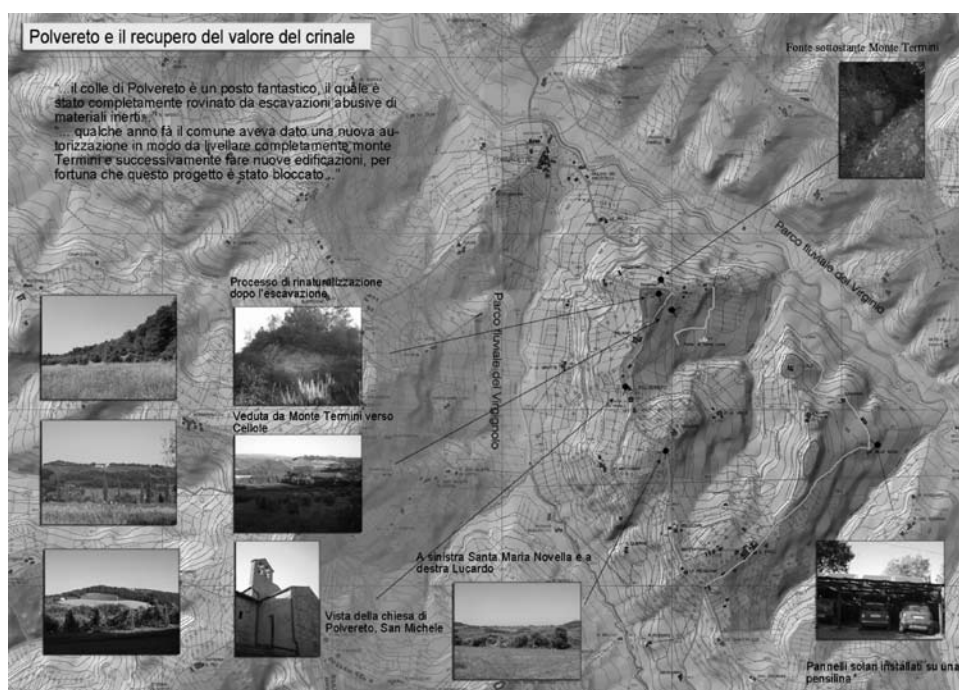
- The process started in a very unusual way, with a proposal that came from the university when the master plan was already in progress and so it was outside the foreseen workflow. This also meant the relationship between the workshop leaders, the guarantor team and the technicians working inside the municipality was not clear<sup>11</sup>.

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9 Regarding zero or positive sum games and game theory in general, see M  ro 1998.

10 The workshops were led by Adalgisa Rubino and Anna Giani; the group was coordinated by Alberto Magnaghi. The report they wrote is available at <http://www.dp-montespertoli.it/informarsi/doc-partecipazione-dett.asp?id=14> and the general report of the guarantor here: [http://www.dp-montespertoli.it/public/Rapporto\\_finale.pdf](http://www.dp-montespertoli.it/public/Rapporto_finale.pdf) [Accessed on 28.4.2009].

11 From the interview we can understand that the relationship with the guarantor was easier than the one with the technical staff and this is in a way normal because he is the person in charge of guaranteeing participation, while on the contrary technicians frequently consider citizen participation as a sort of intrusion in a technical domain.



**Fig. 1:** An extract from the Montespertoli master plan. Source: Municipality of Montespertoli.



**Fig. 2:** An example of the maps resulting from the participatory process. Source: Municipality of Montespertoli.

- Time was really too short to go into detail considering the complexity of the territory, the need to overcome the problem of working with technical instruments (for example cartography) and with people generally without technical skills.
- The resistance of some local politicians and a certain explosion of polemic disputes when some of the options emerging in the workshops did not coincide with their wishes<sup>12</sup>.

At the same time they noticed that the workshops achieved a very intense involvement by participants in a very positive and constructive atmosphere, even though at the very beginning many people were discouraged, doubting whether they would actually achieve any results or be able to interact with the real decision-making process.

Unfortunately the end of the story is still to be written. Although the phase of citizen participation is over, the master plan is still not ready due to a legal investigation. The investigation is not connected with the participation process, but has put a stop to the approval of the plan.

What is important in any case is that in Montespertoli the participatory process was part of the building of a shared vision regarding the linkage between community and territory. Even though the time to carry out the work was too short, the results were good and, according to the leading figure, they would have been even better with better coordination between the different actors. The people that get involved in this kind of activity need time to gain familiarity with the vocabulary, limits and opportunities of a formal planning procedure. The participatory process here encountered two sets of forcing conditions: the need to fit within the framework of an official administrative act respecting precise rules and limits; the need to meet the criteria of a good participatory planning process, i.e. the ability to break down boundaries and open design activities to a wide set of possible options, as a rule wider than usual. However, this experience inserted better knowledge of local BH

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12 A very heated controversy, with personal attacks on some researchers, was posted on the web forum at <http://www.dp-montespertoli.it/forum/index.asp> [Accessed on 28.4.2009].

in the plan survey, gave inhabitants the opportunity to strengthen their relationship with BH, and guaranteed local community control over BH preservation for the future.

### **Parish maps in Casentino**

Casentino lies in the province of Arezzo, in the eastern corner of Tuscany. Unlike the two previous cases, we are now in a mountainous area of the central Apennines, far from Florence, and also far, in terms of time, from the main provincial town of Arezzo. This territory has historically been characterised by farming and a forest economy, neither of which are important any longer. Here history has left some medium-sized settlements, castles and some well-known abbeys, but also a long series of small villages and forestry related buildings that are not used anymore but remain important for local identity.

In this context, a network of eco-museums was established in the nineties. This kind of museum is not a traditional one displaying masterpieces for tourists, but the main aim of an eco-museum is to provide a meeting place for the local community and an opportunity to form a new identity for itself and its habitat. "The eco-museum, conceived as a mirror of the past and a construction site of the future, is a dynamic process..."<sup>13</sup>. Considering this in Casentino, and in connection with other eco-museum networks, they started to develop a project about mapping local BH. The general idea was to draw a very detailed map of a certain *milieu* thorough a series of workshops. It was similar to what happened in Montespertoli, but as the process did not directly serve a planning process, there were no limits on its organisation. English parish maps were taken as the model, but the way of working was transformed according to local ideas and proposals.

A first experiment was carried out in the village of Raggiolo<sup>14</sup> (Clifford & Maggi & Murtas 2006) and a second one is now underway, funded by the

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13 Quotation from the Casentino eco-museum web site (translated by the author): <http://www.casentino.toscana.it/ecomuseo/menu/infoeservizi.htm> [Accessed on 28.4.2009].

14 The entire experience is visible at <http://www.casentino.toscana.it/ecomuseo/mapparaggiolo.htm> [Accessed on 12.7.2010].

Tuscan regional government. The maps in this case are the centre of a long-lasting participatory project aimed at collecting and handing down local culture, identifying BH and designing new modalities of enhancement and maintenance. Compared to the classic experience of English parish maps, this one is in some ways connected with planning ideas because it is the hub of a possible future relationship between the traces of local history and a renewed community. In a public presentation, the project coordinator<sup>15</sup> said that in the best examples the final result is not only a beautiful drawing but something he described as ‘a charter of the valley’ (lecture at Florence University, March 2009), an expression that sounds very similar to the charter of the territory that is part of the official planning system.

From the practical point of view, the techniques employed are simple: a structured discussion, a collective survey of the territory using documents and direct inspections, and the collection of local tales and memories. The final map is drawn together with the entire group of participants and any elements included are discussed and approved by the group. The time needed to complete the work is relaxed, normally two years, because although the result is important, but the process is even more so.

The experience had its intrinsic limits such as a lack of resources and limited means to reach a wide public, but also its strength in form of involved people and the identification of local BH down to the smallest details as well as the design of a complex project for BH reuse. It had also an important extrinsic limit: the relationship between this work and official planning was not guaranteed because the workshop came from the outside of the official planning system. In principle the maps and the work that the eco-museum organised could be ignored by the official planners, but, from the point of view of the process, participation was not restricted to a pre-constituted framework and the participants were really free to (re)build a deep relationship between the community and the places.

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15 The project was proposed and is coordinated by Andrea Rossi, architect.

<b>Arnstein ladder:</b>	Presented areas	Participatory process objectives and characteristics	BH valorisation strategies
Citizen control			
Delegated power	Case 3 Casentino	Inhabitants have the possibility to preserve and develop deep local knowledge and to confront it with expert knowledge. They can define their idea of heritage, the relationship between the local community and the built environment that concerns local identity and the charter for future local development. The process is open, inclusive and comprehensive of citizen empowerment.	Shared definition of values and resources as assets for local development. Definition of rules regarding the use and enhancement of BH. Active protection and production of new heritage.
Partnership	Case 2 Montespertoli	The inhabitants have the possibility to insert deep local knowledge in the planning process and to open the process to a wider set of proposals and decisions. The boundaries of the process are fixed, as is the timing and the way results have to be expressed. It is a positive sum game.	The definition of what constitutes BH is the subject of the relationship between expert and local experiential knowledge. Moreover, participation plays a role in defining rules, options and potentialities for the reuse of BH and rules for BH protection.
Placation			
Consultation	Case 1 Castelfalfi	Single-choice answer process, with the insertion of some improvements in the design-making process.  In short, we can say the possible answers in this kind of process are: yes, no, yes but. It resembles a zero sum game.	Economic exploitation of BH and landscape values. The main actor in this strategy is an external agent; control of the process is external. The process is normally able to guarantee some degree of respect for local identity and concerns about environmental sustainability.
Informing			
Therapy			
Manipulation			

**Table 1:** Three cases of participation on the Arnstein ladder



## Looking through the three cases of BH enhancement

The three stories show us three different contexts where planning has to take into deep consideration how to evaluate the role of BH in designing the future habitat for a local community. Citizen participation is the central element of all three cases, but with some important differences. In the first case, a multinational company wished to exploit the buildings they had bought and the landscape around them. Citizens were called upon to decide if they agreed or not and if they considered it important to ask for some modifications of the project. In the second case, citizens were directly involved in a planning process and were requested to make their knowledge available and to propose ideas, but within a set time schedule and along certain guidelines. In the third case, the work was done outside the official planning process and there was a greater freedom to set the timetable and the overall scheme to suit the citizen participation. The goal was to build an idea of the future of the territory starting from the detection of BH and a survey on what this heritage meant for the local community. If official planning wants to be reasonable, open to local knowledge and oriented towards improving well-being, it cannot ignore this experience of social mapping.

What can we learn from the three cases? The idea I propose here is that these three good practices can be put in a sequence, on a sort of ladder recalling the renowned ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein 1969), according to the following scheme (Table 1).

By forcing the comparison with Arnstein we can say that the three steps correspond to: 1 (Castelfalfi) the medium level of the Arnstein scale: informing and consulting; 2 (Montespertoli) the following step that implies the building of a form of partnership; 3 (Casentino, with some optimism) the next-to-last step, which implies some form of power delegation. If we analyse the sequence from the heritage side the scale could be rephrased as follows: 1 exploitation; 2 protection and valorisation; 3 active protection, valorisation and creation of a new BH.

On the rephrased scale only the step number one remains critical and cannot be considered a good way of taking care of BH to create new value. At most it is a good example of exploitation with concerns for sustainability. What thus tells apart the step one from steps two and three is precisely the creation or consumption of BH.

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*Iacopo Zetti is a researcher at the Regional Institute for Economic Planning of Tuscany (IRPET) and collaborates closely with the Florence University, Department of Urban and Territorial Planning.  
Email: iacopo.zetti@irpet.it*



# **Cultural Heritage as a Resource in Place Marketing**

**Krister Olsson**

## **Introduction**

This paper examines the use of cultural heritage in urban and regional planning from a theoretical perspective of place marketing. At first, place marketing and its relation to urban and regional planning is discussed from a theoretical perspective, drawing mainly on general marketing theory and place marketing literature. Thereafter, the concept of cultural heritage is examined, partly in relation to its possible function as a resource in urban and regional development. From the theoretical perspective of place marketing, subsequent sections include a tentative analysis of contemporary views on cultural heritage in urban and regional planning. Empirical findings include studies of policy documents and comprehensive planning documents on local and regional level in the western part of the Mälardalen region in Sweden. The paper ends with some concluding remarks.

## **Background**

The shift from an industrial society to a knowledge-based society has, in many respects, changed the view on cultural heritage, and its role in society. Economic and cultural globalisation and its local implications

challenge contemporary heritage management and traditional ways of working with heritage issues. In particular, societal development challenges a view that cultural heritage management is an expert activity, which is based on “objective, universal and measurable sets of intrinsic criteria” (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996, 9), and mainly concerns designation and conservation of specific objects and well defined areas with recognised historical values.

A common notion about this “authorized heritage” (Smith 2006, 4) is that it serves a useful purpose as a cultural resource, and, thus, contributes to the identity and well-being of individuals and local communities (see e.g. RAÄ 2004, 11). However, this assumed causality between designated cultural heritage and social values can be questioned with reference to a common gap between expert values and knowledge, and peoples’ everyday perspective on local and regional environments. In particular, current development signifies a situation where traditions of collective action, based on a system of representatives, are replaced by individualistic attitudes and claims, and, hence, today it is uncertain what constitutes local and regional public interests (Khakee 2006).

Furthermore, designated cultural heritage is increasingly considered as an economic resource in urban and regional development planning, e.g. for the development of the tourism industry. Thus, investments in cultural heritage are often expected to contribute to future economic development, not least in declining cities and regions, which have experienced a harsh economic, social and spatial structural change. This increased interest can be regarded as a response to changing prerequisites for urban and regional development during the last few decades, including de-industrialisation, a diminishing public sector, increased mobility, and, above all, tough territorial competition (Hall 1993; Oatley 1998).

In public management, place marketing has emerged as a key concept associated with planning for urban and regional development, attractiveness and competitiveness. However, place marketing is in many ways an unclear concept, interpreted in different ways in both practice and theory (see e.g. Borchert 1994). In practice it is often

understood as a supply-oriented and an outward looking promotional activity, foremost aiming at attracting external markets, i.e. visitors, new inhabitants and enterprises. From a perspective of general marketing theory, however, place marketing could instead be understood as a demand-oriented activity, aiming at satisfying the needs and demands of both external markets, and internal markets, e.g. those that already live or work in a specific place.

In an ongoing research, at the division of Urban and Regional Studies at the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm, place marketing is examined from a planning and management perspective. This means that it is not analysed only as a promotional and branding activity, but also as a planning practice and a theory. The aim of the research is to contribute to a rethinking of place marketing in urban and regional planning (see e.g. Olsson & Berglund 2009 and Berglund & Olsson forthcoming). Based on this work it is argued that a place marketing perspective in heritage management discloses a need for a new understanding of how to recognise cultural heritage aspects in urban and regional environments, i.e. regarding the relation between an expert perspective and a lay person perspective. Consequently, it also implies a need to develop new ways of working in heritage management practice, in order to fully utilise cultural heritage as a resource in urban and regional development planning.

## **Place marketing and planning – a theoretical perspective**

Since the 1980s, place marketing has emerged as a key feature within urban and regional policy and development planning (Millington et al. 1997). In practice, place marketing is often equated with place branding and promotional activities, including e.g. the creation of landmarks and the staging of events. Often it is urban and regional administrators that, more or less, define the place products, i.e. which local and regional qualities that are attractive and worth developing and can be used for communicating a positive image and brand (see Kavaratzis 2007). Their

action is based on a notion that they have the capacity to identify and promote distinctive qualities of place, and that they, in doing this, will be successful in attracting new inhabitants, visitors and investments.

With reference to marketing theory it can be argued that this kind of practice is oriented towards selling, rather than marketing, and, hence, practice is mainly occupied with promotional activities. According to Kotler et al. the selling concept encompasses “[t]he idea that consumers will not buy enough of the organisation’s products unless the organisation undertakes a large-scale selling and promotion effort” (Kotler et al. 2008, 16). In short, much of contemporary place marketing practice can be described as supply-oriented, with the prime aim to sell place products to various markets.

The expanding place marketing practice has also resulted in an academic interest, and the literature has increased significantly since the late 1980s (see e.g. Kavaratzis 2007, Millington et al. 1997). However, the literature is based on many different epistemological perspectives, and, thus, there are very different views on what place marketing is and what it means to a place and its development. This diverse body of literature includes research trying to map and measure specific efforts performed in practice, e.g. promotional activities (see e.g. Nedomysl 2006), as well as critical analyses of the practice, e.g. focusing issues of social equity (see e.g. Eisinger 2000), and, furthermore, studies directed towards describing the “best practice” of how to make places attractive in the global knowledge economy (see e.g. Kotler et al. 1999).

In particular, however, there is a limited body of place marketing literature that directly deals with the essence of the marketing concept (see especially Ashworth & Voogd 1990). According to Kotler et al., the marketing concept “holds that achieving organisational goals depends on knowing the needs and wants of target markets and delivering the desired satisfactions better than competitors do” (Kotler et al. 2008, 17). In short, building on the marketing concept, place marketing can be described as a demand-oriented planning and management process in which the place not only is defined by target markets, but also adjusted according to their demand. Place marketing is, thus, much more than



promotional activities by which predefined urban and regional features and amenities are sold to various markets.

According to Ashworth & Voogd (1990) the place marketing process consists of four interlinked phases: analysis of markets; formulation of goals and strategies; determination of marketing measures; and finally elaboration and evaluation (see also Kavaratzis 2007). Moreover, they define marketing measures as a combination of four equally important sets of instruments: promotional; spatial-functional; organisational; and financial measures (see further Ashworth & Voogd 1990, 30–31).

In sum, promotional activities constitute only one tool within a broader approach to place marketing (Kvaratzis 2007; Millington et al. 1997). Accordingly, many different kinds of planning activities are of direct relevance in the place marketing process, and many different actors have important roles to play. More precisely, spatial-functional measures refer to the planning of social and physical infrastructures, while organisational (and financial) measures concern the coordination and division of responsibilities among various public and private actors.

In particular, this approach to place marketing implies “that spatial plans for cities are of the same order as marketing plans in the case of firms” (Borchert 1994, 424). Hence, place marketing can be considered a way of thinking in planning that can be applied equally to different planning issues, e.g. public transport, housing, and cultural heritage. In short, place marketing can be described as a demand-oriented planning approach, which incorporates the marketing concept in all phases of urban and regional planning (Borchert 1994).

The comprehensive view on place marketing, as outlined above, has significance for the organisation and performance of urban and regional planning. The traditional notion of planning is that it is an instrumental rational activity, i.e. based on expert perspectives and judgements. Furthermore, the traditional view on planning is that it is a product-oriented process in which the ends are identified before the process. In a similar way Ashworth & Voogd characterise conventional physical planning as “supply-oriented”, and argues that the planning usually is

“focused on investigating the constraints and physical possibilities [...] of the existing built environment” (Ashworth & Voogd 1990, 23).

However, in the last few decades developments in planning theory has come to defy this traditional view on planning. In particular, a communicative planning ideal has emerged, which is process-oriented and encourage the inclusion of all affected parties in the decision-making process. In the ideal communicative process, the planning ends are identified through a dialogue between a variety of stakeholders (see further e.g. Olsson 2008). Hence, the general development of planning theory is in principle in concurrence with theoretical perspectives in place marketing, which stress demand-orientation.

## **Cultural heritage and development**

Cultural heritage is not a straightforward concept. A commonly held notion about cultural heritage is that it consists of material remains from the past, especially historical buildings and areas, which are carrying narratives, and, thus, potential immaterial meanings. However, Smith states that “[t]here is, really, no such thing as heritage” (Smith 2006, 11). She argues that heritage is not a material “thing” that exist by itself, but rather that heritage is about a negotiation process of how we use the past, which will have material consequences (see also Harvey 2008; Storm 2008). In a similar way, Graham et al. defines heritage as the contemporary use of the past, and, thus, argues that “heritage is a view from the present, either backward to a past or forward to a future” (Graham et al. 2000, 2). Consequently, cultural heritage is here recognised as today’s interpretations of the past – interpretations that continuously are subject to change.

Building on the above reasoning, the key issue in cultural heritage management is the process of interpreting the past, which could be understood as a result from interaction and communication between various interests. The question is how to organise local and regional cultural heritage management, in order to determine which aspects

of the past—are important to sustain. Traditionally, cultural heritage management has been seen as an “experts-only zone”, and the general public has been absent in the management process, and, thus, being considered as an “audience” (Muñoz Viñas 2005, 157). Furthermore, focus has foremost been directed towards the conservation of material aspects of heritage objects, rather than recognising their immaterial meanings, as well as other intangible cultural heritage aspects. However, in contemporary conservation theory the primary interest has gradually shifted from the “objects” to the “subjects”, acknowledging that the meaning of an object depends on and is produced by subjects (Muñoz Viñas 2005, 147).

Tunbridge and Ashworth describe the process of interpretation of the past as a process by which “occurrences, artefacts and personalities of the past are deliberately transformed into a product intended for the satisfaction of contemporary consumption demands” (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996, 6–7). Thus, influenced by marketing theory they describe a model of heritage production, in which the designation of cultural heritage is rather a result from a demand-oriented process than a supply-oriented process, i.e. the “heritage product” is rather a consequence of the demand than the other way around. This also concerns the comprehensive societal purpose with designating parts or aspects of the environment as cultural heritage. Described in this way, heritage production can be understood as a purposeful process, in which the designation of heritage aims at satisfying cultural, economic or political objectives (see further Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996).

Urban and regional development policy and planning could use cultural heritage as a cultural resource as well as an economic resource. Although the two facets are sometimes understood as an unsettled dichotomy, they are also linked since they both, most of the time, rely on the conservation and use of artefacts and physical structures from the past (Graham et al. 2000). As mentioned early in this paper, it is often assumed that “authorized heritage” attracts and creates values for tourists and new inhabitants, and also that it is of great importance for identity and well-being of the local population. However, management practice is in general based rather on an assumption that designated

cultural heritage creates values for people in their everyday and tourist activities, than on a systematic knowledge concerning peoples' preferences (Olsson 2008).

In conclusion, the argument put forward here is that heritage production, or the designation of cultural heritage, is always, more or less, a demand-oriented process associated with e.g. cultural and economic management objectives, and, thus, not a supply-oriented process based on expert values which derive from objective, universal and intrinsic criteria. Accordingly, the conclusion drawn so far is that in order to utilise cultural heritage as a resource in urban and regional social and economic development, there is a need to systematically consider how various stakeholders, not least the general public, perceive and value urban and regional environments as cultural heritage from their own perspectives (see also Olsson 2008).

## **Analysis of cultural heritage in place marketing and planning practice**

This section includes a tentative analysis of how cultural heritage is utilised in development policy and planning on local and regional level in the western part of the Mälardalen region in Sweden, see figure 1. The empirical findings include studies of comprehensive planning documents in three municipalities – Eskilstuna, Arboga and Örebro. The municipalities belong to three different counties – Södermanland, Västmanland and Örebro. Hence, the empirical findings include also studies of regional development programs in these counties. The analysed documents are presented in table 1.

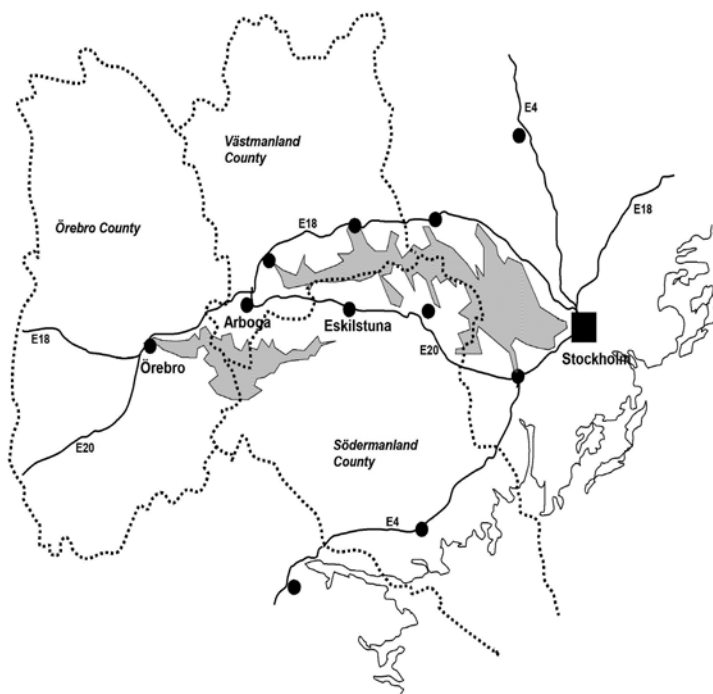
With a starting point in the theoretical discussion, the analysis of the documents has been structured by three interlinked sets of questions:

– *What is cultural heritage?*

How is cultural heritage defined and described in the documents?  
In what ways is a relation between expert perspectives and laypeople perspectives on cultural heritage visible in the documents?

Level	Authority	Document
Local	Eskilstuna municipality	Comprehensive Plan (2005)
	Arboga Municipality	Comprehensive Plan Arboga Municipality, draft version (2009)
	Örebro Municipality	Our Future Örebro. Draft to Comprehensive Plan for ÖrebroMunicipality (2008)
Regional	Sörmland Regional Council (Södermanland County)	Sörmland Made Easy. The Sörmland Strategy (2007)
	Örebro County Board	Regional Development Program. Örebro county (2005)
	Västmanlands County Board	Regional Development Program. Västmanlands county 2007–2020 (2007)

**Table 1:** Documents analysed



**Fig. 1:** The Mälardalen region

– *What is the role of cultural heritage in the urban and regional planning?*

In what ways is cultural heritage considered as a resource for urban and regional future development? To what extent, and how, is the cultural heritage considered as a cultural resource and as an economic resource?

– *How is cultural heritage recognised from a place marketing perspective?*

How can the reasoning in the documents, about the role of cultural heritage, be understood from a marketing perspective? Is the view on cultural heritage supply-oriented or demand-oriented? What is the relation between external and internal markets? How is promotional, spatial-functional and organisational (including financial) marketing measures discussed in the documents?

### **What is cultural heritage?**

In most parts of the studied documents the view on cultural heritage is fairly traditional. In other words, cultural heritage is foremost seen as material remains with historical values that have been identified by heritage experts and are “authorized” in accordance with the legislation. For example, in the introduction to the Regional Development Program for Västmanland County it is stressed that almost thirty cultural heritage areas in the county are of national interest according to The Environmental Code, and, furthermore, that the county has about fifty protected monuments according to The Heritage Conservation Act. Thereafter, it is concluded that these areas and objects are important resources for regional and local development.

The notion that cultural heritage is something fixed and “authorized” is further emphasized by the fact that in the documents cultural heritage is in general referred to in definite article. In that sense, cultural heritage is referred to in a quantitative way rather than in a qualitative sense. In for example the Comprehensive Plan for Eskilstuna it is explicitly declared that a number of cultural heritage objects and areas have been identified and selected for future protection. However, the draft Comprehensive

Plan for Arboga contains a short discussion about what cultural heritage could be. In particular, immaterial values are mentioned, as well as that contemporary views on cultural heritage encompass more than specific objects and well defined areas. Nevertheless, also in this plan the main management strategy is fairly traditional, i.e. directed towards the designation and protection of built environments with historical value.

The relation between the perspectives held by heritage experts and peoples' everyday perspectives is generally not explicitly dealt with in the studied documents. However, there are a few exceptions. For example, in the Comprehensive Plan for Arboga it is stated that the physical environment is important to people, and, thus, that it is essential to give people opportunities to express their views about the future development. Consequently, the process of making a new plan in Arboga comprises several activities to incorporate the local residents in the planning process (see also Olsson & Berglund 2009).

In conclusion it is clear that cultural heritage is chiefly understood as something that is identified by experts and protected according to legislation. Thus, cultural heritage is viewed as a "thing" to discover and to protect, but also to use for future development. However, at the same time the potential use is identified as restricted and in that sense the cultural heritage is seen as a restriction for development, just as much as a resource

### **What is the role of cultural heritage in the urban and regional planning?**

The view on cultural heritage as a restriction for development planning is most apparent in the studied municipal comprehensive plans. In the plan for Eskilstuna it is, for example, declared that valuable cultural heritage must be respected and preserved for the future, and, thus, excluded from further exploitation. Furthermore, it is said that utilisation of cultural heritage must be carried out in such way that existing values are not harmed. The draft plan for Örebro assumes a conflict between preservation of the past and interests to develop the built environment

from a perspective of contemporary ideals and values. For example, in the plan, infill projects are considered a risk in that they may lead to depletion of the cultural heritage. In the Sörmland Strategy it is stressed that natural and cultural heritage must be safeguarded, when land is developed for e.g. transport infrastructure and housing.

Nevertheless, in one way or another, cultural heritage is discussed as a resource for future development in all documents. In the Regional Development Program for Örebro County it is explicitly expressed that cultural heritage is a resource for sustainable local and regional development. In the Sörmland Strategy it is said that the county with its varied cultural and natural environments and its other quality of life factors have great potential to make Sörmland an attractive region. In the draft for a new Comprehensive Plan for Arboga, the municipality's many unique heritage areas are considered to be an essential resource for development in a positive direction. In the draft plan for Örebro maintenance of the built cultural heritage is regarded important in order to strengthen Örebro within an international context. Moreover, it is argued that cultural heritage enriches modern society in general.

The formulations above are notably diffuse and vague, and do not give any detailed suggestions of how cultural heritage can function as a resource for future development. Thus, the wording implies that it would be self-evident how cultural heritage can be made use of in urban and regional development. Nevertheless, other parts of the documents point towards more well-reasoned arguments for considering cultural heritage as a resource in development planning. However, the arguments are not elaborated on in detail, and, moreover, the reasoning is principally based on a notion about a direct relationship between “authorized heritage” and social and economic development, i.e. it is assumed that cultural heritage, as defined by heritage experts, automatically also creates economic and social values.

According to the draft plan for Arboga, cultural heritage, e.g. areas of national interest, gives Arboga a distinct identity, which is considered an important resource for the future development of the municipality. Consequently, one important goal expressed in the plan is to protect



and preserve this cultural heritage. The Regional Development Program for Örebro County states that it is important to conserve and use as much as possible of the cultural heritage in order to contribute to people's identity and faith in the future. In the comprehensive plan for Eskilstuna it is argued that protection of the cultural heritage will make the municipality an attractive place to visit and live in. Furthermore, it is said that public investments in cultural heritage are likely to result in earnings from tourists and increased tax revenues.

In the Sörmland strategy it is declared that cultural heritage must be protected and managed as an asset, in order to attract visitors and residents. In the Regional Development Program for Västmanland maintenance and conservation of valuable cultural heritage areas are said to provide attractive environments. Thus, cultural heritage is considered important for the establishment of an attractive region for both residents and visitors, as well as for enterprises. However, although cultural heritage is discussed as an economic resource in this way, heritage is not at all mentioned in sections of the documents that explicitly deal with business development. This observation is especially apparent in the Regional Development Programs.

In conclusion, in the documents cultural heritage is considered as both a cultural and an economic resource. However, a more detailed description of how to make use of this resource is generally lacking. It is more or less taken for granted that cultural heritage will provide values for residents, visitors and enterprises.

### **How is cultural heritage recognised from a place marketing perspective?**

This last part in the analysis of urban and regional planning documents asks the question how cultural heritage is recognised from a place marketing perspective. Most of the writings in the documents do not explicitly use concepts and reasoning according to a marketing approach on urban and regional management and planning. The analysis below is therefore primarily based on a reading between the lines and an interpretation of the writings in the documents from the perspective of marketing theory as outlined in previous sections of the paper.

As already mentioned, the dominant view on cultural heritage in the documents is that it consists of historical buildings and areas that have been identified by experts. Consequently, in several of the documents, a transfer of knowledge from experts to lay-people is considered as important means in heritage management. For example, in the Comprehensive Plan for Eskilstuna it is said that knowledge about cultural heritage and its significance is crucial in order to protect the heritage. According to the Regional Development Program for Örebro County, the task for public heritage management is primarily to record, protect and maintain the cultural heritage, and, moreover, to make its values known to people. From the perspective of marketing theory this is principally a supply-oriented approach. Moreover, the management efforts to provide information and create interest among people for cultural heritage are here interpreted as promotional activities, in which designated heritage is “sold” to local residents and others.

According to the Regional Development Program in Västmanland, cultural heritage forms one part that creates attractive environments for residents, visitors and enterprises. Moreover, it is said that an increased use of the cultural heritage can strengthen the regional identity. Building on this, one pronounced aim in the program is to develop local identities which will make up a foundation for the shaping of a regional profile. In Arboga the town’s historical and cultural profile is considered as a key asset for the town’s attractiveness and for its development. Connected to the expressed goal of population growth, recent efforts in the local planning in Arboga have included branding activities such as the launching of a new slogan (“Arboga – a place for inspiration”). It is especially articulated in the draft for the new comprehensive plan that it is important to preserve and develop the local environment in line with this newly established brand. The role of cultural heritage, in the process of forming local and regional identities and establishing a brand, is in short principally instrumental since it aims at attracting new inhabitants, visitors and investments. In this way, the cultural heritage is in itself considered to be a promotional measure in the broader approach to marketing of local and regional places.

The importance of performing market analysis is explicitly mentioned in the Regional Development Program for Västmanland, but is, however,

not elaborated on further. Moreover, organisational (and financial) marketing measures are acknowledged in that it is recognised that most local and regional actors in the tourism sector are too small to succeed by themselves. This problem is also addressed in, for example, the draft plan for Arboga. Here it is explicitly mentioned that with strategic marketing and various development projects it is possible to attract more visitors to the municipality. Apart from mentioning cooperation between the municipality and the tourism sector, it is, however, not clear what is meant by strategic marketing in a concrete way. Finally, spatial-functional marketing measures are primarily touched upon in the documents as an issue of accessibility to the cultural heritage.

In conclusion, the studied documents are chiefly supply-oriented in their approach to cultural heritage, i.e. cultural heritage is seen as something that derive from expert analysis and thereafter is “sold” to both internal markets (e.g. local residents) and external markets (e.g. tourists). Consequently, promotion is the main marketing measure in the local and regional cultural heritage management strategies, which are indicated in the documents. Moreover, cultural heritage and the local and regional identity that it is presumed to contribute to, are also considered a marketing measure in itself. Cultural heritage and identity are in this way seen rather as something that aims at attracting external markets, than reinforcing local residents and their well-being.

## **Concluding remarks**

The main conclusion put forward here is that there is a discrepancy between theory and practice concerning the understanding of cultural heritage, as well as regarding views on place marketing and on planning. In practice, cultural heritage is mainly understood as material remains from the past, identified by heritage experts, whereas from contemporary theoretical perspectives, cultural heritage could be understood as a result deriving from a negotiation process among various stakeholders. Furthermore, place marketing is in practice seen as a supply-oriented process, whereas theory stresses demand-orientation. Likewise, in practice the commonly held notion about planning is that it is primarily

an expert activity, whereas a communicative approach in contemporary planning theory acknowledges the importance of dialogue with all affected parties, not least the general public.

In sum, based on the theoretical reasoning in relation to presented empirical findings, there are good reasons to try to develop new ways of working in heritage management and development planning. It is not the least a question of performing market analysis in a well-considered way. In other words, it is an issue of providing the “subjects” (e.g. local citizens) real opportunities to express their views about the “objects”, i.e. parts and aspects of urban and regional environments that give meaning and create values for people, and therefore are important to sustain. In conclusion, analysis of peoples’ preferences and values are especially important in order to utilise cultural heritage as a cultural and economic resource in place marketing and in urban and regional development.

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## **Acknowledgement**

The author would like to thank PhD Anna Storm for valuable comments and suggestions.

*Krister Olsson is Assistant Professor at the Department of Urban Planning and Environment, the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH) in Stockholm. He holds a doctoral degree in Regional Planning.  
Email: krister.olsson@abe.kth.se*

# **A Tale of Two Sites: The Planning and Development on Two Adjacent Sites in Palosaari, Vaasa, Finland**

**Peter Ehrström**

## **Introduction**

Change is an ongoing process in urban spaces, whether it is a great metropolis or a small town. In this paper we analyse urban development in an even smaller scale: in a town district in a medium-sized Finnish town. The town Vaasa was founded in 1606 and is situated on the west coast of Finland. It houses a population of 58 000 and is the center of the province Ostrobothnia. Palosaari (Brändö) is a traditional industrial and working-class district that has gone through a remarkable reconstruction and is now acknowledged as a knowledge and educational district.

When considering Michael Marshall's (1987) different models of long waves of regional development, we find that the "replacement" pattern (a succession of leading carrier-type sectors) is suitable for the Palosaari case. The ongoing knowledge-societal wave is the third in the district's history. Here we focus on two close-knit sites within the district, namely the former Vaasan Puuvilla (Vaasa Cotton Ltd) industrial site and the adjacent former park Wolffin puisto, where the former Hahl residence

was situated. These sites are historically connected and geographically close, but they have experienced very different outcomes of the planning process.

Due to limited space, we have decided to present the public debate and development mostly as it was presented to the public in local and national media. The article is based on research and interviews made for the author's forthcoming Doctoral Thesis. All interviews were made as open interviews (as defined by Hirsjärvi & Hurme 1993). Other written sources are quoted when appropriate.

Palosaari was founded as the outer harbour of Vaasa in 1789. The industrialization process started in 1857 when the cotton factory Wasa Bomullsmanufaktur aktiebolag (later Vaasan Puuvilla – Vasa Bomull) was founded, as the first industrial enterprise in Palosaari. The factory was closed down in 1980 and smaller industrial plants in Palosaari soon followed. The consequences were harsh. The population in Palosaari decreased from 7377 inhabitants in 1973 to 5612 in 1981. The 1980s and the 1990s were a transitional period when some symbolic turning-points were realised. Palosaaren yrityskeskus (PYK, Palosaari Business Centre) was founded in 1982 on the premises where the cotton factory had operated. The administrative building 'Valtion virastalo / Statens ämbetsverk' was erected in 1984 in the former park Wolffin puisto and the County Government Board and the County Governor of Vaasa moved to Palosaari. In 1990 the decision was made to locate the University of Vaasa to the former Vaasan Puuvilla industrial site in Palosaari.

## **Adjacent places, different results**

In recent years it has been pointed out that beside preserving and defending cultural heritage it is also important to make use of it. The key to preservation typically lies in the reuse of the premises for new purposes. The lure is the utility value of the premises, but also their low property prices (Beckman 2005, 142–143). In the following we focus

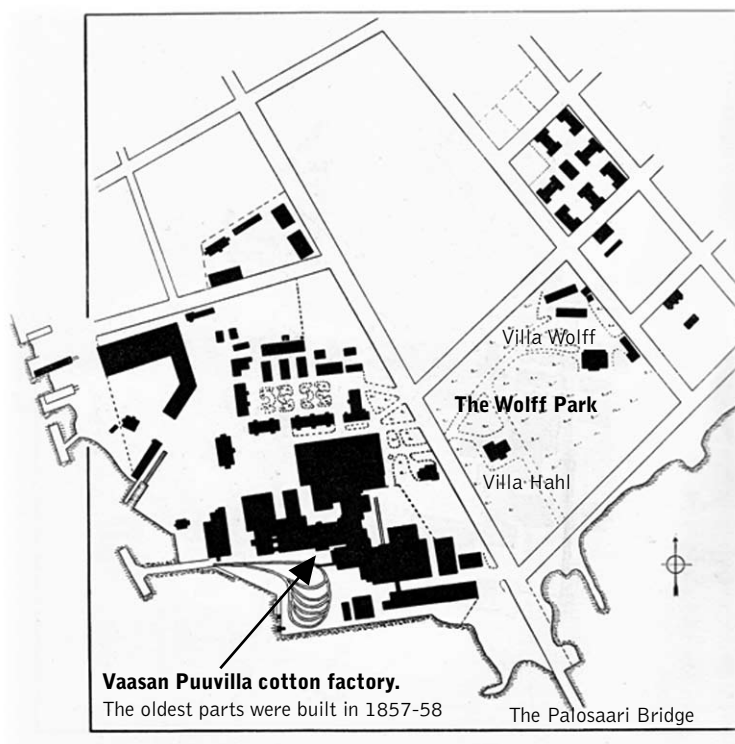


on two cases in Vaasa where the built heritage and its economical and social value have been strongly debated. The outcome of the planning process, however, differed strongly. While all vital Vaasan Puuvilla factory buildings were preserved and are in new use, the former Hahl residence and all other buildings in Wolffin Puisto were demolished and the park itself destroyed to give way for an administrative building and multi storey apartment buildings.

## **Vaasan Puuvilla (Vaasa Cotton Ltd)**

The cotton factory was designed by architect Carl Axel Setterberg, member of the Board of Vaasan Puuvilla and appointed architect of the province Vaasa (Swanljung 1938, 12). The machinery was ordered from Manchester (Hetherington & Sons), and the model plans that constituted the basis for Setterberg's design were probably included in the package (Hallasmaa 1987, 7). Setterberg settled for the neo-Gothic style, which is why the factory has towers and a rough brick surface (Nikula 1957, 37). The earliest buildings were erected in 1857–1858 (spinning mill, gasworks, cleaning building with textile factory extension in 1872, stairwell, storeroom, boiler room, a house for factory women, dining hall and hospital) (Mikkonen 2002). The textile factory was extended in the 1870s, and in the 1890s Vaasan Puuvilla was a complete cotton factory. Its yard constituted a distinct space, enclosed on all four sides by buildings (Hallasmaa 1987, 20).

In 1890 Vaasan Puuvilla was the sixth largest enterprise in Finland according to employed personnel and the seventh according to gross turnover (Hjerpe 1979, 168). Vaasan Puuvilla was at its largest from the 1930s up to the early 1960s. Its decline started in the late 1960s. In 1979 it was evident that the factory would shortly be closed down. A municipal committee was appointed to consider how the industrial buildings could be used. The aim of the committee was the most versatile use possible and a fine cultural milieu. Besides industrial activities, spaces for leisure activities, shops, cultural activities, even a daycare center, were discussed. Architect Antti Tähtinen was hopeful: "There is a great



**Fig. 1:** Site plan of Vaasan Puuvilla and Wolffin puisto in 1937. All buildings marked in black were owned by Vaasan Puuvilla. Some dwellings were situated outside the cotton factory site and the park. Source: Swanljung 1938, 86. Texts added by the author.

deal of space that should be utilized. The main constructions and the whole property is in such a condition that the whole old milieu could be preserved. And the best way to preserve it is to keep the property in use” (Vanha miljö... 1979).

A renovation of the property was calculated to cost 18 million FIM, but the main factory building was estimated to be in very good condition. The National Board of Antiquities also found the tile factory building worth preserving. The wooden storage rooms, on the other hand, were considered worthless (Tehdaskiinteistöstä... 1980). The town bought the cotton factory area from Finlayson Ltd in 1981 for 12,5 million FIM. The Industrial estate was about 100 300 sqm (Kaupunginhallitus



**Fig. 2:** The Vaasan Puuvilla skyline in winter, seen from the town centre (i.e. from south). Photo © Peter Ehrström.

suosittelee... 1981). "Through this transaction the factory milieu can be maintained, if that's wished for", commented town commissioner Eilo Eriksson. He mentioned that "many" had wanted housing on the vacant parts of the area, but in his opinion the area should be reserved for industrial activities. Assistant town commissioner Seppo Sanaksenaho, on the other hand, would have welcomed dwellings on the premises (Vaasa ostaa... 1981). Still, the main factory buildings were never seriously threatened by demolition. The arguments were strong for preserving the factory milieu: "The Factory has been one of the most important employers in the history of Vaasa. It had a central cultural-historical role within the labour movement and in Finland's industrial life. The uniform style of architecture and its high standards further increases the value of the site. There are also examples of interesting solutions in its building technology [...e.g.] the constructions in the textile factory hall (50 m x 120 m). [...] Because the cotton factory area is one of the culture-historically most valuable places in Vaasa the buildings should be preserved" (Viljanen & Vuolteenaho 1988, 77). "The brick buildings planned by Setterberg by the waterside ...



**Fig. 3:** The entrance to the 'Fabriikki' building of the University of Vaasa, in the former factory area. The buildings are used also by e.g. Vaasa Science Park and PYK (Palosaari Business Centre). Photo © Peter Ehrström.

constitute an interesting and coherent whole for the townscape. They were realized in a short time and simultaneously in 1857–66, and therefore have no disparities caused by stylistic differences” (Hallasmaa 1987, 17). Hallasmaa (1987, 28–32) lists e.g. the textile factory, the stairwell and sprinkler tower, the former gasworks, the spinning mill and the smokestacks as valuable buildings and constructions, both as built heritage and as parts of the townscape.

According to former assistant town commissioner and later strategic planner Bengt Strandin (interview by the author 22.8.2007) the Finlayson deal was followed by an extensive public discussion. He says it was the town that made the favourable development of the site possible: “If the town hadn’t intervened and taken over the property it hardly would have become what it is today.”

Palosaaren yrityskeskus (Palosaari Business Center, PYK) was founded on the premises with a modest capital stock, and with the town as the owner

(Kaupparekisteri... 1982). Metal enterprises were well-represented, but the former factory buildings were filled with a muddle of small business firms, including family businesses, craftsmen, carpenters, coppersmiths, workshops, painters, shops and flower wholesale trade (Valtanen 1983). The smallest tenant utilized 56 sqm while the biggest, Finnhydraulic, made use of over 3 000 sqm (Koski 1984). This also prevented the industrial site from becoming an unutilized ruin.

According to Hallasmaa (1987), the PYK site had all characteristics of a cultural-historically valuable object. He accentuated that ‘cultural-historically significant’ is not tantamount to a static museum; continued activities, in one shape or the other, are an important part of the historical value of an industrial estate (Hallasmaa 1987, 24). But activities of PYK were not met with universal acceptance: “At first this was a bitter bite to chew for some of the decision-makers that straight out opposed the founding of PYK. For a long time it blazed in people’s eyes that we couldn’t afford to arrange the courtyards and they whined about how hideous it was. Now everybody wants to have a share in the area and take notice of it”, says Anne Volama, CEO of Palosaaren yrityskeskus (interview by the author 6.9.2007).

In 1986 the planners warned that from the viewpoint of townscape or town planning, it would not be easy to place the new college (later university) buildings next to the old cotton factory (Korkeakoulua... 1986). Even demolition could come into question for some factory buildings, but it was also stressed that new constructions had to fit in the old milieu. The town planners and architects stressed the importance of preserving the factory smokestacks, even though the highest one was built as late as 1956. A demolition permit that had been granted earlier was then considered “thoughtless” (Korkeakoulua... 1986).

“I regret that I didn’t think we could afford to demolish the great smokestack when we had a permit to do so. When I applied for a new permit I didn’t get it renewed, the smokestack was preserved”, says Brynolf Svarfvar, former CEO of Palosaaren yrityskeskus (interview by the author 20.9.2007). Meanwhile, Anne Volama partly regrets the selling of movable property from the premises: “Early on scrap



**Fig. 4:** A passage in the factory area. Photo © Peter Ehrström.

merchants and antique dealers went around and we didn't comprehend the value of what we had here. They asked if they may take electric light fittings and such, things they described as junk. And we said 'just take it.' Volama believes that PYK should have preserved more of the "old objects and original interior fixings", so that different layers from different periods could be more distinctly observed.

The cultural-historical value of the site was noted for the general public also e.g. by the Finnish edition of Reader's Digest: "Instead of demolishing the old factory and spinning mill properties as well as the workmen's dwellings, a decision was made to preserve them. The end result being that in Palosaari, Vaasa, is now one of the most beautiful old industrial estates in Finland, in new use. [...] The Business Center was brought to new life, as an important symbol for the town." (Pinjola 1992.)

The founding-stone of the University's new administration building 'Luotsi' was laid in 1994, and the main building 'Tervahovi' was inaugurated in 1995. In 1996, the research and educational laboratory

**Fig. 5:** Domus Bothnica, also known as Vaasan ylioppilastalo (Vaasa Student House), was inaugurated in 2008. Photo © Peter Ehrström.



Technobotnia was founded in the former textile factory. In 2000 PYK announced that it would evolve into a technology park (Ekola 2000), and the long term plans for the site no longer involved low tech enterprises. A change of name for one part of the site to ‘Vaasa Science Park’ was announced in 2000.

The newly built scientific library Tritonia was opened in 2001. When PYK celebrated its 20th anniversary in 2002, chairman Heikki Koskinen described Vaasa Science Park as a “refined center for education and technology”. It was estimated that 10 million Euro had been used for the reconstruction on site (Strandén 2002). The latest building on campus is Domus Bothnica, which was inaugurated in 2008. It houses the Student Union of the University, ICT-enterprises and a polytechnic business incubator.

A future science park quarter, with landmark building Innotalo (Innovation House), is already planned as the gateway from the Palosaari Bridge to the whole university campus. According to town planning architect Juhani Hallasmaa’s estimation in 2008, it might be

realised within 5–7 years (interview by the author 14.10.2008). Ilkka Raatikainen (2004) describes the planned Innotalo as the core of the Science Park, and PYK's "old and only slightly reconstructed" spaces for enterprises could advantageously be used for initial business activities, e.g. as business incubators (Raatikainen 2004, 72, 74–75). The old factory buildings are already reconstructed to meet the demands of the knowledge society. Visions for the future consider the whole seashore area, including a Science Park of some 17 acres, situated on both sides of the Palosaari Bridge. On the Palosaari side the town planners suggest a block that "supports the University functions" (Vasa stad 2009).

Anna Volama doubts whether ICT-enterprises would have moved to Palosaari if the University had not been placed there. "The University decision has had an impact on Palosaari as a whole. It was crucial. Palosaari is not the same Palosaari as it was prior to the University", she says. That view is widely shared by the town planners. "The university has undoubtedly influenced the development of Palosaari as much as the cotton factory in its time", remarks town planning architect Harri Nieminen (interview by the author 27.6.2007).

## **Wolffin puisto (The Wolff Park)**

Wolffin puisto, i.e. The Wolff Park, and The Wolff residence were planned and built for shipbuilder Carl Gustaf Wolff and later sold to the company Vaasan Puuvilla. The Wolff residence, and later the Hahl residence, were then used as dwellings for the managers of the cotton factory. The original Wolff residence (Villa Wolff) was demolished as early as 1939. The Hahl residence was built as an engineer-dwelling and planned by Fr. Thesleff in 1901 (Hallasmaa 1987, 22).

Since the 1960s, the state had wanted to erect an administrative building in Vaasa. In late 1960s, a site in the center of the town, next to the Orthodox Church, was offered by the town as appropriate for a prospective administrative building (Staten vill bygga... 1967). The existing buildings there, however, were considered too valuable. Or, as



architect Annikki Nurminen saw it in 1980: "The administrative building was earlier planned next to the Kasarmintori [in the town center], but they did not want to break up that cultural-historical whole" (Vaasassa huoli... 1980). Following this debate, the town offered another site for the administrative building: Wolffin puisto. An architectural contest for the administrative building in Wolffin puisto was organized. It was won by local architect Annikki Nurminen, who designed a building of 70 000 sqm to the site (Vaasan virastotalolle... 1979).

Obviously, protests occurred. National newspaper Helsingin Sanomat quoted a wall chart stuck to the fence surrounding Wolffin puisto: "We want a Park, not asphalt". According to an article in the newspaper it was "always" known that the Wolffin puisto existed, but "only now, in the eleventh hour, when housing is being erected and the construction of the administrative building will start in a year's time, has Vaasan ympäristöseura [Vaasa environmental association] started an inventory of the clump of trees in the park and demand that the park is to be preserved" (Vaasassa huoli... 1980). The great botanical variety was defended by biologist Eija Piispala and PhD Pertti Uotila. Eija Piispala prepared her inventory in early February 1980 and pointed out 100 trees of 21 species, the oldest round the terrace of the original (Wolff) residence. More than 200 species of plants were found in Wolffin puisto, and Uotila argued that there hardly existed a park so rich in species on such a northern latitude. The 10th Finnish agricultural show had been held in Wolffin puisto in 1894. "It is madness that such an exceptional park should give way for concrete and asphalt", emphasized Piispala (Berggren 1980a).

According to Annikki Nurminen, the architects tried to take the valuable trees and the park milieu into consideration when designing the new building: "We would gladly have built the wing of the government building closer to the multi-storey block, because then there wasn't need to dispose of so many trees. But it didn't suit the building proprietor of the high-rise development area" (Vaasassa huoli... 1980).

In February 1980 some one hundred inhabitants of Vaasa participated in a meeting for the preservation of the park. Their thoughts were

summarized by local newspaper *Kansan Ääni*: “Wolffin puisto should be preserved as a valuable whole and it should be possible to find space for the government building within the Finlayson property, i.e. in the former cotton factory area” (Ympäristöväki... 1980). The fate of the park, however, was sealed in December 1980 by the Finnish Parliament. A last minute proposal to assign the state administrative building to another site (most likely on the Finlayson property) was firmly rejected with the votes 169–15 (Seppänen 1980).

Some last and desperate attempts were made in late 1981 and early 1982 to save the Hahl residence. A group of private persons appealed to the Finnish National Board of Public Building while the planning section of the Cultural Committee in Vaasa submitted a motion to the municipality. Paul Lindell, chairman of the planning section, called attention to the fact that the Art Nouveau residence had, besides considerable cultural and architectonic values, also economic significance (Wolffin huvila halutaan... 1982). The town showed no interest in preserving the park. As town commissioner Eilo Eriksson put it: “The town will no longer take great special measures in this question. The site, including the buildings, has been sold to the government” (Sailas 1983a).

The Cultural Committee then proposed relocating and rebuilding the Hahl residence building to the residential area Kuulahti, to be used for meetings and representative purposes. In June 1983 the town only referred to decisions that had been made earlier, and thereby sealed the fate of the residence (Sailas 1983b). An article in *Helsingin Sanomat* in July 1983 concluded harshly that the residence “is destroyed to make way for a parking lot and ... the town had not even intended to follow its own decision to move the residence”. Three private persons from neighbouring county Mustasaari had wanted to move the residence building to a new location in Stundars, but the town had then promised to look for a convenient place for it in Vaasa. “We did not look for a place for the residence, it just didn’t seem to become anything of it”, said assistant town commissioner Seppo Sanaksenaho some time later (Wolffin huvila hävitetään... 1983).

Neither was the town willing to promise grants for the demolition or the relocating of the residence. The property was left to fall into decay.

In the late 1970s the Hahl residence (Villa Hahl), was already quite worn out. The Cultural Committee proposed a renovation of the Hahl residence, but gained no hearing and gave up. “We knew about the town’s difficult financial situation, so we left the question open”, said the cultural secretary (Wolffin huvila hävitetään... 1983). The Head of Building at the Finnish National Board of Public Building also turned down the preservation of the Hahl residence by stating that the government had no money for preservation (Sailas 1983a). The National Board of Antiquities was taken by surprise: “Only when the County Administrative Board’s plan to erect the administrative building was approved were we informed that the residence was under threat of demolition”, stated director Pekka Kärki (Wolffin huvila hävitetään... 1983).

The last resident of the Hahl residence was painter Pentti Uusikylä, who used it as his studio and rented it for three months at a time. The rental forms did not refer to an Art Nouveau residence, only to a “laundry and mangling-room”. Three years before the demolition reporter Camilla Berggren wrote about “a beauty concealed from the outer world” in regional newspaper *Vasabladet*: “They who enter for the first time and observe the Art Nouveau ornaments in doors, paneling and ceiling will feel dizzy. Not to mention the magnificent staircase in high-grade wood, with ornamentation, carved works and inlays. There are different, very beautiful, tiled stoves in the house. Some of them green in various nuances. One is covered with glazed tiles decorated with blue and white flowers. But the residence also bears traces of being unoccupied for so long. Had Uusikylä not acted guardian, sometimes bouncer, one dare not even think about in what condition the building would be in.” (Berggren 1980b.)

Author and journalist Mirjam Lehtikanto criticized “a demolition verdict even for the finest”: “From the main entrance one entered a hall with a ceiling height of seven metres. The rooms were calm, as a contrast to the dramatic hall. The dining-room, drawing-rooms and the kitchen quarters were situated on the first floor, the bedrooms, nurseries and the bathroom on the second. The doors were made of oak.” (Salo 1981, 56.)



**Fig. 6:** Hahl residence (Villa Hahl), probably photographed around 1917. At that time the Hahl residence was used as a dwelling for the managing director of Vaasan Puuvilla. Source: Wasa Bomullsmanufaktur... (about 1917).

The attempts to preserve the park and the residence were most likely weakened by the fact that many Palosaarians still saw the park and the residence as monuments of class division and unapproachable gentry. The park's long history as a closed, private area probably strengthened this view. When for example Albin Paassola (1996) discussed the park of his youth (in the 1920s) he concluded: "The greatest and most mysterious was the 'manager's residence', his dwelling. The site covered an entire city block and was surrounded by such a tall fence that peaking inside was impossible". He pointed out that "on the site of the former 'manager's residence' now stands the monumental government building of Vaasa" (Paassola 1996, 15).

The new administrative building was inaugurated on September 3rd, 1984. According to landscape architect Christine Bonn it was a big mistake not to preserve the park: "There were certainly great values that were lost with the Wolffin puisto. Such a park would have been even more valuable today. It would have increased the value of the

area” (Ehrström 2005, 215). In a survey of valuable buildings in Vaasa (Viljanen & Vuolteenaho 1986, 79), we find an indoor picture of ”the cotton factory’s manager-dwelling”, with just a short caption: ”Demolished in 1983”.

## Conclusions

Clearly, the physical landscape has changed in Palosaari and most certainly on the two adjacent sites studied here. These sites, however, experienced physical change in very different ways. New buildings have been erected to complement the old factory buildings on what now is the University campus and Vaasa Science Park, and where PYK still is situated. There is interaction between the new and the old, and a fine-tuned balance of newly built constructions and the valuable heritage on the premises. The same cannot be said of Wolffin Puisto. Physically it has been totally changed. The built heritage is all gone, and only a small part of the site indicates that it has a history as quite a large private park. Furthermore, this small fraction is threatened in the near future, as new buildings are envisioned on the site (Vaasan kaupunki, 2008).

The political and administrative decisions for the adjacent sites were mostly made by the same politicians and administrators. While the nearby factory buildings were preserved, Wolffin Puisto and its Hahl residence could not muster up the same kind of local, institutional or political support. There seems to have been no serious threat to tear down the cotton factory or parts of its main brick buildings. The buildings were in a good condition and the entity was regarded as an important landmark. Furthermore, the oldest parts of the factory had been designed by architect C.A. Setterberg, who also made the town plan of the new Vaasa and planned many of the towns central buildings in the 19th century. Incidentally, in 2006 Setterberg was voted the most important citizen in the history of Vaasa. The factory building itself was therefore never in any real danger of demolition.

On the adjacent site, the struggle to preserve Wolffin Puisto began with attempts to preserve the whole park and its environment. When that

failed, attempts were made to preserve only the Art Nouveau style Hahl residence, either on or off site. The Hahl residence was then already in a run-down state, left to decay by the local authorities. There is also reason to remember that Wolffin Puisto was chosen for destruction partly because other significant buildings in Vaasa were preserved. Instead of building the administrative building next to the Kasarmintori square in the town center, the political decision makers proposed the location of Wolffin Puisto for the regional administration. Still, it is not far-fetched to consider the attempts to preserve the park and residence as "too little, too late".

Experiences from the cotton factory Vaasan Puuvilla and the park Wolffin Puisto show that political, institutional and popular support is vital for the preservation of built heritage. The physical condition and usability of the built heritage is also of great importance. A building chosen for demolition can be left in a run-down state, left to decay, which probably also will influence the public opinion negatively. The discussion about the "skyline effect" – i.e. whether buildings are seen important for the townscape or not – should not be underestimated either. In the case of the cotton factory, both the historical significance of the buildings and their relevance for the townscape were stressed. Being visible from the town centre and connected in terms of style to other significant buildings designed by architect Setterberg improved the possibilities of preservation.

In Wolffin Puisto the supporters of the park acted late and slowly, and obviously could not argue well enough for the potential economic importance of the park and Hahl residence. While the park had mostly been kept away from the public eye, with a fence on all four sides, it was also difficult to muster a strong local feeling of "our park" among the public. This clearly shows the importance of an early action plan, and a public relations strategy, made preferably even before any significant threat has arisen. Then the defenders of the built heritage would not be taken off guard. In argumentation for the economic, social and cultural importance of built heritage, the timing is essential. The defenders of Wolffin Puisto could not either foresee that a University campus would be built nearby; this could have given them strong arguments for the

reevaluation and preservation of at least the Hahl residence. Had the decisions been made today, the Hahl residence most likely would have been preserved, or, at least, moved. A further lesson to be learnt is therefore that the best reasons for preservation are not necessarily understood before the building or milieu already is lost. That is why an early action plan for preservation is called for. When a serious demolition threat occurs, time for protection might be very limited.

Still, urban space continually evolves, and destruction and demolition of the old is sometimes inevitable to give way for the new in urban (re) development. The destruction of Wolffin Puisto and the decision to erect the administrative building on that site can also be considered as the first steps in the transformation of Palosaari from a poor working-class district to a more affluent knowledge-societal district. They can also be seen as an early step in the gentrification of the area, a topic well worth exploring.

Kimmo Ylä-Anttila (2008) has noted that one of the consequences of the restructuring processes is the emergence of unutilized sites and properties. Ylä-Anttila calls these sites ‘urban fallows’, and he stresses that they offer great possibilities but these possibilities can also be easily lost. That is what happened in Wolffin Puisto. Ylä-Anttila presents examples from the industrial sites of the Emscher Park area, in the Ruhr region in Germany. In this area steps have been taken to open the sites for the general public (Ylä-Anttila 2008, 15–17). Had Wolffin Puisto been open to the general public, it would probably have been much easier to gather support for its preservation.

It is still debated whether the transformation of Wolffin Puisto was a good decision or not, and the last remaining corner of the park might still disappear under new office buildings. It is, however, also clear that the administrative building was a vital jigsaw puzzle piece in the redevelopment of Palosaari. The preservation of the cotton factory buildings, for their part, is met with universal acceptance today, and they are seen as important parts of heritage and the townscape. The former cotton factory buildings form an impressive and visually appealing whole together with the newer buildings on the site.

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Juhani Hallasmaa, municipal planning architect, Vaasa

Harri Nieminen, municipal planning architect, Vaasa

Bengt Strandin, strategic planner and former assistant town commissioner, Vaasa

Brynolf Svarfvar, former CEO of Palosaaren yrityskeskus (PYK)

Anne Volama, CEO of Palosaaren yrityskeskus (PYK)

*Peter Ehrström is a political editor at Vasabladet in Vaasa, M.Pol.Sc., and currently writes his Doctoral Thesis in Regional Science (Urban Studies) at University of Vaasa. E-mail: peter.ehrstrom@hssmedia.fi*

# **Strategic Integration with Built Heritage: The Case of Nurmes Railway Station Park**

**Raine Mäntysalo**

The aim of this paper is to outline a sketch for a theory of strategic urban planning. I will illustrate my theoretical insights by presenting a case from a small East Finnish town called Nurmes (population approx. 8500). The argument will unfold as follows: first I will present the case, then discuss the nature of planning problems with reflections on the Nurmes case. Finally, I will present the theory of strategic integration and its implications to the Nurmes case.

## **The case: Nurmes Railway Station Park**

In year 2008 the municipality of Nurmes (region of North Karelia) purchased from the state the historically valuable railway station park area (14.677 m<sup>2</sup>), including the land and the buildings on it. The area is situated in the “Old Town” of Nurmes (founded in 1876), built according to Julius Baselier’s 1878 classicist (so-called empire-style) detailed plan, with a structure of rectangular grids split by rows and inner courtyards of trees and plantation. The grid structure is still clearly discernible, but only fragments of the early wooden building stock have remained to this day, most notably the working-class blocks in the north-west corner

of the Old Town (built in the late 1800s). Besides individual valuable buildings (e.g. the Neo-Gothic church from 1896 and the L'Art Nouveau (so-called Jugend) style Town Hall from 1905) another larger historical milieu worth mentioning is the railway station park area on the south-west bank of the Old Town, facing the Lake Pielinen.

The railway from the south (town of Joensuu) was built to Nurmes in 1907–1911. The building of the railway further north towards the town of Oulu was postponed, due to WW I, being finished in 1930. Besides the actual railway station building, the area covers a range of other wooden buildings: e.g. the house of the chief officer, a row-house for the station and railroad workers (including a shared sauna and a stone cellar), warehouses, carriage shed, the brick-built engine stable and the dome-shaped stone bunker as a reserve station building, built during WW II. All these buildings are protected. The buildings form rows and lengthy courtyards along the other side of the railway, together with an English-style park with a row of trees facing the platform area, and an open area for storing logs (the energy source of steam engines) farther ahead. As such, the railway station area bears typical characteristics of its era. The architect in charge of planning and designing the area and its buildings, Thure Hellström, was a state officer responsible also for many other railway stations of the time. The earlier buildings in the area reflect the contemporary style of l'Art Nouveau, while the later ones hint to Classicism of the 1920s. Still, the overall character of the area is quite homogeneous, having non-symmetry, the two-sloped mansard roof forms, roof windows, towers and scarce detailing as their signifying features (Huvila 2008).

Today, activities concerning rail transportation have slowed down in the Nurmes railway station. There is no passenger transportation northwards, and only a rail bus commuting twice a day south to Joensuu. There is still cargo transportation, and the national railroad company still uses parts of the engine stable. The railway station building is being used as a restaurant and gallery of local arts and crafts, and the building has recently been sold to the restaurant-keeper. The row house is being occupied by tenants who are not railroad workers. The municipality intends to sell this and other buildings, too, with the immediate land property around them (Nurmeksen kaupunki 2009a).

A detailed plan for the railway station park area is being prepared by the municipality of Nurmes. Parallel to this planning process the municipality has assigned the making of a development plan for the area to an EU-funded (Regional Development Fund) project called *Value* (“Local information society and the renewing networked communities in the regional development of Pielinen Karelia”) (Nurmeksens kaupunki 2009a). The 1,5 year (Aug 2008–Jan 2010) project is coordinated by Pielinen Karelia Development Centre Ltd. (Pikes) which is a company owned jointly by the neighbouring municipalities Lieksa, Nurmes and Valtimo. Pikes Ltd. has been established to foster the livelihood and entrepreneurship of the Pielinen Karelia sub-region ([www.pikes.fi](http://www.pikes.fi)). The general aim of the Value project is to promote local community development by generating networked areas and facilities where dwelling, work and services are integrated, and by establishing local community networks as platforms for e-services, as channels for citizen involvement and as virtual forums for the residents of the sub-region. Through these measures, the Value project aims to facilitate the generation of new creative industries and jobs (e.g. ICT and new media services and tools) (Paikallinen tietoyhteiskunta... 2008). Thereby the project purports to hinder the declining development of the sub-region<sup>1</sup>. The Nurmes railway station park is a central pilot area for the Value project. By making the development plan for the area, in a participatory fashion, the project seeks to utilize the historical and aesthetic values of the area, its central location and logistical assets and nearby entrepreneurial activities, in developing the area into an attractive (small) business park, with mixed functions of (distance-) working, dwelling and services, and a high sense of (networked) local community. Thus the area is perceived to have strategic potential for the livelihood of Nurmes and the broader region. The Value project involves also research in cooperation with University of Eastern Finland Centre for Regional Research (Spatia). Through research, the project aims to develop basic models for worker & resident communities and local community networks that would support enterprise and distance-working, by utilizing experiences gained from its pilot cases.

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<sup>1</sup> For example in Nurmes the population has been decreasing by approx. 2 % per year since early 1990s (Nurmeksens kaupunki 2009b).

The development plan for the area is intended to function as a general plan of the land use of the area, offer guidelines for planning and building, as well as for the provision of services and facilities. The planning process includes also the making of a marketing plan and test marketing of the area. Among the objectives of the Value project is the utilization of the preserved historical building stock and a design for additional development fitting with the milieu (Nurmeksen Asemapuiston alueen kehittämissuunnitelma 2009). The Wood Studio within the University of Oulu Department of Architecture has been commissioned by the Value project to make land use and architectural planning and designing for the development plan. The Wood Studio aims to accomplish this by supervising three students of architecture, each of which, as their diploma projects, will prepare an alternative plan for the area. There will be a few participatory workshops during the latter half of 2009, where the students' sketches will be brought to public scrutiny. The first such session, to launch this process, was held in Nurmes in May 14<sup>th</sup>, 2009. A separate steering group to supervise the planning work will also be nominated.

## Uncertainty and ambiguity

The complexity of the planning problem concerning the making of the development plan can be elaborated by using the distinction John Forester (1993) has made between the two dimensions of planning problems: *uncertainty* and *ambiguity*.

The dimension of *uncertainty* refers to lack of information of the planned object in its present and some future state, and lack of time, resources, and cognitive and organizational capacities for the rational programming of planning work. This is the technical dimension of planning. Concerning the making of the development plan for Nurmes railway station park, there is such uncertainty in the strategic goal of the Value project of utilizing the area in the generation of new enterprises and livelihood for Nurmes. The feasibility of this goal is uncertain: Can the area be made attractive enough for distance-working and

creative industries that are sought for? Is there real demand for this kind of business park? There is also uncertainty having to do with the technical complexity of the planning task: How to fit together the needs of different users, when also the national railroad company still intends to use the engine stable and the railroad track leading to it across the area, thus complicating the planning of the un-built part of the area for new development?

But there is *also* the political dimension that concerns the *legitimacy of the ends and means of planning*. Problems of legitimacy in planning have to do with *ambiguity*, according to Forester. Facing uncertainty, the planner is in need of more information; facing ambiguity, s/he is in need of practical judgment. Uncertainty is characteristic of problems that emerge in professional inquiry. There is lack of adequate information: "What will happen 'out there?'; "Will a strategy work?"; "Are the growth estimations reliable?"; "Can we trust in the adequacy of our mappings of areas and sites to protect?" In the political conflict between values and interests one is often forced to consider one's relationship to the others. Whereas uncertainty rather concerns questions about the *object* of planning, ambiguity has to do with questions about the practical and epistemological *context* of the planning procedure itself. Legitimacy is at stake: How to justify the proposed choices? (Forester 1993, 9, 88–90). Referring to the Nurmes case, is the goal of the Value project legitimate – or should one rather concentrate on the well-being and future living possibilities of the present tenants in the area; the protection of the cultural-historical and aesthetic values of the area, also in terms of allowed future use; or reduction of financial risks and costs involved in the ownership and maintenance of the real estate property in question? These are examples of other relevant approaches to the planning problem, each bringing its own logic of setting the goal.

The planning of the Nurmes railway station park is thus a *wicked problem* (cf. Rittel & Webber 1973; see also Christensen 1985): it has a good deal of both political ambiguity between different aims and technical uncertainty concerning the feasibility of these aims. Such wickedness is characteristic of planning problems. What is needed is the ability to make sense of the planning problem from different angles at the same

time, trying to establish some ground for mutual communication and handling of conflicts; and courage to try planning solutions, whose success cannot be determined beforehand due to missing information.

For managing uncertainty and ambiguity I propose a model of planning and decision-making which I call *strategic integration*.

## Strategic integration

### Managing uncertainty

Lately in Finnish planning research and land use policy there has been a lot of discussion of integrative planning ('eheyttävä suunnittelu' in Finnish, see for example Sairinen 2009; Eheit yhdyskunnat 2008). In this discussion suggestions have been made which resemble ideas of *incrementalism* (Lindblom 1959): improve the quality of the existing living environments and concentrate on the densification of the existing urban infrastructure by piecemeal planning and development. However, there are crucial and potentially epochal processes taking place in our societal and ecological systems that require also strategic and future-oriented preparedness besides focusing on the mere integration of what already exists. Such interlinked processes include the climate change, the globalization of markets, the polarization and networking of regions and intensified competition of investments and resources between them, the reform of the communal structure, the ageing of population and increasing immigration, the centralization of commercial services, and the emergence of new technologies that mould our ways of life. As Forester commented: "[W]e do not want to increment our way to hell" (Forester 1993, 53).

Yet, a return to blueprint-type long-term planning of the 1950s and 1960s is not the answer to this challenge. In those days faith in the certainty of growth estimations decades ahead was strong, and the master plans were indeed prepared accordingly with the long term vision of renewed city centres and new satellite towns and suburbs as reference to present land use decisions, instead of the existing built environment and interests



of the existing populace. As the estimations were shown to fail in the 1970s and the emerging civil movements turned attention to historical and affective values of the existing built environments under threat, and to the role of public participation in planning, the planning style shifted to incrementalist short-term and small-scale planning (Vuorela 1991; Lehtonen 1991; Mäntysalo 2007).

Since the late 1990s we have been facing a structural change comparative to that of the 1950s and 1960s. The few largest city regions in Finland are growing at the expense of other regions: rural regions, as well as small- and medium-sized urban regions. But we need to learn from the illusion of certainty that strained blueprint planning. Instead of relying on today's land use decisions on the long term vision of the future urban structure, we should take as our point of departure the potentialities and constraints identifiable in our present urban conditions - in order to meet the challenge of uncertainty. We are in need of strategic land use plans, but first and foremost we need them as instruments for the *strategic assessment* of our current planning ideas and problem definitions: Are we accepting a planning proposal or development project that would open up a path for desirable further development and close possibilities for undesirable development paths?; Are we enabling necessary flexibility for future uncertainties while securing protection values?

This kind of strategic integration would bear resemblance to the theory of *mixed-scanning*, presented by Amitai Etzioni already in 1967 (Etzioni 1967). Attempting to combine the strengths of both incrementalist and blueprint planning (or comprehensive rationalist planning) Etzioni devised a model of planning as scanning back and forth between strategic and incremental (or operative) planning levels. However, Etzioni's planning model of mixed-scanning was too technocratic and expert-oriented to meet the challenge of political ambiguity.

## **Managing ambiguity**

The long term point of view is necessary also in the management of ambiguity. When discussing and debating about topical planning issues we unavoidably also mould the social and political conditions for future

communication processes: are we generating mutual trust and respect and networking capacity, or not? Jean Hillier (2002) has outlined an approach to planning communication which she calls '*agonistic planning*'. In this approach, the Habermasian strife for consensus is relaxed, and instead the possible disharmony between the different stakeholders' interests is acknowledged as a legitimate and perhaps unavoidable condition (Hillier 2002; see also Pløger 2004; Bäcklund & Mäntysalo 2009). Instead of searching for some universal criteria for the determination of which stakeholder has the "best argument" (cf. Habermas 1984), in agonistic planning the focus is shifted to enabling the handling of conflicts between the stakeholders in a manner that would foster the generation of mutual trust and respect. The legitimacy of a stakeholder's argument would then not arise from the communicatively rationalist identification of the argument as 'right', but from the identification of the basic right of the stakeholder to have a different view.

The idea of agonistic planning stems from Chantal Mouffe's (2000) theory of agonistic democracy. For Mouffe, the strife for consensus is a form of power, which potentially conceals genuinely adversary stances between the stakeholders' ideologically different positions. Thereby political action would be harnessed to serve the purposes of a given "higher", transcendental reason, and thus alienated from its true nature.

Strategic integration as management of ambiguity would mean determined, long-span activity for the construction of a participatory planning culture relying on mutual trust and respect – with mutual awareness that the present planning process, with the experiences gained from it, is a decisive link for this construction work. The planning culture of mutual trust and respect can be gained only, if each stakeholder in his/her present activity treats the other stakeholders trustworthily and respectfully. As Forester has pointed out, in reference to Gregory Bateson, while we are discussing about the object of planning, we are necessarily forming mutual relationships, too (Forester 1993, 49). Ultimately all communication is about relationship (Bateson 1987, 275).

The above discussion mirrors, to a degree, the model of rational action presented in the theory of *iterative games*. From the point of view of players trying to maximize their self-related success, there is a crucial difference, whether they are participating in a one-off game or in an indefinitely long series of mutual games. In the latter case, a quick win at the other players' expense is out of the question, if one is not willing to face retaliatory action from the other players in the next round. Focusing on sustained success in iterative games, an appropriate strategy would then be the building of mutual trust and respect with the other players. The logic of iterative games would mean a shift from individual rationality to *collective rationality* – however not in the sense of searching for a lasting consensus between the players' different interests, but in the sense of generating lasting capacity for mutual fair play. (See Rapoport 1989, 270–72; Kangas 1994, 79–83; von Herten 1993, 50–52, 60; Kauffman 1995, 219.) In land use planning many stakeholders, such as local and regional public administrators, councillors, major land-owners, developers and other enterprises, local associations and individual activists, can be seen as this kind of iterative players in planning, to whom participation in a current planning or development project is not just a one-shot effort, but rather another “round” in ongoing mutual interaction on local land use issues (Mäntysalo 2000, 67–68).

In his theory of incrementalism, Lindblom approaches planning processes as games between the different interest groups. Lindblom's approach has been criticized by the Habermasian communicative planning theorists (especially Sager 1994), to whom Lindblom's game settings represent too narrow a view to planning communication. As merely “watch-dogs for their own values” (Lindblom 1965) the stakeholders would resort to bargaining and compromise seeking between each other's interests and thereby miss important opportunities for mutual learning and understanding. The theory of iterative games sheds new light to this criticism. Being conscious of participating in iterative planning games, the stakeholder as such a watch-dog would indeed value mutual learning and understanding as necessary for his/her success. But besides learning and gaining understanding of the possibilities for mutual consensus, the stakeholders would also learn

the limits of consensus and come to understand the unavoidability of conflict – and learn ways to deal with the conflicts in other ways than enforcing consensus. According to Hillier, incrementalist bargaining is not to be rejected from the repertoire of tactics and approaches to communication in agonistic planning. She argues that bargaining is a legitimate way of resolving political conflicts that would otherwise remain unresolved (Hillier 2002, 255). But she adds: “It should, however, be a strategy of last rather than first resort, not a principle of least effort” (*ibid.*). Drawing from Gutmann & Thompson she concludes that the principles of deliberative democracy can be satisfied also in bargaining if its consequences can be shown to be mutually justifiable (*ibid.*). Indeed, incrementalist bargaining as iterative games would be motivated to search for mutually justifiable game results.

However, there is another point of serious criticism towards incrementalism that needs to be brought up here: its tendency towards *corporatism*. In incrementalist planning, access to the decision-making process is not evenly distributed between the stakeholders, and the process opens up more readily to those who are well organized and influential. Incrementalism is, by definition, conservative. It builds on the existing policy by adding only small increments onto it and by making small changes “at the margin”. This means that it also builds on the existing power relations. Therefore, incremental decisions tend to mirror the values of those already in power, the status quo. (Etzioni 1967, 387; Cates 1979, 528; Sager 1994, 160; Möttönen 1997, 178 – see also Lindblom 1979, 523; 1977, 228.) In Lindblom’s theory, the stakeholders (or “partisans”) are powerfully motivated by self-interest and also recognize this self-interest in each other. Therefore, according to Lindblom, they try to search for everyone’s advantage or for no-one’s disadvantage (Lindblom 1965, 210) – a principle discernible also in the collective rationality of iterative games. But here “everyone” actually means those who are already included as stakeholders. Self-interest means also *no interest* in bringing in new players to the given coalition or regime of iterative game-players (Mäntysalo 2000, 60). In Sager’s terms, such collective rationality may indeed become “collective opportunism” (see Sager 1994, 180; see also Forester 1993, 87).

Following Mouffe, truly democratic action cannot be replaced by any kind of rationality, not even the cooperative rationality of iterative games, which does not recognize the inclusion of potential new players as rational action. Communicative rationality would be inclusive in this sense, but its determination on establishing shared criteria for assessing arguments would frame democracy in another way, as we have seen. Agonistic democracy would *transcend* rationalities – not abandoning rationality but subjecting the choice of what rationality to follow to the political situation at hand. Following a certain rationality is thus seen as a *political decision*. Hereby we grasp the real meaning of political ambiguity. Subjecting the realm of political activity to a certain form of rationality would actually mean reducing political problems to questions of technical uncertainty (see Friedmann 1987, 331–32).

## Case Nurmee as strategic integration

From the point of view of *managing uncertainty*, the development planning of Nurmee railway station park area exemplifies well the idea of strategic integration. In its central location, the planning project complements incrementally the existing urban infrastructure and potentially improves the quality of the existing urban environment. As noted, the project looks beyond mere incremental integration, having also a strategic goal of offering new sources of livelihood and entrepreneurship through reconceptualising the role and use of the area. As integration with a strategic view, the project, in the best case scenario, has the possibility of bringing coherence to the existing urban environment, in terms of experienced quality of the living environment, historical continuity, as well as infrastructure and urban image – while offering new guidelines for the strategic development of economy, land use and housing policy, and civil society in Nurmee. Imagine instead that an area for ICT-based distance-working and housing were planned somewhere in the fringes of Nurmee urban structure. Such planning would hardly be strategic *integration*, when, on the contrary, there is pressure for diminishing the urban structure from its edges, in conditions of prolonged decrease in population – although such

diminishing through planning is extremely difficult (cf. Raatikainen 2004; Mäntysalo 2006; Mönkkönen 2006).

However, the new concept for the railway station park area, suggested by the Value project, raises the critical question of how the uncertainty of the future success of the concept is to be tackled in the planning work. The attempted new use of the area may not materialize. Therefore, in making renovation plans for the existing buildings and in planning additional development, it would be important to afford flexibility to alternative uses, too. Indeed, safeguarding the continued use of the area, and thus its maintenance in the first place, would be key. A strategy based on a single trump card might stagnate also possibilities for integration, in case of failure. Integration with more than one strategic option should thus be favoured.

If the case planning project were to function as strategic integration also in the sense of *managing ambiguity*, it should avoid attempting at forced consensus. The participatory planning process should rather encourage unprejudiced and creative dialogue through which the stakeholders together may search for planning solutions that would enable the *situated coexistence* of different 'social worlds' (Mäntysalo 2000; Leino 2008). For example, economic and protection interests are often difficult to harmonize, but in agonistic planning a resolution would not be sought by devising an overriding rationality. Instead, the incompatibility of these perspectives would be accepted as a legitimate condition determining the planning task at hand. However, this would not mean that a case-specific planning solution, meeting the different demands set from each social world separately, would be impossible to achieve. Already Lindblom (1959) noted that while the values of different groups may strongly differ in terms of abstract principles, it would still be possible to achieve concrete planning and policy decisions that would meet their different aims simultaneously.

However, the situated and creative knowledge production process meant here would be a kind of planning communication that is beyond the reach of both the Lindblomian win/win rationality and the Habermasian communicative rationality. Creative planning transcends

rationality (Mäntysalo 2002, 422–26). The case-specific nature of the wicked planning problem cannot be sorted out before engaging in the actual planning work. It can only take shape through planning as cooperative sense-making (see Forester 1989, 120–21). Thereby the concrete meanings and mutual relations of different value considerations and motivations become also identifiable - and thus the very need to engage in debating and making choices between them. The possibilities involved would be lost by premature fixing of attitudes.

Shared confidence in future planning tasks is built through encouraging experiences gained in the present task. A single planning project may have crucial importance for the generation of a planning culture of managing ambiguity; as a link that strengthens the unfolding chain of mutual capacity building in bringing the threads of interests into situated coexistence again and again. Time will tell, whether the Nurmes case will provide such a link for the planning culture of Nurmes.

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*Professor **Raine Mäntysalo** is an architect, D.Sc. and works as Institute Director at the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, Aalto University, Finland. E-mail: [raine.mantysalo@tkk.fi](mailto:raine.mantysalo@tkk.fi)*



## INTEGRATING AIMS

### — BUILT HERITAGE IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Built heritage can have various kinds of roles in supporting favourable social and economic development. The multiplicity of the possible roles goes hand in hand with the context-specificity of built heritage.

This publication approaches the issue of heritage in planning from both general and case-specific perspectives. Firstly, the publication discusses different analytical tools to address the questions of the value and potentialities of built heritage on a general level. Secondly, case studies show us how certain solutions and strategies may work in some contexts, but not necessarily succeed in others.

The publication includes 15 articles, by altogether 22 authors from eight countries. Despite the great variety of cases, the studied settings share a challenge that applies to both planning and heritage management: the need to communicate and collaborate across value systems. In such situations, value systems often clash and constructive discussions are rare. This is where research has much to say in clarifying conflicting points of view.

Promoting built heritage as a resource and creating a basis for true cooperation in these efforts requires understanding of not only the sites and objects, but also of the possible actors. The development of a favourable local planning culture and operational practice is pivotal when we seek to utilise heritage as a resource. The publication aims at developing further the understanding of theory and practice in finding the most suitable roles for heritage in specific contexts.

ISSN 1455-7797

ISBN 978-952-60-3283-2 (printed)

ISBN 978-952-60-3284-9 (pdf)