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ECONOMICS AND BUILT HERITAGE – TOWARDS NEW EUROPEAN INITIATIVES

Mikko Mälkki Raine Mäntysalo Kaisa Schmidt-Thomé (eds.)

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Content

Raine Mäntysalo & Kaisa Schmidt-Thomé 5
Introduction

László Daragó, Péter Rabb & András Szalai 17
Architecture and Value Protection
Analysis of the Historic Town of Kőszeg

Iacopo Zetti 47
The Interpretation of Territorial Heritage in the Planning Process
The Tuscan Experience

Anna Krus 71
Heritage – Function – Economy
Three Perspectives on Values in Estate Management

Inese Stūre 91
Evaluation of Efficiency of Protection of Cultural Heritage
Case Of Latgale Region In Latvia

Krister Olsson 113
The Value of Preservation
Analyses of the Decision-making Processes
in Urban Heritage Management

Donovan D. Rypkema 131
Heritage and Development
The Role of Public-Private Partnerships

Mikko Mälkki, Raine Mäntysalo & Kaisa Schmidt-Thomé 151
Towards New European Initiatives

Recommended Literature 157

Introduction

Raine Mäntysalo & Kaisa Schmidt-Thomé

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Many feel that discussing heritage in economic terms is reductive and pressuring, as if nothing were "holy" and "priceless" as the economic thinking gains ground. However, the economic perspective can also broaden one's view. Opening the traditional toolkit of the conservation sector in evaluating the value of heritage, extending to the discussion about the "price of value", brings us to a broader societal debate of different values. Economic values get related to other values in an interesting way and may ease the perception of the array of values as a whole. Furthermore, discussing consumption in the context of built heritage, different sites can be seen as goods, both public and private, for which people might be prepared to pay more than commonly expected.

Talking the language of budgets requires numbers, however strong the evidence about the high value of built heritage were otherwise. Several methods for this work are available[1], but well-grounded studies utilizing these methods are scarce, as such studies are labour intensive. Another challenge related to the calculations is their transferability.

[1] For a brief introduction see e.g. Schmidt-Thomé 2007.

As it is not feasible to provide scientifically well-grounded calculations for each and every site, comparisons across sites are important. Again, they need to be well contextualized and transparent. The call for transparent decision-making and the fact that conservation increasingly needs to compete for both public and private funds have led to a widening research activity on heritage economics. There remains a theoretically inspiring, unexplored terrain to be studied.

Stemming from a North-European initiative, an emerging European network called "Economics and Built Heritage" raises public awareness about the value adding potential of heritage, prepares a comparative programme and supports researcher networking across national borders. Cooperation within the network is coordinated by the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, Helsinki University of Technology, with financial support and advice from the Finnish National Board of Antiquities. The website of the network www.ebheritage.fi is the 'base camp' of the initiative, providing information for researchers and other interested actors, an access to relevant contact and funding information and a publication channel for working papers and articles.

The first publication of the Economics and Built Heritage Network consisted of proceedings of the conference entitled 'Built Heritage – Value Adding Sector', in December 2005, Helsinki.[2] This book elaborates the approaches to the economic dimension of the built heritage further, and develops thematic threads towards future European research and development cooperation.

In the following, we will present the contents of this book in connection to the working paper we prepared[3] as a support for the future establishment of the Finnish research programme on economic valuation of built heritage. The working paper was requested by the Finnish National Board of Antiquities as a thematic initiative for the renewal of sectoral research in Finnish state organs. Our work built largely on insights gained from the Economics and Built Heritage Network cooperation.

In the working paper, our aim was to show that the relationship between economics and built heritage is not one-dimensional but mani-

[2] Lehtovuori & Schmidt-Thomé 2007.
[3] Mäntysalo & Schmidt-Thomé 2008.

fold. We identified three basic approaches to the economic dimension of built heritage, while acknowledging that clear boundaries between them cannot be drawn:

1 *Built heritage as a subject of economic planning* – The economic (e.g. cost-benefit) analysis and evaluation of built heritage as a type of information used in the planning process;

2 *Built heritage as a property in the urban and real estate market* – The market value of built heritage in property development and its role in the public organizations' estate property management;

3 *Built heritage as a resource (capital) for the economic livelihood of regions*.

These correspond roughly with the three main targets identified in the Finnish Built Heritage Strategy[4]:

- To generate means for the public sector's (both at the state and local level) protection and maintenance of the built heritage; including legislation, international treaties, land use planning, *economic steering instruments* and agreement policies;
- To intensify governance and cooperation in implementation, integrating third sector activity with expert work and *public administration as an owner* of built heritage sites and estates;
- To increase knowledge and know-how on built heritage, with the intention of providing up-to-date and valid information of the built heritage as both cultural and *economic resource*.

Built heritage as a subject of economic planning

In planning, the proper consideration of values attached to the built environment requires sufficient knowledge base of the built environment. There have been difficulties in integrating various approaches to the built heritage, such as archaeological surveys, art historical studies, cognitive

[4] Rakennusperintöstrategia 2001.

mapping and architectural and environmental aesthetics. While appropriate comprehensiveness is missing, the evaluation criteria of the surveys lack clarity and transparency. Judgments on heritage values are made on a more subjective and ad hoc basis than the surveyors and planners would like to admit.[5] This hinders comparativeness of heritage values between different sites and areas and the utilization of survey databases.

In this regard, the survey method proposed by the Hungarian *László Daragó*, *Péter Rabb* and *András Szalai* in this book is interesting, as it interlinks typomorhologically the historical building surveys with the surveys on the historical layers of the urban structure. Accordingly, the method approaches individual monuments in the contexts of their surroundings, thus addressing the heritage values of milieus. The scale of the larger area is also emphasized in the environmental survey method developed by the Italian Alberto Magnagni and his *scuola territorialista*, which approaches built heritage form the territorial perspective, as described by *Iacopo Zetti* in this book.

Daragó and others claim comprehensiveness, objectivity and clarity to their typomorphological approach. Similar attributes have been associated with economy-based surveys, such as cost-benefit analysis. In environmental impact assessment research, cost-benefit analysis is regarded as an aggregative method, since it translates differently derived value considerations into the uniform medium of money.[6] This makes value judgment apparently easy: for different planning and development proposals we can deduce an aggregative price, the best being the one 'least costly' for the built heritage (seen as a collection of 'heritage items' with price labels).

However, all values of the built environment are not reducible to one-dimensional conceptualization with objectivity and exact measurement. According to Virtanen, such translation into the medium of money would make evaluation highly inconsistent, when built heritage values are concerned.[7] Subjective and vague value considerations would then be given a misguidedly determinate guise as calculable monetary values.

[5] Virtanen 2004, Ihatsu 2007.
[6] Leskinen 1994.
[7] Virtanen 2004, p. 51.

On the other hand, denying the economically calculable dimension of the built heritage values altogether would easily lead to their marginalization in political decision-making processes, where decision proposals tend to be viewed through the "budget lens". It seems that the applicability of money-based evaluation in the context of built heritage is not a matter of either/or. While acknowledging the inappropriateness of money-based evaluation in certain key realms of the built heritage – as such measures would lead to loss or distortion of meanings – in other realms it may well be relevant.

In environmental impact assessment research, the so-called disaggregative method is offered as an alternative to the aggregative method. In short, it means the acceptance of the unavoidable multitude of value considerations concerning the built environment. There are different value systems (aesthetic, economic, ethical, functional, historical, ecological, authenticity…) that cannot be fused into a single system. Thus, it should be handed openly to political decision making, which value system is afforded hegemony over the others and how much effort is to be put on searching for solutions that would meet different value requirements simultaneously.[8] The aggregative method, in turn, would actually fade the political dimension out of the decision-making process, reducing it to a mere technical finalization of economic calculus. Instead, the disaggregative evaluation of the built heritage would draw attention to the political judgment between different, mutually incompatible value considerations, among which money-based evaluation would have a proper place alongside the other approaches. Have we found the means to integrate economic evaluation of the built heritage in a balanced and dispassionate way in a pluralistic value setting, or are we caught in an unfruitful either/or debate?

Anna Krus, in her article, offers one possible matrix for clarifying and balancing different value perspectives concerning re-development projects in historical estates. She identifies three general value perspectives: (1) cultural history, (2) space-planning, and (3) estate-economy. However, Krus' third perspective does not approach economics in the sense of economic planning discussed above. Instead, it brings us to our second economic dimension of built heritage: Built heritage as a property in the urban and real estate market.

[8] Leskinen 1994.

Built heritage as a property in the urban and real estate market

When built heritage is approached as a property in the market, the economic value is seen in terms of potential or actual *monetary price* in the urban and real estate markets. The focus is on how the different aspects of the built heritage, in different localized urban markets, contribute to the determination of the price of the estates and areas in the market. For example, the price value of an estate in the "Old Town" does not follow merely from its central location, but the surrounding historical area also has a role.

Concerning built heritage, the mechanisms of the urban and real estate markets are a rarely studied subject. In environmental economics, there have been some studies concerning readiness to pay for cultural heritage among people, by asking their readiness in relation to different built areas and buildings (the so-called stated preferences).[9] Another approach is to examine the effect of the closeness of built heritage on the estate prices (the so-called revealed preferences), such as the impact of the cultural heritage objects or the old building stock on the apartment prices in the area.[10]

In Finland, a central part of our built heritage is owned and managed by state-owned companies which follow the market logic in their action. By following the New Public Management model they may resort to short-sighted decisions in their property management, thus bypassing the longer term and broader value considerations and heritage maintenance responsibilities formerly associated with public property management. Concerning both private and "private-like" public ownership, there is a need to develop both public and private subsidies and incentives as tools of financial support, to improve the attractiveness of careful maintenance of the built heritage in the real estate market. The customers' awareness of the life cycle costs of heritage buildings in relation to new ones should be improved.[11] A crucial question is how the real estate market mechanisms could be improved to enable "better fit"

[9] Navrud & Ready 2002; 2007.
[10] Juusola 2006.
[11] Tolman 2003.

between supply and demand: the exchange of built heritage properties to customers committed to respect the cultural-historical values of their properties.

We need more research on the effect of different ways of renovating cultural-historically valuable buildings (from reconstructive repairs to modernizing replacements) to the real estate market value of these buildings. Concerning historical areas, we need more information on how renovations and additions in single buildings, irrespectful to their historical character, influence the market value of the whole area. This question concerns also our suburbs built in the 1950s–1970s. There is also a need to add flexibility to the norms and standards on renovation and use that often unnecessarily hinder protective renovation of old buildings. However, it seems that we are moving to the opposite direction. In the heat of the climate change debate, demands have been made to enforce low-energy building through regulation, and this may have detrimental effects to the built heritage, if it brings strict rules on added thickness to the insulation of the building surfaces.

The market mechanism has a key role in the maintenance and development of our built heritage. Through mere regulation, the attainment of maintenance and protection objectives is questionable, if the owners and local users of the heritage sites and buildings are not motivated. This shows clearly in *Inese Stūre's* article in which she evaluates the success of the established system of the protection of cultural heritage of Latvia, in relation to its implementation at the local level. As a case, she analyses the protection of architectural monuments in Latgale, one of the cultural regions of Latvia.

In his article, *Krister Olsson* points out that planning negotiations on built heritage sites and areas are often biased, as, in the vein of economic analysis, the built environment is seen primarily as a private good. Awareness of and attention to the *public good* characteristics of the planned environment would offer a conceptual vehicle for bringing the values held by the *public* to the agenda, and for justifying *public* participation in the planning process.

Built heritage as a resource (capital) for the economic livelihood of regions

The third approach to the economic dimension of built heritage considers built heritage as a resource for the economic livelihood of regions. As success and growth of a town or region is in the interest of local actors both in the public and the private sector, this approach offers ground for the formation of coalitions and partnerships between the public and private actors in developing local built heritage.

However, studies on the impact of built heritage to the local and regional economy are few, in comparison to studies on the role of cultural industry and services.[12] In Finland, the research which has otherwise successfully covered the whole cultural sector[13] has failed to grasp the level of the built cultural heritage, to a sufficient degree. There is a need for research concerning direct and indirect impacts on the local and regional economy, of investments made on built heritage. Especially the assessment and evaluation of the impact of regional development projects is needed, within both EU structural fund and national programmes. Accordingly, learning from well-functioning local and regional cooperation and networking arrangements, concerning built heritage development projects, would be valuable. In our Economics and Built Heritage network we have noticed the lack of information on the motives and cause-effect chains behind and between different activities.[14] Although thorough case studies are work-consuming and heavy, they are necessary, alongside lighter cost-benefit analyses, to aid our understanding of what works in complex project cooperation.

In the last article of this book, *Donovan D. Rypkema* provides a summary of experiences gained in public-private cooperation in built heritage projects. He identifies the characteristics of successful heritage partnerships, and thereby he offers valuable guidelines for the forming of future partnerships in the maintenance and development of built heritage estates and areas.

[12] Kaipainen 1999, Malmi 1995, Ilmonen 1998.
[13] Riukulehto 2001, Tohmo 2007.
[14] See Lehtovuori & Schmidt-Thomé 2007.

A subtheme on the relations between cultural heritage and regional economy, which is gaining growing interest, is economic impact analysis on cultural tourism, both internationally[15] and in Finland[16]. More clarity, however, is needed in identifying the role of the built heritage as an attractor of the tourists' visits: to what extent does it function as a primary factor or a secondary one.

Among the indirect impacts of built heritage, its connections to local identity and self-image are often mentioned. The built environment has a central role in modifying the images we gain from different local and regional entities. We may draw on these images in place-marketing campaigns alluring tourists and new residents and enterprises.[17] Correspondingly, a high quality built environment is likely to foster the local residents' rooting to their home towns and neighbourhoods. The maintenance and repair of the local built heritage can also be a direct source of local income, in the sense that it offers work for skilled local carpenters and caretakers. Evidently, there is a lot of undiscovered potential for the utilization of the built heritage as a source of local and regional livelihood.

What emerges as a special research challenge are the different peripheral and deprived areas and regions that suffer from out-migration and negative socio-economic development. While the decrease of economic resources and abandonment of users provides an immediate threat to the maintenance of the built heritage in such areas, there is a pressing need to look for ways to turn the tide of deprivation through the utilization of cultural heritage as a local asset.

In broad terms, the multi-disciplinary research platform "Economics and Built Heritage" wishes to shed light on the economic valuation of built heritage. Besides the pooling of expertise, the network stresses transparency and wishes to make its work accessible for those that need the results or need to communicate them forward in their own reference groups. Furthermore, the network aims at launching European

[15] European Commission 2002.
[16] Löytynoja 1998, Kahila 1998, Kauppila 2004.
[17] Kainulainen 2005.

Table 1: Summary of the three basic approaches to the economic dimension of built heritage.

APPROACH	1. Economic planning	2. Property management	3. Regional development
Value as object	Cost-benefit value (measuring value with economic indicators)	Market value (speculative and real market price, rent)	Instrumental value in regional development (added value, image value)
Frames of action	Protection of buildings, planning, decision-making	Urban and real estate markets, building stock, status of the area	Regional economy, location factors of production, place-marketing, image-work/ branding, development programmes, urban strategies, employment and education policies
Actors	Conservation authorities, museums, planners, environmental administration, researchers, consultants	Land-owners, real estate developers, building developers, consumers, investors, professional groups, experts	Municipal administration and business services, regional development organisations, local action groups, image consultants, service providers, public-private partnerships, sectoral state government
Forms of action	Conservation, regulation, government, inventories & surveys, assessments, plans	Markets (real estate management, development and trade)	Governance, partnerships, growth coalitions, development networks, development programmes and strategies, territorial marketing, strategic planning
Impact on value	Impact on protection and maintenance possibilities in political decision-making	Price effect, market relations (supply and demand), rent income, return of investment	Impact on the attractiveness and livelihood of the area
Style of governance	Bureaucratic, hierarchical (public economy)	Market-oriented (private economy, market control)	Managerial (growth economy and public-private coalitions)

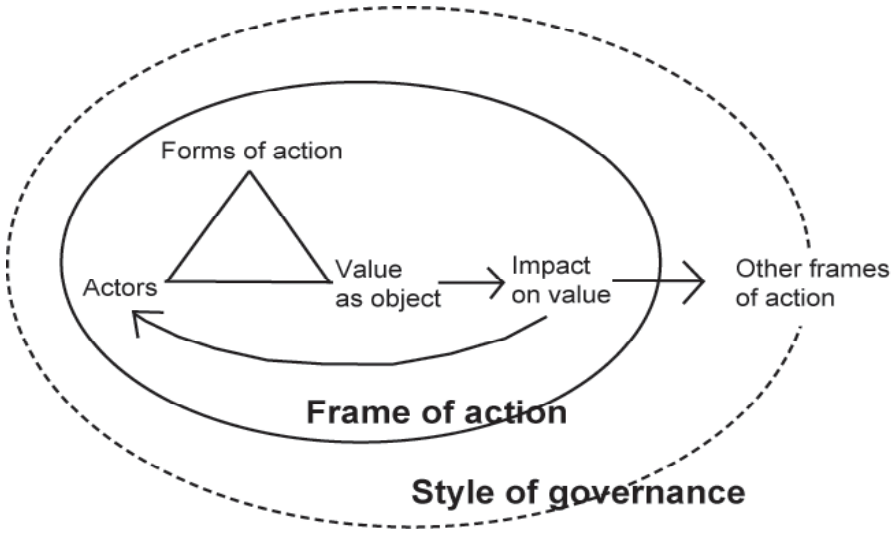

Figure 1: The activity system of value generation and maintenance, in reference to the headings in Table 1.

research and development projects in the future. In the concluding chapter, potential themes for research and development are outlined, reflecting the points raised in the articles of this book.The editors wish to thank Maire Mattinen and Kari Nikkanen at the Finnish National Board of Antiquities for their cooperation and support in the making of this book.

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Architecture and Value Protection

Analysis of the Historic Town of Kőszeg

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" … city is a psychological status, a whole combined from customs and tradition, from forms of behaviour and emotions organized within the framework of customs and transmitted by tradition."

Robert E. Park

1

The architecture of a town is summarized in the form of the town itself. At the same time, the city is not only a huge object, a human creation, the enormous and complex work of engineers and architects, which continuously grows and changes by time, but it also possesses smaller components that are determinative and definable. These components, namely streets, squares, parks, public buildings, residential houses, etc. are characterized by their history and this way by their form, just as the town itself. In both cases, architecture is only one segment of a more complex reality; but, as a final proof of this reality, the architectural

approach provides the most specific basis for understanding the problems related to the city.

In other words, town is a spatial and temporal projection, an imprint and a map of both the "whole" defined in the motto and the above mentioned "more complex reality". Temporal, as, by time, it "grows over itself", acquires self-awareness and collects memories; during its building and construction, the town's original themes are carried on, however, they are also modified in line with the city's unique development. Consequently, not only the real town, but also its memories and form represent a certain value. Town is both a place and a space, and at the same time an economic, social an¨ölopd cultural formation. The features of this formation are reflected in the form of the city and in the characteristics of its elements. Thus, the town is fixed and changed in the form of its memories simultaneously.

The memories of the town as a place (locus) are usually referred to as "the spirit of place" (genius loci), a definition which is mainly interpreted as or even identified with the history or certain happenings of the city; although the "genius loci", the spirit of place often dissolves in the course of time faster than expected.

However, the (partial) incarnation of the spirit dissolved in time, the "corpus loci", i.e. the body of place – even if changing by time and partially – may be maintained. It may preserve the spatial-formal memories of the volatile (former) spirit of a town in its streets, squares and buildings, that is, in architectural forms. Besides the significant monuments of the town – such as churches, public buildings, art relics, monuments, etc. – the seemingly less relevant, typical parts also have importance in the preservation of these spatial-formal memories. Also the residential areas and their components – building sites, houses, etc. – typify the community which has created the town itself and its monuments, though the spatial use of the residential areas and the form of their typical elements may be changed faster and modified more quickly than the form of the more prominent parts of the city. Nevertheless, the memory of the town is not identical to the different images living in us, nor is it the summary of them. The model of the middle-age town affixes our images of a town widely. These cities "do not take anything away from

us, but enrich us by the human experience treasured up in them. Our close patria does not separate us from the world, but in a mysterious way it helps us to enter the wider dimensions of our age, to enter Europe or to the world community standing above frontiers. The match of imagination and emotion, which can be experienced in these towns, provides us the opportunity to participate in community life."[1]

Therefore, when we think of the city, it is always (or usually) the town of the middle ages or the historic town which comes to our mind and the aesthetically beautiful picture of an "individual object filled with life" appears in our imagination. So as a result – but partly because some of the theoretical commentaries on the city are also based on the idealized memory of the historic medieval town –, we tend to think that the city is a result of conscious aesthetic design, extended to nearly each part of the "individual object filled with life". We feel this conscious aesthetic design must be the key to the secret.

The unity of "spirit and will" rooted in tradition, which had created the "unconscious beauty" of these towns in the course of changing times, has split by now. The later development of the cities was determined by different "wills" and aims. During the changes that started in the 15th century, first theory and practice were separated in the design and development of towns, and then from the 18th century on, urban design diverged from architectural design. These changes created "such a new urban structure in which the traditional forms of perception and control cannot be applied any more".[2]

2

This present analysis on the Historic Town of Kőszeg will, however, disregard the detailed study of this process, since neither the urban design adapting to the rules of the perspective projection, nor the evolution tendencies determined by the city-models of the 18th and 19th centuries had a dominant influence on the urban development of Kőszeg. (This is quite obvious when we take a look at the map of the town.)

[1] Benevolo 1994.
[2] Ibid.

There are only traces of such effects in the town structure surrounding the downtown area. In the so-called family house zone, the most typical urban structure is the one reflecting the "garden suburb" model, though even this rather dense structure of family houses became predominant around the downtown area after 1945 only. Beforehand, cottages and smaller villas had been built, but not en masse. The memories of the urban development of the 19th century could be traced down mostly in the area near the railway and sporadically in the industrial zones.

The significant changes in the urban history of Kőszeg with a fundamental influence on the present status happened after 1945, but rather from the 1960's on. Nearly all current concerns and problems of the city, such as the problems related to the growth of population, industrial location, tourism, etc. are an outcome of this tendency of urban development.

The urban innovation discussed was based on various "modern" urban conceptions or city-models that typically did not improve the state of the towns, but rather abolished their individuality by cancelling the dialectic of general and unique decisions. "These areas were state-owned, governance was not forced to face the interests of individual entrepreneurs, which resulted in a series of arbitrary, unjustified and insignificant solutions. Architects designed at their pleasure, without taking into consideration the requirements of transportation and trade, and the ensuing collective solutions of regional settlement failed to withstand the test of time."[3]

All aforementioned facts are especially true for Eastern Europe, where state governance thoroughly obliterated the boundary between general and individual decisions, to "rationalize" centrally controlled area development. The fall of the political regime hiding these solutions revealed tragic facts: extreme environmental impairment, out-of-date building estates, public places waiting for reconstruction; bigger and smaller towns that lost their identity.

In the 1970's and 1980's new principles were formulated to solve this manifold problem. The Council of Europe has been dealing with the issue since 1972. The new principles can be summarized as follows:

[3] Ibid.

The historic centre has to be protected and restored in complete unity. To this end, the strict renovation methods worked out for "monumental buildings" have to be extended to "simple" buildings, too. In addition, instead of the subjective and disputable value gradation, objective and specific functional and structural differences must be established as conditions of preservation.

The specific nature of the "treasure" to be preserved has to be emphasized – it is not only a dead object which can be looked at as an artwork in a museum or a monument in a traditional town, but an inhabited space that possesses the re-claimed value missing from the cities of our age: it creates a continuous connection between people and architecture, and in this way it reconciles humans with their environment.

We should highlight and re-emphasize two fundamental elements of the two above-mentioned ideas: firstly, that rehabilitation can only be based on objective value determination; secondly, that this determination of values applies to an inhabited place. To neglect either of these aspects could only lead to confusion and further problems. The values of the historic towns cannot be preserved in an abstract way; our final aim must be that special and specially preserved zones will be regarded as "normal" and that the preservation of values will not be restricted to these areas in the everyday practice. Impersonal objects only need to be restored and displayed in museums, but to preserve a city; the equilibrium between interests and decisions must be restored, because these enable the balanced co-existence of physical place and society. Today, this goal can be achieved in one single way, which is open, well-grounded, gradual and never-ending research work. In this way there may be hope for us to protect not only our past but our future, too.

In our view, the value preservation analysis of Kőszeg – or of a town in general – may contribute to this "balancing of interests and decisions", just as the architectural studies serving as basis for the analysis, and as the detailed archaeological and monument topography created partly based on, and partly alongside with, the studies. This topography is to be prepared for Kőszeg in the near future.

At the same time, the detailed archaeological and monument topography under preparation may also serve as a basis for another important

aim. This intention is that the approach of the relatively comprehensive but less detailed impact study based on principles of value preservation primarily may be expanded, with a view to the aspects of objective value determination, to a more detailed value preservation regulation and be realized in every detail already in the near future.

Such an objective, efficient and detailed – primarily local – value preservation regulation which considers not only protection but also rehabilitation may be of special importance for a town like Kőszeg, rich in heritage to be preserved and protected.

Kőszeg has not only got a diverse history which its inhabitants can be proud of and a uniquely rich urban history preserved in the "corpus loci" and retained by monuments protection, but also several untapped but exploitable potentials on the basis of this heritage.

Such potentials are offered by the territorial extension of the preservation of historic urban structure primarily, coupled with the increased protection of the single monuments, which preservation could result in not only monumental but also general architectural rehabilitation and quality-improvement. This kind of preservation has been quite efficient in Kőszeg so far.

The importance of the territorially based preservation and the general architectural rehabilitation can be justified particularly by the vulnerability of the areas north and south to the preserved downtown area (to be detailed later). These zones are organic parts of the valuable monuments/architecture tradition, primarily from the aspects of settlement structure and urban characteristics, although, as Béla Hamvas put it, "non-curiosity is rather typical for the inimitable atmosphere" of these city zones, as opposed to the areas within the former town-wall (town circle). It may be useful to give heed to the intentions of Béla Hamvas with respect to the value-based architectural regulation of these areas as well: "The emergence of the lost mythic image is not enough to make tradition alive. If we do not continue unfolding it, the image may even become the object of further superstitions and further violation. [...] The emergence of the myth is unreal without awareness of the present. [...] Continuation is never imitation but the real meaning of the word: continuation."[4]

Fig. 1: Urban structure in Kőszeg.

For the considerations discussed above, in this kind of analysis of the city, the maps and map-fragments representing "director-levels" have a special importance (besides historic maps), because they exhibit the layout of the structural elements (estates and houses) of the historic urban structure.[5]

Such maps are suitable for presentation, study and analysis of the structure, context and consequently the related "space usage methods" of the historic town. Street-views also have significance; the spatial walls representing a part of the "face of the town" can be displayed in a measurable way and regulated based on appropriate analysis.

Beside this "epidermis", the "physical space" of the city can be experienced, not only visually alone, but mostly, by moving in its streets and squares. It is as we walk along the streets and stand at the squares that the "vision" is revealed to us, and through the various "visions" the city is revealed to us.

This "scenery", i.e. the physical space of the city is disclosed to us through its streets and squares, primarily. Not only the facades of the buildings are typical of the streets and squares, but other components, such as cladding, "equipment", greenery, level differences etc. are at least just as important and significant.

[4] Hamvas & Kemény 1989.

[5] Budapest University of Technology, Department for History of Architecture and of Monuments, 1984, 2004 etc.

In some essential elements of the downtown's space structure, the churches and several residential houses there are traceable baroque stylemarks. However, the space structure rather reminds one of the middle ages, and in some places the street network, space, forms and connections may really have originated in the middle ages. The typically baroque characteristics of the "perspective town planning" that aimed at spectacularity are missing in Kőszeg.

One of the most important central idea of the European Urban Charter, which determines principles and recommendations for the European cities of the future, is to preserve the historic town centers, the traditional structures of the cities in general and their "physical form", namely the "corpus loci", since they are the "symbols of the European cultural and historic heritage" "European historic centers, with their buildings, urban spaces and street patterns, provide an important link between the past, the present and the future; they contain invaluable elements of architectural heritage; the memories of the cities are enshrined in them; they provide a sense of identity for present and future generations and are key factors in establishing a sense of solidarity and a sense of community between the people of Europe."[6]

Kőszeg possesses excellent capacities with respect to historic heritage preserving the memories and identity of the town and architectural values as a result of not only the rich historic past of the town but also the effective monument preservation work which has been rather intensive from the 1960's on. This preservation work has been primarily extended to the area of the old town, and it is held to be rather effective as compared with Hungarian conditions. In addition, the development of the city in the 20th century was, in a sense, quite "moderate" or modest, and this also facilitated the preservation of monumental/architectural values without direct protection to this day.

The above statement is especially important because, as it has become apparent by now, the maintenance of the not yet protected values of urban patterns and architecture can only be guaranteed in the future, if the value protection system – elaborated first of all within the framework of local regulations, on a territorial basis and with an integrative

[6] European Urban Charter, Principles, 4.3.1.

approach – is extended to such values as well. The lack of such effective expansion of value protection may easily jeopardize or at least unfavourably influence the spatial frames which have, so far, ensured the maintenance of the spatial memories representing the town's identity without any specific measure aimed at their preservation. In other words, if historic and architectural values can only survive as enclosures or islands in the town's physical space, developing and changing in an unfavourable direction with respect to the architectural values, then they will be more likely to become uninteresting and valueless, empty and silent objects, which are unable to transmit the spirit of the space and have no relevance to the future.

3

In reflection of the general statements of the introduction, which can be applied to Kőszeg and which seem entirely valid for this town, and taking into consideration the specific historic consequences of the urban structural and architectural development of the city as well, the following conclusions can be drawn:

Until the middle of the 20th century, the city underwent a slow but essential spatial change and growth which also resulted in a kind of incomplete status in some places.

Some phases of this process are recorded and authenticated by the historic presentments of the town, with special regard to the city map of 1838/39, which may be deemed appropriate from an architectural point of view as well. Approximately by the beginning of the 20th century, following a slow and organic development composed mainly by smaller changes, Kőszeg attained the spatial-physical form that can be regarded today as the basic spatial-architectural structure of the historic town.

This town-structure stands out clearly on the maps presenting the status of today, and it can also be discovered and perceived by walking along the streets and across the squares quite well – in some places entirely, if we compare present and former conditions. Obviously, in the course of time, several elements of the basic structure have been changed, i.e. replaced or modified but the urban structure itself has preserved its basic

Fig. 2: The historical zones of the town-structure.

characteristics, and the majority of the essential elements creating and determining the peculiarities of the town have also survived.

This physical form, which came into existence through an organic urban development unfolding in history, including among others the heritage items of historic, monumental and architectural significance, carries and contains all those values of Kőszeg which, to quote the European Urban Charter, can provide a sense of identity to present and future generations by carrying and preserving the "memories of the town".

Thus, the boundaries of the city areas which are valuable from this respect and which were constructed before the modern urban development of the second half of the 20th century are easy to define.

At the same time, the map clearly shows that modern urban development followed completely different architectural-urban paradigms. Although it used some connection points, e.g. the existing street pattern, the innovation of the modern Kőszeg in the second half of the 20th century did not continue the old, historically developed urban structure. The development or rather growth of the town culminating from the 1960's on was determined by the unappealable modernist approach of the "new society, new architecture" doctrine. However, as a result of this urban planning practice, which was a "spatially projected will of the era" with political and ideological intention to simulate development and continuous growth, Kőszeg was also among the cities where such "mean collective area settlements" were completed which "do not withstand the test of time."[7]

This is true at least from the aspect of the town's identity and memories, since the new residential areas constructed as a result of the modern area development are just as those constructed in any other settlements in the same period. Obviously, in the physical and technological sense of the word, the building substance of these areas usually represents a significant value, even if most of the buildings are poorish and schematic with regard to architectural quality.

[7] Benevolo 1994.

Expanded and continuous connections between the historic middle zone of the town and the new areas can be found in the south-western direction mainly. In comparison, at the southern, eastern and north-eastern edges of the city, we can find only smaller and looser newly or just recently built-in areas. There are some modern buildings or building complexes blocked within the historic urban structure as well, though not many. As most of them were constructed on so-called bomb-sites, the predominant intention was to accommodate the new building to the surrounding environment – usually rather schematically. From these houses mostly the earlier buildings constructed in the 1960's or early 1970's could be called as good efforts.

There is a modern, major complex built in the old urban pattern, namely the building constructed in the block next to and behind Hotel Írottkő (1979), in the area bordered by Rákóczi Street, Kossuth Street and Munkácsy Street and theoretically divided by Szűk Street. The interior world of this place – partly due to the indefinite spatial walls – is slightly empty, and, as a result, the rooms of the inner block cannot really adjoin the spatial structure of the historic urban pattern.

However, the most problematic architectural solutions are presented by the buildings constructed in the most recent times. Their disturbing presence is particularly apparent in the picture of Rákóczi Street. The architectural gestures of the eighties-nineties aspired after striking solutions, and thus they often resulted in such a distorted decorativity which eliminated the possibility of a formal balance compared to the neighboring old houses completely. The newest houses of Rákóczi Street, similarly to the brand new buildings of the periphery or Sáncárok Street, reflect a tendency threatening the architectural values of the city, which may endanger the balanced preservation of the town's memories and its (architectural) identity reflected in physical forms more than ever.

The diverse landscape around the town, which determines the picture of the city from many aspects, is an important component of the attractivity of Kőszeg. The conscious recognition of the natural environment as a treasure perhaps played a decisive role in the fact that, from the end of the 19th century and especially in the first part of the 20th century, several villa-like, alone-standing residential buildings were constructed

Fig. 3:
Rákóczi Street.

on the edges of this little historic town embedded into the nature. Some of the villas – partly used as a cottage – represent a value on their own.

Similarly to the villa-like houses, some public buildings also took possession of the landscape around the town, such as the institute of the „Zögerei" (first school of warrant officers 1856–1874, later e.g. Military Secondary School) and the Erzsébet Sanatorium (1874). Later further institutes were settled into the picturesque landscape surrounding the town, among others the Jurisics Miklós Grammar School (originally Ferenc József Catholic High-school, 1908) and the Orphanage of the Hungarian Railway Association (1913).

The institutes were situated at the east parts of the town (over Gyöngyös brook) and to the western/south-western areas, while the bigger industrial complexes occupied the landscapes of the southern and south-eastern skirts of the city. Nowadays, these major industrial zones are connected much more to the urban texture than to the surrounding landscape, as opposed to the earlier presentments. The landscape seems to have departed from the historic core of the town, among other things due to the development of settlements in the second half of the 20th century. Nevertheless, the aforementioned institutional and industrial areas invariably form the outskirts of the city (nowadays rather like wedged islands of green and rust) and still represent important connections to the surrounding landscape. From this point of view, the rehabilitation

of the industrial zones or their revitalization with a modified function may be of particular importance. The industrial zones as a special and often neglected part of the urban heritage are also laid stress on in the directives of the European Urban Charter on value protection.

Although the landscape "moved somewhat away" from the town in the course of the last century, the basically balanced relationship between the city and the natural environment has been maintained. From the turn of the last century, the Kálvária-hill – on its side with the Kálvária-church with three towers (1735), a hermitage (1735), the Szent Donát-chapel (1891) and statios (1890) – and other historically and/or touristically frequented places of the Kőszeg Mountains are visited not only by pilgrims but also by tourists, the pilgrims of modern times. Among the most important places, we can mention the renovated ruins of Óház, onto which the Kőszeg Department of the Hungarian Tourist Association built a lookout tower in 1896, Szabó-mountain, where a summer restaurant was run already from the year of 1915, or the Kiserdő east to the town, which was a favoured beauty spot before the closing of the frontiers (1949–1989).

As a part of and supplement to the impact study on heritage protection, a detailed green-area impact study was conducted with respect to the town and its environment. Here and now, it would be unnecessary to repeat the expert results and conclusions of this study. However, one momentum may be worth emphasizing: besides the preservation and rehabilitation of the green areas of the previously mentioned institutes on the outskirts and of other parks, and beyond the enrichment of the vegetation of the inner public areas, the revitalization of the banks of Gyöngyös-brook running along the east skirt of the town and their organic inclusion into the urban structure is another important question related to area development and heritage or value protection.

The historic consequences of the development and the changes in the structure of the town and their modifying influences, which partly changed the landscape, too, can be traced down and perceived through the status and the changes of the settlement-view.

In the last century, especially in the second half of it, the settlement-view of Kőszeg underwent several changes. Some of the changes are in

close connection with the already sketched growth in urban structure which started basically in the 1960's. For example, if we approach the town from east today, its silhouette – at least at the very first sight – is dominated by the stripe houses of the housing estates climbing up the gentle slopes – instead of being dominated by the more important buildings and church belfries determining the main character of the city, which was the case one hundred years ago

However, the changes in the settlement-view concern not only macro-scaled components which are visible and measurable in correlation with urban structure, but also micro-scaled dimensions. The analysis of historic illustrations (with the help of maps and archive photos) can only serve as a starting point for the subtle study of these dimensions.

One part of the wide scale and thorough analysis of the settlement-view is the detailed survey of the street-views and buildings and the examination of the survey's results, including the analysis of the town's streets, squares, public areas and zones with other function (in the European Urban Charter: "open places"). This method of analysis (and design) does neither really fit the frames of the Hungarian zoning plans, nor the heritage protection impact studies, because it should include several aspects taking into account the minor changes of the micro-environment as well.

Nevertheless, the architectural studies, the related photo documentation of the north part of the historic town (Sziget district) and the southern Magyar fertály (mainly the area of Rákóczi Street) and its analytical processing prepared by the students of the Budapest University of Technology provide us with some important and essential information. This material, supplemented with the vegetation analysis of public areas, may supply sufficient data for a possible (and necessary) further study.

Briefly, the following statements may be made about the settlement-view in general, in harmony with the detailed status analysis and recommendations specified in the appendices:

The urban structure and the predominant part of the buildings of the historic downtown area of Kőszeg have basically preserved the characteristics required for the preservation of the traditional settlement-view.

Most of the houses can be saved, updated and renovated, so their survival can be ensured (under certain conditions). At the same time, especially on the southern area of the former "Magyarhóstad", devastation or destruction of several buildings seems to be irreversible.

Some other components of the settlement-view which are quality factors of the "open places" (streets, squares and other public places) improving the value of the houses may be regarded as mere capacities only. Excluding the areas of the protected Old Town and partly the Castle-circle, which are in a satisfactory condition, the system of sidewalks, alleys, ditches, pavements, lamps, street furniture and other similar environmental elements of the town-view – usually of micro-architectonic dimension – calls for well planned rehabilitation and development.

Fig. 4: The Main Square. The current plan, which gives new pavement to the Főtér (Main Square) and places new sculptural elements there, cannot be called a hit – particularly due to its unnecessary decorativity and misunderstanding of the character of the place.

With respect to the rich and variable history of the area going back in time to the 4th millennium BC, archaeological artefacts can be found probably in any place in the region of Kőszeg, i.e. both in the town and its surroundings. At the same time, it is a fact that we have very limited

data and information about the history of the town which originates from or is authenticated by archaeological excavations, especially in connection with the middle-age history of the city.

The town and its surroundings are potentially rich areas from an archaeological point of view. Mainly in the wider area of the town, various artifacts may be found, such as the late Bronze Age findings of Szent Vid-hill, the possible ruins of the Roman road system or findings related to the age of the excavated and renovated ruins of the "Castellum Guntionis", the local presence of Langobards, Franks or Avars, the happenings of the Hungarian conquest, or even findings from the middle ages. And in the town itself, especially in some areas of the historic urban pattern, archaeologists may find the traces of the medieval Kőszeg.

The archeological and monumental topography of the town, which is under preparation, may serve as a proper basis for the radical change of the current situation with respect to archaeological memories. According to our information, the topography to be prepared by the staff of the National Office of Cultural Heritage aims at the processing of the sites which may be important from archaeological and monumental aspects and the collection of the related historic data, and, furthermore, traces down the history and changes in settlements of each building-site of the historic town-core. They do it partly by the use of historic and archival data, and partly through the architecture-historic analysis of the existing houses.

In addition, their work can also provide indispensable assistance in the preparation of the local construction regulations (taking into consideration the aspects of value protection) pertaining to the entire historic town-core. The information contained in this topography may facilitate the preparation of a regulation which can prescribe standards "cut out" for each plot of the entire old downtown area and which pays regard to the maintenance of the sensible and vulnerable balance of the established architectural environment. This work can be effectively supported through the preparation of the marker horizon of the complete historic urban texture (which is already available in three parts, made at different times), the surveying of all street-views and their architectural analysis.[8]

There were/are three interconnected parts of the historic town: (1) *Óváros* or *Belváros* (*Oldtown or Downtown*), the medieval town bordered by the wall, including the castle; (2) the southern/southeastern Hungarian district with the atmosphere and style of a market-town – *Magyarhóstád*; and (3) the German district north of the downtown – *Némethóstád* or *Sziget* (Die Deutsche Vorstadt / Sigeth) – which has a bit more urban character than the Hungarian area.

So far, these three zones have served as the backbone of the historic three-dimensional system (or systems) of the town; they have created the city form which has preserved the "memories of the town" up to the present time. In this respect, we may quote again the statements of the European Urban Charter: "This urban heritage constitutes an important and irreplaceable part of the urban fabric, crucial for the identity of a city and its inhabitants. It hands down to future generations a system of cultural reference, establishing the context and consciousness of Europe's common history and future. […] By offering the right conditions for the development of a wide range of activities our old cities favored social integration." It also adds: "Local authorities are in the best position to deal with and assume responsibility for conservation and maintenance of the urban heritage."[9]

Without listing further aspects and arguments,– as they have already been mentioned in the introduction and in the chapter discussing the historic consequences – it may be obvious that it is the zones and historic three dimensional systems which literally compose the town itself – they materialize Kőszeg in its physical reality and present the (emotional, conceptual) image of the historic town. In other words: the identity of Kőszeg, i.e. its specific capacity that cannot be replaced by anything else, is carried by the residential and public buildings of the Castle, Óváros (Oldtown), Várkör (Castle-circle), Sziget district and the Hungarian district (in the spatial memories of inhabitants and of visitors as well).

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[8] Surveys of the Department for History of Architecture and of Monuments, Budapest University of Technology, on the Sziget district and a section of the Várkör, 1984, and on the Rákóczi Street and its surroundings (Hungarian district), 2005, and a basic map of Óváros, drawn by Péter Rákóczy(?).

[9] European Urban Charter, Theme 4.4.

Figures 5–7: The three interconnected parts of the historic town: Oldtown, Hungarian district and Sziget district (German district).

At the same time, the modern housing estate(s) or streets of newly built houses – no matter how orderly structured they might be – arouse no image similar to the experience of the historic town in anybody. (Obviously, this should not be necessary, as theoretically, the works of modern architecture are also able to create identity and irreplaceable architectural quality – and they could have done so in Kőszeg, too, – provided that they are/were related more sensitively to the characteristics of the built environment, which historically created the "genius loci" in its physical reality. But unfortunately this is not the case in Kőszeg.)

4

Based on the aforementioned facts, it can be stated that the historic central parts of the town of Kőszeg and its organically connected three-dimensional systems must be placed under integrated local protection. This integrated local protection requires the elaboration of a value-preservation and building regulation which permits the maintenance and preservation of old values and ensures the organic continuation of valuable architectural traditions. This means that it must formulate an architectural approach which may enrich the old values with new ones, for the protection of the urban heritage. At the same time, this also means that urban heritage and its protection should become an organic part of modern life and an integral component of general design. We should emphasize it in this respect that the conservation program should be based on a comprehensive approach.

In addition, the preservation of the urban heritage may also become a stimulus for economic development. "Conservation of the heritage can often result in an economic upswing. It increases the attractiveness of a city, both for tourists and the business sector. The adaptive reutilization of old, particularly industrial, buildings can often present sound economic solutions, as they may provide places for apartments, hotels, business/office centers, etc. Conservation is a particularly labour–intensive activity, thus it may reduce unemployment. It enables savings to be made in terms of energy, raw materials and infrastructure."[10]

Naturally, for the complete utilization of the capacities determined in the general principles, the improvement of architectural quality is required, in harmony with the aspects of monument conservation. In case of the three-dimensional systems to be placed under local protection, there is need of regulations that are much more detailed than the zone-based standards of the National Settlement and Building Requirements (OTÉK). The regulations need to give more consideration to the characteristics of the traditional built environment, and permit the application of objective evaluation aspects. For the ideal realization of this goal, an inventory-like valuation and a regulation system should be worked out and applied not only to the valuable plots, but also – without exaggeration – to every estate and object of the area to be protected. As already mentioned, there is a topographical survey under preparation. It can be the starting point and the basis for a further study and analysis which are important for the elaboration of the detailed and objective evaluation and regulation. The possibilities for construction or renovation should be determined in advance. Without a thorough inventory, however, only statements of general and partial validity can be made, regarding the possible principles of the regulation of the three-dimensional systems, recommended for integrated local protection.

The general statements should be preceded by some comments in connection with site-morphology and building-typology, mainly with respect to the specialties of the traditional residential areas:

– One of the typical values developed in history of the traditionally built areas and historic three-dimensional systems is the site structure, which forms the settlement's texture.

[10] European Urban Charter, Principles, 4.4.6.

– At the same time, the site structure, as a main determinative factor, made the development of typical building methods possible, which were in turn determined, partly or completely, by the form and size of the building site and its location in the settlement's texture (e.g. corner plot).

– In nearly all cases – we may say that irrespective of the size of the plot – the traditional building method means building on the side-border primarily, even if the final form is a one- or two-storey building mass, with axis parallel to the street.

Basically three kinds of buildings' mass forms are typical of the traditional building method:

The first type is a single storey, farmhouse-like, village-style building, axis perpendicular to the street, with gable ("ended"), with or without a side-veranda.

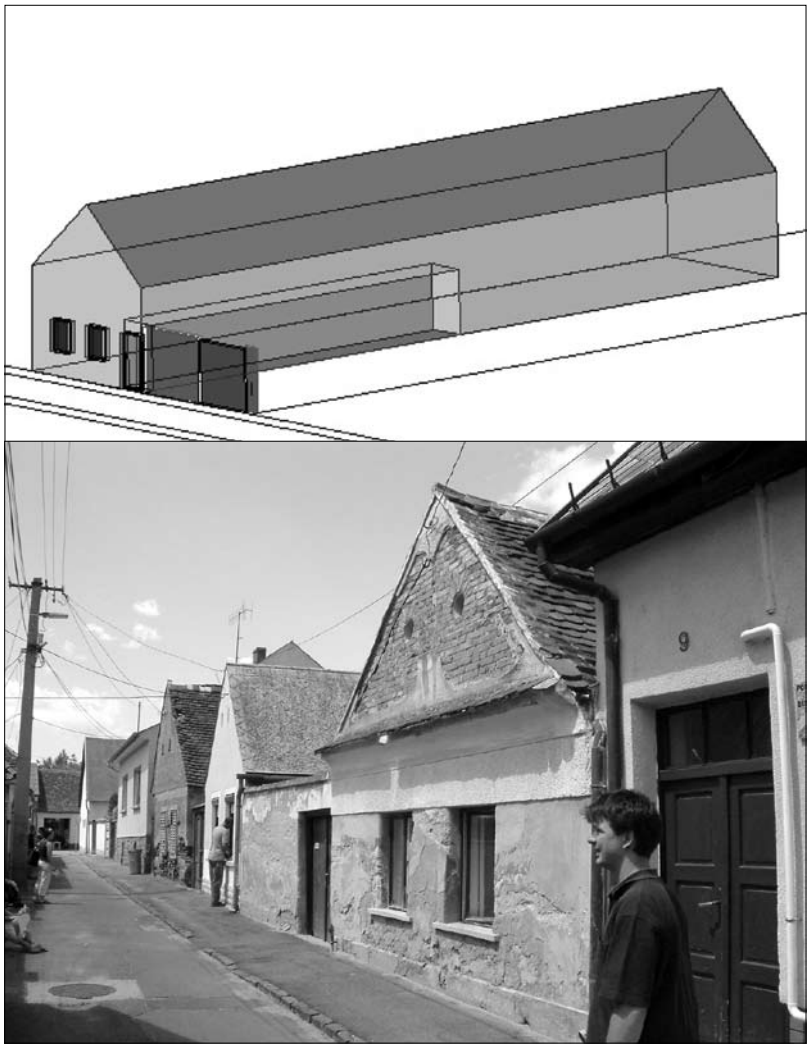
The second type is a single storey ("turned") house, with ridge parallel to the street – or in an L-shape – and a provincial appearance with a closed (or almost closed) street-view and a gateway.

The third type is an urban version of the previous one: a two-storeyed building (at least on the side of the street), always with closed street-view and a covered gateway.

In the traditional street-view, buildings with different typological features may appear even next to each other

Another peculiarity of the thus varied (or in some sections even homogenous) street-view is that the forms of the buildings, mainly constructed from tightly closed planes – including the calm tightness of the roof-planes – create definite walls along the (sometimes varied lines of) streets and at the (diversified forms of) squares in the junctions.

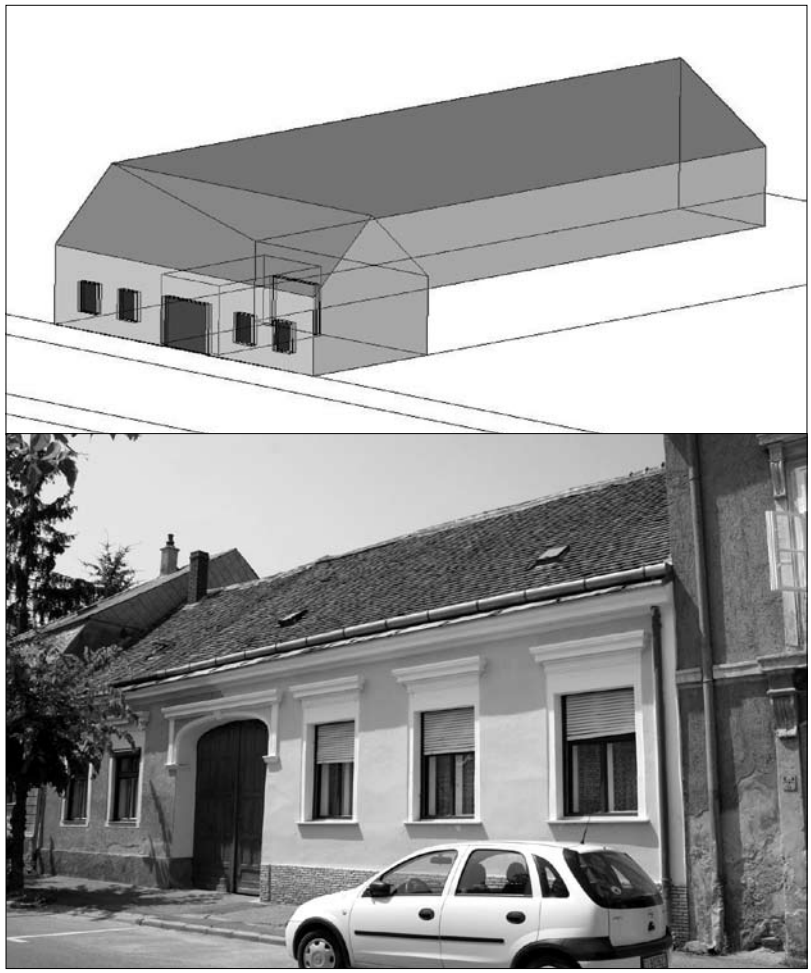
Alongside with this the nearly schematic homogeneity of façade-systems and the plane-like masses and façades, diversity of the street-views is achieved through the individual versions of the use of simple details – plaster-ornaments, window framing, doors, windows, gates and so on.



Figures 8–9: Type 1.

In this morphologically and typologically homogenous or unified architectural context, where diversity manifests and fulfils itself within this unity, the buildings embodying extremely individual architectural "behaviours" with mainly empty and/or *l'art pour l'art* formal gestures are usually anachronistic in relation to the surroundings.

Taking all this into consideration, it may be reasonable to elaborate a value preservation system and, in close relation to it, a building-reg-

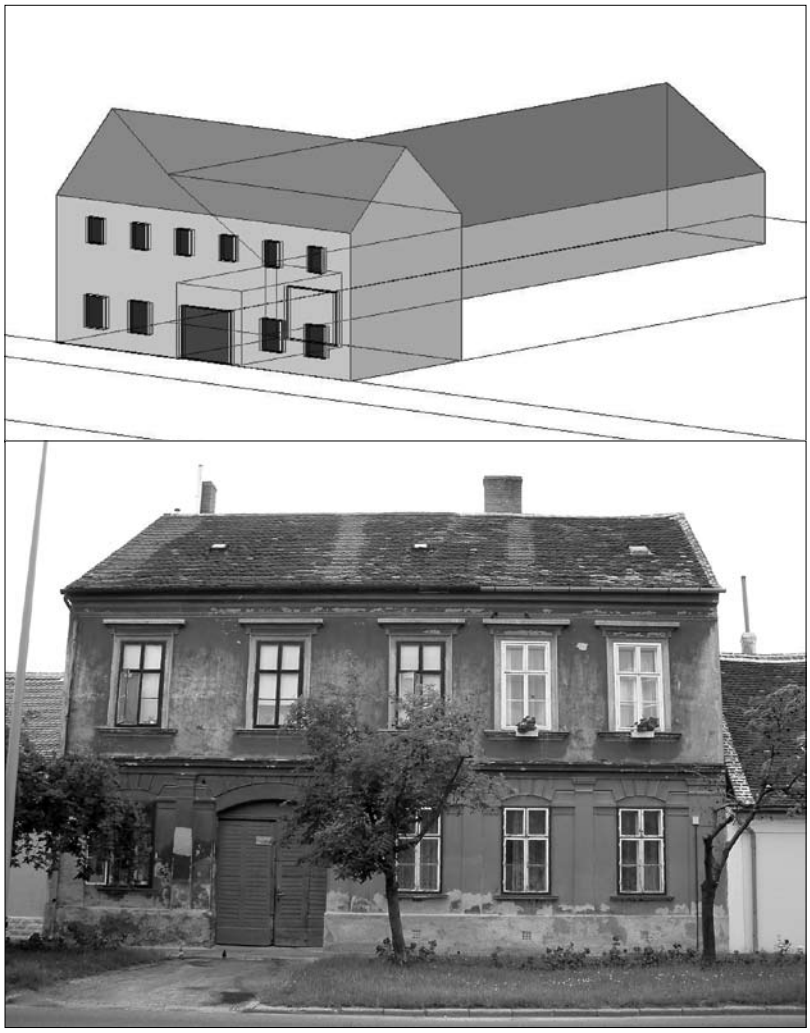


Figures 10–11: Type 2.

ulation system which will, besides the protection and conservation of morphologic, typological and individual architectural-monumental values, also enable the completion and enrichment of such values.

To this end, the local regulations on the historic urban texture should be prepared – in accordance with the National Settlement and Building Requirements – with consideration to the following aspects:

– Beyond the preservation of the traditional site-structure – with consideration to the traditional building methods used on the



Figures 12–13: Type 3.

individual plots – regulation needs to define the permitted zones to be built, with minimal and maximal measures. In case of smaller plots, the minimal area of vegetation, too.

– In relation with the building method, it is also important to specify the morphologic and formal criteria for the permitted building mass, i.e. the pitch of the roof-planes, the applied roof forms (pitched roof, lean-to roof etc.), the possible ways

how to connect buildings to each other, perhaps with the addition of typological versions.

– With respect to the definition of mass formation and typological variation(s), the specification of the maximal height of storeys and façade and the number of storeys permitted is important both for the street-side and for the wing in the court (perpendicular to the street). (This regulation principle may prove particularly significant, because the morphologic features of the individual plots – even with respect to a specific section of the street – may be evaluated more precisely through the determination of the number of storeys than with the application of a single façade-height for the whole zone.)

– Certain formal requirements – mainly with regard to the street façade – also need to be specified, such as the prohibition of structures above the roof or skylights. Permitted variations for the façade-plane(s) need to be regulated, too.

– At the same time, in some areas where the character of the traditionally used building method requires further restrictions, other morphologic specifications may be recommended.

It must be stressed again that these theoretical proposals may be efficient only when coupled with value preservation and regulation plans subdivided to plots and elaborated in a thorough and complex way. However, it is also worth stating that this is the only kind of regulation which may create appropriate conditions for the well-balanced practice of comprehensive value preservation, characterized by the attitude of monuments protection and value creation, emphasizing architectural quality and carrying on the tradition simultaneously.

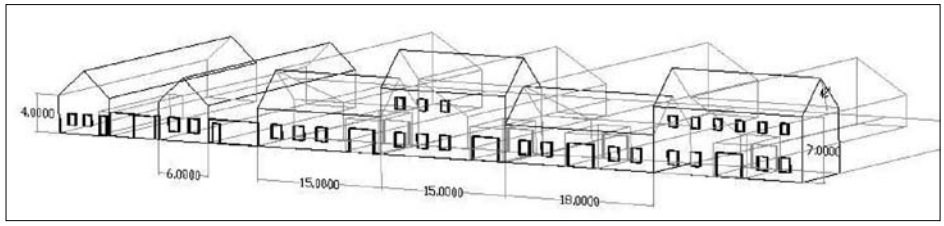


Fig. 14: Possible mass formation.

5

For the Hungarian monument protection, which gained momentum from the 1960's on, the castle and downtown of Kőszeg might have been the most important areas besides the castle district of Buda and the town of Sopron. After the presentation of the castle, the churches and the preserved parts of the town's ramparts in the early 1970' some residential and public buildings were also surveyed and renovated.

Most of the houses located at the square were reconstructed as monuments. Later, in late 1970's and early 1980's, the monument protection activity was extended to the whole Óváros (Oldtown), the Várkör (Castle-circle), the Sziget district (especially the Gyöngyös street) and, on the southern side of the town, to the Főtér (Main Square), and to the first section of the Rákóczi Street as well. This means that the monument protection as an effective heritage conservation activity has been continuously present in the preservation of the town's historic and architectural values from the late 1950's or from early 1960's.

However, at the end of the 1980's, and particularly after the change of regime, the rate of the renovation progress seems to have slowed down, although the (theoretical) importance of the local protection of monuments had been recognized by that time. The opportunities for the practical monument protection, which is the actual reason and purpose of the invariably high-quality activity of the competent authorities, were narrowed (primarily due to financial reasons) and, at the same time, the official system based on central decision-making also lost its efficiency and its ability to enforce the interests of the monument protection.

The opportunities of monument protection were further decreased by changes in property relations and in the social and legal environment. The authority competent in interests of protection was unprepared for the changes which led, among others, to the appreciation of the interests of individuals and owners in general. Such interests are often difficult to be harmonized with the settlement-development efforts of the local governments (often based on forced decisions) from the point of view of monuments protection. Or, this is the present situation, at least, as the monument protection lacks efficient means to promote the harmonization of individual and (local) community interests, such as

a normative regulation system based on an objective evaluation of values, as well as a manifold support system, establishing of which even the local government may be interested.

In Kőszeg there are good chances to establish a normative regulation system enforcing the evaluation criteria in an objective way (as it has already been mentioned in the previous chapter). In the near future, the archaeological and monument/architectural topography under preparation may serve as a basis for the elaboration of such a system, in harmony with the (local) building regulations. Later the town may successfully apply for European and national funds to support the operation of the system, thanks to the city's foregoing results in monuments protection and its values conservated ab ovo. These funds could provide impetus for a more up-to-date practice of value preservation and harmonization of interests.

Since the conservation of the urban heritage requires a serious financial commitment, thus for the effective value protection – to quote again the European Urban Charter – "[a]dequate and often original financial mechanisms and partnerships are necessary. […] Often beyond the resources of public authorities, funding requires partnership with the private sector and incentives to private individuals, e.g. tax and fiscal incentives to encourage restoration rather than demolition; differential VAT ratings on buildings; sale of historic property at reduced price on condition that full repair and conservation is carried out, particularly before re-sale; long-term loans; creation of restoration foundations; development of revolving funds; increased use of patronage and sponsorship. For heritage in the ownership of public institutions […] they should accept responsibility for maintenance of historic properties in their care."[11]

Obviously, this also requires a clear, perspicuous and continuously transparent structure of the local and central interest and support systems. At the same time, the question of urban heritage protection should become one of the central issues of the information strategy of a modern town management with city marketing attitude, local governmental work and urban planning.

[11] European Urban Charter, Principles, 4.4.3.

In the event the integrated local protection of the historic three-dimensional systems in Kőszeg may be realized within a reasonable time, i.e. in the near future, there are good chances for the town to preserve its historic character attracting both inhabitants and tourists permanently, by enriching the present status with new (architectural) values which continue the tradition and create "awareness of the present"[12] at the same time.

"Our utmost aim can be nothing but to recognize special zones, i.e. the historic town cores living in harmony with their provincial environment, as 'normal', and to detach from them, or even demolish, by means of appropriate measures, the 'abnormal' outgrowths of today's suburbs", writes Leonardo Benevolo in a bit subversive way, as it may seem at first sight.

The above statements are supported by the fact that the situation evolving from the former urban development processes seems to be stabilized in Europe and now in East Europe, too, together with its merits and faults.

"The number of population is not growing in Europe, the architectural heritage is increasing at a slower rate, industrial facilities are modernized without territorial growth or sometimes wound up, and internal reconstructions present a foreseeable, final task, however difficult their execution may be, as it is the case e.g. in Eastern Europe. In the near future, the economic, social and political changes may be expected to occur in a sphere affecting space to a smaller extent; the demand for the town to find its balance and undergo a qualitative improvement which was hindered by the extent and rate of the changes in the past is becoming more and more prevailing in our days.

In view of the above, the historic value of the settlements becomes even more important. There is no doubt that what has remained from the towns of the pre-industrialization era is much more valuable than the additions of later periods. This represents the smaller but most precious part of our architectural heritage, because this serves as a basis for anything else. This part of our heritage is that helps us to identify with

[12] Béla Hamvas.

our living environment, that the collective memory is attached to, and where the 'cultural goods', monumental buildings, pictures, sculptures, i.e. the sources of collective pleasure are accumulated. […] Contrary to the last century, we do not think that old centers should be adjusted to modern additions, but we are convinced that the latter must be modified, through the correction of their disproportionalities and decreasing their contrast to the old centers."[13]

Such decreasing of the contrast is absolutely essential for the favourable course of future processes, as well as for the preservation of the town's character, even if the conditions in Kőszeg are not as dramatic as in some less fortunate small towns of Hungary where the town centers were devastated, in the name of modernization, since no value was attached to them.

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[13] Benevolo 1994.

The Interpretation of Territorial Heritage in the Planning Process

The Tuscan Experience

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Introduction

From June 2005 to June 2007 the Department of Urban and Territorial Planning of Florence University was requested by the Regional Administration of Tuscany to carry out a research project about 'the interpretation of the territorial heritage in the territorial planning process'. The research was part of a general debate further to the promulgation of a new territorial planning law (Regional Law no.1/2005) to substitute the previous RL no.1/95. The transformation of the legal system gave the opportunity to reflect on ten years of professional practice and management of territorial planning.[1]

While later I will make a detailed examination of some focal points of the debate fired in this period, for the moment I would just like to

[1] The research team was formed by G. Gorelli (coordinator), G. Paba, A. Magnaghi and I. Zetti.

underline that the study of the 'territorial heritage' (TH) is a central aspect of land use planning activities. In this frame, the main task of the research was to identify what recognition and definition had been given to TH in ten years of land use planning at the municipal level; what kind of survey had been developed and how data and information had been summarized to draw up 'territorial heritage maps'; to what extent these kinds of instruments had been used and perceived as keystones in the process leading from the survey to a scenario of local development. Against all these questions, there is still the idea that depicting and describing TH is a good way to make planning processes transparent, in the frame of empowerment and participation of the local community.[2]

In this article I will give a brief description of the Tuscan planning system, primarily regarding the situation at the municipal level. I will discuss some specific concepts and instruments used in that system, and report on some elements of the debate that is underway. In the main part of the text I will explain how the concept of TH is used in practice and try to pick up from the experience and summarize some reflections and examples of best practice.

In the research specific attention was given to the problem of mapping and representing heritage and this will also be discussed considering the activity of mapping not as a simple technical process, but as one of the main tools for transforming space into territory.[3]

The Territorial Planning System in Tuscany: A Brief Overview

Italy is not a federal republic, but its constitution implies a certain degree of decentralization of power. The land use planning system is one of the elements that entails a considerable degree of regional power. Some national laws delineate a general frame that put limits on regional legislation. This national frame mainly depends on an act promulgated in 1942; now old and not corresponding to current needs, nonetheless it is still binding.

[2] Friedman 1992.

[3] Raffestin 2005.

The regions were established in 1971 and starting from 1972 several of them elaborated a local planning system.[4] For around 20 years regions simply reproduced the national frame with some specific local adjustments, but in the middle of the nineties cultural changes, the environmental question and the end of a period of rapid growth of urban areas with an evident need for the improvement of the urban environment and the reuse of empty spaces pushed several administrations to elaborate a new series of acts forming a new legal frame. Obviously local legislations are different in different regions and general elements are still regulated by the national act, but some recurrent elements trace a sort of common path to a general reform of the whole system.

The description of the Italian planning structure is not central to our topic and a detailed profile of the Tuscan system also exceeds the limits of the text. I would just like to underline some specific aspects of the legal framework that correspond to important advances in the debate about urban and territorial planning and to stress a couple of questions central to the debate around the concept of TH.

As I said before, in 1995 Tuscany promulgated the so-called *'legge per il governo del territorio'* or territorial management act. It envisages three levels of planning: regional, provincial and municipal. Here I refer primarily to the third, even though some concepts connect the three levels.

The municipal master plan before 1995 was a single legal act defining the land use rules and rights.[5] The plan was normally preceded by a survey, but it was not compulsory. Usually the most important element of the plan was a reasonable (sometimes unreasonable) calculation of the predicted population growth, frequently conditioned by property speculators.

The new legal frame split the plan into two parts: one called the 'structural plan' (*piano strutturale* – PS) and a second one that was the strict regulation of land use (*regolamento urbanistico* – RU). The PS has to

[4] An interesting collection of Italian regional laws is available on the web site eddyburg.it: http://eddyburg.it/article/archive/53/. For the national legislation the URL is: http://eddyburg.it/article/archive/52/

[5] The so-called "Piano Regolatore Generale" (PRG), general regulatory plan.

establish a general frame in accordance with a detailed survey that singles out: the limits the natural environment puts on planning; the limits and opportunities given by the historical heritage; shared decisions about a possible future scenario. The PS does not have any expiry date, because it is connected to local natural, historical and social situations and these can obviously change, but slowly, according to natural and social processes; the RU, a legal act that defines the duties and rights that have to fit inside the frame the PSs have set, is valid for five years.

I will not analyse the situation in detail, but just want to underscore some points that are important for our research.

The law clearly says that any land use and development scenario must be sustainable. What sustainable means is not explicitly said, but it is quite clear that it means compatible with environmental situations, with social situations and respectful of local history.

This is the reason why the first important change introduced by the regional law is to consider the survey as part of the plan itself. The survey is no longer an option as it was before 1995, but it is compulsory and its contents are under the direct control of an elected body (the municipal, provincial or regional council) and under the control of the local population which can contribute to correct or contest the results. A *shared* base of knowledge is fundamental for developing a master plan.

For the same reason any PS must contain two elements, central to its layout: a *'statuto del territorio'* and *'invarianti strutturali'*, expressions that can be translated with some difficulty as 'charter of the territory' and 'invariable structural elements'.

These two concepts have been central in the debate prompted by the promulgation of the new law and still represent interesting, changing ideas in territorial planning practice. They are also immediately connected with the idea of TH. Hence, I will illustrate how they are both interpreted as resulting from our research on a sample of PSs drawn up in Tuscany from 1995 to 2005.[6]

[6] The first step of the research was to select a certain number of PSs to be analysed in order to study how the idea of TH has been developed and used by planners. In June 2005, when the research started, 127 municipalities had approved a PS, ten years after 1995 (the date of the new law). We decided to study 45 PSs, which we selected because of the interesting elements and information they included.

Invariable Elements and Charters

The concept of '*invarianti strutturali*' was already laid down in the 1995 law, but the definition was very simple: everything that must be protected in order to guarantee sustainable development. Simple but problematic at the same time because the concept of sustainable development is ambiguous.

On reading the PSs in our sample it is interesting to notice how planners have shown the need to find a better definition of the concept in order to obtain a better planning instrument. In the research we tried to follow the evolutionary path they have traced, reading how the idea of invariable elements has developed through the different PSs.

The initial interpretation is close to the old law. Invariable elements are buildings, archaeological sites and finds, monuments, nature reserves etc. that must be protected by law; things that cannot be modified for any reason. When planners use the concept in this way in the PS they normally just insert a list of the objects they consider valuable; why they are valuable is not always explained.

The second stage is when these kinds of elements are defined according to historical studies about processes that have shaped settlements and landscapes. So invariable elements become "all the elements that present distinctive and considerable peculiarities in terms of landscape, architectural, historical and natural features" (PS of Pistoia, trans. by the author). In the PSs that adopt this approach we generally found recognition of the core territorial structures.

Most of the PSs in the sample include the idea of 'local identity' in the definition of '*invarianti strutturali*'. This seems to underline that the issue of identity is one of the central elements urban planners want to include in a master plan at the municipal level. In this case invariable elements are "physical, economic, social, cultural and toponymic elements that witness the permanence of spatial, productive, social and cultural relationships which have shaped the territory, building local identity" (PS of Dicomano, trans. by the author).

A third option is to connect the idea of local identity with ecology and the concept of sustainable development. In this case what must be pro-

tected in order to guarantee sustainability is not only natural resources, but also the way local societies have interacted with environmental cycles for centuries and the physical results of this interaction that is the territory itself. What is put at stake is the right of future generations to inherit the same territorial goods we are using in present times.

All this is part of a big debate. It is now *partially* officially inserted in the planning system because '*invarianti strutturali*' are defined in the 2005 law as "resources, goods and rules, […] but also quality levels and minimal performances that must be guaranteed in any territory in order to achieve sustainable development".[7]

Naturally, the debate goes on independently from the advancement of the administrative machine and what is more interesting here is to depict what I judge the most advanced idea of '*invarianti strutturali*'. To do this I would like to connect the idea of sustainability and the problem of local identity.

By using the word territory here I assume we are not just considering its classical definition as "land [...] which is considered as belonging to or connected with a particular country or person".[8] Territory is more than this, it is the product of a complex and long-lasting relationship between a society and a natural environment. Man has created territory by transforming the natural environment thanks to fluxes of matter, energy (work) and information.[9] In these terms we can consider the result of the work that societies have performed on the environment as a sort of territorial ecosystem[10] where man is a regulative factor.[11] Some periods in history experienced extraordinarily stable relationships between local societies and nature producing well-balanced territorial ecosystems and leaving us with the material traces of this virtuous relationship. To reproduce this kind of equilibrium (sustainability) starting from the traces of history (local identity), creating new territorial assets and not simply consuming natural and historical resources, is the prob-

[7] Tuscan Regional Law 1/2005 art. 4, trans. by the author.
[8] Cambridge Dictionary online.
[9] Raffestin 2005.
[10] Saragosa 2005.
[11] Moscovici, quoted in Raffestin 2005, p. 22.

lem planning has to face. In this frame what we want to preserve is a dynamic system because environmental cycles are not a stable element and flows of matter, energy and information are obviously variable in time. So *'invarianti strutturali'* cannot be simply objects, but "changing relationships of equilibrium between settlements and the dynamics of the environmental system".[12]

If we agree with this idea, in the perspective of territorial planning the TH is not simply a set of objects.

The charter of the territory, or *'statuto del territorio'*, was not explicitly inserted in the 1995 law, but was contained in several PSs and later became a central part of the 2005 law. In the group of PSs making up our sample, the *statuto* is sometimes traced in a very simple way: the set of land use rules; the set of protected objects; the performances a territory can offer. But sometimes the concept is more interestingly highlighted as the group of "relationships historically existing between human use and transformation of the territory and the physical and natural features of the same territory" (PS of Dicomano, trans. by the author), or rules useful to conserve the local identity and to "regulate [...] the use of territorial resources following quality and sustainable criteria in relation to the landscape and the environment" (PS of Incisa Valdarno, trans. by the author). It is easy to see the link between this kind of definition and the most advanced interpretations of the *'invarianti strutturali'* quoted before.

If we consider a dictionary definition, a charter is "a formal statement of the rights of a country's people, or of an organization or a particular social group, which is agreed by or demanded from a ruler or government";[13] it is a document containing rights, but what kind of rights? In the context of municipal territorial planning evidently they are "rights and duties towards the territory [...] collective agreements intended to preserve local resources for future generations" and for that reason holding "principles, general criteria, values, shared interpretation of territory, shared rules of behaviour regarding the environmental and historical heritage" (PS of Rosignano Marittimo, trans. by the author).

[12] Saragosa 2005, p. 42.
[13] Cambridge Dictionary online.

Looking at all these definitions, the relationship between the idea of a *statuto* and TH is evident, thinking of the second one as collective good to be preserved and assumed as a central element of a shared vision of future. The *statuto* is therefore a "descriptive and prescriptive tool for identifying a territory's features and heritage in the construction of local self-sustainable development [...] base(d) on the fundamental conceptual distinction [...] between heritage (long-term value) and resource (a temporally and typologically specific form of the use value)".[14] Since it is a community's agreement about their heritage, it must be renewed in time with the constructive participation of the citizens.

Territorial Heritage

The previous paragraph outlines how TH became a central element for planning in Tuscany in the decade 1995–2005 and how the debate about this concept is still going on. I now want to highlight one of the consequences of a territorial planning system based on the concept of *invarianti* and *statuto*, i.e. that the definition of what we mean by and identify as heritage is the hub of the entire construction of the master plan; the final choice about land use and the previous definition of a frame (the structural plan or '*piano strutturale*') are based on TH and this is the foundation of the entire construction.

What is Territorial Heritage

Harsh criticism of the recent history of town and territorial planning has given rise to theoretical debate around the concept of TH. To summarize a big debate in a few words, the critical point is that town planning, in the age of modernity, has simply taken a Euclidean space and not a territory as the base of its work. To quote geographers, we can say geographical knowledge was, for a long historical period, based on the idea that the earth can be described and explained thanks to the reduction of a complex living body into a simple mathematical (two-dimensional) model through mapping.[15] The common sense that organized territory

[14] Magnaghi 2005a, p. 89.
[15] Farinelli 2003.

into *sites* (a place where something happens – a milieu) was substituted by the planners' tendency to consider their work as a simple problem of finding the right *place* (position in space) to locate economically significant functions. Planners were drawing plans on a blank sheet, and economical powers were the main actors in town planning.

Unfortunately, territory is a living body shaped by the relationship between man, society and the environment[16] which cannot be considered a simple space if we want to avoid ecological problems and a dangerous reduction and loss of traces of human history. "By definition the territory inevitably always has historical 'depth'. [A site] (a city, region, valley etc.) is a historical concept inseparable from the time dimension [...] and an identifying force playing an active role in our individual and collective life".[17] This is true everywhere, but it is even more evident in a place like Tuscany where ever since the Etruscan period the land has been shaped as a territory in ways that are still evident in some contexts.

The so-called Italian territorialist school[18] has been studying the territory according to this point of view for years, considering the current situation as the product of manifold phases of *territorialization* that throughout history have interpreted the traces of previous cycles of civilization. All this brings us back to the concept of TH as a planning tool. How can we define it?

The Italian word '*patrimonio*' comes from the Latin patrimonium which has the same root as *pater*. The meaning is practically the same as the English word 'heritage': "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".[19] When we add the word territorial we highlight that this heritage is composed of a "synergy of relationships between specific qualities of physical environment,

[16] Bateson 1979.

[17] Magnaghi 2005a, p. 45.

[18] The territorialist school (scuola territorialista) comprises researchers who form a group called the Laboratorio di Progettazione Ecologica degli Insediamenti – LAPEI (Environmental Planning Laboratory for Urban Settlements), coordinated by Alberto Magnaghi – www.lapei.org

[19] Cambridge Dictionary online.

[...] built environment, [...] anthropic environment".[20] The territorial heritage is the result of the creativity of local societies throughout time and it is the base of a project for a local and self-based future scenario. Defining TH in planning processes is very delicate because it implies the overlapping of expert knowledge, common sense and place experience. Planners have to use the survey to outline a mere starting point for a collective debate, because defining and representing heritage implies attributing a *value* to territorial objects and designing a master plan implies defining what part of this value must become a *resource*, what and how it can be used, or simply must be preserved for future generations. This is not simply a technical problem, it is a question of democracy.

So far I have not said what kinds of elements must be considered in order to study the TH. Now I will relate the solution given by the PSs we studied in the research, and outline some proposals.

Studying Territorial Heritage. Ideas from 10 Years of Practice

As I said before, the centre of our research was a sample of 45 PSs covering the entire region, and, to a certain extent, the many different situations we can find (municipalities that are the capital of a province, municipalities in marginal mountain areas, or along the coast where tourism is one of the main activities, municipalities in the precious hilly countryside of the interior, etc.). All the PSs must contain a detailed survey, but the contents of the survey itself are in part free, depending on the planners' decisions and on the different situations they have to deal with in different locations. What we have tried to understand is what kind of studies were developed in the various PSs, what kind of information coming out of these studies has been used to draw up a TH atlas, or map, considering this a synthesis of the survey elements and an important step in proceeding towards a decision about the future organization of the territory.

The instrument I call an *atlas* is an optimal tool composed of different descriptions that place the environmental heritage, socio-economic

[20] Magnaghi 2005c, p.10.

heritage and landscape in the same synthesis[21], but in many master plans we can find that the landscape, environment and history is better condensed into a single territorial heritage map, rather than a report. This is certainly not unexpected because urban planners have always used (topo)graphic communication to express their ideas. If we consider territory as a framework, with the help of representation it is possible to look into its different moments in time in the knowledge that sometimes the act of mapping is more important than the result itself.[22] What is important is that we must be conscious that topographical maps are not the expression of technical and scientific knowledge, but instruments of persuasion which in reality are nothing more than a metaphor.[23]

In order to study the way the PSs represent TH we made a comparison of the contents of the 45 surveys. The data contained in the surveys was organized according to a purpose-built analytical frame. A sort of synoptic table was formed to compare the different kinds of studies. The categories used to organize the different parts of the surveys and the frequency a specific element recurs are visible in table no.1.

Table no.1.

	No. of specific studies	% of total
Studies about land form	19	43
Studies about vegetation, land use and organization of agricultural land	33	75
Studies about the environmental situation	11	25
Studies about the state of public services and infrastructures	29	66
Social, demographic and economical studies	23	52
Recognition of land use rights and the legal situation related to the previous master plan	40	91
History of the built environment	41	93
Landscape studies	21	48

Some of the results shown in the table are quite obvious, for example the fact that studies about the history of the built environment are so present in a context where the past is so important. Other elements

[21] Magnaghi 2005a.
[22] Raffestin 2005.
[23] Dematteis 1986, Flusser 2000.

are more unexpected, such as the fact that just one quarter of the PSs mapped the environmental situation (for example in terms of distribution of pollution etc.).[24]

It would be interesting to further explain the contents of any single chapter of the surveys, but this would exceed the limits of this text. I will make just one remark that implies the historical depth of the studies: the majority of the PSs considers the period immediately following World War II a very important step in the history of the built environment. They normally use 1954 aerial pictures (in 1954 the National Military Geographic Institute created a new general map covering the whole of Italy as well as a complete series of aerial pictures) as the last clear image, the clean territorial frame testifying the relationship between Tuscan society and the Tuscan environment. They evidently have considered this a crucial point between land organization respectful of the past and local history and market-oriented territorial planning, which usually only considers the problem of increasing immediate income.

The second step of our analysis was to understand what kind of data passes from the survey to the synthesis used to represent and study TH. All the maps and descriptions of TH were analysed by comparing the type of data used and the representation and description strategy employed.

By summarizing the type of information most frequently used in the PSs we can highlight that TH is described, in maps, through:

– land use entries, sometimes as a selection of entries of the general land use maps, sometimes grouped to underline some specific quality of the area under consideration;

– trends and dynamics of the transformations in land use. Frequently land cover is not used as static information (the present situation, or the situation at a certain moment in the past), but instead as a trend;

[24] In the table studies about geology, geomorphology and hydrological situations are not quoted. This is because this kind of research is always present in the PSs as they are compulsory by law.

– valuable objects, at times considering single entities (a building, a monumental tree, etc.), and at other times groups constituting a logical set, for example, the urban fabric;

– dating of the buildings, roads, railroads; normally not inserted in maps with the appropriate construction date but as the elements existing at a certain time in the past (the state of the built environment a certain number of years ago, compared with the current state as represented in topographic maps);

– land organization in agriculture and forestry areas and types of landscape;

– geomorphology, considered an important base for interpreting the landscape and for understanding the relationship between the built environment and settlements.

This information is generally part of maps and studies about TH, but how is this information used, what kind of strategies do planners employ to sum it up and form a synthesis?

As I said before, analysing the way the heritage is represented in maps is very important in understanding the way planners work at the critical point of forming a synthesis from the survey and outlining a future scenario. It is also important to understand how open a master plan is to the participation of citizens, because a clear form of communication is essential for a wide participatory process.

In general terms, we can distinguish two different methods that planners use to draw thematic maps: considering the map as a text and the legend as a dictionary (we can call this kind of map *abstract*; fig. 1), drawing up a map able to communicate as a simple visual image (we can call this kind of map *figurative*; fig. 2).[25] In any case, this classification tells us something about the graphical choices of the PS, but nothing about the strategies for summarizing the data contained in the survey and portraying TH. In the sample we analysed we singled out three types of strategy:

[25] This kind of map communicates because of the proximity and structural relationships of the graphic elements, i.e. in the same way that topographic maps can be understood by all (Bertin 1967).

Fig. 1: PS of the municipality of Quarrata.

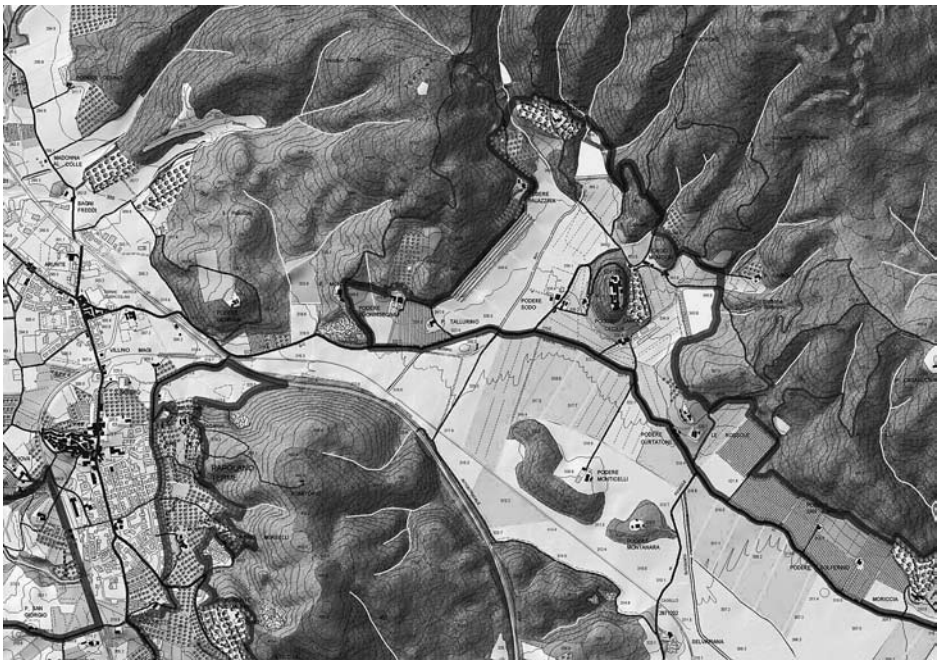


Fig. 2: PS of the municipality of Rapolano Terme.

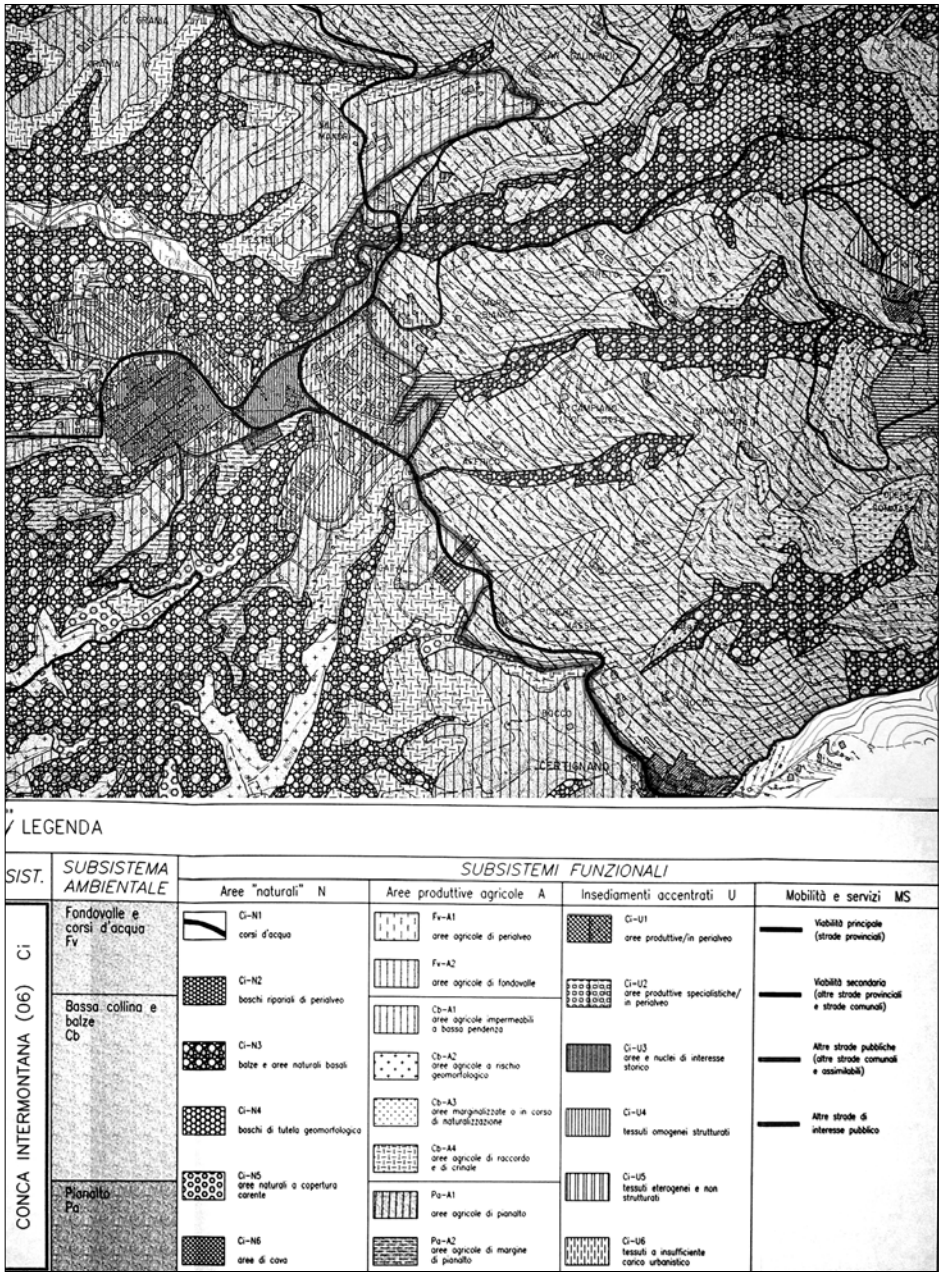


Fig. 3: PS of the municipality of Castelfranco di Sopra.

The legend:
SIST. = Environmental system; SUBSISTEMA AMBIENTALE = Environmental sub-system;
SUBSISTEMI FUNZIONALI = Functional systems;
Aree "naturali" = Natural areas; *Aree produttive agricole* = Productive agricultural areas;
Insediamenti accentrati = Urban settlements; *Mobilità e servizi* = Mobility network.

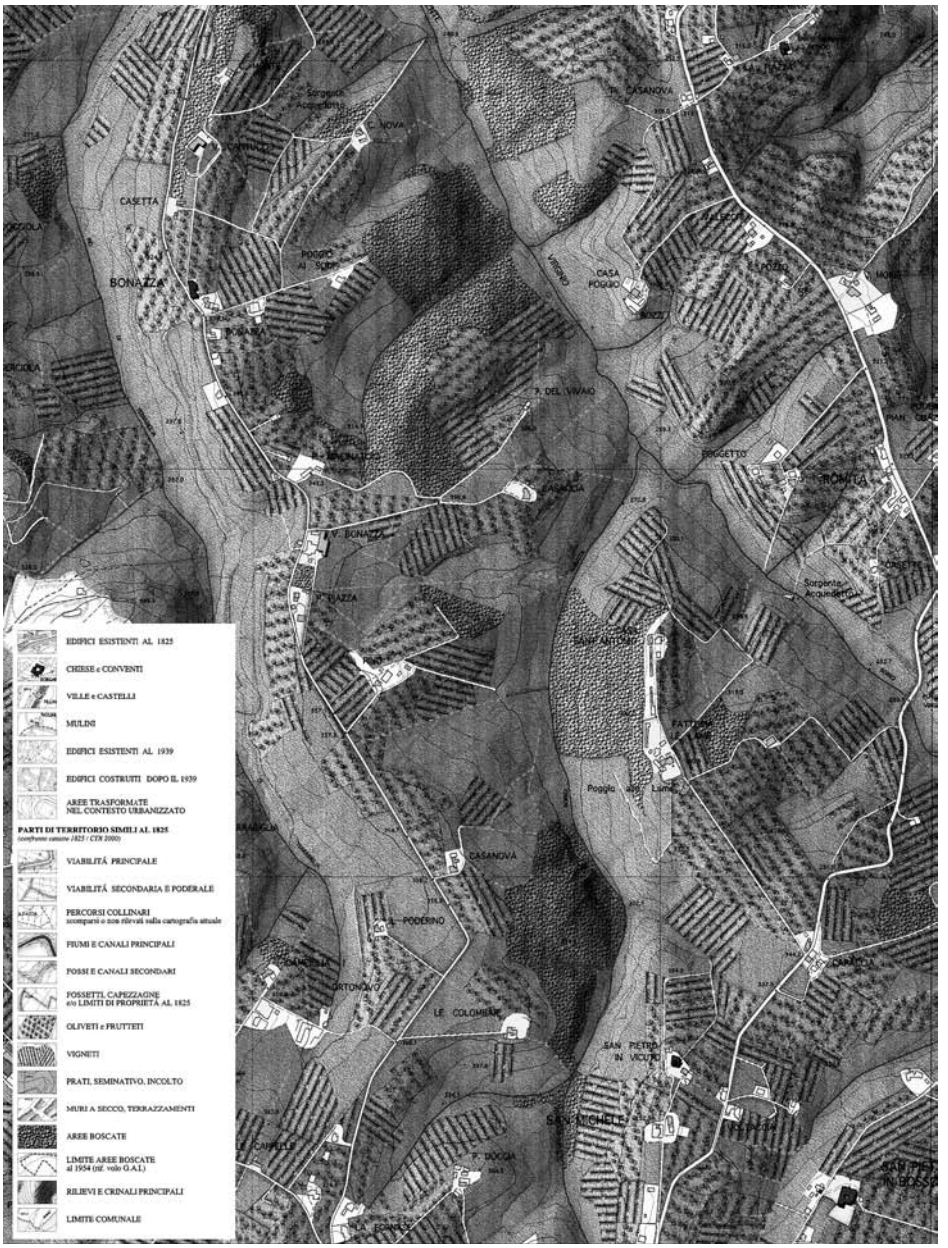


Fig. 4: PS of the municipality of Tavarnelle val di Pesa.

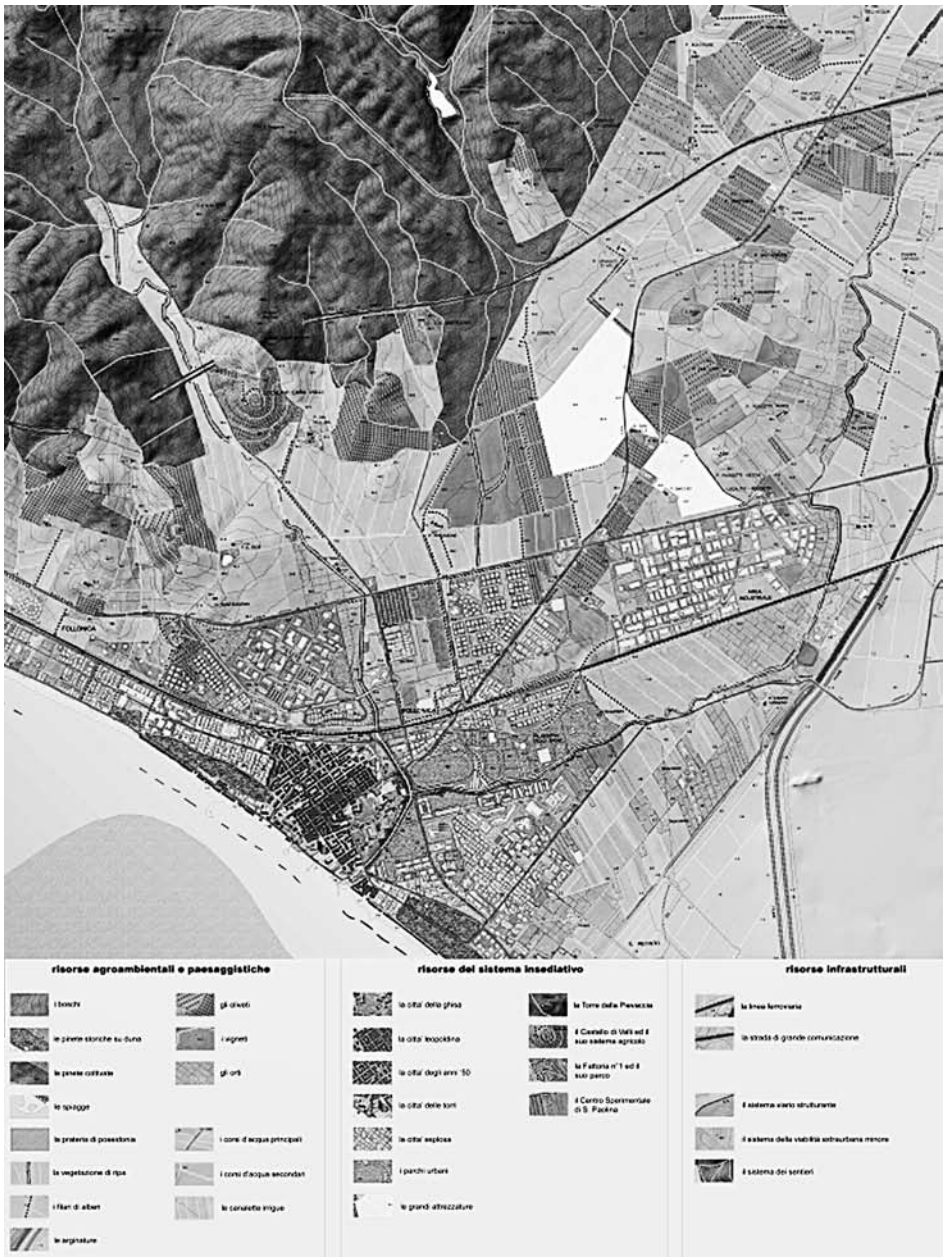


Fig. 5: PS of the municipality of Follonica.

The legend:
Risorse agroambientali e paesaggistiche = Environmental, agricultural and landscape resources;
Risorse del sistema insediativo = Urban resources;
Risorse infrastrutturali = Infrastructure resources.

– using an abstract map where the legend is built by comparing and overlapping different types of information and data. The legend is a sort of complex matrix, and the drawing needs to be read in different layers. This guarantees a very controlled working flow, but it is not easy to read the map (fig. 3);

– using a figurative map as an evocative image. The legend is composed of simple entries from different disciplinary fields (land use, historical study, geomorphology etc.), the image itself is the synthesis, but how the strategy planners go about achieving this particular synthesis is not declared in the map or elsewhere (fig. 4);

– again using a figurative map as in the previous case, while also exploiting the possibility to build a hierarchical legend that at the same time explains the idea of TH the map wants to communicate (fig. 5).

Considering all the information obtained from the analysis of the 45 PSs in our sample, and considering the problems we found with the definition and representation of TH, at the end of our research we summed up the main aspect we think can (in some cases must) be taken into consideration when preparing a PS in the frame of the Tuscan territorial planning system. Table no. 2 illustrates this proposal. The central column indicates the useful topics for the definition of TH; the column on the left contains the short headings grouping the single topics from the central column into categories. We can compare territory to a book and consider these headings as chapters describing different aspects of TH. The last column on the right gives some sketched suggestions regarding the strategy for representing the contents of column one in a map or with a graphic image. In the central column some elements are repeated in more than one row, this is because it is possible to use the same information to reach more than one syntactical picture. Also in the column on the right some strategies are considered useful for more than one purpose and repeated.

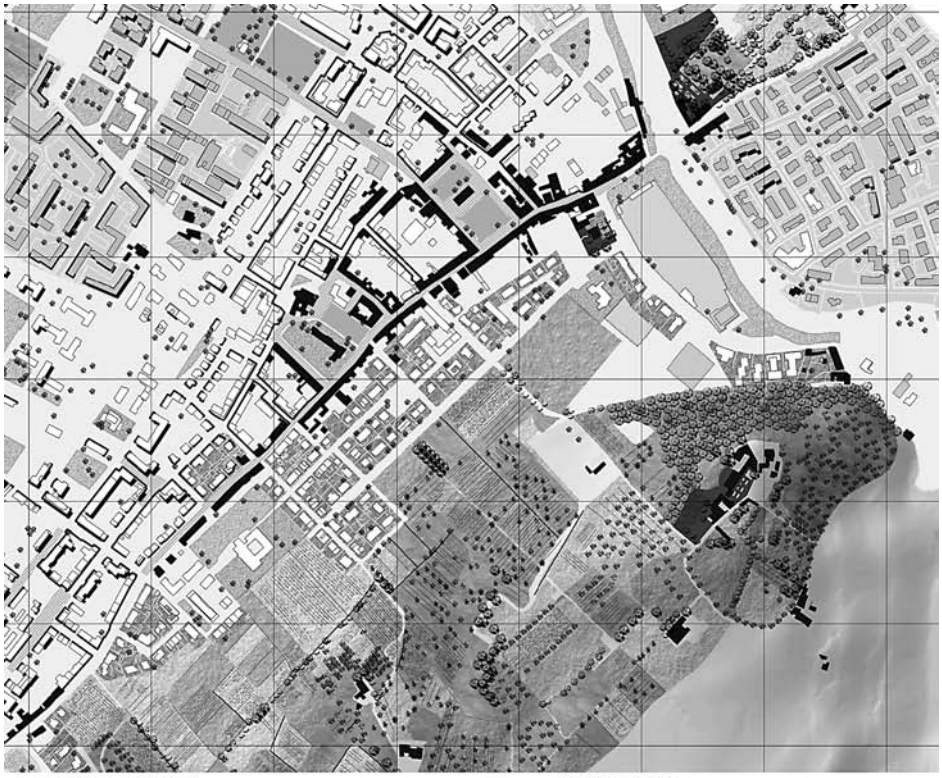
Table no.2

Synthesis of the data	Elements and data relevant to studying the territorial heritage	Strategies for representation and mapping
1 Morphological features of the territory	1.1 dating buildings and built elements 1.2 dating roads and railways 1.3 recognition of local minor roads and of old tracks and paths connected with agriculture and forestry 1.4 gardens and parks of landscape and architectural importance 1.5 valuable buildings 1.6 archaeological sites and traces of the archaeological organization of the territory (e.g. Roman centuriatio, etc.) 1.7 historical production system	• selection of cartographic marks • subtractive synthesis (use of cartography through the subtraction of elements and marks) • spatial disposition and correlation between cartographic objects
2 Land uses, agricultural land organization, landscape	2.1 present land use organization and its historical evolution 2.2 traces and elements of historical drainage systems, especially in reclaimed land 2.3 gardens and parks of landscape and architectural importance 2.4 present land use and land cover 2.5 evolution and transformation of land use and land cover 2.6 hydrographic network 2.7 parks and areas of environmental importance	• use of figurative symbology • balanced density of cartographic marks • graphic texture (for filling and shading topographic elements) • use of elements in different scales on the same map
3 Urban space structure	3.1 public space 3.2 activities located on the ground floors of buildings 3.3 public services network 3.4 perception of the territory and landscape	• selection of cartographic marks • subtractive synthesis (use of cartography through the subtraction of elements and marks) • use of different cartographic marks for elements pertaining to the same cartographic category as a highlighter system
4 Social linkage and perception of the territory and landscape	4.1 gardens and parks with landscape and architectural relevance 4.2 valuable buildings 4.3 archaeological sites and traces of the archaeological organization of the territory 4.4 parks and areas of environmental importance 4.5 historical production system 4.6 public services network 4.7 perception of the territory and landscape	• development of a specific set of symbols • schematic drawing with a link to cartography

If we consider this as a table of contents of TH, two more elements must be underlined. The first is that the three strategies we studied for describing and summing up information in the form of TH maps are all interesting, but, as I wrote before, they do not achieve the same results. According to our table of contents, the correct strategy for describing and representing TH must place the first column of the table at its centre. That is, the legend of the map must be built according to a sort of double structure, with a first level containing all the single elements used and stressed in the map and a second level where the strategies used by planners to obtain the synthesis, draw the map and to communicate are expressed in full, where the legend defines the *territorial* features (an example of something similar can be seen in fig. 6).

Second, we always have to bear in mind that the definition of TH in the frame of a master plan is not a simple research activity, but a specific and critical turning point in the planning process. The instruments we are studying and proposing here only make up the first phase of the process: the problem setting, normally done by experts. The second step is for the citizens to partake in defining the TH atlas. Correct problem setting and correct representation and communication are the pre-conditions for participation and for a correct and democratic planning process.

Fig. 6: PS of the municipality of Scandicci – the "urban heritage map".
The legend:
Permanenze del tessuto agricolo tradizionale = Traces of traditional land organization (Subcategories: Green and agricultural land visible in 1820 and present maps; Elements of land organization visible in 1820 maps and still existing; Historical drainage system still in use; Tree plantation or decorative row of trees organized according to the land organization visible in the 1820 map);
Risorse di interesse paesistico, ambientale e sociale = Landscape, environmental and social resources (Subcategories: Historic parks; Designed gardens; Decorative trees; Green areas for sport activities; Public gardens; Main squares; Urban set-up around public spaces);
Trama del tessuti produttivi = Organization of productive areas (Subcategories: Industrial buildings, Industrial areas);
Trame del tessuti prevalentemente residenziali = Urban fabric (essentially in residential areas) (Subcategories: Self-contained and semi self-contained blocks; Compact line of buildings along the road; Buildings already present in 1940; Detached buildings surrounded by gardens; Big residential blocks built according to a single standard plan; Buildings higher than the average in the town).



Permanenze del tessuto agricolo tradizionale

Permanenze delle aree verdi e agricole presenti nel "Catasto Generale Toscano", (catasto "leopoldino", 1820)

Permanenze dei segni dell'organizzazione fondiaria presenti nel "Catasto Generale Toscano", (catasto "leopoldino") del 1820

Permanenze dei fossi di scolo presenti nel "Catasto Generale Toscano", (catasto "leopoldino", 1820)

Alberature con impianto relazionabile alle trame presenti nel "Catasto Generale Toscano", (catasto leopoldino, 1820)

Risorse di interesse paesistico, ambientale e sociale

Parchi storici (pertinenze paesistiche delle ville e dei complessi rurali)

Giardini formali (pertinenze paesistiche delle ville e dei complessi rurali)

Alberi decorativi

Verde sportivo

Verde di uso pubblico

Piazze principali

Elementi ordinatori dello spazio pubblico centrale

Trama dei tessuti produttivi

Edifici per attività produttive

Aree per attività produttive

Trame dei tessuti prevalentemente residenziali

Isolati chiusi e semichiusi

Principali allineamenti degli edifici sul fronte stradale

Edifici presenti al 1940

Edilizia non aggregata

Interventi unitari

Edifici alti (6 - 9 piani)

Conclusions

The article outlines the following main aspects of a two-year research project:

– the study of two concepts that are part of the Tuscan planning system: '*invarianti strutturali*' and '*statuto del territorio*' (invariable structural elements and charter of the territory);

– the definition of the idea and contents of territorial heritage;

– the study of how in ten years of planning at municipal level TH has become one of the central elements of master plans.

Consequently, we propose a way of defining and studying TH, not as a model that must be followed, but simply as one of the possible work processes the experience has taught us.

We can make one last comment: the representation and mapping of TH is a technical planning instrument embedded in the Tuscan territorial planning tradition, but it is also a valuable practice in itself. TH maps and atlases are knowledge projects[26], as a matter of fact they can allow us to perceive the richness of a territory and they are a "means of seeing reality, of possessing knowledge about it and lastly a way of treasuring it".[27]

In Italy the representation and study of TH is an expanding field offering worthy opportunities to increase the array of environmentally friendly and collaborative territorial planning tools to collectively build our future territory.

[26] Zetti & Carta 2005.
[27] Raffestin 2005, p. 107, trans. by the author.

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Heritage – Function – Economy

Three Perspectives on Values in Estate Management

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Introduction

This paper deals with values in real-estate and discusses how they are created, what they represent, how formal demands regarding overall objectives of value-management are expressed and how they are defined and balanced at an operational level. The focus is on *the process of balancing* values related to heritage, function and economic results in re-development projects.

The study takes a relativistic stand-point on values, meaning that "value" is regarded as a social construction, rather than as an objective characteristic inherent in a building itself. Within economic valuation a relativistic perspective on values is a natural pre-requisite, as economic values are formed by demand and supply of the market, and since

such values tend to fluctuate even within short time-periods. Within the heritage-sector such a view is less obvious. Traditionally the sector has implied a positivistic and objectivistic perspective, defining value as an inherent and manifest characteristic of objects, possible to discern and describe by the use of established methods.[1]

During the last decades, however, the traditional approach to cultural values has been challenged by a more relativistic so-called post-modern view that stresses the relative nature of values and discusses the implications of contextually "produced" values.[2] In such a paradigm, values are no longer seen as residing *in* cultural property, but within the mind of the observer. This leads to new definitions of the whole heritage sector, and cultural heritage is consequently defined in terms such as "the present's use of the past"[3] and as "that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes"[4]. The contextual aspects of values are thus much in focus in contemporary heritage debates as the relativistic approach is put forward. The ideological consequences of the post-modern approach to cultural heritage might not yet be fully foreseen, but it will inevitably have an impact on overall strategies, as the traditional "sacred" values become "tradable". As Foucault concludes: "Value has ceased to be a sign, it has become a product".[5]

Such definitions pose the question of which characteristics of a building that should be preserved, as well as the question of what perspective on value that should be given priority in the operational production of cultural heritage.

The problem is that the objectivistic perspective traditionally applied on value has resulted in an operational practice focusing on stating *what* kinds of buildings that should be regarded as culturally significant, rather than on the identification of value-carrying characteristics. From a relativistic perspective such statements halter. Stating that a building is culturally valuable only concludes that the values involved are

[1] See for example Tainter & Lucas discussion in "Epistemology of the significance concept", where they link the perspective on inherent values to the empirical and positivistic tradition of western philosophy. (Tainter & Lucas 1983).
[2] Avrami 2002, Mason 2002, Lowenthal 2000, Herrnstein-Smith 1988.
[3] Graham et al. 2000, p. 2.
[4] Lowenthal 1985.
[5] Foucault 1994, p. 254.

cultural, but not what they consist of nor the reasons for their proposed preservation. As Kohler concludes:

"Without qualification and clear definition, including specific and operationally feasible rules of measurement, the term [value] has only subjective significance."[6]

A general problem in heritage restoration is that cultural values lack such clear definitions and operational feasible rules of measurement. This renders the operational management difficult and complicates discussion and monitoring of cultural values in restoration projects. The concept of "cultural value" thus represents an abstract and cumbersome phenomenon.

The question posed in this study is whether it is possible to define specific and operationally feasible rules of measurement for cultural aspects of heritage-management? In order to answer that question it is necessary to first define by what perspectives values are defined in managerial situations and by which criteria such values are constructed. The purpose of this paper is to elaborate such aspects and to create a comprehensive matrix for monitoring cultural, functional and economic values in re-development projects.

In order to discuss and clarify these aspects, the study combines a theoretical analysis of the production of value with an empirical study of operational management of values. The theoretical analysis is restricted to real estate perspectives. The role of heritage in the overall socio-economic system, as an instrument of power, as a vehicle for tourism, as a promoter of regional and local development or as part of the long-term perspective of sustainable development thus lay outside the framework of the study. [7] Instead the focus is set on the operational level and on the operational management of heritage buildings. The content is mainly drawn from my licentiate thesis, published in the series of "Studies of Conservation", University of Gothenburg, 2006.

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[6] Kohler 1952, quoted from Bengtsson 2006, p. 75.

[7] For a discussion of such aspects see for example Aronsson 2004, Grundberg 2000, Grundberg 2004, Graham et al. 2000, Lowenthal 1988, Lowenthal 1998, Lowenthal 2000, Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996.

Modelling value aspects

Heritage

In traditional conservation theories, buildings are regarded as sources of knowledge, carrying information of economic, social, cultural and institutional conditions of the past. They thereby represent the function of information-carriers of past societal conditions and ideals. Former changes to buildings are also regarded as part of historic evidence, as they also bear witness of former conditions, ideals and restoration ideologies.[8] From such documentary perspective, the possibility to "read" historical layers of the structure is of central importance and therefore the criterion for values related to heritage is defined as "*legibility*". Legibility is, as Munõs Viñas states, "the ability of an object to be correctly comprehended or 'read' by the observer"[9]. Where "correctly" might be defined as the way conservation advocates "read" the object.

In order to render the *legibility* criterion quantifiable, it is divided into three sub-criteria: *authenticity*, *patina* and *clarity*. Within the institutionalised heritage-sector, these criteria represent established and generally accepted concepts.[10] They mirror a documentary perspective on buildings as historic evidence and the emphasis of the preservation of original (historic) material that follows such a view.

Authenticity is closely related to the idea that physical material is the carrier of intangible "immaterial" values. The foremost aim of conservation therefore involves the preservation of as much original material as possible. The significance of the authenticity concept is often the most difficult to communicate to non-heritage stakeholders in restoration processes. In practice it reflects a view where cultural characteristics are seen as carried by the original materials. According to this view, the material in itself is the carrier of value. Therefore, original materials can never be replaced by newly-made replicas and substitutes. From an authenticity perspective, new material can never bear testimony of anything but contemporary aspects. It can only carry information about the

[8] See Jokilehto 1986, p. 336 ff.
[9] Muños Viñas 2005, p. 99.
[10] See for example Unnerbäck 2002, Robertsson 2002, Jokilehto 1986.

present but never about the past. The underlying ethical aim behind such a perspective is that conservation should not create a false idea of history – i.e. new additions should not pretend to be products of original historical material.

Patina, or age-value[11], is also closely connected to the idea of authenticity, but it is focused on surface layers and veneers and the notion of "wear and tear-traces" as an important dimension of historic evidence. The concept of patina is thus linked to traces of times passed and the wear-and-tear of material and surface layers that materialises such traces. The difficulty with "time-wearing traces" is that they represent an aesthetical dimension where the difference between wear-and-tear, as a negative consequence of the ageing of buildings, and wear-and-tear as a positive consequence might be difficult to define. To handle that problem, this study defines negative wear as wear having a negative effect on the technical status of the material (i.e. resulting in disrepair), while positive wear is defined as ageing that does not affect the technical status of the material. Patina might thus be defined as non-destructive traces of age – "the kind of alteration which is unwanted" but "adds to the object's value". [12]

The criterion of *clarity* is linked to the overall educational aim of preservation of heritage; the possibility to perceive and "read" the historical information and knowledge which a building is considered to represent. In contrast with authenticity and patina, clarity is not linked with original material nor with non-destructive traces of age, instead it is linked with the possibility for different kinds of visitors to experience the information that preservation aims to maintain and elucidate. Thus, clarity is not related with physical features of a building. Rather, as Muñoz Viñas states, it pursuits, "to facilitate the reading of an object, to make it understandable".[13] In a building with several time-layers, the authenticity criterion might even affect the clarity criterion in a negative way, since too many traces from different periods might render the legibility of historical layers more difficult. Clarity is therefore defined as the possibility for visitors with different levels of knowledge to identify and "read" the historical information which a building is purported to convey.

[11] Riegl 1996, p. 29.
[12] Muñoz Viñas 2005, pp. 101-102.
[13] Muñoz Viñas 2005, p. 99.

HERITAGE – LEGIBILITY

Authenticity

100–90%	90–80%	80–70%	70–60%	60–50%	50–40%	40–30%	30–20%	20–10%	10–0%
Very high Completely original		High Mostly original		0k Half original		Low Some original		Very low Hardly any original	

Patina

100–90%	90–80%	80–70%	70–60%	60–50%	50–40%	40–30%	30–20%	20–10%	10–0%
Very high Well preserved		High Mostly preserved		0k Partly preserved		Low Hardly preserved		Very low Not preserved	

Clarity

100–90%	90–80%	80–70%	70–60%	60–50%	50–40%	40–30%	30–20%	20–10%	10–0%
Very high Easy to read		High Possible to read		0k Demands expert knowledge to read		Low Difficult to read even for experts		Very low Very difficult to read	

Fig. 1: To render these various criteria quantifiable, special questionnaires were developed.

Function

Influenced by Frank Duffy, *functional* aspects of values are defined by the use of his space-planning theory. Duffy focuses on how to "design for change" i.e. how to create flexible buildings that might respond to the changing needs of their users over time.[14] He identifies four main layers of buildings, distinguished by their different levels of longevity: *shell*, *services*, scenery and *settings*. In the construction of new office buildings, shells (load-bearing walls, façades and roofs) are estimated to last 50–75 years, services (technical systems such as water, drainage, HVAC, light, power) 15 years, scenery (inner-walls, ceilings, surface layers and fixtures) 5 years and settings only a few years.[15]

In Duffy's model (fig. 2), *shell* represents structurally connected parts, *services* represent parts connected to building-code requirements and leaseholder demands on technical performance, *scenery* represents

[14] Duffy 1998.
[15] Myerson 1998.

parts connected to the overall category of use (office, library, educational, industrial etc.) while *settings* represent parts connected to a specific organisation. The longevity of the different layers are naturally depending on the use-category, as for example industrial use involves a longer perspective on services and scenery, as well as settings, than more change-inclined categories such as office. However, whatever the use might be, sooner or later the building will inevitably be out-dated, normally beginning with the settings and then followed by services, scenery and shell in accordance with Duffy's time-cycle.

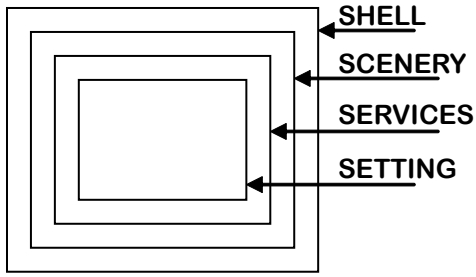

Fig. 2: Different layers of a building according to Duffy.

From a space-planning perspective, the problem with heritage buildings is that the shell, as well as the scenery and sometimes parts of the settings (and sometimes even the services), are subjected to restrictions regarding changes. For the listed buildings in focus of this study, there is a more or less general ban on all changes related to interventions in the exterior, the shell, the plan lay-out and older fixtures, i.e. for all interventions related to "shell" and "scenery" in Duffy's terminology. In order to carry out such banned interventions in Sweden, a special permit from the National Heritage Board is required. Thus, the heritage perspective on the longevity of the different building-layers differs widely from a pragmatic functional planning perspective. The whole idea of "designing for change" stands in contrast to the heritage idea of "protecting against change" as mirrored in the general ban on interventions.

By using Duffy´s terminology, the functional objective in heritage restoration projects might be defined as the design of a new function by the

re-use of the parts of the existing shell and scenery that are subjected to restrictions regarding intervention and change. The overall aim is therefore expressed as "the achievement of as high a degree of suitability as possible – despite heritage related restrictions" and the criterion for the functional aspect is defined as "suitability of intended use".

Using Duffy's concept as a starting-point, sub-criteria for suitability are defined as *working-environment*, *technical installations* and *architectural unity*. *Working-environment* and *technical installations* roughly represent Duffy's layers of scenery and services, while architectural unity represents the aesthetic design of those layers. On a general level these criteria mirror the terms "function", "construction" and "aesthetics", i.e. the three characteristics that together define the concept of architecture.[16]

Work-environment is a criterion intended to measure how compromises between needs related to the category of use and building-code requirements on the one hand and the conservation of historic material and aesthetic/spatial characteristics on the other, have evolved.

Technical solutions are intended to be used as a criterion for measuring how well the design of technical installations, fire-safety measures and accessibility-adjustments have been adjusted to the intrinsic character of the buildings. To find solutions for such aspects, not least for HVAC, is a major challenge in all projects concerning modernisation of heritage buildings.

Architectural unity is a criterion intended to measure how well pre-identified aesthetic and spatial qualities have been integrated in the final design and its practical execution. From an artistic perspective, buildings are regarded as "architecture", here defined as "*aesthetic organisation of practical reality*". From an artistic perspective on heritage, the foremost aim of conservation concerns preservation and development of existing aesthetic and spatial qualities, defined in terms of room, space, construction.

[16] See for example Vitruvius 1989, p. 15.

FUNCTION – SUITABILITY

Work-environment

100–90%	90–80%	80–70%	70–60%	60–50%	50–40%	40–30%	30–20%	20–10%	10–0%
Very high Fully accomplished		**High** Mostly accomplished		**Ok** Ok accomplished		**Low** Hardly accomplished		**Very low** Not accomplished	

Technical solutions

100–90%	90–80%	80–70%	70–60%	60–50%	50–40%	40–30%	30–20%	20–10%	10–0%
Very high Fully adjusted		**High** Mostly adjusted		**Ok** Ok adjusted		**Low** Hardly adjusted		**Very low** Not adjusted	

Architectural unity

100–90%	90–80%	80–70%	70–60%	60–50%	50–40%	40–30%	30–20%	20–10%	10–0%
Very high Fully accomplished		**High** Mostly accomplished		**Ok** Ok accomplished		**Low** Hardly accomplished		**Very low** Not accomplished	

Fig.3: Questionnaire for quantification of "suitability".

Economy

From a real-estate economic perspective, buildings are regarded as sources of revenue and the values involved are related to capital values. In this study, capital values of real estates are defined by its book value, i.e. actual capital invested in a building – so called *acquisition expenses*. The guiding principle is that investments shall return a margin equivalent to the required return on capital. Such return represents a measure of expected revenues for the year to come. The return on investment of a restoration project is calculated as the result (rents minus costs, including annual depreciation) in relation to the book value of the building (initial book value plus the capital value of the investment).

	ASPECTS		
	HERITAGE	**FUNCTION**	**ECONOMY**
PERSPECTIVES	Cultural history	Space-planning	Estate-economy
INTANGIBLE DIMENSION	Source of knowledge	Shell around practical use	Source of revenue
VALUES	Documentary value	Use value	Capital value
MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVES	To preserve information -carrying material	To supply attractive premises	To increase the capital value of the asset
CRITERIA	Legibility	Suitability	Return on investment
Sub-criteria	Authenticity Patina Clarity	Scenery Services & code requirement Aesthetic organisation	Revenue Costs Booked value

Fig.4: Matrix of studied aspects.

The purpose of the matrix is to elucidate the meaning of the concept of value from the three studied perspectives and to identify criteria by which such values can be defined. The main aim is to create incentives for a clear definition of the various values that buildings are assumed to represent – especially the value associated with heritage – before restoration is conducted and to supply criteria by which different values can be monitored in the course of restoration projects.

Applying the matrix

The East Stables case

In order to test whether suggested criteria are applicable in real life they were applied on a recently completed restoration project: the East Stables, Stockholm.

The stables forms part of a military establishment, built in the early 19th century and in use until the 1920s when the army left the area.

In the 1930s the main building was redeveloped into offices and the premises were taken over by the Swedish National Heritage Board. The East Stables were intended to be converted into a museum but for different reasons the work was never finished. Instead the stables were used as cold stores until the 1990s when development plans were resumed. During 1999–2006 the premises were re-developed into offices, library and reading-room for the Heritage Board.

The stables are listed as culturally significant and managed by the Swedish National Property Board, the largest heritage-estate manager in Sweden. Their formal objectives are defined in annual letters from the department of Finance. With regard to heritage, function and economy these objectives are defined in the following way: to preserve cultural values, to provide suitable and competitive premises and to conduct economically efficient management yielding an annual return on capital (for 2006 set at 6,0 %).[17]

The East Stables case was chosen because it represents an ultimate challenge regarding coordination of cultural, functional and economic objectives in redevelopment projects: *The restoration of a listed, badly maintained early 19th century stable-building into modern office-premises, while preserving cultural values and meeting economic yield demands.*

Method

In order to test the suggested criteria different participants in the East Stables case were interviewed and requested to fill in the questionnaires (see fig 1 and 3). The main focus was given to the application of the ”legibility-criteria”.

One immediate result was that different stakeholders made different estimations of initial as well as realised values, mirroring the problems of defining neutral criteria for qualitative aspects. Another interesting result, however, was that when estimating achieved values, the heritage experts clearly estimated a lower value than the architects did. Consequently it seemed interesting to investigate that issue further. Is there

[17] Department of Finance (2005–12–15).

Figures 5–6: East Stables exterior before and after restoration.

Figures 7–8: East Stables interior before and after restoration.

a difference between a documentary perspective (heritage experts) and an architectural perspective (restoration architects) as to what characteristics constitute cultural values? And, if so, how can that difference be articulated and explained?

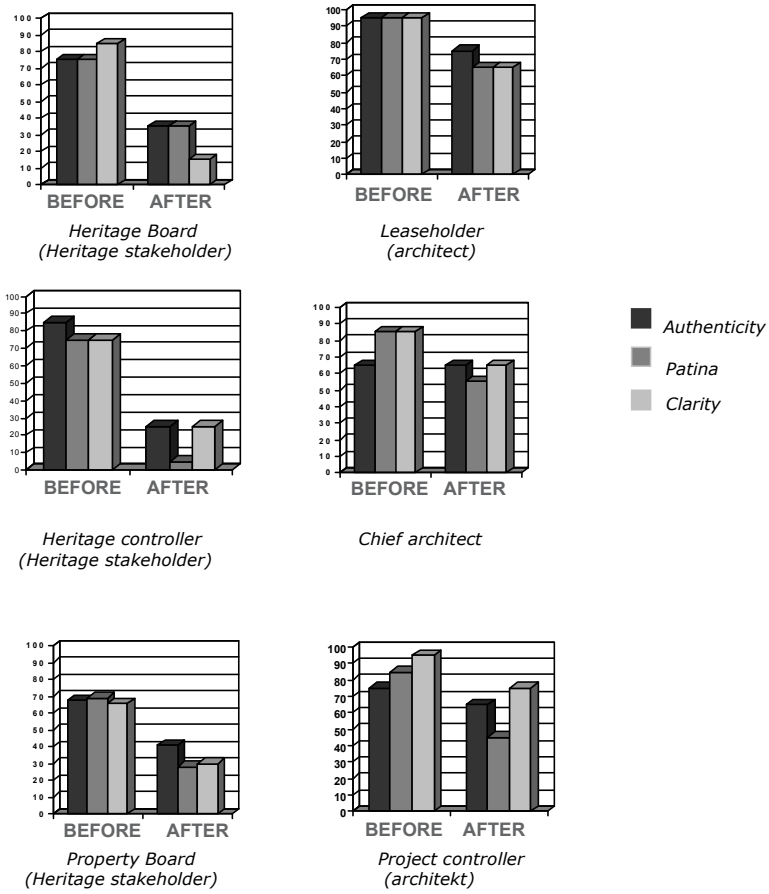

Fig 9: Estimated legibility before and after restoration.

Historical evidence or architectural unity?

The empirical studies showed that, in the East Stables case, heritage experts attached great importance to aspects connected to the original construction of the building, defined in terms of shell (masonry, wooden pillars, beams and roof trusses) and to the original function, defined as stable-fixtures (boxes, troughs, feed baskets etc).[18] The architects,

[18] Guidelines for restoration of the East Stables, National Heritage Board (1).

on the other hand, attached more importance to spatial and aesthetic aspects – defined as large open rooms, spatial volumes, transparent views and characteristic wood-construction.[19]

	HERITAGE STAKEHOLDER	RESTORATION ARCHITECT
OBJECTIVES IN THE EAST STABLES CASE	To preserve legibility regarding – Original architecture – Original function – Restoration ideology of the 1930s	To preserve the genius loci of the building
SIGNFICANT ELEMENTS/ – THE EAST STABLES	Physical material – Wooden pillars, beams, roof trusses – Boxes, troughs, feed baskets	Aesthetic and spatial qualities – Open spaces – Hall of pillars – Characteristic wood construction – Simplicity of space and form

Fig. 10: Historical evidence versus architectural unity – the East Stables case.

These two different perspectives were further confirmed in the interviews. For example: for the heritage inspector, the preservation of as many details of the stable-fixtures as possible, including (at least) one stable box was an important issue.[20] For the restoration architect such attitude seemed strange and would only result in a chaotic room experience: it would, as he concluded, *"look like a Pizza restaurant"*. From his point of view, the very idea of keeping one of the boxes was absurd: *"That idea I managed – thank God – to put a stop to!" Should one sit and work in a stable box?!*[21]

From the East Stables case, it thus seems clear that the concept of legibility represents different things for different stakeholders. For heritage experts it is linked to the preservation of original physical material, for restoration architects it is linked to the preservation of aesthetic and spatial characteristics created by that material; one focuses on the material itself, the other on the void created by and in between.

[19] Langseth 2004, p. 86 ff.
[20] Interview 2005–06–14
[21] Interview 2005–06–16.

On a general level these two perspectives mirror a debate of historical evidence versus architectural unity that has been ongoing ever since the end of the 19th century. That debate originates from two different views of the intangible function of heritage buildings: as a source of knowledge or as a source of experience.

	PERSPECTIVES ON CULTURAL VALUES	
STANDPOINT	Source of knowledge	Source of experience
PERSPECTIVE	Buildings as historical documents	Buildings as architecture
VALUES	Documentary value	Experience value
MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVES	Preservation of historical meaning	Preservation of aesthetical meaning
CRITERIA	Historic evidence	Architectural unity
Sub-criteria	Authenticity Patina Clarity	Aesthetics Space Unity

Fig. 11: Matrix of perspectives on culture values.

Managing historic and new functions

By the discussion above, it is obvious that the historic scenery of a building represents different things to different stakeholders. To clarify this difference, Duffy's terminology might be used. From the perspective of the architect, scenery has an architectural function, accommodating the intended use of the building by means of internal spaces and functional design. As to the historic scenery, this might be integrated to enhance the design of the new scenery as long as it fulfils some purpose and thus is possible to re-use in a functional way. From the perspective of the heritage expert, scenery has a documentary function, carrying information of the former use of the building. The fundamental differences as to the role and function of historic scenery are thus obvious. The whole idea of "designing for change" stands in contrast to the herit-

age idea of "protecting against change" as mirrored in the general ban on interventions.

The terminology of Duffy's might further be used to discuss and pinpoint issues of consequences on a more profound level, as to the possibility of actually preserving aspects that are put forward by documentary advocates. Regardless of what perspective that is applied, the preservation of non-functional fixtures – such as stable boxes, troughs, feed baskets etc – may, according to Duffy's terminology, no longer be defined as part of the scenery. Instead they rather become an added layer: a form of historic decorative layer without any practical function (except as a carrier of information of the previous, historical use of a building).

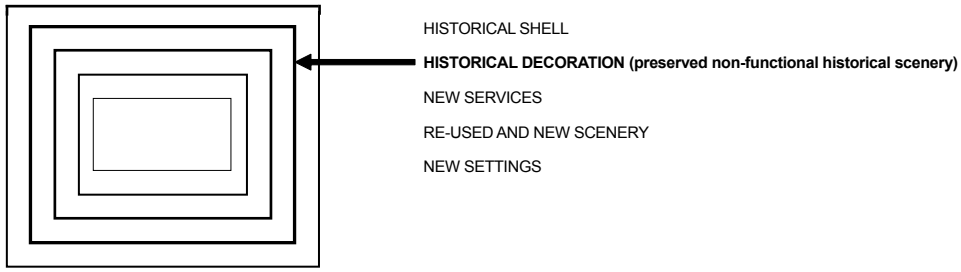

Fig. 12: Modernised Heritage Building: The adding of a non-functional layer.

When levelling demands of preservation of historical function against demands of creating new functions it is inevitable that existing values, if related to criteria such as authenticity and patina, are reduced while new values, such as efficient working environment, technical services and rents, are increased. As Muňos Viňas states: "historical truth (the imprint of history upon the object) is a victim of restoration, and very often of preservation as well: it is the price to pay for converting the object into something more functional, more valuable, more meaningful."[22]

The inevident reducement of "historical truth" in favour of increased functional and economic values was obvious in the East Stable case, were legibility after restoration was estimated as 27 %, suitability as 85 % and return on investment as 7,12 %.[23]

[22] Muňos Viňas 2005, p. 191.
[23] Besides the estimation of legibility participants were also asked to fill in with the questionnaires for suitability. The economic result is drawn from various documents from the SFV. The presented figures comes from these documents.

Discussion

One of the problems in the management of heritage buildings is to handle different notions as to what characteristics should be regarded as essential carriers of the cultural values that a building is considered to represent. *The driving notion* of a project and what it attempts to achieve varies in accordance with the underlying perspectives of different stakeholders. In the East Stables case: Preservation of physical material of the original structure or of spatial qualities created by that structure? As the East Stables case shows, the critical issue of that conflict originates in the breakpoint between the historical and the new function.

The question of *why* preservation of the original function is essential, i.e. *what knowledge* heritage stakeholders seek to preserve, is seldom asked. A building may carry a lot of information about the past – in the east Stables case of the early 19th century – depending on what perspectives are applied: of the historic development of the Swedish military, of the architect, of military buildings, of urban development, of property rights, of architectural preferences, of power, of building techniques, of stables, of the conditions for horses and much more. If cultural heritage is defined as "that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes", it is essential that heritage professionals begin to consider and elucidate those very purposes.

One aim with the proposed matrix, is to promote such discussions. As the criteria are defined by key terms from concepts of the cultural heritage sectors, heritage professionals are provided tools by which they can articulate their underlying perspectives on cultural values – thereby providing a basis for a clear articulation of preservation-related aims. Such articulation might be used to establish clear – and realistic – objectives for individual projects, thus facilitating balance and the inevitable compromises between values involved in such processes.

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Evaluation of Efficiency of Protection of Cultural Heritage

Case of Latgale Region in Latvia

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Introduction

The protection of cultural heritage these days is a substantially broadened formula than that given by the Greek historian Polybius back in the second century before the Christian Era: "Nobody can deny that the wanton destruction of temples, statues and other sacred things is pure folly".[1] It is common to attempt to disallow this *pure folly*: the protection of the cultural heritage is on the agenda and included in the political rhetoric of the influential UNESCO, as well as of the European Council and other international organizations.

[1] Williams 1996.

However, day-to-day practice shows that both at the international and national level the approved protection principles do not always correspond to their implementation in practice at the local level. Such incompatibility manifests itself in the hopeless decay of valuable cultural monuments, the detachment of the protection of the cultural heritage from other spheres of life and the conflicting targets of the interested groups involved. The mentioned incompatibility seems to be an unexplainable contradiction when viewed from the elevated standpoint of the international charters (How can the destruction of historical buildings take place, if they are so valuable?).

Cultural heritage protection policies will never meet their protection objectives fully if they are not supported by, and do not involve, society, due to the simple reason that at best they can protect solely the shape of a cultural monument, while the intrinsic cultural values remain unattainable by politics.

Therefore, when evaluating the efficiency of the protection of cultural heritage, what is no less important than to study the governmental policies, is to consider the actions, attitude and responsibility of society, in particular of the part of society directly involved in the protection of the cultural heritage.

On the basis of my twelve year working experience in the area of the protection of cultural heritage, I have evaluated in this article the success of the established system of the protection of cultural heritage of Latvia in attaining its objective. The situation in the protection of architectural monuments in Latgale – one of the cultural regions of Latvia – has been analysed as an example.

Values of cultural heritage and protection

The notion of cultural heritage on the level of its intuitive understanding already includes the idea of its protection; it is something valuable and therefore should be preserved: "cultural heritage and preservation laws are two sides of the same coin".[2] The notion "cultural heritage" is

[2] Guerzoni 1997, p. 107.

pertaining to that part of the culture which today is inherited from the past. On the part of *inheritors*, the *inheritance* is not a passive, but an active process, because the knowledge and value system, related to both – the material and immaterial cultural heritage, cannot be automatically inherited, they should be learned, and in order to adopt the experience of the past, intentional and active measures are required.

Thus far, a general definition for cultural heritage as a philosophical and cultural category, and also as an object of legal protection, has not yet been found. The lack of a general definition for cultural heritage is the reason for substantial differences in the cultural heritage policies at the national level in Europe.[3] The necessity for such a definition has been emphasized also by the European Council, which holds the view that such a definition should be broad and cover "all the tangible or intangible elements that demonstrate the particular relationships that a human community has established within a territory over time".[4] In general terms the UNESCO "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage" (1972) presents the backbone for the views and following action policies on what cultural heritage is, as well as why and how it should be protected. The Convention distinguishes the cultural, natural and common heritages and lists separate subcategories in each category. In practice, the protection of cultural heritage is implemented as the protection of separate units – cultural monuments.

Protection is broad notion and according to UNESCO is understood as "the action required to provide the conditions for a monument, site or historic area to survive".[5] Although every separate cultural monument finds itself in a particular individual situation, its protection – 'conditions to survive' – depends on the system of relations among mutually related groups of factors, involving the development of public opinion, the legislative function of the government and personal action of individual (Figure 1).

[3] Echter 2001.
[4] Council of Europe 2003.
[5] Fielden & Jokilehto 1994, p. 61.

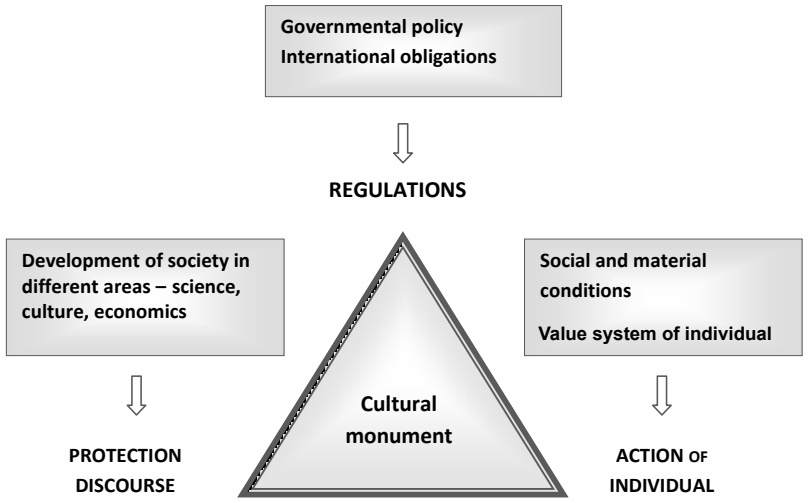

Fig. 1: Protection framework of cultural heritage.

The protection of heritage resources within the state system is determined on the basis of values[6] which are established by experts, however the protection is to be implemented by people, whose attitude towards the unit is very often based on completely different values, and here the question arises – do they want to spend their resources for the protection of particular values? This is a well-grounded question and will be asked even more frequently, because a "cultural change" has occurred in the decision making processes concerning environmental protection[7], and is going to be based on the approaches, including wide segments of different social interest groups.

A cultural monument is designated for protection because it is culturally valuable, however, the basic principle of protection of cultural values does not work according to direct linear proportions, where certain features of the cultural heritage resources would be recognised as undoubted value not only by specialists, but also by society. The views on values of specialists and those of common people sometimes differ. For example, the UNESCO approach finds the authenticity as the most important value of cultural heritage: "Authenticity is a crucial aspect in the assessment of heritage resources."[8] However, authenticity as

[6] Ibid., p. 17.
[7] Burgess 2000.
[8] Fielden & Jokilehto 1994, p. 16.

a value is doubted in the day-to-day practice. The reconstruction in 2001 of the Blackheads House and the City Hall in the historical centre of Riga, ruined in the World War II, was accompanied by intensive discussions of architectural experts and planners. The view of the historians of architecture was almost unanimous – construction of duplicates of the historical buildings is unacceptable[9], it would be a "dummy" and an "imitation of history". Nevertheless the reconstruction of the Blackheads House and the City Hall was supported by many people, who personally donated money, and today these sites are the most favourite tourist attractions and post-card views of Riga, proving that authenticity does not play the crucial role for obtaining the recognition of society, and the idea and the shape are sufficient grounds for it. In case of the changes carried out from 1992–1994 at the Aglona Basilica, this is even more expressive (see further).

One of the most essential factors determining the awareness of individual responsibility in the protection of environmental values and in acting it out, is the social context of an individual.[10] Values develop and change because of personal traits, and under the impact of external economic and social changes at a macro level, i.e., they decide individual's action under certain circumstances

The modern society of Latvia may be defined as a type of society in a transitional period. Only 15 years have passed since the restoration of independence after the period of occupation lasting fully fifty years. Latvian society today consists of people, whose initiative and responsibility-driven personal activities were completely suppressed for several generations throughout the Soviet period.

The behaviour of an individual in the transitional type of society, as well as his/her participation in social policy, including the protection of cultural heritage, is determined by impact of two kinds of circumstances: on the one hand, the experience obtained over the former Soviet times, and on the other hand, the current new experience, which is rapidly developing under the impact of the socio-economic changes.[11] The peculiar course of the history of Latvia should be taken into account as

[9] Zinātnes Vēstnesis, February 4th, 2000.
[10] Eden 1993, p. 1745.
[11] UNDP 2002, p. 76.

an additional factor, as pointed out by the sociologist I. Koroļeva: "The historical development has not allowed for any of the generations of our people to grow up and bring their children up within a stable system of standards and values".[12]

Only 5–7 % of the population of Latvia get involved in political developments actively and consciously[13], which is half that of developed countries. For the sake of comparison, e.g., in UK, there are more than 80 national level social organisations operating in the area of environmental protection, including almost 3 million participants (10 % of the adult population), while separate campaigns count many more supporters, and getting involved in the environmental protection has become a common feature of the cultural life.[14]

System of protection of cultural heritage in Latvia and its efficiency

The development of the legislation system for the protection of cultural heritage started soon after the end of the World War I and the establishment of peace in the Republic of Latvia, proclaimed in 1918. "The Law on Protection of Monuments" was adopted in Latvia in 1923. There were 1 454 monuments under the state protection until the Soviet occupation in 1940.

During the years of Soviet rule (1940–1991), as established by the Law of 1976 "On Protection and Usage of Historical and Cultural Monuments", the historical and cultural monuments were "the people's property" and their protection had to serve for the "building of communism". For ideological reasons intentional or unintentional degradation and ruin of many cultural monuments was allowed. Those objects, which did not conform to the ideology of the builders of communism, were submitted to destruction, such as churches and other religious sites, manors, which were perceived as representing the centres of "bourgeois culture". For their part, the lists of cultural monuments were supplemented with the properties, connected with the communist activities

[12] Koroļeva 2001, p. 127.
[13] UNDP 2002, p. 75.
[14] Bunce 1994.

in the past – secret revolutionary abodes, the sites of struggle of the red partisans, etc. Nevertheless, not all the people submitted to the pressure of the ideological regime and, being aware of the values of the past and their responsibility for their preservation, they saved significant churches, castles, manor buildings and other units from destruction.

After the restoration of independence in the beginning of 1990's, a highly centralised system of protection of cultural monuments has been established in Latvia. The State Inspection for Protection of Cultural Heritage prepares a list of units to be protected and it is approved by the Ministry of Culture. There are 8 520 units included in the approved list of the cultural monuments (including architectural, historical, archaeological, and art monuments). Responsibility for the preservation of a cultural monument lies completely on the shoulders of its owners. In order for a property to be included in the list of cultural monuments, no consent of its owner or the local government is required. A similar system exists in Latvia also concerning the determination of the status of protection for especially protected natural monuments and territories, this being the competency of a different ministry.

The preservation of cultural monuments is not among the compulsory functions of local authorities, for the fulfilment of which the local budgetary funds are allocated. Every territorial plan should have the immovable cultural monuments and their protection zones marked. The local authorities are to some extent allowed to demonstrate good will concerning the protection of monuments, rather than being made responsible for seeking possibilities to conserve and integrate cultural heritage in the development of territory.

The question arises – is this system established effective and how can we assess it? In order to apply analyses of efficiency as the evaluation of the success of public policy implementation – in my study and to evaluate the efficiency of the protection of cultural monuments in the Latgale region, the particular cultural heritage protection programmes, approved and implemented, should be used. However, neither the National Programme "Cultural Heritage"[15], nor the Latgale Regional Development Plan[16] contains any particular performance measures

[15] Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Latvia.
[16] Latgales plānošanas reģiona teritorijas plānojums, 2006.

concerning the protection of cultural monuments which could be used for the evaluation. In these documents cultural heritage protection is treated by a single-sided approach – only from the point of view of the interests of the protection authorities. There are the artistic, architectural and historic values described inherent to the cultural heritage, but the protection situation is not analysed from the point of view of its feasibility – who are the owners? Are they able and willing to meet all the protection requirements? What is the attitude of the local government and the local community?

The only solution was to compare the actual situation in the protection of cultural monuments in Latgale against an assumed *ideal situation*. The notion of efficiency is herewith broadened, because the evaluation includes not only the legal and formal parameters, but also the issues of the protection of cultural monuments related to the everyday experience.

It is easy to imagine the aforementioned ideal situation as a result of protection measures: in that case an architecturally significant historic building is in good technical condition, is used and accessible to society, its surrounding landscape is well kept, the owners, local residents and local authority are interested and active in its maintenance, tourists visit the place and it is available for attendance. How true is the picture concerning the rural areas of Latgale?

The study area – *Latgale* – is one of the five cultural regions of Latvia. Latgale makes up 22 % of the present day territory of Latvia. Though it has no administrative status, there are obviously consistent and peculiar cultural features.[17] Striking accents in the regional cultural identity of Latgale were created during the time period from 1568–1918, while Latgale was separated from the rest of the territory of Latvia and its landscape was forming under different impact sources – many elements are common to the Slavonic nations and the Catholic culture of Southern Europe. The regional cultural peculiarities of Latgale are more outspoken than anywhere else in Latvia and closely reflected in the cultural heritage.[18]

[17] Cimermanis 1999.

[18] The two big cities of Latgale – Rezekne and Daugavpils – are purposefully not included in the study, because the city environment essentially differs from that of the countryside.

For evaluation of the efficiency of protection of cultural heritage a limited amount of the most essential parameters should be selected, the analyses of which cover the dominating part of the questions under research, i.e., they have to characterise the activities of the key decision makers concerning the protection of the particular cultural monument and the results of these activities.

For each cultural monument I have analysed the following parameters, having evaluated them in terms of points:

(1) Technical condition of the cultural monument;

(2) Type of usage and occupancy of the cultural monument, owners of the cultural monument, and their attitude and activities;

(3) The attitude of the local population towards the cultural monument;

(4) The attitudes of the local authorities towards the cultural monument;

(5) The attendance of the cultural monument, characteristics of tourists.

Focusing on just one integrated and statistically calculated parameter of protection efficiency, actually, is not grounded, because in the case of an ideal situation, as mentioned above, the situation of the protection of cultural monument should contain all the indicated circumstances simultaneously.

A standard questionnaire was filled out concerning each of the 489 architectural monuments. The data were obtained mainly on the basis of information given by the experts – the state cultural monument protection inspectors, which was later on defined more exactly at the local authorities, as well as by surveying the monuments in the field. During the next stage, the statistical strength of relations between separate variables was determined. The methodology of calculation of Spearman's rank correlation coefficient of is based on the elaborations by Lasmanis.[19]

[19] Lasmanis 2002.

Number and typology of architectural monuments

The catholic churches, 90 in total, constitute the majority of the Latgale cultural heritage, which is considered to be the first architectural dominant in the Latgale landscape (Table 1). Of the catholic churches, 63 % are architectural monuments of national importance. The catholic churches are evenly spread throughout the territory of the region, mostly within 20 kilometres from each other. The churches of other faiths are less in number and also the specific weight of the cultural monuments on national importance is lower. In many settlements – sometimes in the villages with population under several hundred – there are churches representing 3 or even 4 faiths, being indicative of the multicultural character of the region (Riebini, Brodaizi, Vilaka), which is one of the most essential cultural geographic features of Latgale.

Table 1: Number of Latgale architectural and historic monuments by separate typological groups.

Typological group	*Catholic churches*	*Manor building complexes*	*Manor household buildings*	*Manor masters' houses, palaces*	*Manor parks*	*Lutheran churches*	*Synagogues*	*Municipal buildings*	*Mills*	*Castle ruins*	*Preaching-houses of old-ritualists*	*Orthodox churches*	*Cemetery chapels*	*Folk building monuments.*	*Pubs*	*Historic monuments*
Number of units	90	45	67	42	40	12	1	37	13	4	33	29	21	18	3	2
Incl. of National importance	57	11	11	18	10	4	0	4	1	4	0	9	6	2	0	2
Incl. of local importance	33	34	56	24	30	8	1	33	12	0	33	20	15	16	3	0

Unlike churches, with few exceptions the architectural monuments of the other typological groups have lost their original role and function nowadays.

Technical Condition of Architectural Monuments

The technical condition of architectural monuments is closely related to the use of buildings and occupancy. In the United Kingdom these two parameters are used to measure degree of risk of historic buildings.[20] The technical condition of an architectural monument reflects the cumulative effect of its management and the existing condition of a property can be related to the values, for which it is being protected.

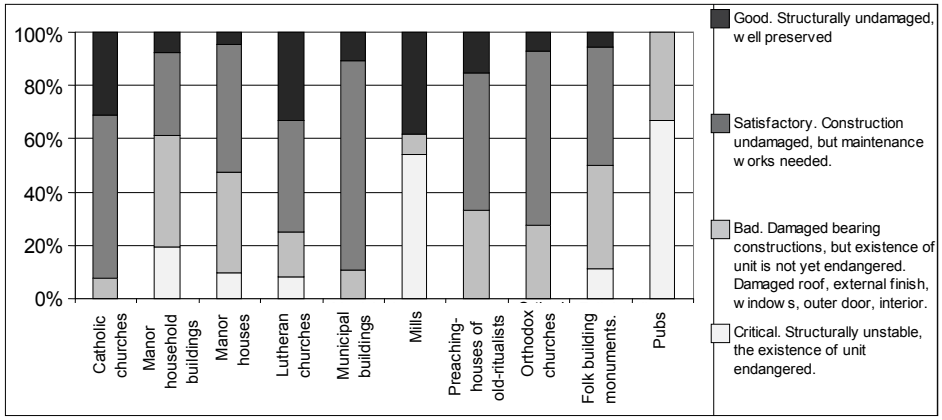

Fig. 2: Technical condition of architectural monuments in Latgale by typological groups

Due to the characteristics of the technical condition of architectural monuments of Latgale, about 70 % of them are in good and satisfactory condition (Figure 2). However, the technical condition is not alike throughout all groups of architectural monuments. The best maintained group is the catholic churches and those buildings of the other groups of architectural monuments for which the usage function has been found. The old pubs, mills and more than 60 % of manor household buildings are in critical condition. The majority of them are not used at all, or the manner of their operation threatens the preservation of the building; none of the three old pubs on the territory of Latgale are fully utilised. Compared to the Soviet times, the technical condition of architectural monuments in Latgale has not improved.

[20] Council of Europe 1991.

Concerning the architectural monuments of Latgale, the most pronounced relationship between the technical condition of a building and its usage proves true in the case of manor buildings as schools, which is typical of the manner of usage of manor buildings. While a manor houses a school[21], the building is not at risk, but as soon as the school is moved to some other building, at first the manor house is partially managed, and then afterwards not at all, and very soon it turns into a wreck (Riebinu, Rusonas, Preilu, Pelecu, Anspoku manors). The process is presently going on, e.g., because of the small number of pupils in autumn of 2003 the school year was not started in the Juzefinovas manor house, where the Ardava Primary School had been operating since 1922. The new functions are not able to ensure usage of the building in full.

It seems that the inevitable decay, threatening about half of all folk building monuments, has already begun. In this respect the only exception is the Fr.Trasuns museum "Kolnasata", where a museum has been arranged.

The irregular technical condition of the cultural monuments in Latgale concerning particular groups of monuments testifies to the inefficient state policy, because the *potential for the cultural heritage to reflect a comprehensive picture which casts light on the regional history are at risk*, by completely losing certain parts of the fairly rich typological range that has thus far been preserved.

Attitude of owners

The evaluation of the attitude of owners is very important, because it is the owner, who is responsible, in particular, for preservation of a cultural monument. The strength of statistical relationship between the variables "attitude of owners" and "technical condition of architectural monument" was determined. The correlation coefficient r = | 0,683 | indicates a high level of correlation.

[21] After actual elimination of manors from 1920–1937 as a result of the agrarian reform, the manor houses were mostly accommodated for the needs of schools, which over the Soviet period were closed one by one or moved to newly constructed buildings.

The attitude of owners should be evaluated not only as to its activity, but also as to its awareness and action conformity to the requirements of the protection of architectural monuments. Practice shows that owners often do not appreciate the values of cultural monuments and the principles of their preservation. A too practical approach has caused damage to the protection of historic churches and monuments of art stored therein due to incorrect activities. The most striking example of this is the changes at the Aglona basilica and the monastery complex carried out from 1992–1994: in order to enlarge the square, the surrounding cultural landscape was essentially changed, notwithstanding the objections of specialists, and valuable parts of 18th century architectural ensemble – the gates and the enclosure were demolished and the old structure of roads was destructed (Figures 3–4). When renovating the Gornajasi Chapel in 2000, the original 18th century door was replaced with a new door, instead of renovating the original one, applying automatically the common principle "the new is better than the old". In many cases only the limited resources of the parish save unique values from damage due to unskilled maintenance. However, generally speaking, usually it is the church and its surrounding area which is the most cared for place throughout the locality, both during the Soviet years of fighting atheism and nowadays.

The owners of cultural monuments are private persons and legal entities, and state or municipalities. The owner of almost all churches is a parish. Almost half of manor master's houses (20 of 42) are the properties of municipalities, 11 are private properties and in the rest of the cases the owners are the state, and in 5 cases the manor is a joint property or the possession is uncertain. It is not possible to state explicitly which owners are the best managers of cultural monuments. The strength of statistical relationship between the variables "type of ownership" and "technical condition of architectural monument" gives the correlation coefficient $r = | 0{,}044 |$, which is not statistically significant and indicates that the technical condition of architectural monuments does not depend on the type of ownership.

After the restoration of independence of the country and the transition to a market economy based on private property, the hopes that the owners will promptly and efficiently put in order their architectural

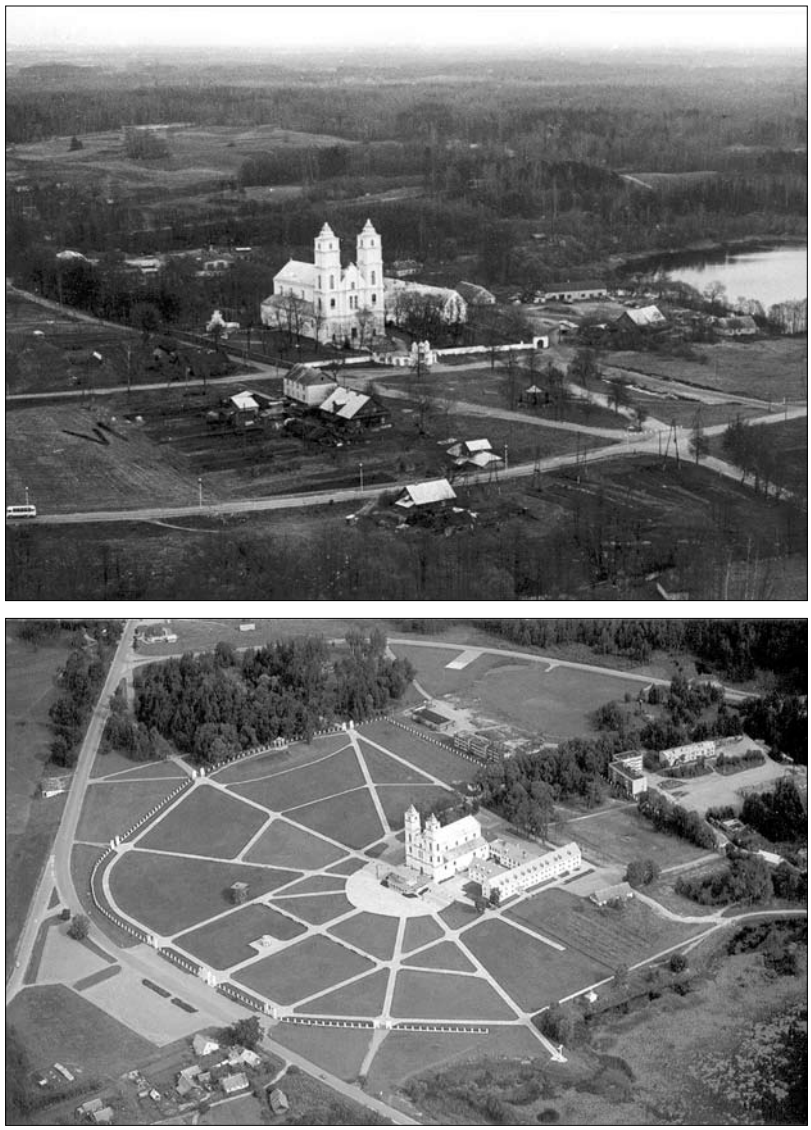

Fig. 3–4: Architectural complex of Basilica of Aglona (1780) before and after reconstruction in 1992–1995. (Fig. 3: photo credit A. Holms 1990. Fig 4: photo credit J. Vitins, A. Asars, 1996.)

monuments have not been fulfilled. More than half of the private owners do not demonstrate any responsibility or care about their cultural monuments. Wherever a cultural monument is in the possession of a person residing abroad (the fugitives of World War II and their heirs,

which have their properties restituted), it is abandoned – for example, the owner of Dulbova motorised mill lives in Florida state, USA, the owner of Solosu manor mill in Belgium, also the owners of Anspoku manor hunting house, stables and pub residing in the USA do not contribute any effort to the maintenance of their properties. Nevertheless there are legal provisions according to which the government is entitled to expropriate a cultural monument in event that it is not adequately maintained, so far there is no case law of the kind in Latvia.

Attitude of local governments

The attitude of local governments towards an architectural monument allows us to estimate the general prospects for the protection of cultural heritage in the region, because the local governments have the planning tools and possibilities to influence the direction of process development under their control. Irrespective of the type of ownership of cultural monument, it is the local government which is the responsible institution for the development of territory, and which should also be aware of the value of every cultural monument and extend support for its protection. Also the strength of statistical relationship between the variables "attitude of local governments" and "technical condition of architectural monument" has the correlation coefficient $r = |0{,}412|$, which is statistically significant.

Still, the data analyses shows that different groups of cultural monuments in Latgale enjoy an uneven spread of attention by local governments – most often the support is given to the catholic churches, old-ritualist preaching houses and public buildings, which often also are the properties of those local governments. There is a simplified attitude dominating local governments towards the protection of cultural heritage – the support is provided for the protection of those units, which are related to the interests of the majority of population. The initiatives to put in order such neglected units as mills, old pubs, manor household buildings occur very seldom. The plans and development programmes of local governments include only the lists of cultural monuments under protection and there are no measures worked out for their protection and development.

Attitude of local population

Every cultural monument is connected with the local people, being a part of their environment and the landscape itself. The protection of a cultural monument cannot be efficient if it is excluded from the life of local population and is not available to public or, according to it, is insignificant. The strength of the statistical relationship between the variables "attitude of local population" and "technical condition of architectural monument" was determined. The correlation coefficient $r = |0{,}509|$ indicates a medium-high level of correlation.

When the attitude of local population towards the protection of architectural monuments is evaluated in terms of a gradual scale, where the rating 1–2 points is negative and 3–5 points is positive, the obtained results indicate that the situation is not homogeneous in all groups of monuments (Figure 3). The local population mostly takes care of churches due to the traditional religious values of society, and takes less care of buildings with aesthetic qualities or economic significance.

The reasons hindering people from getting involved in the activities of the protection of cultural heritage are the low living standard, negative demographic processes in rural areas, as well as the aging of society, the outflow of the educated younger generation to cities, and the insufficient experience in democracy. In future, with the continuation of the present developments, the negative social and economic developments in many places of Latgale will more and more threaten the preservation of cultural heritage, because there simply will not be any local people interested in its maintenance. So, one of the most valuable architectural monuments, the oldest wooden church of Latgale in Indrica (Figures 7–8) located in the Kalniesu civil-parish, which according to the parameters of development takes the 443th place from 446 rural municipalities in Latvia[22], the total number of the population is 991 (2004), and in recent years the number of deaths was 2.5 times as great as the number of births.

[22] Development of Regions in Latvia 2005.

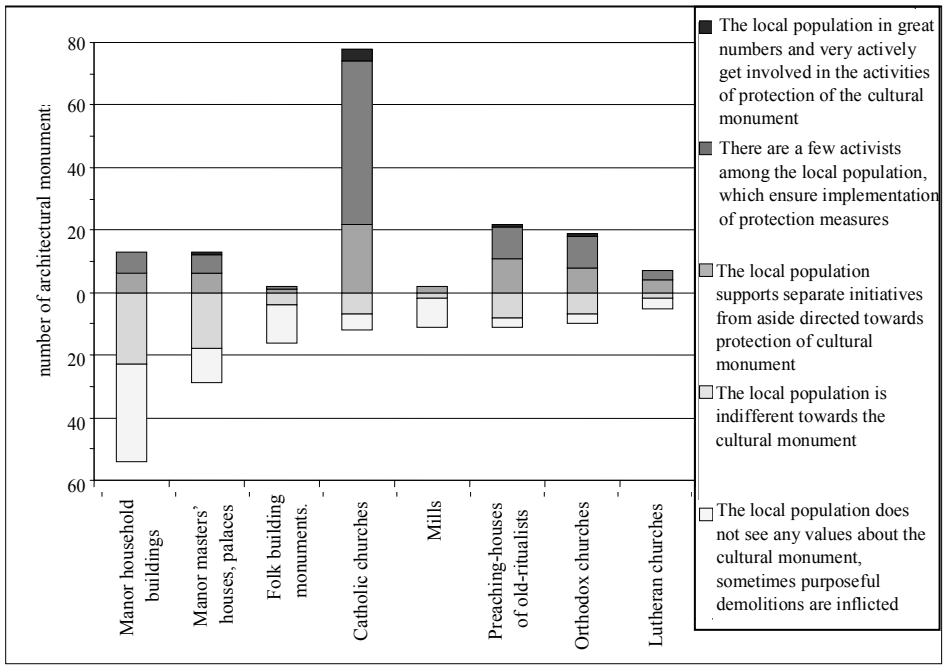

Fig. 5: The number of architectural monuments by separate typological groups depending on the attitude of local population towards the protection of architectural monument (Latgale region, Latvia).

Involvement of architectural monuments in tourism activities

Attendance of a cultural monument is an essential parameter of efficiency of protection and indicates the rationality of usage of economic, educational and recreational resources. The situation must not be simplified according to the formula "the more tourists, the better". Many churches of Latgale are opened to tourists only reluctantly, both for security purposes and because the believers are insulted by the shallow nosiness and misbehaviour of tourists at churches; such explanations were given at several catholic and old-ritualist preaching houses.

In Latgale the correlation coefficient of the statistical relationship between the variables "tourist attendance" and "technical condition of architectural monument" $r = |0{,}288|$, which is indicative to rather low, but still significant level of correlation.

The number of visitors is recorded on a regular basis only at some cultural monuments in Latgale, such as Jasmuiza, which houses a museum and is visited by approximately 8 000 visitors annually, Krustpils castle – 15 000 visitors, in both cases the visitors are essentially groups of schoolchildren. As to the number of visitors the undoubted leader is the Aglona basilica, having 200 000 visitors every year, of which 150 000 are the pilgrims of the annual religious festivile of 14–15 August.

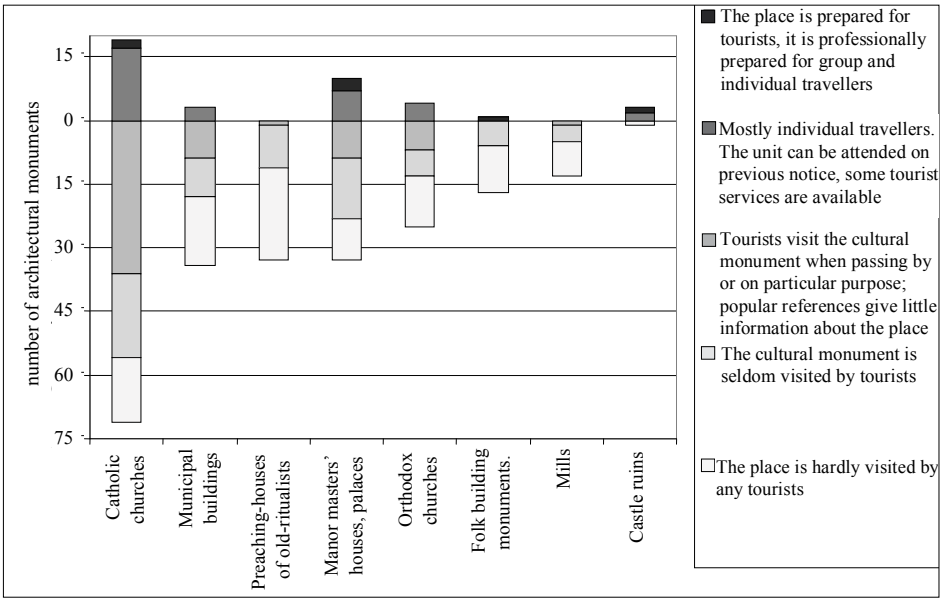

Fig. 6: Number of architectural monuments by separate typological groups depending on their involvement in tourism activities (Latgale region, Latvia).

In all, about 60 % of all cultural monuments are rarely visited (Figure 6), which is indicative that the objectives of protection have not been fully achieved, because the cultural values of a region are not recognised in a generally accepted way; i.e. travelling, and consequently they are not involved in the economic life of the place and the owners do not profit from tourism. Hence, this parameter shows the inadequate efficiency of protection.

Latgale does not know the negative consequences of exceedingly intensive usage of cultural heritage in tourism, analysed in literature and observed in West European countries. The use of cultural heritage as

a tourism resource should rather be regarded as insufficient, because there are no cultural monuments in Latgale that would be used in economically efficient way.

Fig. 7: Indrica Catholic church (1658) located in the Kalniesu civil-parish.

Fig. 8: Indrica Catholic church, interior.

Concluding remarks

The development of cultural heritage means an increase in its value. The increase in value should be the objective of protection, its reasoning and the methods of protection, individual in each case and arising therefrom. The policy for protection, therefore, instead of being unified, should be individual, distinguishing by two approaches:

(1) *Primary protection and development of cultural values*, to be applied to limited number of selected cultural monuments with outstanding historical or artistic qualities, where the pro-

tection should be implemented according to strong scientific perceptions; in such cases the protection should be subsidised from public funds;

(2) *Primary protection and development of functional values*, to be applied to those cultural monuments, the cultural value of which is lower; in such cases the methods of protection are adequate to the increase in functionality and the protection is implemented mainly by private investments, while the public sector would subsidise the public benefits, such as preservation of authenticity of the public space. Compared to churches, the majority of architectural monuments of the other typological groups have lost their original significance and function, like manor buildings, as trading units. The precondition for preservation of these units is their functional conformity to the current needs of society. The fact that none of the architectural monuments in Latgale is managed in an economically efficient way and all objects (except the churches, which are in good technical condition) receive the public sector subsidies, makes one think that according to the view of society their value is not so high as to ensure their preservation. When looking at the decaying architectural monuments in Latgale, the language of the charters for protection of cultural values and that of the adopted state policy documents seems dogmatic and rhetoric, and alienated from real life. There is an obvious necessity for a flexible policy, which is open to public dialogue.

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The Value of Preservation

Analyses of the Decision-making Processes in Urban Heritage Management

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Introduction

Recent decades have shown a shift from an industrial society to a knowledge-based society. This transformation has resulted in questions about the future economic, social and spatial organisation of society at local and regional level.[1] The development is characterised by changing prerequisites for urban development, including economic and cultural globalisation, de-industrialisation, and, not least, harsh territorial competition.[2]

In the transformation process it seems that culture and cultural values are becoming increasingly important as carriers of meaning and identity, and as a location factor, for households as well as companies. Moreover, cultural production is looked upon as being one of the key generators of future economic development. When traditional businesses are decreasing, the cultural sector has come to be seen as an

[1] See for example Castells 1996, Andersson & Sylwan 1997.
[2] Hall 1993.

important driving force in the economy.[3] In this perspective the cultural built heritage can be considered as an important building stone in urban development strategies, e.g. for the benefit of local populations, as well as for attracting new citizens and visitors.

However, as society develops further into a globalized, and thus, a multi-cultural world, traditional views on national and local cultural built heritage are challenged.[4] We are currently facing a world with many possible social relations and supplies of knowledge and insights. In that sense, the assumption of homogenous societies that share common public interests, such as cultural built heritage, does not hold.[5]

As a consequence, the maintenance of cultural built heritage, currently, in some respects is more difficult to handle than during previous decades. Economic and cultural globalization, and its local consequences, challenges contemporary heritage management and traditional ways of working, i.e. the preservation of monuments and well-defined conservation areas with historical values. How local environmental qualities should be valued, is not only a question for public heritage and planning experts and real estate owners and developers, but also an important issue for individuals.

One important question is if contemporary planning processes are organised in such a way that all values represented by different interests are considered carefully when decisions are made for preservation, renewal or change of the built heritage. There are reasons to believe that, especially, local citizens are not involved in the planning in a way that suits their interests. The notion of citizen representation by local politicians and experts of various kinds can be questioned more than ever.[6]

This article discusses heritage management in Sweden. The ambition is to discuss issues of importance for future development of public heritage management. The article is based on research at the division of Urban and Regional Studies, Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm, Sweden.[7]

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[3] See for example Bianchini & Parkinsson 1993, Zukin 1995, Nyström & Fudge 1999, Snickars 2001, Sörlin 2002.
[4] Beckman 1998; Pettersson 2003.
[5] Healey 1997.
[6] Montin 1998.
[7] See in particular Olsson 2003; see also e.g. Cars et al. 1996, Olsson et al. 2002, Olsson & Hasic 2005.

The aim with the research is to contribute to knowledge about how different actors value the built heritage and how they interact in planning, as well as, to discuss how this knowledge can be taken into account in planning practice. The analyses have an emphasis on the role of the citizens in local heritage management and planning. The theoretical foundation for the research is economic valuation theory, and especially environmental economics, in combination with negotiation theory and planning theory. These theories are used as a starting point for an analysis of different actors' understanding of the cultural built heritage, their incentives for participating in planning and, hence, for understanding the interaction which determines preservation practice.

This article has the following structure. In the first part an ongoing rethinking, concerning the process of valuation and planning for the preservation of the cultural heritage in Sweden, will be discussed. Thereafter the focus will be directed towards Swedish planning practice. A case study concerning cultural built heritage and local planning are presented in brief. The closing section contains discussion and some concluding remarks.

Perspectives on heritage management

The observations outlined in the introduction call for new approaches in heritage management and planning. Heritage management has by tradition been seen as an expert and public sector responsibility. The common method employed by public heritage management agencies is identification and protection of monuments, specific objects and well-defined areas that are especially valuable from an historical perspective. In essence, the management of the cultural built heritage is organised according to an instrumental rational planning ideal, i.e. based on the notion of objective and neutral expert valuations corresponding to values held by society at large.

From the perspective of public heritage agencies, the management of the defined heritage is mainly handled by legal regulation and economic incentives (like loans and grants) as means of control.[8] However, the

[8] Throsby 1997, Pettersson 2003.

the common assumption in Sweden (and elsewhere) is that regulation and direct economic incentives can not likely be the sole solution in future heritage management. The main reason for this is that the economic resources needed for maintaining the heritage presumably will not be covered by the public resources available.

Moreover, the planning process has by tradition been characterised by a strong public sector and by strict procedural links to the existing regulation system. However, private initiatives, i.e. interests held by real estate owners or businesses, have come to play an increasingly important role in the decision making and planning process. Interaction and negotiations among various stakeholders, especially between public planning and private developers, have become an important method to reach solutions acceptable for participating partners.[9] These changes have led to a situation where decision making becomes informal. Consequently, the approval of development plans is often only a formality that confirms decisions that, in reality, have already been taken. Under these circumstances, legal regulation and loans and grants appear to be means used in negotiations, rather than having a self-adjusting effect.

In contrast, there are also other claims for the built environment based on other interests or perspectives. For example, perspectives held by public heritage management agencies or perspectives held by local citizens. The physical environment is local in the sense that environmental values are spatially attached to the local community. In particular, cultural tangible and intangible values in the environment are important for local citizens as carriers of meaning and identity. In that sense, the environment has an existential dimension.[10] This can be interpreted as one more claim, or rather many more different claims, for the common environment. In essence, it can be assumed that various perspectives include conflicting directions regarding the management of the physical environment.

In general, heritage management emphasises the future existence of especially important objects and areas with cultural value. In other words, public heritage management is organised, and includes a way of

[9] See e.g. von Sydow 2004.
[10] Werner 1991, Hayden 1999, Skantze 2000.

working that primarily applies to the management of specific objects and well-defined areas with scientific value, as defined by heritage experts. On the other side, currently, many private as well as public actors increasingly emphasise direct and indirect sustainable use of the heritage (e.g. economic beneficial use and recreational use) as a management strategy.

In the last decades, the search for new preservation and planning methods has extended outside the scientific field traditionally concerned with the cultural heritage, i.e. archaeology, art history, architecture. Economists and other social scientists have, in the context of urban development, sought to employ economic analysis to decision-making concerning preservation of cultural heritage.[11] However, the value of preservation implies more than an economic valuation of cultural objects and well-defined areas, also considering the relative place of heritage values in the hierarchy of societal values.

In Sweden, the local public planning, as performed by municipalities, is essential. According to the Swedish planning and building legal framework, the task for municipal planning is to co-ordinate various public interests, as well as balance public and private interests, in planning in areas like housing, transportation, preservation of heritage, real estate and business development. However, there are no clear guidelines for the municipalities concerning how to weigh different public and private interests against each other and how to co-ordinate various public planning objectives.

Thus, the main issue for local heritage management and preservation planning is to balance direct and indirect use of the built environment against the future existence of cultural values in the environment, as defined by heritage experts. This calls for consistent accounting for the complex values that the built environment has or will have in the future. Consequently, the issue is to find new ways within the municipal planning to assess and assert the short- and long-term value of preservation of the cultural built heritage.

[11] See Coccossis & Nijkamp 1995, Allison et al. 1996, Hutter & Rizzo 1997, Navrud & Ready 2002, Weissglass et al. 2002, Mason 2005.

The built heritage as infrastructure

The development of the built environment is a slow and incremental process. New buildings will be constructed, buildings will be rebuilt to fit new purposes and buildings will be demolished and replaced. Some parts of the built environment will be defined as cultural built heritage and chosen for preservation activities. From the perspective of environmental sciences, the natural environment is regarded as a system, with no constraints concerning spatial and temporal perspectives in which the environment functions.[12] It seems reasonable to apply a similar system perspective on the built environment.

If the built environment is seen as a complex system of buildings and other built structures, the cultural value of a certain object to a substantial part is dependent on the environmental context. Each individual property has an external impact on surrounding buildings. This external effect can be negative or positive, and will indirectly impact the value of adjacent properties.[13] In this way the surroundings, neighbourhood, district or city add and compound the real value of each building or area.

A system perspective on the built environment is close to regarding it as an infrastructure. At least one of the following specifications characterise the built environment as an infrastructure: multiple function, general use over time, and system or network function.[14] Multiple functions means that everyone close to a building or an area is able to use it, directly or indirectly, in one way or another. General use over time means that it is possible to alter the function of the built environment over time.

In the above meaning, the cultural built heritage is also defined as a public good. Economic theory defines public goods as goods that are non-rival in consumption, i.e. the consumption of one individual does not prevent other individuals from consuming. Furthermore, public goods are characterised by non-excludability, i.e. it is not possible to exclude anyone from the benefits of consumption. Defined as a public

12 See for example Merchant 1989, Turner et al. 1994.
13 See DiPasquale & Wheaton 1996.
14 Johansson & Snickars 1992, Cars et al. 1996.

good, it seems reasonable that public society should be fully responsible for maintaining the built heritage. However, in most cases a real estate or building is also a private good. Consequently, a certain object (e.g. building) can, at the same time, be seen as a private as well as a public good, hence a mixed good.

Case study – Umeå

The empirical part of the article is based on a case study of planning and heritage management in the municipality of Umeå.[15] It is the most populated municipality in the northern part of Sweden. The population increased from approximately 60 000 in the mid-1960s, when the University of Umeå was established, to almost 110 000 inhabitants in the beginning of this century. The rapidly increasing population has put a great deal of pressure on the local comprehensive and structural planning over the years.

The case study includes three parts. In the first part the local history of planning and the city development process, from a small administrative city to a medium sized university city, is described and analysed to provide the intellectual tradition and context of Umeå. The purpose is to give a foundation for understanding current planning activities. The second part consists of studies of five recently completed planning processes concerning specific real estate properties in the municipality. The aim of the studies is to broaden and develop the knowledge and understanding of how different actors interact and how they value the cultural built heritage. The third part includes a questionnaire directed to a random selection of 1000 inhabitants in Umeå municipality. The aim with the survey is to compare the values held by the people with decisions in planning. The empirical findings are presented in brief below.

Part 1: The intellectual tradition and context in Umeå

In the 1980s Umeå municipality invested extensively in the field of culture, e.g. a new city library and a new theatre, as a strategy for attracting

[15] See Olsson 2003.

people to move to or to stay in Umeå. However, there is a notion that the local authorities, in their cultural strategy, have neglected preservation of the cultural built heritage. Nevertheless, there has been some, although spatially limited to the city centre, listing of specific buildings and certain areas of local importance within the municipal comprehensive planning.

Over the years, the most important goal in Umeå has been to provide housing for new citizens. Consequently, one of the most important goals expressed in comprehensive planning is to provide for increased housing in the city centre. However, at the same time, there is also a general goal to protect and preserve the cultural built heritage. These goals do not necessarily fit together, since most heritage-buildings are located in the city centre, and on real estates with low exploitation. Hence, these specific estates are of special interest to real estate developers.

Fig. 1: The city of Umeå facing the river (Umeälven) (Photo: Krister Olsson).

Traditionally the cityscape of Umeå has been characterised by low buildings with one or two floors. The low profile of the city is the key ingredient for the designation of central Umeå as a National interest from the viewpoint of cultural heritage. However, figure 1 shows two high buildings, one office building from the 1960s and a hotel from late 1980s. The construction of the latter was much debated on the local level as well on national level. After a long process filled with conflicts, the Swedish government finally decided that the hotel building would not harm the National interest. The main motive for the hotel was to reinforce the image of the city and to promote Umeå as a future oriented city, whereas the preservation interest argued against the high-rise development with reference to the traditional low cityscape.

The study concludes that current planning activities to a substantial part are structured by the intellectual tradition and context. Urban development planning in Umeå is still oriented towards continuing growth, hence the current goal is a population of 150 000 inhabitants in 2050. Consequently, there is a notion of a conflict between preservation of the urban landscape and city development. Rather, the ideal notion is to preserve an image of a growing and future oriented city. Within this view, preservation of built heritage is mainly understood as a conservative activity, and, hence, standing in the way of urban development.

Part 2:
Heritage management and planning in Umeå

In the case study, several decision making and planning processes have been studied in detail, including studies of planning documents and interviews with key actors. In the processes, different groups of actors, from the private side as well as the public side, participate, including mostly real estate owners, developers, and public agencies at the local (i.e. municipality) and regional (i.e. county board, county museum) levels. In general, one way to characterize the process is to note that property owners initiate the planning with the intention of making changes on their property. The key issue then, in many cases, is how to allow owners to change their property, without spoiling existing cultural values, as defined by heritage experts. Participating actors have different

solutions for this issue, because they have different objectives for participating in the planning process.

In the process, the preservation interest (e.g. county museum) is oriented firstly towards ensuring the future existence of the buildings concerned because of their historical character, and secondly towards preservation from an aesthetic and social viewpoint. On the other side, the cultural value, as defined by heritage experts, is very seldom questioned from the perspective of property development. However, the development interest is mainly focused on the future use of the properties concerned, and, for that reason, the cultural value is marginalized as such.

Fig. 2: Typical wooden architecture in Umeå from the late 19th century (Photo: Krister Olsson).

Figure 2 shows the last example in Umeå of several buildings from late 19th century facing the whole street in one block. In the 1990s the preservation of the buildings was an object of discussion, and the property owner argued that it was necessary to demolish the existing buildings in order to develop the property from functional, technical and economic point of view. However, the outcome of the process includes an agreement between the property owner and the municipality on the preservation of the external appearance and on new construction close

to the existing buildings. The outcome in this process is a result more attributable firstly, to a recession in the real-estate market and, secondly, to an extensive debate in the local press, than to a well thought-out plan by the actors involved. The buildings were renovated in the second half of the 1990s.

Fig. 3: The old brewery in Umeå (Photo: Krister Olsson).

The old brewery in Umeå from the late 19th century was closed down in the mid-1990s, see figure 3. From the perspective of the heritage department at the County Board the brewery was considered to have a substantial cultural value. In the planning process the property owner, a construction firm, proposed that the brewery should be demolished and replaced with new housing developments, whereas the County Board struggled for its preservation. After an extensive series of negotiations between the owner and the County Board, also including the planning department at the municipality, it was agreed on a compromise that the external appearance of the building should be kept, but the interior converted to modern apartments. However, eventually, the building had to be demolished due to its poor standard and technical difficulties with its reconstruction. Nevertheless, the construction firm decided to build a replica of the brewery. The heritage department at the County Board, however, considered a replica not to be consistent

with their view of heritage management and, consequently, rejected such ideas. When it was clear that the original building could not be saved, the County Board preferred completely new development.

From the studies in Umeå it can be noted that various actors value the heritage from the perspective of different value systems. Different actors have, simply, differing perceptions of preservation activities, and thus conflicting opinions of what and how to preserve. Because participating partners have different interests to guard or values to protect, conflict situations occur in the planning process. The municipality is different from the other actors since it is not monolithic; i.e. various representatives within the municipality express different and sometimes contradictory opinions about the direction of planning. This is also underlined by the somewhat contradictory goal setting regarding different public interests within the comprehensive planning. Moreover, the planning can not be considered to be straightforwardly rational, but more structured by complex interactions between participating actors and unexpectedly changing planning prerequisites.

Fig. 4: New buildings on the brewery real estate in Umeå (Photo: Krister Olsson).

Figure 4 shows the old brewery site under reconstruction after the demolition and new constructions nearby with up to 13 floors. The height of the buildings was extensively debated, just as the hotel building had

been discussed a decade earlier. When the citizens of Umeå were asked, during the planning process, in the survey performed by the Royal Institute of Technology, there was a clear majority that preferred much lower buildings in this particular location. The central location of the brewery estate made it to a concern of not only the neighbours, but also people living as far as six kilometres from the development area. Nevertheless, eventually, a slender majority in the municipal council approved the development plan with reference to the interest of property development.

Thus, an important finding in the survey of Umeå is that specific built environments have a meaning for a much larger group of people than those who normally are invited to or actually participating in the decision making and planning process. Large groups of citizens highly value areas and specific environments, even though, they do not live or work in the neighbourhood, or even very seldom visit the area in question.

Discussion

As mentioned in the introduction, one theoretical foundation for the research is economic valuation theory. It is used as a starting point for an analysis of different actors' spatial, temporal and economic understanding of the cultural built heritage. The analysis draws on a comprehensive valuation scheme from environmental economics, including direct and indirect use value, option value and existence value.[16] In an economic analysis, only individuals' preferences and valuations count.[17] In that sense, private and public decision-makers' view of preservation value should not have more weight than the valuation of the average person. Following this reasoning, knowledge about individual preferences for preservation is critical for defining the value of a specific built environment seen as a public good.

However, the built environment seen as a public good is in most planning activities not fully acknowledged and understood. Consequently, the private good characteristic of the environment is stressed in planning, not only by the private actors, but also by the public planners and

[16] See for example Turner et al. 1994.
[17] Mohr & Schmidt 1997.

decisions makers. The conclusion is that the heritage planning process does not function very well from the viewpoint of local citizens. The process, as it is performed, does not include the values held by citizens in a proper way. Thus, there are good reasons to try to develop planning practice to include the values of the citizens in a more precise way. Both theoretical and empirical findings support this conclusion.

Within a representative democracy, it is a task for elected politicians to make decisions, based on basic data provided by urban planners and other public planning officers. Thus, the values held by the citizens are only indirectly supposed to guide the decisions. However, this presupposes, as the research shows, a better picture of the values held by different groups of citizens. Current planning is not sufficient in this respect.

Furthermore, the question is whether a wide group of citizens can be expected to participate in a direct way in specific planning issues. Citizen participation in a broad sense, by definition, is only a matter when it comes to public goods. However, the problem, of course, is that there are no incentives for individuals to provide for public goods. The paradox is that, the larger group of people concerned, the fewer will, proportionally, act in order to provide a good in question. This is typical for public goods. Consequently, there is an expectation that the provision shall be organised within public planning.

The above reasoning points out that, in general, the public good characteristics of the built heritage do not automatically emerge in the planning process. The task for public planning, especially at the local level, is to guard the public good in the built heritage in a much better way than what is done today. In return, it also means that, in order to use the cultural built heritage as a resource in urban development planning, it is essential to develop new perspectives and methods for valuing the cultural built heritage. Preservation can be a future oriented development strategy, just as much as renewal and change of the built environment.

One important issue in the management of the cultural built heritage is to develop new methods to evaluate the short-term and long-term value of preservation. Such an evaluation must take as its starting point

the different value systems employed by public and private actors at the national, regional and local levels, including the individual perspective. In conclusion, the public heritage management policy must draw on the actors' incentives for preservation, and hence their implicit or explicit valuation of the built environment as a whole. In other words, knowledge about actors' preferences is critical for preservation planning. Consequently, the potential of information and marketing can be further developed as a means of control.

The valuation scheme according to environmental economics, including direct and indirect use values, option value and existence value, is one possibility in developing local preservation planning. The scheme can be a useful tool in planning practice. It can have the specific use of providing a foundation for expressing preservation value in a more comprehensive and clearer way than what is done in planning practice today. Furthermore, it can also lead to a more careful consideration of preferences that different groups of actors have, regardless of whether the preferences are explicit or not.

Most private actors value the cultural built heritage from the perspective of their own direct and indirect use or potential use of the buildings concerned. An actor who primarily focuses on existence values runs the risk of being situated in the margins of planning, with no real influence on decisions concerning heritage management. It is essential for actors concerned with cultural built heritage to articulate an interest in preservation as early as possible in the planning process. It is also essential to draw more attention to the question of future direct and indirect use of the built heritage.

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Heritage and Development

The Role of Public-Private Partnerships

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Introduction

Not even the richest of countries has sufficient financial resources in the public sector to own, rehabilitate and maintain all of the heritage buildings worthy of preservation. In most countries the non-governmental (NGO) sector does not own the properties, does not have significant financial capital, and lacks development expertise. By default, then, it is necessary to attract private capital into heritage buildings. At the same time it is essential to provide protections so that the defining characteristics of the buildings are conserved and thus can be used and understood by future generations.

In some countries there are a multitude of programs and incentives that make investing in heritage buildings an attractive opportunity for private capital. In others the marketplace has demonstrated a preference for heritage structures and the private sector acts on its own accord. Even so, for certain buildings in the most developed countries and for

many buildings in the developing world, new approaches to financing, developing, operating and maintaining historic buildings are needed. The Public-Private Partnership (PPP) can be one such approach.

Internationally, most PPPs have involved multi-million dollar projects such as airports, toll roads, water systems or hydroelectric plants. However, there is no reason why the basic approach cannot be appropriate for heritage buildings as well.

Definitions and Characteristics of Public-Private Partnerships

The phrase "public-private partnership" has become a generic one, and applied whenever representatives of the public and private sectors sit at the same table. But Public-Private Partnerships have a more specific meaning when applied to a particular transaction. One useful definition comes from the US based National Council for Public-Private Partnerships. That definition is: "*A Public-Private Partnership is a contractual agreement between a public agency (federal, state or local) and a private sector entity. Through this agreement, the skills and assets of each sector (public and private) are shared in delivering a service or facility for the use of the general public. In addition to the sharing of resources, each party shares in the risks and rewards potential in the delivery of the service and/or facility.*" [1]

Under this definition a PPP is a formal arrangement to deliver a specific outcome. While the relationships under this definition can take a variety of forms (which will be discussed later in this paper) it does preclude the bank president and the mayor simply having coffee together, chatting about municipal issues, and then calling it a Public-Private Partnership.

Regardless of the form or the purpose of the endeavor, PPPs all tend to share four characteristics: (1) they are of long duration, usually 25 to 99 years; (2) there is funding, often substantial, from the public sector; (3) there is an important role for the economic operator; and (4) the risks are shared by the partner best able to assume those risks.

[1] http://www.ncppp.org/howpart/index.shtml#define

Why Public-Private Partnerships

PPPs have been developed and refined to meet a variety of needs. But the majority of PPPs have arisen because of some combination of the following:

- There is a public need or a public benefit to be accrued through the arrangement.
- There is a need for private investment capital.
- There is a desire to leverage scarce public funds.
- There is an interest on the part of both the public and private sectors to share risks.
- The public sector lacks the development and/or management expertise to undertake the proposed project.
- There is a desire on the part of the public sector to enhance the value of an asset owned by it.
- The public sector wants to tap the innovation of the private sector.
- There is a need for ongoing public influence as to what happens to the public facility or service.
- There is a desire for a reversionary interest (i.e. ultimate return of the facility to public control) at some time in the future.

Some PPP practitioners have summarized the motivations for such arrangements as the *Four E's: efficiency*, *effectiveness*, *expertise*, *and entrepreneurship*. Efficiency includes such items as cost savings, cost avoidance, and leveraging scarce public funds. *Effectiveness* would be matching facilities and services with public needs. *Expertise* means taking advantage of unique or distinctive capabilities or skills which might be found in the private sector. Finally *entrepreneurship* refers to such characteristics as innovation, creativity and energy.

Regardless of whether one looks at the list of motivations, or the 4 E's, each of the above reasons is also often true about heritage buildings, making the PPP an alternative to consider pursuing.

Basic Principles of PPPs

Even though in most of the world the use of PPPs is still in a growth and experimental stage, there is now sufficient international experience to be able to draw some basic principles as to how they should work, what is necessary for good governance, and what are the characteristics of successful public-private partnerships. On a formal, analytical basis, probably no one has as systematically evaluated these matters as has the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE). Much of this section comes from their recently released document *A Guide to Promoting Good Governance in Public Private Partnerships*.[2]

Overall Principles

Based on the evaluation of successes (and failures) of hundreds of PPPs internationally, the UNECE has identified these basic principles when public-private partnerships seem to work:

1 *Risk transfer*. As noted above, the partner most able to handle the risk is the partner to whom that risk is assigned.

2 *Performance specifications and competition*. There is a clearly stated set of expectations, and multiple private sector entities are eligible to submit proposals to meet those specifications.

3 *Maintaining value of public assets*. Often assets in public hands are actually declining in value, through lack of fiscal resources, expertise, or management efficiency. PPPs can be structured to maintain (and even enhance) those public assets.

4 *Quest for innovation*. Because of tradition, political system, or political constraints, innovation in the public sector is often absent or, in fact, discouraged. The creation of a PPP may tap innovation from the private sector.

5 *Non-discrimination*. The PPP is open to all qualified potential partners, not limited to those with financial or political connections to public officials.

[2] UNECE 2007.

6 *Stability and renegotiation*. The nature of PPPs is that they are typically of long duration. Over the time of the agreement there may be substantial changes in public needs, technology, or other unforeseen occurrences. Therefore good PPP structures allow both the stability of a long-term relationship between the partners, but also an established framework to renegotiate when conditions substantially change.

7 *Continuity*. The basic relationship between the partners outlives the inherent changes in leadership and organizational particulars within both the public and private entities.

8 *Open competitive tenders*. The opportunity to become the private partner should be publicly broadcast, the criteria for selection established in advance, and the partner competitively chosen among qualified applicants.

9 *Transparency and accountability*. While there may be some confidential provisions in the PPP final documents, the process itself is readily transparent, and both the public and private partners are held accountable for their commitments under the contractual arrangements.

10 *Business decisions independent from the State*. The State, having committed to the PPP approach, has to then stay out of the ongoing management of the operation. The public partner should be concerned with making sure the desired outcomes are achieved. The private partner has the right to figure out how to best provide those outcomes without interference from the State.

11 *Guarantees and other types of public support*. The nature, complexity and magnitude of the services and facilities which are the target of PPPs often necessitate forms of support and incentives by the public partner on an ongoing basis. Common types of support for heritage public-private partnerships are discussed below.

12 *Compensation*. It is sometimes necessary on the part of the public partner to end the arrangement prior to the date specified in the formal agreement. In those instances the private partner is entitled to compensation.

13 Value for money. It may not necessarily be the cheapest proposal is the best. The public partner should evaluate proposals on a long-term basis and consider life of contract costs and benefits, which partner carries what risk, and the competence and experience of the private partners.

14 *Feasible process*. The process of offering, securing, and implementing the PPP should be streamlined and as clear as possible within an overall legal framework.

15 *Experienced public partners*. Governments have the responsibility to assure that the negotiators on their behalf are trained and experienced in the PPP process.

16 *Realistic expectations*. PPPs are too often seen as a panacea for a government strapped for cash or lacking internal expertise. They are not. There needs to be realistic and balanced expectations on both sides of the costs, benefits, and risks.

17 *Achievable goals*. For good governance, the public partner should keep in mind clarity, value for money, public accountability, sustainable development and widely shared benefits.

Heritage PPPs

It was noted above that internationally most public-private partnerships have been on large projects such as infrastructure development and major public services. As a consequence, most of the international expertise is at the level of the multi-million dollar project. But there have been enough heritage building PPPs to begin to draw conclusions about their characteristics and often a contrasting set of common denominators than larger projects.

Characteristics

While not every success story in heritage building public-private partnerships has all of the characteristics identified below, most heritage PPPs seem to include most of them.

For many (but not all) Heritage PPPs the public partner is local government. There are notable exceptions, however. In the US, for example, national government agencies including the Department of the Army, the General Services Administration, and the National Park Service have been public partners in PPPs. Multiple levels of government might provide incentives, but usually only one would be the "public partner."

Many Heritage PPPs are actually Public/Private/Non-Profit (NGO) Partnerships with the third sector playing a pivotal role in success. Often, in fact, several NGOs may be involved, but most only passively.

Most Heritage PPPs are "White Elephant" buildings – those difficult to reuse properties for which the private sector, by itself, rarely takes the lead. In fully developed economies, the white elephant building is the most common situation utilizing a Heritage PPP. Heritage PPPs usually involve adaptive reuse.

Often the reason the private sector won't take the lead in heritage redevelopment is the *gap between cost and value* (discussed below). The major purpose of PPPs is often to close the gap.

Concept of the Gap

For those not intimately involved in real estate development, the terms *cost* and *value* are often used as synonyms. They are not. *Cost* is the sum of the dollars that will be expended between the idea and the completed project. *Value* is what the marketplace is willing to pay for that property (to buy or to rent) after completion. When value exceeds costs, the private sector will usually act on its own without needing either incentives or a public sector partner. However it is common for heritage buildings, particularly of the "white elephant" variety, that *cost* exceeds *value*. This difference is known as the *gap*. The existence of a substantial gap is often the catalyst for considering a Heritage PPP.

Common Denominators of Successful Heritage PPPs

When heritage building public-private partnerships have been successful, there seems to be a generally predictable set of common denominators. Among these are:

- The heritage building is identified as community asset regardless of who actually holds title to the property.
- There is a core group who initiates action. This core group often comes from the NGO sector.
- There is an imaginative catalyst to move the redevelopment idea forward. This may come from the business community, local government, an NGO or elsewhere, but rarely comes from the current owner of the property (even if that owner is a level of government).
- There is broad based support for the project within the local community that spans horizontally sector and political interests.
- There is always public sector participation, including from levels of government that are not directly involved as the formal public partner.
- There are multiple sources of financing from traditional private sector, non-traditional, and public institutions.
- There is a commitment on all parties to be willing to be as flexible as possible in use, financing, timing, and particulars of the transaction until a mutually acceptable and feasible alternative scenario is developed. This requires both compromise and patience from all partners. Even the most successful Heritage PPPs tend to experience significant public skepticism during the process.

The UNECE has noted that the processes involved in creating Public-Private Partnerships are generally time consuming. This is certainly true of heritage building PPPs. As with all PPPs, the transactions tend

to be complex. Even though the project is substantially smaller than infrastructure PPPs, the complexity does not significantly diminish.

Successful heritage projects do not start with the building and try to answer the question, "How do I fill that space?" Rather the equation is turned around and the questions become, "What is the unmet or under met demand in this market" and "Could this building be developed to meet that demand." Rarely is a heritage building PPP a single use. Nearly always there is a mix of uses.

Roles of the Partners in Heritage Building PPPs

For public-private partnerships to be effective there must be clearly defined roles for each of the partners. As noted earlier, in the case of many heritage building PPPs the partners are not only the public and private sectors but the NGO sector as well.

Public Partner Role

While any specific partnership will have variations, in general the public partner would be expected to "bring to the table" most of the following:

- Incentives sufficient to attract private capital into the transaction. Those incentives might well include regulatory relief. A list of common heritage incentives is found later in this paper.
- Long term protection of the heritage asset would nearly always be an obligation of the public partner. The three broad methods of protection are discussed below.
- In much of Central and Eastern Europe and parts of Asia many of the heritage buildings are, in fact, currently owned by the public sector. Bringing the property itself to the transaction would be, then, a public role.
- Very commonly a unit of government (which may or may not be the formal public partner in the transaction) brings subordinate financing to the transaction.

– Depending on the purpose for which the heritage building PPP was initially established, public occupancy of all or a portion of the building after rehabilitation may serve the needs of both the public and private partners.

– In many cases heritage buildings are found in districts where the surrounding areas have significantly deteriorated socially or physically. The physical improvement of surrounding areas as well as improving the level of public services provided may be a critical activity in making the heritage building itself feasible for private sector investment.

– Infrastructure including waterlines, sewer lines, streets, utilities, and parking are generally public sector obligations, yet are often inadequate to support a redeveloped heritage building. A commitment to improve that infrastructure by the public partner may be a part of the PPP agreement.

It was noted above that in many parts of the world the heritage building is already owned by a level of government. In other circumstances it may be a necessary role of the public partner to acquire the property from the current owner for reconveyence into the partnership entity. The issue of inadequate infrastructure was also noted above. Often in conjunction with improved infrastructure the public partner will designate the neighborhood around the Heritage PPP as a targeted area to encourage other private and public sector investment surrounding the property.

Finally, heritage public-private partnerships need to rethink their overall public policies and adjust them to further increase the likelihood of success. This might mean reviewing and changing such policies as land use ordinances, zoning, parking requirements, vendor permits, etc.

Private Partner Role

What, then, does the private partner contribute to a successful heritage building PPP? The following would be typical:

– The private sector partner nearly always would be expected to bring financial capital to the transaction, often including internal funds of the partner as well as the responsibility to

raise additional equity (i.e. not borrowed) capital from outside investors or institutions.

– Generally debt would be used to finance a significant portion of the overall project. The responsibility to negotiate and secure that debt (and there may be multiple sources) falls on the private partner. The exception might be if one of the public partner's identified roles in the PPP negotiations was to provide subordinate financing as noted above.

– Particularly with heritage building public-private partnerships, the experience in real estate development is what the public partner lacks and seeks from the private sector. That expertise as well as construction expertise for heritage buildings would ordinarily be among the major roles of the private partner.

– Depending on the specifics of the transaction, the private partner role might involve long-term ownership or long term possession of the property with or without occupancy of the private partner. Various combinations of ownership, possession, and occupancy are discussed below.

– Unless the transaction was solely for improving the heritage building for the long term occupancy of the public sector, the management of the property over the term of the agreement would be the private partner's responsibility. In the case of simply rehabilitating the heritage building for public occupancy, the management of the building may remain with the public partner.

– Unless the sole occupant of the heritage building is to be the public partner, the marketing of space within the building would be a private partner role.

Most often the ultimate disposition of the property would be spelled out in the PPP documents, usually simply reverting to the public owner. If that is not the case, however, disposition decisions would be in the hands of the private partner. Regardless of the assignment of the responsibility for management of the building, the management of ownership entity established by the private partner for the PPP transaction would be solely the responsibility of the private partner.

NGO Role

While the large scale PPPs are usually composed of just the public and the private partner, heritage building PPPs often involved an NGO as well. Frequent roles for the NGO are as follows:

– Identification of critical heritage buildings appropriate for redevelopment through a public-private partnership.

– Public and political pressure on government to act.

– Public and political support for project moving forward.

– Initiation of the redevelopment process and/or predevelopment analysis.

– Occasional equity (i.e. ownership) position in the project. This is frequently "patient equity", i.e. receiving payment later in the project and often on a contingent basis.

– Provision of heritage conservation expertise and/or reference source for additional specialized expertise.

– Ongoing oversight to assure quality rehabilitation.

– Public face for the project; assisting public partner in marketing the project to potential private partners.

Incentives for Heritage PPPs

While incentives are certainly not uncommon in large scale public-private partnerships, they are nearly always part of the heritage building PPP. The types of incentives available vary widely based on the economic and political systems and other factors. But regardless of the context, most incentives for heritage building redevelopment can be categorized as doing one or more of the following:

1 Reduce costs

2 Reduce cash required

3 Increase income

4 Reduce expenses

5 Improve financing

6 Reduce risk

7 Improve investment environment

8 Improve informational environment

Typical Heritage Building Incentives

Certainly not all of the incentives listed below are available everywhere (and wouldn't work everywhere if they were) but all have been demonstrated as effective somewhere in the world.

- Income tax deductions or credits.
- Property tax rebates, assessment freezes, or differentiated property tax schedules.
- Sales tax (VAT, GST, etc.) rebate or waiver.
- Low interest loans and/or loan guarantees.
- Minority equity participation.
- Design assistance.
- Public occupancy.and/or occupancy guarantees.
- Pre-acquisition environmental assessment.
- Grants for pre-acquisition analysis, acquisition or construction.
- Rent subsidy and/or operating subsidy.
- Reinvestment of generated property taxes back into the project.
- Priority for eligibility for other programs.
- Discounted utilities, parking, or other publicly provided goods or services.

It is rare that a project would be made feasible for a PPP simply through the existence of a single form of incentive. Usually multiple incentives are layered within a single project.

Methods for Long Term Protection

If there were no need for the long term protection of the heritage asset, there would be no need for a public-private partnership to be created. In fact the protection of the asset may be the primary reason the public sector (and the NGO sector) is interested in utilizing the PPP approach. Again dependent on the political, legal, and economic system of any given country, the methods of long term protection will vary. But in general terms, protection can be provided through three alternative means: long term lease, statutory heritage building protections, and/or title restrictions.

Long Term Lease

Because the operative instrument for a Heritage PPP may be a long term lease, that document may incorporate protection provisions as an essential component of the agreement. Commonly such protections would include affirmative maintenance requirements, an approval process for changes to the structure or its grounds, established standards for any subsequent rehabilitation process, and periodic inspections of the property by heritage agencies. Additionally there would most often be a reversion of the property to the public sector at the expiration of the leasehold interest.

Statutory Heritage Building Protections

In many countries there will already be established a regulatory framework for the protection of heritage buildings. The applicable statutes may be either national or local or both and might cover individual buildings or entire heritage districts within which the PPP property lies. Ordinarily these heritage ordinances will require that any changes to the property be subject to review by a heritage agency, the prohibition of demolition, and frequently design guidelines for new buildings constructed within the heritage precinct.

Title Restrictions

The third method of long term protection for historic buildings is incorporating into the chain of title of the property heritage restrictions. These may be in addition to statutory protections identified above or may be utilized where no statutory framework currently exists. In this method of protection the provisions remain with the property even after transfer from one owner to another, and not infrequently are in perpetuity. Title restriction could include limitations on how the property is used, a review and approval process for any proposed changes in the property, a prohibition against demolition, and affirmative maintenance obligations. In many countries these are known as preservation easements.

Why Heritage PPPs are Suspect

While there are a limited number of heritage building PPPs around the world, they are used far less often then the need warrants. Some of this lack of PPP activity is attributable to the same barriers that affect the potential of any type of PPP – lack of appropriate legal framework, lack of expertise in the public sector, lack of private sector firms who are experienced and knowledgeable in the PPP process, and others.

But there are particular reasons why Heritage PPPs are relatively infrequent. Probably the most common reason is the confusion between a PPP and privatization. Particularly among heritage advocates in the NGO sector (and many in the public sector) privatization of heritage buildings is an unacceptable alternative and in some cases statutorily prohibited. That situation ought, then, be a major catalyst for exploring Heritage PPPs which are assuredly not privatization, but that has not yet been the case on a wide basis.

Among the additional reasons that heritage building PPPs have not yet found favor among preservation advocates are:

– Failure to take account of interests of heritage advocates.
– Lack of transparency and insufficient accountability to the public.

– A sense that heritage conservation standards are being sacrificed for short-term profits.

Governments wishing to utilize the public-private partnership approach for heritage buildings will need to overcome those often legitimate concerns of heritage advocates.

Typical Transaction Structures for Heritage PPPs

The international professional network of public-private partnership experts has developed a variety of transaction structures. Each of these has its own name and acronym. Common in PPP discussions one will hear such terms as *BOT (Build-Own-Transfer)*, *BLOT (Build-Lease-Operate-Transfer)*, *BOO (Build-Own-Operate)*, and others. But in the currently less sophisticated realm of heritage building PPPs, the most common, and simpler to understand, transactions are these:

Long term lease: The public sector leases the property to a private sector entity that redevelops the property and utilizes the building for its purposes (either to use or to lease to others). At the end of the lease period the property reverts to the public sector.

Sale with repurchase provisions: In some countries tax and other considerations make property ownership a much more attractive alternative than simply leasing a property. Therefore a sales transaction might be structured. The private entity would have the obligation of appropriate historic rehabilitation of the building and its use as negotiated. However, since ultimate reversion of heritage buildings is usually a public goal in PPPs, there would most frequently be a repurchase option, and frequently an obligation on the part of the public sector to repurchase the property at some (usually specified) time in the future.

Sale leaseback: Heritage buildings are often occupied by public sector entities, and continued use of the building is desired. Yet the public sector may lack the capital, the construction or management expertise, or the inclination to invest in the appropriate rehabilitation of the building. This can create an optimum situation for a Heritage PPP. The private sector entity undertakes the redevelopment of the property,

already has a creditworthy long-term tenant, and the public sector has a rehabilitated historic building. Again, in this type of transaction there would generally be a repurchase option or obligation on the part of the public sector.

Lease leaseback: The advantages of the lease-leaseback are the same as specified in the sale-leaseback described above. It has the additional advantage, however, of not needing a repurchase agreement, in that the building will automatically revert to public sector ownership at the expiration of the lease.

Pilot Project Heritage PPPs

The Public-Private Partnership unit of the UN Economic Commission for Europe strongly encourages, particularly developing and transition countries to begin their PPP efforts with pilot projects. The same is true of heritage building PPPs – a pilot project is the right place to begin. The important factors for Heritage PPP pilot projects are largely modifications of the principles the UNECE has established in general. These would include:

1 A clear economic and cultural need.

2 Known and tested rehabilitation approaches.

3 A marketplace of potential developers.

4 The project a major priority of the sponsoring agency.

5 A favorable attitude towards adaptive reuse.

6 A payment system affordable by agency.

7 The development of replicable transactions.

Conclusions

Heritage buildings, like waterlines, railroads, and electric grids are part of a nation's infrastructure. In many cases they are the most visible infrastructure. Many heritage buildings, particularly in Eastern and Central Europe and Asia, are currently in public ownership or under public sector control.

Like other infrastructure investments, part of the justification for Public-Private Partnership involvement is the long life expectancy of the asset. In most cases there is need for public sector involvement so that buildings still remain as national resources for succeeding generations.

The combination of (A) *scarce public resources available for investment in a public asset*; but (B) *an asset that has the potential for attracting private resources while allowing ongoing public interest and influence* is the ideal situation for PPPs.

While some heritage building projects require significant capital, most are modest relative to the costs for toll roads or subway lines or communication systems. This allows them to serve as relatively low risk "laboratories" for the experimentation of public-private approaches, regulations, transparency provisions, bidding processes and legal frameworks.

The use of public-private partnerships for heritage building redevelopment can be a confidence builder and a competence builder for those in the public sector involved in PPPs. The use of public-private partnerships for heritage building redevelopment can provide short term successes while the larger and more time consuming projects are still on the drawing boards. Because of the relatively smaller scale of heritage building redevelopment it is an activity that can take place countercyclical to downturns in the overall economy.

Like other components of infrastructure, heritage buildings in most parts of the world are in significant need of private capital investment. Unlike many categories of infrastructure expenditure, the leverage of public resources to private resources can be very high – maximizing the impact of the public share of the partnership investment and making frugal use of scarce public sector resources. Because most heritage buildings are in city centers, no extension of roads, water and sewer lines or electric utilities is necessary – they are already being served by existing infrastructure.

The redevelopment of heritage buildings is an excellent way to mobilize citizen and public sector support for the project in particular but for public-private partnerships in general. In most places there is already an existing advocacy constituency for heritage buildings. In most places

there is also political support for heritage building rehabilitation across ideological boundaries and a sense of "ownership" of heritage buildings, regardless of who the deed holders happen to be. The sense of ownership means that the redevelopment of heritage buildings becomes an excellent vehicle for public participation. That participation provides a mechanism for an active citizen role in deciding the usefulness of PPP projects more generally. Public-Private Partnership involvement with the redevelopment of heritage buildings can be an effective part of strengthening the NGO sector.

The process of heritage building rehabilitation and adaptive reuse builds skills in the engineering, design, construction, and labor fields. These are skills that are unlikely to become unnecessary in the foreseeable future. Most of the jobs created in heritage building rehabilitation are for those without advanced formal education – good paying jobs for those without college degrees. Because most of the tasks involved in heritage restoration need to be provided on-site locally, there isn't the risk that those jobs will be outsourced to another part of the world when the local economy strengthens. In most nations heritage resources are widely dispersed throughout the country. This means that a policy and strategy of rehabilitating them need not be confined to a single city or geographic region but can have economic, social, and cultural benefit in a wide variety of places.

Through UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS and other organizations, there is already established inter-country cooperation mechanisms for heritage resources. A number of international organizations are already committed to and have funds available for the rehabilitation of heritage buildings including the World Monuments Fund, the Aha Khan Trust for Culture, the Getty Conservation Institute and others. For a number of countries – Spain, the Netherlands, Sweden for example – assisting with the rehabilitation of heritage buildings is a core component of international assistance.

The adaptive reuse of heritage buildings in and of itself contributes to social development and sustainable development on several levels – environmental sustainability, economic sustainability, social sustainability. The adaptive reuse of heritage buildings allows local citizens

the opportunity to participate in and benefit from economic globalization while at the same time mitigating the adverse effects of cultural globalization.

In nearly every part of the world – in both developed and developing countries, and in the entire range of economic and political systems – heritage assets need both protection and capital. Heritage PPPs can be structured to provide both.

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Towards New European Initiatives

Mikko Mälkki, Raine Mäntysalo & Kaisa Schmidt-Thomé

The European Heritage Heads Forum (EHHF) is a new informal network bringing together the heads of the European state heritage authorities to share ideas about the management of the historic environment. One theme chosen for the third meeting of EHHF, in Copenhagen May 28–30, 2008, is "Economics and Cultural Heritage". This indicates the relevance of the topic at the European level. In a nutshell, there is a shared need for new tools of economic argumentation that would bring a broader view for the decision makers of the existing and potential economic impacts of built heritage sites to local and regional economies, both direct and indirect ones. Especially the indirect economic impacts are crucial when built heritage is concerned[1] but these are also difficult to calculate and thus difficult to use as a basis for convincing argumentation.

There is a need for theoretical work, to grasp the essential features of built heritage in terms of economic conceptualization. Krister Olsson's

[1] Nypan 2007.

treatment of built heritage as a 'common good' is an important step in this direction. Cooperation between the few researchers specialized in this field is necessary. When new methods of newly conceptualized and broader economic analysis are created, they need to be tested through pilot projects with different types of heritage sites in different European contexts. Through comparative reflections conclusions can be made, whether such methods should be authorized at the EU policy level.

As discussed in Inese Stūre's article, the commitment of the owners and the local community makes all the difference in the maintenance of local built heritage. The heritage partnership approach described by Donovan D. Rypkema is a way to commit both the public and the private partners to the shared effort. But the 'common good' approach would open the partnership further to the "common economy". This means that we would no longer be treating the given heritage project merely in terms of private economy, as search for private profits for the selected public and private partners involved. Instead, the involvement of people in the partnership would be necessitated and legitimized, too.

This involvement of people should start already at the survey stage, when values are identified and defined. How should the participatory identification of common goods be conducted in surveying the heritage site? Presumably the milieu characteristics, as settings of the citizens' everyday life, would gain attention, whereas the traditional art historian's "inventory eye" is more likely to single out individual cultural-historically valuable objects. The Hungarian typomorphological approach and the Italian territorialist approach to built heritage, presented in this book, are both methodological initiatives for the attainment of heritage characteristics at larger local and regional scales. But how could these methods be opened to local participation? How could the local citizens' perceptions of valuable milieu characteristics be mapped and interrelated with typomorphological and territorialist mapping? At the Helsinki University of Technology, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies (YTK) Marketta Kyttä and her colleagues have been developing the so-called *Soft-GIS method* for the mapping of residents' and other groups' environmental experiences via the Internet.[2] It would be worthwhile to apply this method in the context of built heritage, too,

[2] See Kyttä & Kahila 2006.

mapping environmental experiences also from the tourists, for example, and look for ways to link this method and the received data with the more expert-oriented mapping methods developed by the Hungarian and Italian colleagues. The Internet access would enable data collection internationally.

Concerning participatory assessment and decision-making, Anna Krus' categorization of different value perspectives is a means to clarify the pluralist settings where interests concerning the built heritage are expressed. How broadly can we grasp the different attitudes and motivations in these settings in terms of argumentation based on private and common good approaches? Can heritage values be fully translated to the language of economics, even after modifying the latter conceptually– or will something essential still be left over or reduced unsatisfactorily? Such translations can lead to abstractions that may potentially turn back in the form of distorting commodifications of our lifeworld, as Habermas[3] has warned. Therefore, the recognizing of the limits of economic language may itself be a subject of case-specific participatory negotiation. The cases may vary importantly in this regard. When an overarching economic language is not an option, a clarification of other value perspectives, besides the economic one, is in order.

A lot is to be learned from successful practice stories and cases around Europe on partnership formation and networking, in the heritage-sensitive creation of economic value and regional growth:

- How, and by whom, were the economic potentialities identified in the historical built environment? Which factors and attributes of the environment did have the strongest impact on the belief that there was economic potential?
- How were the partners found, and how were the agreements reached between the public officials and decision makers, private investors and estate owners and the local people? What kind of compromises were the different partners willing and forced to do?
- How were the duties distributed and commitments reached?

[3] Habermas 1987.

- How did the existing heritage survey data serve this work, what kind of additional surveying was made and did new ideas for surveying emerge?
- What kind of economic analysis methods were used?
- How were these environments transformed into marketable locations and brand-images? What were the marketing strategies and channels used?
- Did the chosen marketing strategy and/or the branding have influence on the renovation and the planning/design of the environment, and if so, in which way?
- How long did it take until the site/area was seen as economically profitable/sustainable?
- Have the economic activities changed later on, either on the site itself or in the surrounding areas?
- What has happened (A) to the historical value of the site, and (B) to the social status of the area? What kind of indirect benefits or drawbacks can be seen?
- What is it, after all, that makes the studied stories/sites successful? How is the success to be measured (A) in terms of economy, and (B) in terms of preservation?

These questions breed further questions concerning the wider national contexts of governance styles and market characteristics:

- Are there existing institutional arrangements developed in different countries that would facilitate partnership arrangements between the public and the private sector actors and local people for sites that are regarded as culturally and historically valuable?
- What kind of role have the public owners of heritage estates and sites taken in relation to the tension between market-oriented property management on the one hand, and protection and maintenance of cultural-historical values on the other?
- What are the essential norms and regulations of built heritage protection and what is their steering capacity in actual practice situations?

- What has been done proactively in terms of public support and incentives, and creation of awareness, to foster appreciation and attractiveness of well-kept and duly renovated heritage properties in the real-estate market?
- How have the EU project funding sources been utilized and what have been the experiences?

How could we benefit from our analyses of good practices and cases in other European countries, so that we could improve our own practices – with due regard to differences between the national political-economic systems? How could we gain enough mutual ground for comparative analysis to find out if there have been essential common factors behind the chosen success stories?

This calls for international comparative case studies between project arrangements and activities in similar sites and areas. (Urban renewal partnerships in downtown industrial and harbour areas, EU-funded rehabilitation projects of historical town centres or rural cultural landscapes, touristic festivals and events in heritage settings, etc.). These studies can lead to a better understanding on how to maintain and develop heritage sites so that they can be widely considered successful, in terms of both economy and heritage preservation.

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